

SWATANTRA

EDITOR: KHASA SUBBA RAU

Handwritten signature
2 FEB 1947



No. 1
2. 15. 1947
ANNAS

A. V. THOMAS & CO. (India) LTD.

(Incorporated in British India)

Regd. Office: 2/21, First Line Beach, G.T., MADRAS.

Branches:

CALICUT, COCHIN, COIMBATORE, ALLEPPEY & MADURA Depot.

Telegraphic Address: All Offices "AVITHOM" Phone: MADRAS: 4518;
CALICUT: 108; COCHIN: 183; COIMBATORE: 153; ALLEPPEY: 15.

CAPITAL:

Authorised - - - Rs. 5,00,000
Issued and Paid up - - - Rs. 5,00,000

Board of Directors:

A. V. THOMAS, Esq., K. VENKATARAGHAVAN, Esq.,
T. K. DORAISWAMY AIYAR, Esq., Rao Sahib K. RANGASWAMY NAIDU
Merchants, Importers, and Exporters, Shipping,
Clearing and Forwarding Agents.

Chief Agents for:—Eastern Federal Union Insurance Co., Ltd.
Managing Agents and/or Secretaries of the following Companies with an
aggregate paid-up capital of nearly Rs. 96 lakhs.

The Kalpetta Estates, Ltd.	..	CALICUT.
The Fringford Estates, Ltd.	..	CALICUT.
The Sheveroy Estates, Ltd.	..	COIMBATORE.
The Neelamalai Tea & Coffee Estates, Ltd.	..	COIMBATORE.
The Ayurvedic Compound Tinctures, Ltd.	..	TRIVANDRUM.

ENQUIRIES SOLICITED.

LOYAL YARN QUALITY

FABRICS

Yarn, Grey Mulls and Shirtings

Loyal Textile Mills Ltd.

(Kovilpatti)

Managing Agents:

SOUTHERN AGENCIES LTD.,

2/21, First Line Beach,
MADRAS.

93586.

Verified m

49

Thought For The Day

---MEDICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA---

SHARK LIVER OIL

1500.....1.5% of VITAMIN-A.

100.....1.5% of VITAMIN-D.

---MEDICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA---

Adamin.

HIGH POTENCY SHARK LIVER OIL

12000 1.5% of VITAMIN-A

10 00 1% of VITAMIN-D

Ordinary Cod-Liver Oil in the market generally contains NOT more than 800 I.U.G. of VITAMIN-'A'

GOVERNMENT OIL FACTORY Calicut

Agents for Madras Presidency and adjacent States.

Messrs. PARRY & Co., Ltd.
MADRAS.

No Ugly Reactions.

No Deleterious After-Effects.

SRI RAMA YOGI'S TRISULAM

THE KING OF TONICS

Analysis :

Calcium, Gold, Iron, Sulphur, etc.

When administered for any one of the diseases for which it is indicated, Trisulam not merely attacks that disease with specific effect, but it simultaneously attacks and cures any of the other diseases lurking in the system. Hence arises the safety of TRISULAM and its superiority to other specifics in the field.

DISEASES IN WHICH TRISULAM IS INDICATED

FOR LADIES

Leucorrhoea

Irregular, Excessive or defective menstruation.

Pre-and-Post-delivery ailments.

T.B. of the Intestines, Lung, Bone or glands, etc.,

Colic,

Dyspepsia,

Gastritis,

Chronic Diarrhoea,

Phthisis,

Bronchitis (Acute

or Chronic),

Coughs consequent on

Pneumonia,

Malaria,

Influenza,

Measles,

Chronic

Constipation,

Other gastro-intestinal disorders

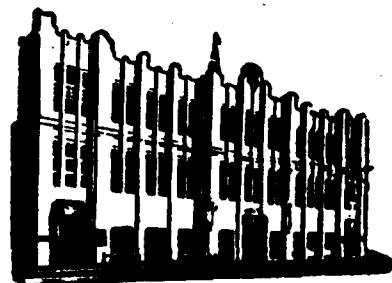
Other stubborn coughs.

Liver & Spleen DISORDERS.

GAURI VIHAR,

Purasawalkam High Road,

VEPERY P.O. :: MADRAS



THE INDIAN BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE :

"Indian Bank Buildings",
North Beach Road, Madras.

LOCAL OFFICES :

Esplanade, Triplicane, Mount Road,
Mylapore, Theagarayanagar,
Purasawalkam and Egmore

BRANCHES AND SUB-OFFICES :

In all the important places in the
Madras Presidency and in Bombay

Issued & Subscribed

Capital Rs. 71,10,000

Paid-up Capital „ 51,67,608

Reserve Fund „ 61,50,000

All kinds of Banking Business done.

For particulars apply to any Office
of the bank

N. GOPALA IYER,

Secretary.

ANDHRA BANK LIMITED

Estd. 1923

Head Office: MASULIPATAM

CAPITAL:

Authorized	Rs. 1,00,00,000
Issued & Subscribed	50,00,000
Paid-up	20,98,715
Reserve Fund, Etc.	2,52,900
Deposits	3,00,00,000

Total working funds exceed Rs. 4,00,00,000

Madras Branch:

378, Esplanade

Secunderabad Branch:

Mehta Mahal, James Street

Other Branches

Berhampur (Ganjam), Bezwada, Cocanada, Ellore, Guntur, Nellore,
Rajahmundry, Tenali, Vizagapatam, Vizianagram.

Sub-Offices

Amalapuram, Anakapalli, Bhimavaram, Brodipet (Guntur), Chicacole,
Chirala, Duggirala, Governorpet (Bezwada), Gudivada, Gudur, Jeypore
(Orissa), Narasaraopet, Ongole, Palakol, Peddapuram, Pithapuram,
Ramaraopet (Cocanada), Salur, Samalkot, Tuni, Vinukonda.

Pay Offices

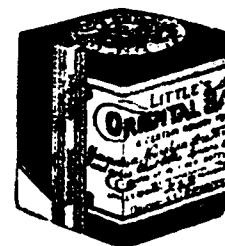
Amadalavalasa (Vizag Dt.), Challapalli (Kistna Dt.), Pedana (Kistna Dt.),
Tilaru (Vizag Dt.)

Agents & Correspondents all over India.

ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING FOREIGN EXCHANGE TRANSACTED

K. VARNASY, M.A., B. Com., LL.B., C.A.I.B.,
General Manager.

LITTLE'S ORIENTAL BALM



for all

ACHES AND PAINS

INDIA'S FIRST IN 1885

STILL THE BEST IN 1947

LITTLE'S ORIENTAL BALM &
PHARMACEUTICALS LTD.

P. B. 67, MADRAS.



WARDEN

Reached New Heights in 1946

NEW BUSINESS

Received	...	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Completed	...	Rs. 1,70,00,000

This represents the latest and greatest achievement in WARDEN'S Progressive Career.

For this fine performance the Company extends its heartiest thanks and congratulations to its representatives and Policy Holders all over the country.

Managing Director:
SHIVPRASAD THAKER

WARDEN INSURANCE CO. LTD.,
Warden House, Sir P. M. Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

Branches and Agencies all over INDIA and B. E. AFRICA

HUSBAND

AND

. . . . WIFE

They may disagree
in many a point



but for her hair
they agree to use only

JABCO

HAIR GROWER



JAYA BHARATHAM CO.
MADRAS - BANGALORE
ERNAKULAM

SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 1.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1947

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Cover Page—Ellen Wilkinson, British Minister for Education, passed away recently	
Picture of Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury—By H. V. Ram Gopal	6
Editorial Comments	7
The Balance (cartoon)—By R. K. Laxman	8
On Completion of One Year: Hindu Editor's Felicitations to Swatantra	11
Sotto Voce—By Vighneswara	12
Sidelights—By Saka	14
Concerning Swatantra—By Binod	16
Counsel For The Defence (short story)—By Manjeri S. Iswaran	17
Spotlight On The World—By Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A.	23
Foreign News In Pictures	24
Ellen Wilkinson: A Crusading Democrat—By N. R. Bhuvarahan	28
New Delhi Diary—By V. V. Prasad	32
U. S. Press Comments On India—By Swatantra New York Correspondent	34
Rationale Of Travancore Reforms—By Politicus	36
Two Days With Ceylonese Cricketers—By N. S. Rama- swami	39
Books	41
Letters	45



Picture of **DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY**
(Drawn by H. V. Ram Gopal)

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 1

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1947.

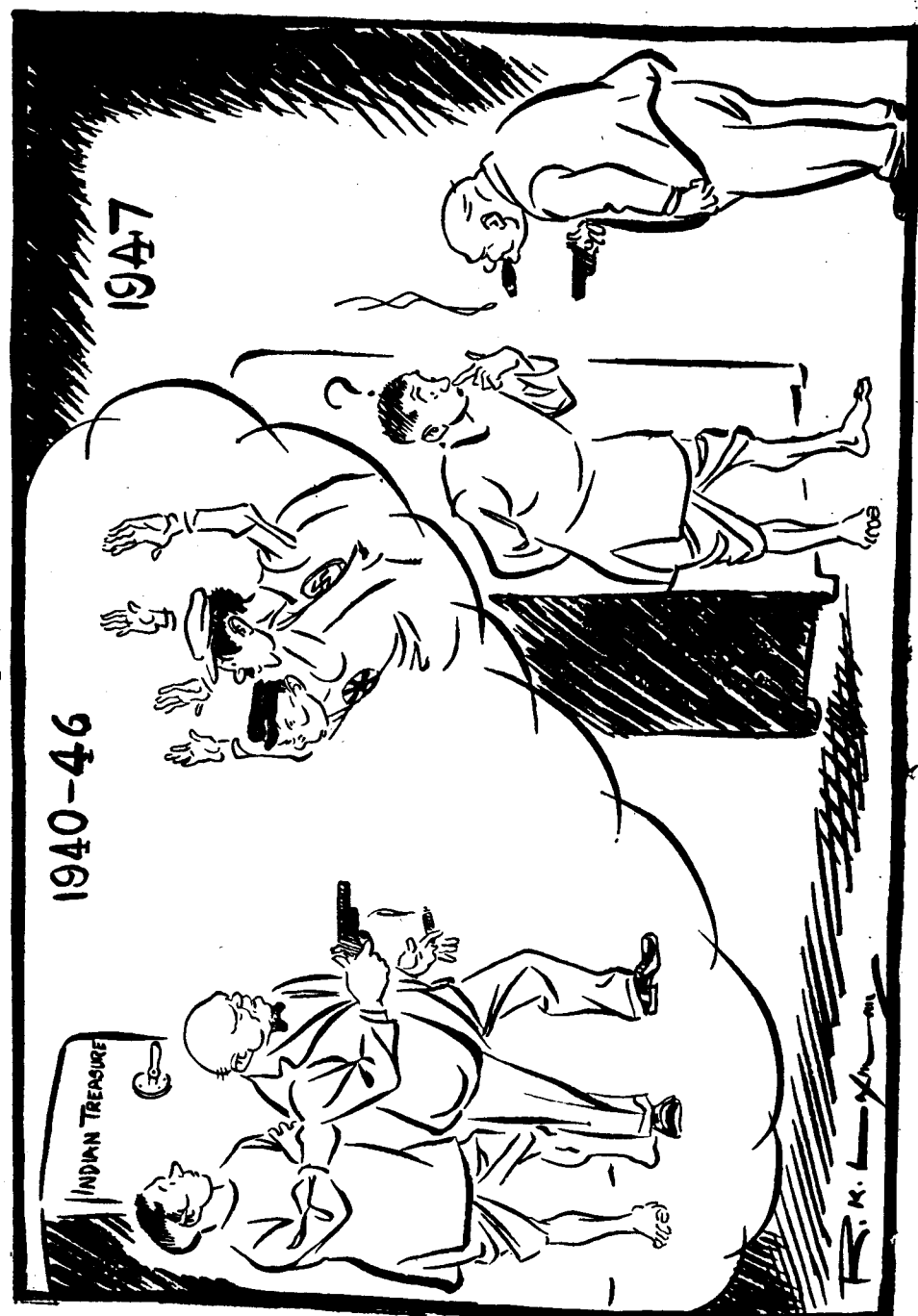
ISSUED
WEEKLY

THE FIRST MILESTONE

A year has gone by since the starting of *Swatantra*. It has been a very momentous year. In the first issue we had stated that of the two aspects of Swaraj, the problem of attaining it, and that of how we shall organise and shape life under it, the latter was the more important one. The former represented a certainty—a fairly near certainty at that in point of time—whereas without adequate plans for ordering national life, we shall have nothing under Swaraj that will bring happiness to the people or relieve their suffering. At that time we felt that the Communist Party, because of its acknowledged opposition to unregulated private competition and the motive of personal profit, and its keen concern to organise food and clothing on a mass scale, came nearest of all Indian parties towards realising the essential foundation for national happiness. But in the course of the year, an extraordinary thing happened. The Adviser regime was replaced by a popular Congress Ministry. It meant a big step towards the attainment of Swaraj. Now was the opportunity for the Communists to utilise the advent of a regime dependent solely on public opinion to guide and help and if necessary compel it to organise and utilise the total work-capacity in the country, according to a territorially well-ordered scheme, in a manner most conducive to joy and prosperity of the people. The first condition of national happiness and welfare

is the creation of plenty in production, the second being the distribution of the plentiful proceeds of production on an equitable basis, giving more to those that have less, and taking progressively large slices from the share of those having more. The second conditions, so vital to workers' welfare, is dependent on the first, and the interdependence between the two is well realised wherever in the post-war world democratic standards attaching importance to social welfare can be said to prevail. In Soviet Russia reputed to be the workers' paradise, patriotism is synonymous with increased production. The highest rewards of the State are given to those who excel in constructive activity tending to improve the quality and output of goods needed for social use. These are the true Heroes of the Soviet Union. Slackers there are treated as sinners and saboteurs impairing the output of food and other national needs as traitors worse than the worst criminals. Today the position in Russia is that 65 per cent of the workers are filled with a burning desire to put everything they have into the job they had on hand, while the rest did a normal day's work. The glorification of work and upholding the dignity and importance of work have come to be the very foundations of the Socialist State as evolved in Russia, where duties and rights go hand in hand, and any movement emphasising the second only to the

THE BALANCE



neglect of the first is sure to be put down sternly as anti-social.

Critics might say that the establishment of the Socialist State is just what stimulates the public enthusiasm for production in Russia, and to ask for it under capitalist economy is to put the cart before the horse. Unfortunately the conversion of Capitalism into Socialism is not hastened by persuading workers to "go slow" and run away from the Russian spirit of work, as the right way of dealing with the capitalists. Workers cannot hurt capitalists by means of impaired production without hurting themselves and the public still more. In countries like America and England, labour leaders have not waited for the advent of a full-fledged Socialist State to promote proper conceptions of duty in the matter of work and production. In U.S.A. a silent revolution has taken place during the war resulting in a considerable redistribution of wealth in such a way that farmers and workers are much better off than they had been and the richer classes much worse off. There has been a remarkable acceleration towards economic equalisation. In Britain, as the statistics published elsewhere in this issue will show, the present trend is towards a steep decline in the size of the big incomes. For example, 7,000 people in Britain had yearly incomes of £8,000 or more—after taxes were paid—in 1938. War cut this class to 60.

Just at the time when political pressure and the new opportunities connected with elected Ministries could have been very advantageously employed in India for promoting national happiness and the betterment of workers' condition, the Communist Party have become destructive, and developed a strange passion for strikes for their own sake in startling contrast to the constructive economic teaching that had distinguished them prior to the

advent of the Congress Ministries. Of course the Congress Ministries are by no means ideal as administrators. But the worst that can be adduced against them does not justify the resort by the Communists to their suicidal policy of breaking up the national economy. By leading public opinion constructively they could have compelled the Ministers to yield to them in all suggestions conducive to the public good, and they might even have taken the place of the Ministers themselves if they had struck to constructive pursuits. They have lost that chance during the past year in the virulence of their anti-Congress spirit which has betrayed them into impatient violence and anti-social assaults on the national productive machinery. This change has spoiled the worth of the very impressive achievement of the Communists as champions of the victims of local tyranny of various sorts. It is almost as if they want a famine and a black market to blame it on the Government and would be bitterly disappointed if there were no wrongs to be turned to anti-Congress propaganda. We feel constrained to say this, because the inevitable drift of Communist policies now is promotion of chaos and scarcity which belie every proof of concern for the public good professed by them for winning public goodwill.

These considerations have forced a change in the attitude of *Swatantra* to the Communist Party. We are not anti-Communist and our disapproval is of the present policy only of the Communists which we regard as untrue to the essential objective of promoting the happiness of people that ought to be sacred to Communism. We realise that the Congress Ministries are not only not paragons of perfection, they have lost valuable time without making themselves felt by the people in improved benefit. But conditions have not been favourable for

quick results. In Madras, for example, the Ministry has got wedged in between hostility from outside engineered by Communists and intrigue and trouble from within promoted by disgruntled members of the Congress Party itself who, finding themselves left out of the Cabinet, seek to take their revenge by organising all malcontents into a united group for attacking the Premier. Thus we find many who by honour and discipline are bound to help the Leader of the Party in every possible way in order to enhance the credit and prestige of the Congress in office, exerting themselves prodigiously to undermine his position and bring about his downfall. Kamaraj Nadar's service to the Congress has now shrunk to the dimension of a restless and unceasing campaign to canvas signatures for a no-confidence motion against the Premier, of which dark threats reverberate everywhere usurping the attention of legislators to the serious detriment of their more responsible functions. In the Assembly itself, disappointed members of the Congress Party, avid for office, have thrown the Opposition into the shade in bouts against the Ministry, making a public exhibition of spite and indiscipline really marking them out in effect as incompetent for the serious responsibilities of public life. A stable Ministry commanding the loyalty of the Party and a steady majority in the Legislature are indispensable if the grave problems of the moment are to be effectively tackled, but it is to be feared that the present Legislature contains far too many unsteady men of doubtful devotion to any re-

cognisable principles to provide the necessary steadiness of backing to any Ministry. Mr. Prakasam has survived so far because of the strength that pertains to his political stature and the calm imperturbability of his disposition when confronted with risks and difficulties. Any substitute that can be thought of is sure to break down much quicker. There seems no way to the establishment of a steady Congress regime in Madras except through dissolution of the present Legislature.

Swatantra has had no easy task in squaring the requirements of fairness to individuals and groups with those of public welfare. To guard against Anti-Communism in estimating the record of the Communist Party; to criticise indiscipline without offending any right associated with legitimate freedom; to demand fair trial for Government without under-rating the grave abuses connected with the administration demanding urgent attention; to protest against the disruptive tactics of ego-centred mischief-makers without lapsing into ill-will; all this has meant liability to incur the displeasure of all and the goodwill of few. We are grateful to all that have made this extremely difficult task possible. The greetings of kind friends notwithstanding, we are aware of many flaws in this journal that need to be corrected. It is yet a long way off from the pattern of what a journal of this sort ought to be according to our idealistic conception. We shall endeavour to cover that distance in the days to come.

Fools close their eyes to life
Cowards blink through it
Heroes look at it full in the face.

—Thann.

ON COMPLETION OF FIRST YEAR



FELICITATIONS TO
"SWATANTRA"
FROM
SRI. K. SRINIVASAN
EDITOR OF
"THE HINDU"

It gives me great pleasure to felicitate Mr. Khasa Subba Rau on the occasion of the *Abdapurthi* of his journal, *Swatantra*. Mr. Subba Rau wields a facile pen and is well-known for his inclination to emphasise the ideal aspects of our life in preference to seeing things as they really are. And it was altogether a new experience for him when he had to plan and launch his paper and steer it safely. How well he has done this task, the growing number of readers of *Swatantra* have borne ample testimony. Every issue of *Swatantra* is read with avidity and it has won for itself the appreciation of the public for its impartial presentation of all sides of a problem. *Swatantra* carries every week quite a number of good features. Mr. Chowdhuri's cartoons and "Vighneswara's" comments on topics of the day are great assets to the journal. I would suggest, however, a change in the caption from "Sotto Voce" to one more appropriate to the sharp and sometimes fierce nature of Vighneswara's *obiter dicta*.

I wish *Swatantra* a long and prosperous career in the service of the country, and Mr. Subba Rau health and cheer.

KASTURI SRINIVASAN.

Sotto Voce

Underground



FIERCELY rages the wordy battle for civil liberties. The Communists, to whom the term represents the supreme hallucination of the bourgeois mind, must be vastly amused by the strange allies they are attracting. Our Moslems, who pride themselves on their uncompromising democracy and stern monotheism, seem to have developed an unwonted gentleness towards those who raucously deny God and hold that all is fair in class war. And many a professional votary of *ahimsa* is shocked that the Government, instead of turning the other cheek, should retaliate against law-breakers.

Of course they will indignantly deny these aspersions. The Muslim Leaguer will point out that if he protests against injustice to the Communist whose doctrine he detests that is all to his credit. And the dissident Congressman will contend that you have no right to assume the guilt of these men who should have been brought to trial instead of being 'jugged' by the 'cops.' But where was the conscience of these good people hibernating when looting, arson and bloodshed, invested with a fine ideological halo, were laying waste a smiling countryside? The newspapers have been full of these outrages—but, of course, you cannot expect legislators to read newspapers.

Communism in India works with all sorts of odd instruments. There are the theorists of Revolution who, I am sure will not harm a fly,

though they might deny the soft impeachment. They are far too well-bred to soil their hands with such crudities. If these things must be they must be. But they had better be done decorously, out of sight, by the professional toughs. And the Nelson touch comes naturally to our gay sparks—the outriders of Revolution—who have all the romance they care for in periodical journeyings "underground,"—that variant of the *de luxe* jail which the generosity of well-placed fathers, the indulgence of loving mothers and the good-natured winking of friendly authority all conspire to make so delightful a forbidden pleasure.

And then there is the kisan leader, who is *sui generis*. True to his role of honest broker he has never done a stroke of degrading manual work in his life. Is he a mirasidar himself? The fact proclaims itself to any casual passer-by. Finding a green oasis amidst a desert of untilled land he is told that it belongs to Devadatta, the well-known patriot, who having taught labour the sacred duty of letting his neighbours' land lie fallow, gets his own work done gratis in double quick time by a grateful peasantry.

Itinerant preachers who find food and raiment as they go carrying the gospel of Idleness and Hate from door to door, wastrels who have lost their all by their own folly and are intent on taking it out of others who have lived more prudently, 'masterless' men of every description are all hugging the "tiller of the soil".

If he were not a myth he would have been strangled long ago in the coils of their affectionate concern. And all the time the party boss in his distant cell sits smiling his wry smile and spinning like the inexorable Sisters the gossamer thread of sophistry and intrigue.

It is an extraordinarily difficult task, it must be conceded. If the policies of the Kremlin are providing continual headaches even for its nimble envoys, how dizzy must be the tight-rope dancing which these are called upon to execute, who must not own their allegiance to Moscow. But their gladiatorial instincts are roused to perform amazing feats of virtuosity. And they are helped not a little by the incompetence, the muddle and the suicidal urge that Autonomy (blessed word!) has brought in its train. At every step our Ministries have shown themselves pathetically anxious to take the wind out of the

Communists' sails by slobbering in a forcible-feeble way over every nostrum which the latter have sought cold-bloodedly to ram down the throats of the people.

He who does not work shall not eat. It seems so profoundly simple that one wonders how mankind could have been blind so long. And yet is it true? The birds of the air and the beasts of the field do not think so, not to speak of the savage in the state of Nature. Even Soviet intellectuals argue as if the one increasing purpose of life was to do away with work. Meanwhile who is to decide what is work and what is play and how much of each is good for a man? All you may safely bet is that this crazy old world will go on much as usual, patiently suffering a succession of petty tyrannies which, mercifully, must be as short-lived as they are violent.

VIGHNESWARA.

REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN U.S.A.

As a result of the war, Americans have gone through a social revolution which has redistributed wealth to an amazing extent. The beneficiaries have been the farmer and the trade union worker. The losers have been the wealthy, the upper middle classes and the white collar workers.

In 1936 the factory worker earned \$1,133. Food, clothing, housing, utilities and furnishings for his family of four cost him \$361 a year. His miscellaneous expenses, including a modest allowance for pleasure, were \$297. Though the only federal tax he paid was social security, he finished the year with a deficit of \$37. Today his income is \$2,230. The same food, clothing, housing, utilities and furniture cost him \$1,278. The same miscellaneous services cost \$401. But he still pays only his social-security tax plus a mere \$3 in federal income tax. Thus he has \$526 left to spend on raising his living standard in any way he sees fit. But since prices have risen about 45%, his \$526 is worth about \$363 in 1936 terms—which means that he is 35% better off than in 1936.

But a white-collar man whose income has remained \$4,000 has lost much of his buying power. If he has two children, his income tax has risen from zero to \$108 and inflation has cost him \$1,145. Since taxes get progressively steeper, the financial decline of the high-salaried man is even more startling. A \$10,000 income today is worth only \$6,550 pre war, a \$20,000 income worth \$11,000, a \$50,000 income worth \$22,000.

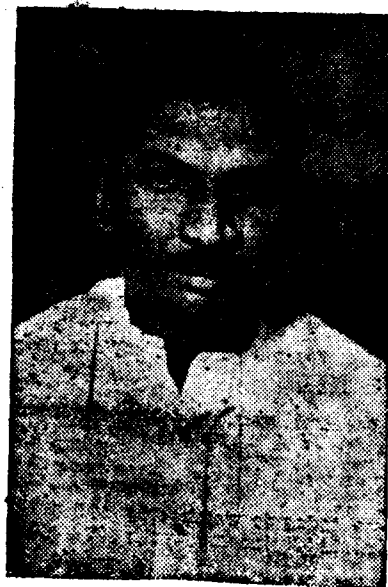
—Life

SIDELIGHTS

He that wrestles with us strengthens our nerves and sharpens our skill. Our antagonist is our helper.
—BURKE.

OPPONENTS of Prakasam are reported by the *Express* to be holding a whip-hand over him in the form of some hundred signatures alleged to have been secured, favouring the election of Omandur Ramaswami Reddiar as leader. The source of political "news" of this kind appearing in the *Express* is Kamaraj Nadar who first used that paper for an anti-C.R. drive and is using it now in his anti-Prakasam campaign.

A signature is not such a triumphant trump card as it is made out to be. You do not need for anything the signature of a man of whom you are sure. The move for another's signature is an indication of unsureness—of doubt and uncertainty as to what he will do if left to himself. You proceed therefore to bind him with a commitment in his own handwriting with the idea



Kamaraj Nadar



Premier Prakasam.

of holding it against him as a preventive for subsequent exercises of free judgment.

Confidence is a matter of opinion and opinion is self-sprung. Whether a signature can be depended upon to prove to be the equivalent of opinion is doubtful, since it entails, on the very face of it, an encroachment on the sort of self-determined condition that is the true essence of all opinion worth counting as opinion. If there had been no confidence in Prakasam on the part of Congress legislators they would not have wasted so many hours at Party meetings discussing important public questions. Nor would they have waited for Kamaraj Nadar to collect their signatures. Lack of confidence would have burst forth spontaneously and made itself felt, at the outset, at the very first opportunity after the convening of the Party meeting.

Questions of policy have nothing to do with Kamaraj Nadar's signature-collecting activity for a no-confidence motion against Prakasam. In the implementation of the Congress programme, the Prakasam Ministry stands first and foremost in all India. Nor is there anyone among all the opponents of the Premier who can hold a candle to him in the love and esteem in which masses of common people hold him. He is the idol of the populace of Andhra Desa. The fact to be noted by all who wish to comprehend the real significance of the perpetual crisis that has come to shadow the politics of the Province is this: Nadar who was in a key-position to select Congress candidates at the last election and used it to fill the Assembly with his puppets, knows he lacks the equipment to be Premier but is covetous of power to the point of seeking to subdue the Premier to his will. A puppet Premier would have won his grace. Conflict is inherent in any situation in which, with the Nadar holding the position he does, anyone is elevated to the Premiership who wishes to call his soul his own.

Whether it be Omandur or Avannashi or Bhaktavatsalam that is

tipped as prospective leader to succeed Prakasam, one thing is certain: Kamaraj's potential ill-will to them is certain to follow his present backing. They can buy peace if they consent to be enslaved to him, and let him rule, wielding to the full the influence and power of the Premiership without sharing any of its burdens. None of them has the stamina of Prakasam, nor his grit and fighting qualities. They will be confronted with the same sort of canvassed crisis that now confronts him, but will lack his ability to weather storms.

In the present set-up of provincial politics, none can supplant Prakasam as Premier and survive for long. Prakasam is too big for any successor to digest him as a backbencher. The plight of Andhra legislators inveigled into the Nadarite net of anti-Prakasam conspiracy is pitiable in the extreme and far from enviable. "Whom the Gods wish to destroy they first make mad," is a favourite saying of Jawaharlal. Greed for office must have made the pro-Nadar Andhra legislators stark crazy for them to imagine that they would be left to enjoy the spoils of the deal in peace.
—SAKA.

BRITISH INCOMES

Seven thousand people in Britain had yearly incomes of £6,000 or more—after taxes were paid—in 1938. War cut this class to 60.

The £4,000—£6,000 group was thinned out from 12,000 to 890.

And the £2,200—£4,000 group which was 56,000 before 1939, became 33,050.

These striking changes which war—and wartime taxes—made in Britain's personal exchequers were shown in a White Paper.

Here are some of the other contrasts between pre-war and 1944 incomes, after tax deduction:

- £1,000—£2,000.—Rise from 155,000 to 186,000.
- £500—£1,000.—Rise from 450,000 to 600,000.
- £250—£500.—Rise from 1,820,000 to 5,050,000.

CONCERNING SWATANTRA

by BINOD

SWATANTRA is a year old. The great thing about this magazine, unlike most other magazines, is that it has a conscience. It has a conscience as clear as the most perfect flying weather. In addition, it has a mind as wide awake as a pair of spectacles. The conscience and this mind give it a strength which is "as the strength of ten." With the aid of this adamant strength Swatantra endeavours to pull down truth from the scaffold (where it is now) and wrong from the throne (where it is now) and put them where they belong. It kicks where it hurts. It does not spare the great.

For the fact is that great men make great mistakes where small men make only small mistakes. But the great men get away with their great mistakes, often involving millions in the deepest tragedy, while the small men go under.

Swatantra comes to the rescue of the small men.

The second thing about *Swatantra* is that it does not fight about creeds. It is pure folly to fight about a creed—political, social or religious. Faith is a beautiful phenomenon; its right or wrong has nothing to do with anything. Whatever satisfies our sense of holiness, our sense of goodness, is justified.

So *Swatantra* does not "lay waste its powers" quarrelling about a label; it judges actions. It recognizes that there can be a good Communist and a bad Congressman, and a very good Muslim Leaguer. Good and evil are good and evil, by whatever name you may call them. And *Swatantra* believes in calling a spade 'a spade' and not a shovel.

But I fear *Swatantra* administers to its readers rather an over-dose of politics. I know politics and politicians are terribly important, but I do not fancy politics for breakfast.



Cover page of *Swatantra* first issue.

for luncheon—for dinner—for tea—for tiffin—for between meals.

I want *Swatantra* to eschew the beaten track and blaze a new trail. I want it to deal with life in the raw—life as it is lived, with all its primitive elemental passions, life in all its manifold aspects. I want *Swatantra* to deal not only with things that matter but also with those that apparently don't. We do not need to learn about the important things. We all know the important things, though we all violate and neglect them. Gigantic industry, abysmal knowledge, are needed for discovery of the tiny things—the things that seem hardly worth the trouble.

Above all I want *Swatantra* to contest the modern superstition that the only important thing in life is to be comfortable. Cleanliness is no more considered next to godliness: it's the only thing that matters. This ungodly notion must be smashed—it must be smashed!

Counsel

FOR THE DEFENCE

By Manjeri S. Iswaran

THE Barrister began his narrative:

It was a certain Friday evening early in the month of November, nineteen hundred and eleven. I had done my day's work and was on the point of closing my chambers when my friend Mr. Narahari Sastri came colliding against me on the landing near the door. He was visibly excited, and I knew it was not due to the rushing up the flight of staircase of one who suffered frequently from high blood-pressure; he asked me if I was free to go to Sholingur next day to defend an accused in a kidnapping case. The accused was a Brahmin woman whose husband was a friend of his, and the man was very anxious that I should take up the defence. Although I was but a recent recruit to the Bar, I had caught the cunning manners of it from the stalwarts in the game. I pretended to be busy and answered dubiously. "It all depends." However I asked him what the facts of the case were, and as he narrated them so far as he was given to understand, the impression that I was listening to a piece of uncommon fiction, sinister in many of its aspects, grew strong on my mind. Two women lay claim to a new-born infant as being its mother. I couldn't help exclaiming, "Oh, great Solomon! You are come to life again. Who dare deny now your existence? Who indeed!" And forthwith I laid aside my pretensions of being busy and told Narahari I was the man

for his friend and his choice really flattered my sense of self-esteem. The story in the version I heard required for its elucidation an appreciable knowledge of human anatomy, gynecology, and medical jurisprudence—all outside the orthodox curriculum of present day legal study. The preliminaries being satisfactorily settled and the relevant papers handed over to me, I issued instructions to my clerk to get ready for the journey to Sholingur the next morning.

To follow the sequence, it would be better if the prosecution story is briefly outlined here. Prosecution Witness One who was the original complainant was a *kavarai* woman by caste, living by coolie work in a village in the outskirts of Sholingur. Here also resided the accused with her husband and a daughter aged three. On a certain afternoon, Prosecution Witness One who was *enceinte* at the time, took a headload of cut green grass to the neighbouring village, a mile away, sold it for a few annas with which she purchased some provisions, and while returning to her hut happened to pass by the backyard of the accused's house and as she neared the cattle-shed, felt sudden pains. Unable to proceed further, she stepped into the shed and inside of a few minutes gave birth to a male child. It was past dusk then and the evening lamps were already lit, and as she was lying weak and dazed with the new-born infant by her side, on a meagre bed of hay

some strands of which she had hurriedly snatched from under the eaves of the shed before the pains overwhelmed her, she did dimly see through the stupor of sudden parturition, the accused come out of the house to the byre to give fodder for the cows, before retiring for the night. She held a lighted lamp in one hand while with the other she was supporting her little girl on her hip. Seeing the new-born infant, she, the accused, dropped her own child on the ground, smothering an exclamation of surprise, and clutching the new-born one in her arms darted into the house slamming the door after her. And listening to the cries of the little girl left behind and running after its mother, and to the lowing of the cows in the shed which were eagerly waiting for but denied of their fodder now began to stamp their hoofs restlessly, one or two edging to her with horns levelled and dark blue eyes brooding liquidly, she, poor woman, of a sudden deprived of her babe, swooned away in grief and fear, from which she recovered in the small hours of the following morning. Fatigued utterly as she was, she managed to walk up to the police station, four or five miles away, while the village munsiff who was close at hand was not even informed of the occurrence. Thus, though the Police authorities had information of the incident within fourteen hours of its happening, it was not till twenty-one days after that they thought of getting both Prosecution Witness One and the accused examined by the Doctor and certificates obtained on the strength of which alone they launched the prosecution.

The case was unique indeed. Charge under the Section for kidnapping had already been framed and the case posted for further cross-examination of the prosecution witness when my services were requisitioned. Of the four or five witnesses examined for the prosecution, the most important, nay, the one and only witness who threatened to hang my client was the Doctor who had, as aforementioned, examined both the alleged mothers, Prosecution Witness One and the accused, and granted certificates testifying to the fact that while Prosecution Witness One bore "all signs of recent delivery" the accused carried none. This was more than a poser. It needed expert knowledge of things generally beyond the ordinary range of a lawyer. No way daunted I took verbal instructions from my client who was in remand and her husband. Both of them swore by all the gods of heaven that the infant falsely alleged to have been

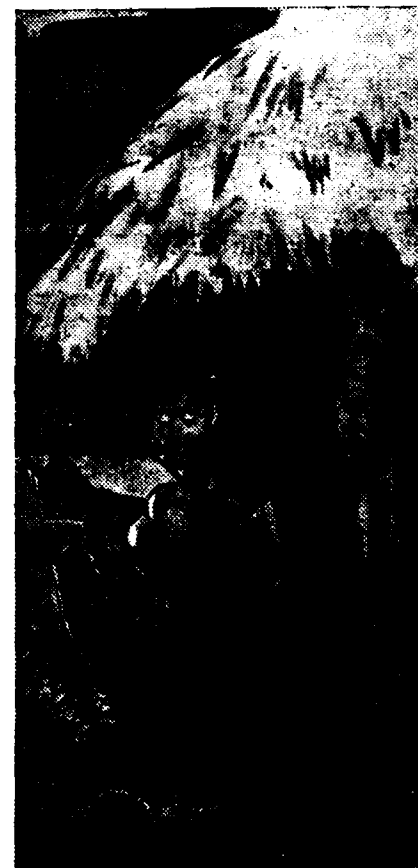


"Clutching the new-born one in her arms, she darted into the house...."

kidnapped was theirs, and for which when the accused was *enccinte* they had performed all propitiatory religious ceremonies.

My conscience being in a certain measure set at rest, I attended court punctually at 11 a.m. and started the further cross-examination of the witnesses. I at once found out that the presiding First Class Magistrate was a gentleman of large heart and urbane. If only these higher deities would realize that manners maketh the man, while it puts the pleader at his ease instead of being bullied or scowled at with scant courtesy, life and work in the law-courts would be pleasanter and speedier than what many make. My initial difficulty was to gain time and to get the medical witness taken up at the weariest end of the day, to ensure my obtaining another day to tackle him, as by then I would be well posted up to cross-examine

him successfully. I somehow felt that all could not be serene, expert or no expert. They say everything is fair in love and war. I used all the artifices known to the profession, being deferential to the presiding magistrate, thanking him for any suggestion offered, appealing to his wide and varied experience of humankind, and now and then apologising to him for going over the same ground traversed by my predecessors in charge of the case as I had been briefed only the previous evening, and thus prolonging the proceedings before the Court. As against such tactics I balanced the liberty of my client which I found weightier, hence justifiable in the circumstances. And the more I earned the sympathy of the Court, my confidence grew the more, and I managed to get the "Expert" doctor put off till after lunch. He was called in at about a quarter to four and he stepped into the witness box with a smug



"She, poor woman deprived of her babe, swooned away in grief...."

self-satisfied air and a supercilious smile on his face, as much as to say: I-have-said - what-I-had-said - who-is-there-to-contradict-me? In fact his whole face was one interrogation mark. I knew I could not be too tactful, wary, and circumspect in dealing with him. With my limited, perhaps little knowledge then, it would have been positively dangerous to get a definite and emphatic, perhaps dogmatic Yes or No from him to my questions howsoever intelligently I could formulate them. After a bit of skirmish by way of advancing and receding, I chanced to put him a rambling question the significance of which I had not the faintest idea then. More truly, it sounded purposeless and pointless to me at that moment. I asked the doctor if, during his examination of the two women at the hospital at the request of the Police, he used any instrument and if so what? His answer was peremptory. "No, I didn't use any instrument. I only used my fingers." Then I passed on to some other matters unconnected with orthodox medical evidence, such as his medical experience, number of such examinations as the present he had conducted, handing over the infant to Prosecution Witness One without order of Court and so forth. And I had all the time my eyes on the clock. It struck the half hour past four, and the learned magistrate adjourned the case for a further date, a fortnight after. This gave me the necessary and much desired respite. I moved bail for the accused and it was granted in spite of the strenuous fight put up by the prosecuting inspector contra.

My first objective was to take the accused to Madras and obtain a certificate from the Superintendent of the Maternity Hospital at Egmore than whom there could be no higher authority on the subject as only eight weeks had elapsed since the date of delivery and as I then thought, quite like a layman, that signs of recent delivery would still surely exist. The second objective was to prepare my case after a thorough grasp of the subject to successfully cross-examine the doctor, and fourteen days' adjournment was long enough for that.

I could not rest. I was so full of the subject. I took up Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence and flipped through the Chapter dealing with "Signs of Recent Delivery." My eyes lighted on a passage and truth to tell it fairly took my breath away. I closed my eyes and saw visions of glorious victory before me. The passage ran: "All signs of recent delivery

disappear within ten to fifteen days from the date of delivery so that it is medically impossible to say, even approximately, when a woman gave birth to a child once the period of fifteen days had lapsed." In my case both the accused and Prosecution Witness One were admittedly examined by the doctor on the twenty-second day after the alleged delivery. This showed the utter futility of getting the accused examined again, as was proposed, as it would knock the bottom out of my case. If signs disappear within fifteen days they could not be observed on the twenty-second day, much less two months after. My head humming with this new discovery for me, I waited with what little patience I could for the receipt of certified copies of the doctor's evidence in the cross-examination conducted so far. I got them on the Friday following and on Saturday I rushed up to a doctor friend of mine who had been specially trained at the Rotunda Hospital in Ireland in Gynecology and with whom I had discussed the case previously. I gave him the deposition of the "expert." I expected my friend to say puerile tosh. But instead, he bellowed out crying that I had already won my case and that I knew as much of the subject as he knew, or at least as much as my case needed. I asked him what on earth he meant and begged him to be serious as success in the case meant a hell of a lot to me. Whereupon he cooled down and showed me one question I had put to the "expert" witness as to the use of any instrument in his examination and his categorical denial and assertion that he used only his fingers. My friend then pointed out to me the special injunction Dr. Taylor had laid on all medical men worth the name that "in all medico-legal cases"—as the present one—"the surgeon should use the 'Sound' without which no data could be gathered, much less opinion formed." This encouraged me considerably and after being initiated into the minutest details by my friend I looked forward with the surest confidence to meeting and continuing the further cross-examination of the smug "expert."

And meet we did on the adjourned date. With my Rotunda-trained doctor friend by my side to help me when needed I started to further cross-examine the "expert" who, by the way, I should say was an L.M. & S. of the old school with twenty years' service behind him and an assistant surgeon, second in command to the I.M.S. officer in charge of the District Headquarters Hospital. I began my cross-examination of him punctually at eleven

in the morning, as soon as the Court assembled, and it continued till half past four, with forty-five minutes' interval for lunch. It was an intensive fierce fight where no quarter was asked for or given. It was professional pride, I had almost said arrogance—these "experts" especially of the medical variety think they have their unquestioned incontrovertible last word on the subject, their *ipse dixit*—versus my client's liberty. As is well known, "Signs of Recent Delivery" have been classified by medical authorities under ten different heads. The cross-examination as it took place is a long tale to tell. Out of the ten signs I need dwell on but four here as they, besides being very important, are also interesting. My sole aim was to show to the Court that the certificate granted by the "expert" was not worth the paper it was written on, and it was most dangerous to rely on it as it should not have been allowed to see the light of day. For my first point of attack I took up first 'Breast Changes.' The "expert" had stated in his chief examination that the right breast was atrophied and in spite of his hard squeezing of it for an appreciable length of time he could not get a drop of milk, which conclusively proved that the accused could not have "recently" given birth to a child, twenty-two days before his examination. I asked him the following question next:

"Well, doctor, will you tell us if it is a long process or a short one for an organ to get atrophied?"

"Surely it's a long process, sometimes taking a few years. In this case it must have taken at least two years if not more."

"Will you tell us what 'atrophied' means?"

"Useless for its function."

"When once an organ gets atrophied does it ever revive and refunction?"

"Rarely, almost never."

"Did the accused's atrophied breast ever show any sign of revivification?"

"Atrophy had gone to such an extent that it was impossible to revivify natural or artificial."

"And yet you expected to draw milk from it and to found a case for or against. Was it honest of you, doctor?"

"My action was purely mechanical. My mind did not follow my action."

"Thank you, doctor, for your suggestive answer."

Then having extracted an acceptance

from the "expert" that Dr. Taylor was the leading authority on the subject I handed over to him Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence wherein I drew his attention to the following passage: "The drying up of the milk is extremely variable in the occurrence and occasionally none appears at all, so that from the presence of milk it is impossible to make any definite deductions as to when delivery took place." He read it loudly for the Court to listen, then I asked:

"Seeing even a functioning breast is no test how has one to characterize your attempt to base a case against the accused in trying to squeeze milk from an atrophied breast?"

For upwards of ten minutes there was no answer. He fidgeted, mopping his brow with his handkerchief, alternating his look between the Judge and the Counsel. I pressed my question. He feebly answered:

"I had already said my mind did not follow my action."

Next I took up the most important of all signs, Enlargement of the Uterus.

"I dare say, Doctor, in your wide and varied experience as a surgeon and gynecologist, you must have handled and used 'Sound'?"

"Yes, a few number of times."

The Court wanted to know what was 'Sound'.

I said: "The surgeon's probe." Then turning to the doctor: "Perhaps the witness can describe it and its use better."

"It is a regulated probe to ascertain the depth of the uterus. In the earlier stages of delivery the uterus takes in more of the Sound as it is elongated and distended. As days progress the uterus shrinks and assumes its normal shape. Then it is impossible to get any, at least an appreciable portion of the Sound in."

"You had stated that you did not use any instrument. You used only your fingers for examination. Don't you think you did a positive injustice to my client by not using the Sound?"

"Yes, I regret it, now I come to think of it."

"Your regret is poor consolation to my client, doctor. Will you please read this passage in Taylor?" Saying which I handed him the book, marking the relevant passage which he read out: "In all medico-legal cases—as the present one—the surgeon should use the Sound without which no data could be gathered, much less opinion formed, as to recent delivery."

"In the face of that passage how would you characterize the conduct of a doctor who neglects to use the Sound?"

"Unsatisfactory, most unsatisfactory. Perhaps callous."

This answer was really honest of him. Everyone present in the Court felt that humanity in him had at last cracked through the carapace of his professional arrogance. I could see he was really feeling uncomfortable but there was my clear cut duty to my client. I pressed my point home.

"In the face of the passage you have just read in Taylor and your forgetfulness to use the Sound, could you say definitely that the accused could not have delivered a child as alleged on the twenty-second day previous to your examination?"

"No. I cannot say definitely that she had not delivered the child as alleged. She might have."

So it went on with every one of the ten signs of recent delivery and at the end of questions and answers relating to each of them, the doctor had perforce to admit that he could not stay for certain that the accused did not or could not have given birth to a child twenty-two days before he examined her. This was all the more difficult, nay impossible for him to decide as both the accused and Prosecution Witness One were admittedly multipara and not primipara as when once a woman gave birth to a child it became impossible for any medical man to predicate as to the number of children that woman could or did bear. I left the doctor "expert" there fully satisfied, as it was apparent to all three, including the learned magistrate, that the one and only piece of evidence on the strength of which the prosecution was launched was not only most untrustworthy but was dangerous to act upon and that the acquittal of the accused was assured.

After thanking the Court for its uniform kindness and patience I returned to Madras. A week after, the magistrate pronounced judgment convicting the accused and awarding her a few months' imprisonment, solely basing his finding on the uncorroborated testimony of Prosecution Witness One, the complainant. He gave the go-by to the medical evidence in its entirety, including the certificate, as according to him it cut both ways.

An appeal was preferred against this judgment to the District Court and a Revision to the High Court. Both were dismissed and while a petition to Gov-

ernment under Section 401 Cr. P. C. was being drafted King George V's coronation happened when the accused, then a convict, was mercifully let off in the 'General Delivery,' that was then proclaimed. I had to be content with the technical victory obtained though it was poor consolation to my client who, I regret to say, even during the trial developed symptoms of violent hysteria and turned subsequently, so I was informed, into a raving maniac and finally passed away. Subsequently truth trickled out, little by little

Here the Barrister paused, then resumed his narrative, and I could see that his language had taken on a new note, shorn of its legal accent:

Yes, truth trickled out little by little, revealing how my client was forced to become the innocent victim of a deceit most vile.

Years ago her husband had a quarrel with his father and the old man in a huff had cut him off with a penny, willing away his property to his grandson, property worth about a lakh of rupees in cash, houses, and lands. But ill-starred, that grandson died of small-pox at the age of ten and the old man at seventy who took to bed after the funeral, followed his darling inside of a month. The boy was born to my client rather late, past her first bloom—ten years after consummation when the patience of the man had almost reached its breaking point and he was given to thoughts of a second marriage. The woman was in her late thirties when her son died and her husband was not in doubt about her standing another test of maternity. And even he was baffled and astounded by the event which came all too soon, a year after—his wife gave birth to a girl. His disappointment was great, the more so because it was not a boy to inherit in accordance with the terms of the will, and the labour was difficult and the old accoucheuse of the village in her experience and knowledge of well-nigh over half a century, had said then and there that it would be death for his wife to conceive again. So the prospect of ever getting a son through his spouse was barren indeed, and to marry a second time at his advanced age when to all appearances he was living a happy domestic life would make him look

ridiculous in the eyes of the villagers and sharpen the tongues of gossips. So he sits brooding, cursing his father who made that imbecile will and cursing the gods who killed his son—in spite of his immense offerings to goddess Mari Amman—and so brooding and cursing he hatches a plan, and that was—to make his wife bring forth a male child, as much as to say that man was over woman yet. His eyes fall on the young *kavarai* woman, sleek as a cow and just about as intelligent, who supplied cut green grass to his cattle, and he starts an intrigue with her, forcing her into a compact that she is to pass on the child to him, if it happened to be a male, for a handsome consideration in money which would see her in comfort for the rest of her days—away from all kinds of squalid drudgery. And simultaneously he prevails upon his wife, a poor nervous wreck, prematurely anile, to pretend that she was with child and to exhibit her condition to friends and acquaintances in the village and to relatives who frequently called on her, by padding her stomach, progressively, heavily, month by month. Sounds fiendish, isn't it? The poor woman, obviously, couldn't stand the strain—this explains her later hysteria and insanity—but the tyrant of a husband had her in his grip, his covetous eyes on the fabulous inheritance, and his frantic anxiety that in his failing to beget a male issue and after his death, it would revert to the next of kin. Damn them! The *kavarai* woman entering the cow-pen of an evening is just an accident—and accidents can have no rational explanation—and her bringing to bed of a male child is an example for which the high gods who, inclined to sinister humour sometimes, are responsible. But the Brahmin was not prepared for the ultimate stroke, though he had a hunch that the *kavarai* woman was trying to beat back from the compact. Motherhood had its sway and she simply couldn't abandon the child born of her womb to another woman. And the Brahmin woman coming to the byre at the twilight hour is too an accident. Or perhaps her husband was in the offing. Accident! Everything in life seems to be a sort of accident, isn't it? But is so death? Who can say? Death is a date with Destiny.

The Automatic Telephone Exchange at Simla and Lahore were 15 or 20 years old when the Auto. Exchanges at Delhi and Madras were under construction. And the London Auto. Exchanges were only in the discussion stage at that time.

Spotlight On The World

By Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A.

THE WORLD has become so interdependent to-day that no country can lead an isolated life. This is all the more so in the case of the middle and the smaller States. This can be best illustrated by what is happening at present in Czechoslovakia and Poland, two of the countries that suffered most at the hands of Hitler.

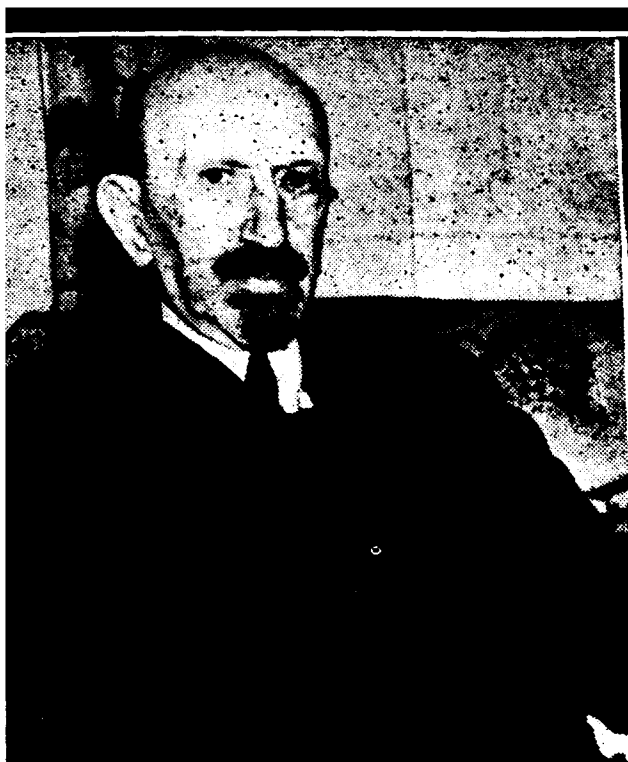
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Politically Czechoslovakia has completely come under the dominating influence of Soviet Russia. It is now closely linked up with this, her more powerful neighbour. As a consequence of this it is being ruled by a bloc of Communist parties and there is no chance whatever of any other parties exercising any influence worth the name on the course of events. True to type the Communist Government has taken to a system of planned economy on the Soviet model and is at present engaged in putting into practical effect a two-year plan which aims at a large increase in the production of coal, pig-iron, locomotives, tractors, lorries, bacon, pork, cereals, fodder, milk and eggs. But it is in working out the plan that the dependence of Czechoslovakia on the richer countries outside is best shown. This also shows the interlinking of national economy with international politics. The execution of the plan involves heavy capital expenditure. The finances required cannot be raised through the heavy taxation and the capital levy to which the Government is resorting. It has therefore to borrow abroad. The United States however is the only country to-day that can lend to the needy nations and she is not prepared to lend to Czechoslovakia, mainly because of her political connection with Soviet Russia. It is only when the Soviet

and the United States come to some kind of mutual understanding that there is a chance of Czechoslovakia getting the foreign loans she wants. This is all the more necessary for her as she has to import from abroad some of the raw materials needed for her industries. Another problem with which she is confronted to-day is that connected with the supply of skilled labour. Here again is seen the connection between economics and politics. Before the war Czechoslovakia had three millions of Germans in one of her regions—the Sudetanland. It was because of this that Hitler claimed the right to intervene in her internal affairs which ultimately led to her annexation. The new Government has therefore come to the conclusion that it should get rid of the Germans if trouble is to be avoided in future and has therefore embarked on a policy of wholesale deportation of these Germans into Germany. This policy has now been practically executed. There are no more German minorities in the country. The political tension has ceased. But this has created an economic problem. It was the Germans of the Sudetanland that supplied the large proportion of skilled labour and the managerial ability in the heavy industries of the country. But she is now deprived of all this. All this is noted here mainly with a view to illustrate the interconnection between the economic progress of a country and the political conditions obtaining in it. Political intransigence will lead in very many cases to economic impoverishment.

POLAND

In two or three respects there is a similarity between post-war Czechoslovakia and post-war Poland. Poland also has come under the dominant



POLITICAL COME-BACK: Demetrios Maximos, Greece's new 74-year-old Premier, who came out of retirement to lead the Greek Cabinet.
POLITICAL RECLUSE: Admiral Horthy, former Hungarian Regent, who describes himself as a political recluse, and his grandson.



General Marshall, new U.S. Secretary of State; President Truman; and Mr. Byrnes, late Secretary of State.



CONFERENCE: Dr. Adan Tarcici, Yemen (left) in conference with Mr. Bevin (right).
PALESTINE

TERRORISM: British troops searching Muslim cemetery for terrorists who abducted retired British Army Major.

FOREIGN NEWS IN PICTURES

Mr. Shashikant Desai, with Mr. J. O. Parker, Australian Manager of Kamani Bros., and Mrs. Parker, at the opening, at Melbourne, of the first Indian Trade Office in Australia.



influence of Russia. She is also governed by a Communist bloc. The recent elections the legality of which the British and American Governments are still questioning, have resulted in the Communist parties sweeping the polls and the Peasant Party favoured by the British and Americans practically disappearing. Announcing his foreign policy the other day the new Prime Minister declared that it would consist in an alliance with the Soviet and in a complete understanding with France. As regards his attitude towards Britain and America he was content with enunciating a negative policy—a policy of clearing the existing misunderstandings. Of course this is necessary if these two countries are to recognise the new Polish Government.

One of the greatest achievements of Poland in the post-war period is in connection with her ethnic problem. In Poland there were two elements which could not be completely assimilated by the Poles. One was the Ukrainian and the other was the Jew. In the post-war settlement the region occupied by the Ukrainians was taken over by Russia and this solved one of the ethnic difficulties though it was not entirely on the lines desired by the Poles. As regards the Jews they were to a great extent exterminated by Hitler during the days of the war. The Jews that escaped Hitler's massacres became the victims of Polish anti-Semitism. But it appeared as if the Poles would have to face a new complication. In compensation for the territories ceded by her to Russia she was given a large slice of Eastern Germany inhabited by nearly six million Germans in the days before the war. Of these nearly four millions ran away to Central and Western Germany along with the retreating forces of Hitler in 1945. And what the Poles did during the last eighteen months was to deport the remaining two millions to the west. All this meant incalculable misery and suffering to the deportees. But the Poles carried out this task so effectively and colonised all this area with their own kinsmen that

today it has become entirely Slav in character. What till before the war was a purely German territory has now become a purely Slav area. The Poles were particular in doing all this for two reasons. One is that this area is industrially a highly developed one with vast mineral resources and with rich agricultural land. The other is that they wanted to forestall those engaged in drafting the peace treaty with Germany. By making this region a Slav one they have created the impression that to restore it to Germany would be undesirable as it would result in Germans ruling over non-German peoples. How the peace-makers are going to settle this question is one of the subjects sure to arouse keen controversy between the Soviet on one side and the Anglo-Saxon powers on the other.

PLANS FOR GERMANY

This is not the only complicating factor in drafting the German peace treaty. Other factors are becoming prominent as discussions proceed. In the course of last week the French put forward a plan of their own in this connection. It has three features. One is the administrative integration of the Saar with France. It is not known exactly what this integration really means and how it differs from outright annexation. The French are anxious to press this as the Saar is rich in coal and as France requires coal for her domestic and industrial consumption. The second feature is the separation of the Ruhr and Rhineland from Germany at least for economic purposes and placing the region under an international commission. The argument advanced by the French in this connection is that this is the richest industrial area of Germany and it is this that has enabled her to adopt an aggressive military policy and involve the world in two wars. If Germany is to be prevented in future from becoming a military power the French think that this separation and internationalisation are absolutely necessary. Moreover they argue that the rehabilitation of Europe is not

possible unless the resources of the Ruhr are placed at the disposal of all European countries. A third feature of the French plan is the partition of Germany into a number of practically independent sovereign States loosely knitted together into a confederation just like the one which existed in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries until the countries were unified under the leadership of Bismark. It may be presumed that the French would fight hard for their plan as they feel that at the end of the first world war it was their vacillation in these respects that proved fatal to them.

Among the other proposals regarding Germany now being placed before the Conference of the Deputies of Foreign Ministers is that for the internationalisation of the Kiel Canal proposed by Denmark. Holland is claiming certain territories in order to safeguard her frontiers.

THE ARAB LEAGUE

Among the Arabs that are now participating in the London Palestine Conference are representatives belonging to Palestine proper and those belonging to what is called the Arab League. It is the presence of the latter that gives real strength to the contentions put forward by the Arab Delegation. The Arab League is only a recent creation. It came into existence in 1944. The British themselves have encouraged its formation to a great extent. Behind it there is the vague feeling of Arab nationalism which has grown in intensity in recent years. Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt are all represented on it. Among these Egypt occupies a leading position. The failure of the talks on Anglo-Egyptian treaty revision has stiffened the attitude of the Arab representatives towards the schemes put forward by the British in regard to the future of

Palestine. As long as Arab unity continues it will not be an easy matter for Britain or even the United Nations to force on Palestine a decision objected to by the Arabs.

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN BRITAIN

During the last few days there have been talks of a National Coalition Government coming into existence in Britain. These have been denied by some of the prominent members of the Labour Party. But it appears as if the Conservative opposition is out to discredit the Labour Cabinet and create a situation under which a Coalition Cabinet may become inevitable. Much will depend on the success with which the Labour Government will be able to overcome the acute economic crisis with which the country is faced today. The underlying cause of this crisis is shortage in man-power. It has resulted in acute coal shortage. This in turn has brought about this week a shortage of electricity and in the cutting of electric supplies not only in respect of domestic consumption but also of industrial consumption. Owing to shortage in coal some of the industries had to be closed wholly or partly. This means unemployment in some cases. Apart from this it will mean a reduction in exports from the country and difficulties in paying for imports. It is also apprehended that a financial crisis may arise. In the midst of all these complications the Conservatives expect that Labour would by itself find it impossible to carry on the Government and would be compelled, as Ramsay Macdonald was compelled years ago, to negotiate for the formation of a National Government. Reactionaries in England as well as in India are earnestly hoping for such a turn in the course of events.



WILKINSON: A CRUSADING DEMOCRAT

by N. R. BHUVARAHAN

NO OTHER WOMAN in British politics in recent years fought so gallantly for redressing the balance of social good as Ellen Wilkinson. Her passing away removes from the Labour Party not only a sincere and staunch worker but an admirable crusader who gave articulate expression to the woes of the oppressed and the unprivileged all over the civilised world. A democrat to the core, she hated Fascism at home as much as she disliked Imperialism and Nazism abroad. Like all true democrats, she sympathised with the freedom movements in the colonies, and often registered her magistral protest against British policy in India.

The daughter of a Manchester cotton operative, Ellen Wilkinson went by progressive steps and scholarships from elementary school and secondary school to the Manchester University where she secured a Master of Arts degree in History and Economics. She became an ardent worker for women's suffrage and took a leading part in the movement. When the movement split over the war, she joined the Women's International League, an organisation which was strong in Manchester and which was opposed to the war. During the Irish "troubles" Ellen was soon on the war path against the Black and Tans and was in Cork when the shooting was fierce. Afterwards, she went to give evidence in the United States. Her political life proper began when the organisation of distributive workers which afterwards became known as the N. V. D. A. W. decided to nominate a candidate for Parliament and chose her by ballot. Ever since, she remained the Secretary of the organisation.

After standing unsuccessfully for Ashton-under-Lyne Ellen entered Parliament as Member for Middlesborough in 1924. She made something of a sensation because of her

unorthodox ways and her audacity and daring. Cartoonist loved to depict a woman M.P. who was so small and pert and irrepressible and who stood up so valiantly to the big guns. She continued to represent Middlesborough until she lost her seat with most other labour members in 1931. She was subsequently returned as a member for Jarrow in 1935 and continued to represent it till her last days. Once out of Parliament, she was ever more busy, engrossed in her social and political work. Apart from her trade union activities and a visit of inquiry to India with the Labour Delegation (who produced a monumental report about the repression and exploitation of the British ruling class in India called *The Condition of India* published by the Essential News, London) she discovered herself as a highly successful popular journalist, at the risk of some criticism from Left-wing friends who said she was selling herself to the capitalist Press. But it was Hitler who occupied most of her time. In Germany in March 1936, she scooped a story for the old *Sunday Referee*. She had heard from rather reliable sources that Hitler was about to attempt his Rhine coup. The problem was to get the news out. She was a suspected person and she knew her telephone had been tapped. As there was no other way, she decided to chance it from her room in the Hotel. She managed to pick the right moment and was put through to the Editor. She told him the story, speaking into the telephone under a pile of bed clothes so as not to be heard in the next room. The story caused a sensation and after a few hours she left Berlin.

Fervent Anti-Nazi

Having personally witnessed the Nazi terror which followed the Reichstag fire she became an indefatigable worker and speaker for the

anti-Nazi cause. At that time her flat in London was a centre of organisation and she spared no energy or time in rescuing exiles from Germany and organising for their relief. It was Ellen, more than anyone else, who rudely awakened the conscience of the British public to the grim and crude realities of Hitlerism. Reviewing Dr. Garrat's famous book *"The Shadow of the Swastika"* she wrote: "The group in British politics which has been given the popular title of *Chiveden Set* he rechristens as the *Fabio-Fascists* less appealing, if more accurate. In England, and possibly in France since the fall of the Blum Government, he says, it is the gradual infiltration of Fascist ideas into a Government of the rich which is more menacing than the British Union of Fascists or the Croix de Feu". To counteract the growth of Fascist ideas under the Black Shirts ably led by Sir Oswald Mosley, she became a member of the Left Book Club started by Gollancz, Laski and Strachey and organised a propaganda campaign for the spread of Socialist ideas. She said, "If a democracy is effectively to 'democ.' the voters must read something other than newspaper headlines and the sports bulletins. Despite the sneers against 'having your books chosen for you,' usually made by those who get their books free to review, the enterprise of Mr. Gollancz has broken a bad old taboo. And when all the possible permutations and combinations of the united front and the Soviet Union, have been exhausted, those to whom a wider world has been opened by the Left Book club may possible be allowed more varied pastures." She was a frequent contributor to "Time and Tide" the independent London weekly edited by Lady Rhonda where she expressed her views fearlessly.

Friend of Nehru

Ellen Wilkinson was a great friend of Pandit Nehru and deeply sympathised with the aspirations of the Congress in its freedom struggle against Britain. Reviewing Nehru's Autobiography in "Time and Tide"

in 1936 she wrote: "Considering the closeness of the personal ties between Britain and India, the number of people in this country who have some relative or friend who has served in India, it is curious how few Indian personalities are known here. In the far south of India, at a Railwaymen's meeting which I attended in Madras, a Railway guard made a speech from the audience which showed a detailed knowledge of the doings of Mr. J. H. Thomas but until Mr. Gandhi's sartorial preferences caused him to appear in the pages along with Mr. Charles Chaplin, even that magnetic personality, who was rousing a sub-continent to nation-consciousness, was hardly known to the English crowd." Giving her impression of Nehru, Ellen proceeded: "Nehru, the aristocrat, stands for the Indian masses against Indian landlords or British administrators. This will bring a new factor into the confused scene of Indian politics. If Nehru is going to champion the masses, the allies that gave financial and personal strength to Gandhi will drift naturally to the British side, which will, at least, protect their personal wealth and privileges. The immediate task that Nehru sets before himself is one that, coolly stated, as it is in this book, makes any reader who knows India gasp. Yet, perhaps, bigger world forces are working with Nehru than at present we can see. Something has awakened across the vast plains of Asia. From the Urals to Tokio big forces have been unleashed and are lining up for a struggle. I read this book right through one night. Perhaps one has to know something of India to realise the full implications of its quiet understatement. But Nehru understands his problem. He is one of the few popular leader-statesmen of his time who do." Surely, these were prophetic words uttered ten years ago and we have lived to see them translated into action.

Visit to War-torn Spain

Germany was not the only continental country where the workers' cause called for ardent advocacy and active intervention. Ellen was

one of a small party which went out to Spain after the massacre of the Asturian miners who had risen against the bourgeois Government. She did as much as anyone in England to explain to popular audiences the full danger of the growing strength of Fascism in Europe. Later, when the Spanish struggle had turned into a bitter civil war, Ellen was again an indefatigable leader, visiting the battle ground on several occasions with the Duchess of Atholl and the late Eleanor Rathbone, with Clement Attlee and Philip Noel-Baker. She had several narrow escapes. Once a shell, exploding on the road, hit the driver of her car. She was unscathed. She returned to fight the battle of the Spanish workers and incidentally of democracy in Europe, in the House of Commons and on platforms all over England. It is interesting to recall a particular incident in which she played a great part. "In a great hall in Paris a huge Popular Front demonstration had been called to protest against General Franco's habit of bombing open towns. The official speakers were highly respectable; they included Lord Cecil, Paul Boncour, Pierre Cot and Marcel Cachin, the French Communist leader. Somewhat unexpectedly, Passionaria, the amazingly eloquent Spanish Communist woman who had done so much to rouse the Spanish workers to resistance, also appeared on the platform. All the audience wanted to hear her. But there was a private agreement with the French authorities, neutral in the struggle, that Passionaria should not speak. The audience yelled for her until the platform speakers gave it up and marched out. Ellen, always ready to take the initiative, climbed on to the platform and seized the microphone. The noise stopped. It was a great moment. Unfortunately it was also an anti-climax. Someone had switched off the microphone.

Jarrow March

Most of Ellen Wilkinson's life had been devoted to the problem of improving the condition of workers at home. There were strikes, there was the General Strike in 1926, there

was the great hunger march when she led the workers of Jarrow to demand their rights in London, and there was a constant agitation against the system that left one of the most thickly populated and highly industrialised parts of England derelict, because it did not pay the employer to build the ships that England badly needed.

As one surveys this remarkable career one realises that Ellen was a better leader than a follower. She could not help being a star and taking more of the limelight than some less enterprising colleagues thought desirable. She made a special place for herself in the Labour Party as a sort of rebel leader, who was yet the representative of a trade union, and who could not be purged when other rebels were turned out for association with Communists. Ellen never forgot her working class origin or for a moment lost contact with the rank and file of the movement. That had not prevented her from hobnobbing with the rich and making friendly contacts with those whose privileges she bitterly attacked. Under the Coalition Government, as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Security, her direct concern was the condition of shelters, and Ellen was often seen, during the heaviest raids, driving from one shelter to another. Later, under the Labour Government, as Minister for Education, she had a distinguished record of work to her credit for the spread of literacy and she was responsible for several reforms in the educational system of England. Ellen Wilkinson had brought off the difficult feat of being an established trade union leader and member of Parliament and becoming finally a member of the Executive of the Labour Party without ever being seriously accused of getting out of touch with the working class electorate which trusted her faithfully. Such a career is itself an interesting commentary on the social system of England, where born revolutionaries have the scope to express themselves and get something useful done for the workers.

RECONSTITUTED MILK

REGISTER NOW.

The Government Milk Factory supplies first class milk reconstituted by a special hygienic process from milk powder with the addition of vitamin A.

Price	Sealed pint bottles	Four annas per pint.
	Supply into customer's vessels from sealed can	One anna six pies per o'clock.

The milk can be obtained from the following branches of the T.U.C.S. Limited, Madras:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Chepauk. | 10. Gopalapuram. |
| 2. Nungambakkam. | 11. Alwarpet. |
| 3. Mylapore I. | 12. T'Nagar I. |
| 4. Mylapore II. | 13. T'Nagar II. |
| 5. 108, Big St. Triplicane. | 14. T'Nagar III. |
| 6. Abiramapuram. | 15. T'Nagar IV. |
| 7. Royapettah I. | 16. Teynampet I. |
| 8. Royapettah II. | 17. Madhavapuram. |
| 9. Lakshmiapuram. | 18. Saidapet II Branch. |

Coupons entitling holder to a guaranteed daily supply are being issued by the above branches to customers who register. Coupons are free and payment is made on taking the milk. There is a small deposit required of those taking sealed bottles as security for return of bottle.

The reconstituted milk will also be sold in retail at the Factory premises in Adyar in the Government Godowns (near Chingleput Collector's Office) between the hours of 8-0 a.m. and 9 a.m. and 3-0 p.m. to 5 p.m. at the price mentioned above.

Payment must be made in advance for a period not exceeding one month at a time for direct supply from the factory. Deposits in cash for the supply of milk will be received at the Factory Office between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. and a receipt given.

For other particulars, please apply to the Manager, Milk Factory, Madras.

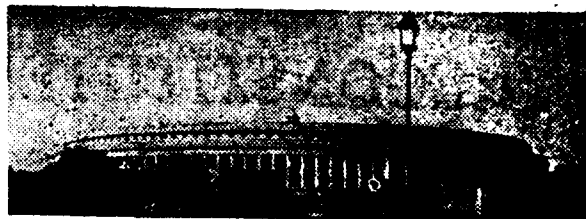
The reconstituted milk is similar to that which has proved so popular in Colombo.

Unutilised milk is sold without coupons after 8-30 a.m. in the forenoon and 6 p.m. in the afternoon at T.U.C.S. branches.

PLEASE MAKE A TRIAL PURCHASE.

Issued by the Director of Information & Publicity, Govt. of Madras.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

WE constituted 25% of the *baraat* (bridegroom's party) at a recent Moslem wedding in Moradabad. We, the bridegroom's party stayed at the house of Hakim Saheb, a prominent local Muslim Leaguer, who had gone on a tiger hunt with Lord Linlithgow. Hakim Saheb does not speak English, but is quite indispensable in local political consultations.

It may as well be confessed right away that we had expected this wedding to be different from Hindu weddings which we had attended. There was only one difference between them. In this wedding the bride and the bridegroom never sat side by side. The bride's father (in this case it was the uncle, for the father was ill) comes to the *kazi* (priest) who is seated beside the bridegroom and guests. The father or uncle declares that he had questioned the bride as to whether she was willing to marry this man.

Question: What was the reply?

Answer: There was no reply.

Two witnesses are similarly questioned, and they repeat that she was questioned and that she did not reply.

The marriage contract is then signed by the bride's guardian on behalf of the bride and by the bridegroom.

Apart from this, there is no difference whatever between our marriages and their marriages. The psychology of the bride's party was the same, and the psychology of the bridegroom's party was the same. The bridegroom's party was the boss of the show. There was the *appaginta pata* (song sung when the bride leaves for her new home—known as the "entrusting song"),

and the shedding of tears by the women and children as the bride leaves for the railway station.

All the young men who had come to the wedding were either staunch Muslim Leaguers or Communists. The Muslim Leaguers were many and the Communists not so many. The bride's uncle, Maulana Badru-Hasan Jalali was the lone Congress Muslim. He is a former Editor of the Bijnor *Medina*, and a former associate of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He was never ruffled in argument, and was ever anxious to debate. Distinguished pressmen from Delhi like Zamir Siddiqi (whose brother was the bridegroom), and Phanindra Bajpai (not to mention myself) rarely visited Moradabad, and they were all anxious to have first-hand reports of Delhi doings. As in all marriage gatherings, we split ourselves into small discussion groups.

Jalali Saheb was a match to anyone in informal discussion. Zamir Siddiqi is one of the best informed Special Correspondents in Delhi and we call him, half-seriously and half in jest, a League spokesman. Zamir knew for certain that the Muslim League Working Committee at Karachi would decide to keep out of the Constituent Assembly. (This was before the Karachi resolution was passed. In fact our stay in Moradabad coincided with the Karachi meeting).

The possible alternative was that the League would declare that the present Constituent Assembly was a Congress body, and set up another Constituent Assembly that would really and truly be a League body. It is quite possible that they would frame their own constitution and

place it before Parliament. Maulana Jalali pointed out that the parallel was the Simon Commission Report, which was official and the Nehru Committee Report, which was not. Parliament proceeded on the basis of the Simon Report. Similarly, said the Maulana, the Constituent Assembly representing all sections and parties except the Muslim League was a statutory body. The Muslim League could come in whenever they cared to. The Muslim League's Constitution-making Committee was not a statutory Committee. The question really would be one of admissibility. It was possible for the Constituent Assembly's constitution to be placed before the British Parliament, but there was no provision for admitting the Muslim League's constitution.

Again and again I heard the remark that the best thing for all concerned is Congress-League Coalition Ministries in all Provinces. Everyone was upset at the large-scale killings of Muslims by Hindus and Hindus by Muslims. The impression that they all had was that the League was anxious to have Coalition Ministries but that the Congress did not want Coalitions. Only Jalali said: "The Congress was in favour of Coalition Ministries. They wanted the right to nominate on their behalf anyone they chose. There should be no restriction against their choosing Muslims if they liked. The Muslim League wanted that the Congress should nominate only non-Muslims."

Maulana Jalali's is a stout heart. He is like a conscientious objector in a community at war. He has denied himself material riches for the sake of the right to feel what he thinks.

Such men as this are rare. Maulana Saheb truly ought to be in the Congress Working Committee.

This marriage has further weakened the two-nation theory. An opportunity of this kind to study Muslim life, living in their midst, rarely occurs in these days. Mr. K. C. Neogy told me the other day how he recently met a Muslim friend after a lapse of twenty years. It was not possible now even to visit each other's houses whenever there is slight tension. When we meet, said Neogy, we talk and talk, but there are mental reservations on both sides. The same story was told by a Pathan youth at the wedding. His best friend is a Hindu. A few months ago when there was tension in Moradabad, the Hindu friend had asked him what would happen if he had stayed for the night at the Pathan's house. The Pathan youth replied that it would be the same thing as would happen if the Pathan stayed at his house. It was not the friends that would kill each other but total strangers.

One of the talented daughters of Madras, a niece of Minister Rukmini Lakshmipathi, is the Principal of the Girls' College in Moradabad. She is Shrimati Sarojini, and we talked about the nutrition content of vegetables. For the bride's party had taken any amount of trouble to provide me with vegetarian fare. They at first suspected that I regarded them as *mlechhas* (infidels), and had suggested that if I had any objection to eat with them they would arrange with their family friend Dr. Triveni to have dinner at his place. They were glad to note that vegetarianism was not synonymous with orthodoxy.

The "Holy Ganges" in which pilgrims bathe at Hardwar is only the regulated irrigation canal, and not the main river. The *anicut* is some distance 'above' Hardwar. The main river can be reached by rowing across the canal and walking a few minutes.

U. S. PRESS COMMENTS ON INDIA

"PARADOXES MORE FERTILE THAN PEOPLE"

(From Our New York Correspondent)

I SEE in many papers here the full text of Pandit Nehru's resolution on independence adopted by the Indian Constituent Assembly. Also editorially it has been commented at length. A typical editorial runs thus: "By adopting unanimously Pandit Nehru's resolution to proclaim India as an independent sovereign republic, the Constituent Assembly at New Delhi has taken a step away from the British Commonwealth of Nations. The ultimate effect of this action depends on how far the voice of the Assembly is the real voice of the Indian peoples. It is undoubtedly that of the leaders of the dominant Hindu majority. The Moslem League is still boycotting the Assembly. It is the claim of the League that no binding constitution can be drafted without the consent of the Moslem minority, a claim supported by Great Britain. Islam in India includes a quarter of the population of the peninsula. The Princely States, representing another large segment, are also unrepresented in the Assembly. Yet independence is a magic word in India, even among the Moslems as it is among all the peoples of Asia who have experienced colonial rule. Nehru and his Congress Party are proceeding on the theory that in the end independence will prove to be a binding force on the disputing religious factions of his own nations. Mr. Nehru, a determined fighter, talks vigorously of freedom, independence and leadership of an aroused East, but more vaguely of cooperation both with Britain and Indian minorities. He has found the Moslem League equally determined. He invited the League delegates to join the Assembly whenever they care to come, but they seem unlikely to do so. Apparently before India can function as an independent and sovereign republic the Congress party will have to make more concessions to self-government by the minorities than

it is thus far inclined to do. It may be too that before India divorces herself completely from the British Commonwealth she will find it to her advantage to retain some of the links which other members have found so beneficial. At the moment the trend is all the other way. But as separation nears, the difficulties which confront a new nation rising from its cradle to walk alone may be more clearly seen."

Boss Patel

All newspaper stalls are here prominently displaying a coloured picture of Sardar Patel. It is on the front page of *Time* magazine. The cynical young men of *Time* appraise the Indian situation and the Sardar this way:

Gandhi's toes were blistered. As he walked the flower-strewn paddy-field paths of eastern Bengal, through lines of Hindus and Muslims who wept and knelt to touch his bandaged feet, other Hindus and Muslims in distant Bombay chopped at each other with long knives.

While Gandhi preached love and non-violence to the Bengalis, an old jailbird named Vallabhai Patel, who calls himself "a blind follower of Gandhiji" and whom the British Raj had imprisoned eight of the past 16 years, had 40 Indian Communists, whom he hates, clapped into jail.

In short, everything was as usual in India, where the people are more fertile than the land and the paradoxes are more fertile than the people. India's pullulating contradictions obscured the view at a moment when it was more important than ever that the world understand what was going on in the seething sub-continent.

On the 17th anniversary of the Indian Congress' Purna Swaraj



Cover Page of *Time*

(complete independence) resolution of Jan. 26, 1939, India was almost completely free of Britain but in danger of lapsing into anarchy. The infant country faced these problems, among others:

Hatred between the Hindu and Muslim communities, which flared last August into the Great Calcutta Killing when 6,000 died, has now hardened into a grim struggle over Pakistan.

Rising prices and falling production have intensified the conflict between millions of the poorest and some of the richest people in the world. Strikes are bubbling all over India. Communist power is rising. The Congress Party is likely to split into right and left groups and the Muslims face a similar division.

While Gandhi continues to attack industrialization, some of his most devoted followers go ahead with plans to make India the industrial heart of Asia.

Freedom for India does not affect the princely states, where 93 million (25 per cent.) Indians live. These are more or less despotically ruled by an anachronistic group of

princes who have, on the average, eleven titles, 5.8 wives, 12.6 children and 3.4 Rolls-Royces. Sooner or later a free Indian nation will have to deal with them; right now the Communists are advocating expulsion of the princes.

Power Is The Spur

To bring under control this vast interplay of seemingly irresistible forces and immovable bodies would take more than the fanaticism of Muslim Leaguer Mohamed Ali Jinnah, more than Jawaharlal Nehru's eloquent idealism, more, perhaps, than Gandhi's combination of mysticism and manipulation. India needed an organizer. It had one. Gandhi listened to God and passed on his political ideas to Vallabhai (rhymes with "I'll have pie") Patel; Patel, after listening to Gandhi, translated those ideas into intensely practical politics.

Patel has no pretensions to saintliness or eloquence or fanaticism. He is, in American terms, the Political Boss. Wealthy Hindu and Parsi industrialists (like C. H. Bhabha, Patel's son's employer, who has just become Works, Mines and Power Minister) thrust huge campaign funds into his hands. With their money, Congress Party patronage, and ceaseless work, he has built a machine that touches every one of India's conflicts. In every fight his objective is the same—power for India.

As Home and Information Minister of the new Central Government, as boss of the Congress Party, Patel represents what cohesive power Free India has. This cinder-eyed schemer is not the best, the worst, the wisest or the most typical of India's leaders, but he is the easiest to understand, and on him, more than on any man, except Gandhi, depends India's chance of surviving the gathering storms.



RATIONALE OF TRAVANCORE REFORMS

by *POLITICUS*

"In the last analysis, democracy means the supremacy of the popular will on basic questions of social direction and policy."

The momentum that a general election gives to popular will and strength has been recognized to be great. Every election is an experiment, no, a forward step in political education.

Much more so is a general election based on universal adult franchise—a system chosen in the Travancore Reforms, and not yet introduced in any other part of India. The candidates for the Legislature have to go to every adult, male and female, and seek his or her suffrage.

And what a Legislature is that of Travancore to be? Not just a body that can make laws on certain subjects, but one whose elected Executive Committees will be in close, continuous and constant contact and association with the executive administration and policy of the country.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ADULT SUFFRAGE

If membership of the Legislature is a privilege, it is a greater privilege to be elected to the six Executive Committees; and you can't get into them without first getting into the Legislature. It is only natural that the ablest and the most public-spirited should seek to win places in these bodies.

Aspirants to these positions will naturally do a lot of political, economic and social pamphleteering and lecturing; and the political consciousness of the Travancoreans, already high, is certain to be greatly stimulated, and shall we hope, informed and enlightened, making further Reforms a matter of time?

That is the great significance of universal adult franchise, a feature that is bound to make the Travancore Legislature *sui generis* in India.

Our reasons for hoping that a general election to the Legislature, that its functioning for a term—four years—will *per se* lead to tremendous political education and power are these:

(a) The State has a highly literate population;

(b) There is also a very large class of well-educated and politically-alive people;

(c) And, the area as well as the people are compact and form a homogeneous entity.

If you have adult franchise for the Legislature and make it wholly elected and make no other changes, that alone will be a measure of far-reaching significance, a measure whose beneficial effects on the strengthening and enlightening of the popular will are certain to be profound.

LATENT FORCES

But the Travancore Reforms do not stop with that. They are valuable for two reasons: One, their good features; Two, (which partly arise out of One) the tendencies that are inherent and latent and that are bound to be gradually and rationally released for the purpose of putting an end to even those aspects which may now seem rather unsatisfactory.

Let us take the first set first; the pride of place naturally goes to the one mentioned above—the nature of the franchise. The idea of the Government, as given expression to by the dynamic Dewan, seems to be to support a scheme of delimitation of constituencies in which "no one should be under the necessity of possessing either a motor-car or even a push cycle for the purpose of can-

vassing his constituency. The constituencies will therefore be five miles or seven miles in length and no more;... a man standing for election should be able to walk to the house of every potential voter and get his support."

Secondly, future Travancore will not touch with a barge pole that bane of British Indian legislatures, namely communal electorates and weightages—the accursed system to which can be traced all our difficulties including the latest 3,000-word wrong-headed obstructionism emanating from Karachi. Travancore has decided not to sow the wind and later reap the whirlwind.

Three: All the members of both the Houses of Legislature are to be elected. There is to be no one "nominated". There will be no official bloc either.

Four: The Legislature is not a mere law-making body; it will have a substantial measure of control over administrative policy through its six Executive Committees.

Five: The Judiciary will be absolute, independent of the pressures of the Legislature or the Executive.

Thus: Of the three most important and famous wings of a modern democratic State, namely, the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive, the first two are beyond the slightest shadow of doubt very satisfactory indeed, under the proposed Travancore constitutional reforms.

There has been some criticism of the third wing—the Executive part only.

NOT AS IT SEEMS

Even here shrewd political observers can notice that the situation is really much better than what it seems to be to the superficial. In the first place, the Executive is not so "irremovable" or so "irresponsible" as some people are prone to imagine. It is true that the Dewan still remains the chief executive and holds office during His Highness's pleasure and is not dismissible by a vote of the Legislature. It is also true that he has substantial powers of "veto" and "certification".

But, is it likely that a Dewan who repeatedly forfeits the confidence of or is repeatedly "censured" by the Legislature or who frequently resorts to veto and certification, is allowed to continue in office by a wise Ruler? And let us remember that every time the veto power is used, the grounds of the veto must be publicly stated. And granting, for the sake of argument, that this unusual deadlock does develop, can the chief executive keep glued to the office when the democratic forces represented by a Legislature based on universal suffrage assert themselves?

After all, the final and effective sanctions are those that are derived from the popular will. Is it fair to imagine that the popular will as represented by the voters and the Legislature and the Executive Committees will all be flouted time and again? Is it wise to condemn the whole scheme, with two of its parts in almost perfect condition, on the ground of this needless apprehension about the third part, the Executive?

WHEN THE "VETO"

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his statement to the Sri Mulam Assembly on the 4th February 1946, *inter alia*:

"The Committees are not, therefore, advisory in the ordinary sense but executive committees. It is only in rare instances, for reasons of paramount policy, where Government find it unable to say "yes," that they will exercise their power of veto. It is impossible to get rid of the power of veto for reasons into which I need not enter, but if the head of the administration or anybody in his place resorts to a series of intermittent, and periodic and fragmentary vetos, then His Highness may tell the head of the administration 'Please go home and look after some other business which will be more congenial to you and to me'.

As another seasoned statesman, Sir N. Gopalswami Ayyangar, observed in this connection:

"Whenever the Dewan finds himself unable to accept or acquiesce in a decision agreed to by both Houses, he will presumably submit it with his views to the Ruler. If the Ruler agrees with the Dewan, he will veto the decision of the Legislature. If, however, the Ruler agrees with the Legislature, the Dewan must either submit to the Ruler's decision and carry on; or if he considers the matter to be one of such importance that he could not compromise himself on the issue, he would of course have to resign".

"The working of a fixed executive in this manner is by no means a negation of responsible government; though the Dewan will in theory be responsible only to the Ruler, his functioning on the lines I have guessed will indirectly enforce his responsibilities to the Legislature also."

And who can say that Sir N. Gopalswami Ayyangar has guessed wrongly?

ACCEPT THE "ASSURANCES"

The 'assurances' of the Viceroy that the Governors would not exercise their "reserve" powers arbitrarily and make provincial autonomy a farce were accepted by the Indian National Congress, and they accepted office in the seven provinces in 1937.

Are not the public "assurances" of the Executive of Travancore worthy of equal consideration? Here are the Dewan's words:

"If the Dewan is not able to get on with the Legislature he is liable to be removed.... It is the intention of His Highness' Government that the Committees should work together and have joint consultations in matters of common consideration. In other words the whole Government has been handed to the Legislature and the Committees. They have to develop their conventions. Assuming that the proposed scheme works well, there is nothing to prevent His Highness nominating his Dewan from the Legislature. The next step may be to make his nomination dependent on the goodwill of the Legislature, but that is a matter which will have to be decided on the success of the present scheme."

Thus the next two steps to make the political picture perfect—a thing that has not yet happened in any other part of India—have also been clearly indicated. May the three great branches of the body politic, the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary, act with strength and wisdom so that by accommodation, tolerance and practical good sense, modern Travancore may reach the next two steps indicated above in record time.

The observatory at Kodaikanal has international contacts and reputation. It enjoys a larger number of clear mornings (when the sun could be photographed in its various aspects) than many other observatories in the world. Sir James Jeans has used many Kodaikanal photographs of the sun in his well-known book, "The Stars in their Courses".

*
"Sneh" in Sanskrit means both *friendship* and the quality of *lubricity*. The latter is the primary significance of the root 'sneh'. Friendship between two persons is possible only when the machinery of the relationship between them is well lubricated.... What profound thinkers word-coiners in the old days have been!

TWO DAYS WITH CEYLONESE CRICKETERS

by N. S. RAMASWAMI

E. V. LUCAS has a jolly poem on going to a cricket match. His here was elated because he was himself playing. Though I did not enjoy this privilege, I was by no means downcast recently when I set out for Chepauk to witness the eclipse of cricket in Madras.

It had been my proud boast that I had not missed a single day of a cricket match of any importance in Madras in the last ten years. But as one grows older, one comes under the shadows of life, of which Wordsworth has spoken so movingly, more and more frequently. The decline began last year when I was unable to witness the first day of the "Test" match between India and Hassett's Australians. It grew acute when the recent Inter-University match on the Loyola College grounds was played without my presence. The pain was great when I was assured that I had missed an Amarnath-like innings by Rege. But the crown of sorrow was reached when I found myself unable to witness the play on the first day of the match between South India and Ceylon. The cup of anguish overflowed when I was informed that I had missed an innings by Sathasivam which, while being a combination of the genius of Amarnath and Musthaq Ali, transcended both of them.

It was, therefore, with savagery of spirit that I took my seat in the stands on the second day of the fixture. Sathasivam, a frail-looking player, came out to resume the innings with Spittel, a man of burly aspect with murderous intentions on the bowlers. But the latter's tenure at the crease came to an inglorious end when he played over a yorker from Rangachari and had two of his stumps scattered to the far ends of the earth.

One of the recommendations of Rangachari's bowling is, or rather

was, the emphatic nature of the dismissal of his opponents. Everybody has read of Lockwood and Richardson sending honest bank holiday crowds at the Oval into ecstasies of delight when blowing away wickets as if they were chaff. Those recollections were realised in the flesh a few seasons ago when Rangachari hammered away the wickets of many a Mysore batsman, and a little later, subjected the mighty Compton himself to this indignity. But those days are past, and he is not the strength that he once was. But for a brief second the crowd rejoiced exceedingly in the return of grace.

Heyn, the dapper Captain, joined Sathasivam, and subjected the long-suffering South India bowlers to another big partnership. But by then nobody had an eye for figures. They waited for the great batsman of the previous day to blossom. Alas, it was not forthcoming. Sathasivam added to his total, but there was no vintage of batsmanship, no stroke which lifted man from the dull vapours of life. He showed a proper contempt for the ludicrously inefficient bowling and made his run much as he pleased. But there was no hint of Amarnath, much less of Musthaq Ali, in his strokes. Whatever might have been his performance on the first day, his 215, the ground record score, was the triumph of artisanship over artistry.

I had been present when Hardstaff retired to the pavilion with 213 runs to his credit, after being caught by Gopalan at mid-on off G. Parthasarathy. That this great innings should now be displaced as the record is a matter for sorrow, although records are undoubtedly abominations of desolation. The recollection of the auburn-haired batsman making exquisite strokes to all quarters of the ground with astonishing ease is one which will never

die. It was, technically speaking, a revelation of the majesty of back-play, so long in India mistaken for dullness and ineffectiveness. Nothing in the innings of Sathasivam approached the lyricism of that display.

The Ceylon Captain hesitated so long in declaring that one suspected that his bowling strength was by no means formidable. When it came on view with the ever-green Johnstone and the impetuous Shyamsundar opening the innings of South India, one realised that Heyn was fully justified. Nothing that Spittel or Wijesinghe produced was likely to cast terror into any reasonably accomplished batsman. The latter, indeed, endeavoured to introduce variety in his method of attack, but the fact that he failed to secure even a single wicket in a display of inept batting tells its own tale. The matter did not seem to improve when Heyn himself came on. With a curiously halting delivery, he bowled off-spin. He was by no means impressive, though he did gain two victims by the method so well known to all spin bowlers of varying a top-spinner with a break. The match seemed destined to end quietly in a draw when the astonishing ineptitude of the latter South India batsmen surrendered it to their opponents.

The agents of this destruction were de Kretser and de Zoysa, both varied bowlers of spin. The former was a raffish looking individual, who braved the Madras sun with inadequate shirting. The latter, though manifestly young, appeared bowed down with the weight of his skill, for as Mr. Neville Cardus wrote of Verity, he played "with an academic mien". I was glad at his success, for he deserved it. Unaided by his companions for the most part, he

bowled untiringly and penetratingly. As was to be expected, he was the destroyer of unscientific players like Frank and Ghulam Ahmad.

An old friend remains. What pleasant memories Madras crowds have of Jayawickreme! He had no reason, on his first appearance here, to be pleased with the ground. For, he was, if I remember aright, the third victim of Gopalan's celebrated hat-trick against Dr. Gunasekara's team in the days gone by. N. S. Joseph played back to an off-break of perfect length, and had his middle stump thrown out of the ground. Schockman, the wicket-keeper and a left-hand batsman, received a leg-break on the same wicket. Then came Jayawickreme, a young batsman of considerable promise. Alas, another off-break completely defeated him, and the crowd went mad. He has, however, amply redeemed that failure as much in the spirit of the game as in the numerical value of his subsequent innings.

When Gopalan was violently caught by Heyn at short mid-on after lifting de Zoysa to the straight-field for a four which the umpire was stampeded by the vociferous crowd into signalling as a six, a sort of twilight seemed to descend on cricket in South India. Incompetence, bad tactics, and lack of imagination (it is to be observed that Johnstone, Ashgar Ali, Gopalan, and Alva are excepted from these critical observations) had converted a possible draw into a crushing defeat. When will we learn the invaluable lesson that "the term 'stonewaller' is not to be taken as a derogatory term. A great part for a cricketer to play is the Stonewall Jackson part; it is an heroic part?"

G. B. S. says, "Marriage is a ghastly public confession of a strictly private intention."

BOOKS

Golden Jubilee Souvenir: Sri Ramanasramam. (Published by Sri Niranjananda Swamy, Sarvadhikari, Sri Ramanasramam, Tiruvannamalai, South India. Price, Rs. 10).

We welcome this handsome volume of tributes to the Maharshi from far and wide, in commemoration of his fifty years of *thapas* in Tiruvannamalai. The get-up is excellent, and there are innumerable coloured pictures of the Maharshi in diverse postures, which will gladden the hearts of all who know him—and who in South India does not? The story of the boy who played the truant from home in search of the true self, and steadfastly pursued his goal in the face of all vicissitudes, has passed into legend in the Tamil country, and reads like a modern version of the Puranic Dhruva. He teaches the classical Upanishadic doctrine of the Absolute Self which is not different from the Nirguna Brahman, and is beyond all limitations of name, form and quality. This doctrine is doubtless difficult to understand and practise; what it amounts to precisely is best gathered from the doings of the Maharshi himself, as testified to by the grateful souls who have come under his regenerative influence; we may mention in particular the accounts of Eleanor Pauline Noye (Page 309), of the 'self-styled devotee' (Page 320), and of Mr. Pande of Nepal (Page 152). These and similar accounts appear to shew that the Absolute Self, albeit it is defined negatively as *Neti*, has a very positive role in Karma and Karma Yoga. To explain this role, it is to be observed that a self which has clothed itself by a personality with certain canalised interests and outlook, has by that very fixation lost its original creative suppleness; if in a momentary glimpse of its self-hood, it asserts its inborn prerogative of creation, its effort is either blocked *en masse* by the inertia of its *Adhar*, or its work is deformed and falsified by the *vasanas* and preferences of its ego. The only rational way of resolving this dilemma is to practice the withdrawal of the self from the particular personality it has put forth, to achieve in consciousness the dissolutions of the individual formations

—in other words to retire into the Absolute Self which transcends all determinations; only so can the suppleness be regained. According to the Maharshi this Absolute Self beyond determinations is to be sought in the heart; it is no doubt an arduous task to pursue for years and to possess the convergent movement into the heart which lands one into the Absolute—a task for the spiritual hero, the Dhira. But the Maharshi for all his meekness is a warrior at the core; his famous *Ullathu Narpattu* reads very much like the curt military appraisal of a master tactician planning a decisive coup.

It has been the rare good fortune of the Tamil country to harbour within a short distance of each other two such world-teachers as the Maharshi and Sri Aurobindo. Many are puzzled by the difference in their modes of life, and wonder what exactly is the difference between their teachings. In one sense, the difference is much less than what appears on the surface. It is true that while both teach the one vast Spiritual Reality, the Absolute Brahman beyond all determinations, as the basis and continent of all existence, Sri Aurobindo often goes out of his way to disavow any sympathy with acosmism, but many passages in the Maharshi's writings read like *Mayavada*. This must be recognised as necessitated by the logic of the subject matter, for, the Maharshi is not an illusionist. The nature of the Brahman and Brahmic knowledge can only be conveyed by maintaining with Sanakaracharya that the world, as *world*, (that is, as perceived and understood by men in general or before Brahmic knowledge) is an illusion, but, as *Brahman*, is real;—meaning that, in fact, the world subsists in, and consists of, the Brahman, as a formation thereof. Similarly the logic of the *Nirgunam* necessitates the stress on its lack of determination, and its characterisation by pure negation; a similar situation arises in higher mathematics, when one starts with an abstract class of elements of undefined nature, connected by certain abstract relations satisfying assigned postulates, and proceeds to build a theory—pretending all

Why Suffer like this



Saridon

**STOPS ALL PAIN
IN 10 Minutes**

CIBOL



The best
remedy
for Itches,
Scabies,
Eczema,

Pimples,
and for all
eruptions
of the skin.

Available at
all chemists.

**THE SOUTH INDIAN MFG. CO.,
MADURA**

AGENTS: Rajan Drug Stores, Nynappa Naicken Street, Madras-3; Seetharama General Stores, Bezwada; Girija Medical Stores, Bangalore City;

the while that 'one does not know what one is talking about, nor whether what one is saying is true.' To call the bluff and elicit the latent purpose, the intelligent man must enquire in both cases 'why bother with undetermined entities?'; and the patent answer is 'precisely because the undetermined is capable of multifarious determinations, and by knowing it in itself, all its determinations are also known.'

But withal, a certain real difference between the quality and the orientation of the two teachings must be recognised. Sri Aurobindo's teaching, founded as it is, on the one Supreme Brahman, is an extended synthesis, wrought with warp and woof of many strands, round the central spinal column of a Karma Yoga, raised to such a pitch that it can no longer be called Karma Yoga, but only the Integral Yoga; for, the lowest rung of Karma Yoga is ethical or moral action, the next rung is the ignorant ritualistic action—Vihitam Karma—higher than that is the Spiritual Karma Yoga of offering all actions to the Divine Self in the heart of man and becoming his instrument, taught by the Gita. But the Gita, bound as it is to its context, cannot and does not capture the atmosphere, the sense and the sentiment, of the vast, the universal, the ceaseless creative activity of the Satchidananda labouring in the evolutionary world-process. It is only the Veda with its delicate psychological sensibility, its ideal of the completely frontalised perception of the Real, and its instrument of the potent world delivered directly from the Brahman, that is adequate for this purpose. It is to the Veda that we owe the clear recognition of the purpose of the human evolution as the achievement of 'immortality'—*Atmanatwa*—as an established level of conscious function, instead of merely a potentiality implicitly hidden in the Brahman. The corresponding modality of consciousness is called by Sri Aurobindo 'the super mind' and its descent and establishment in the human being is explicitly put forward as the aim and the ideal of his Integral Yoga. While this teaching of Sri Aurobindo erected as the culmination of a vast synthesis may be viewed as a commentary on the mahavakyam, —*Sarvam Khulovidam Brahma* (the whole world is the Brahman) — the concentrated teaching of the Maharshi has as its refrain the other mahavakyam, *Ekameva Adviteeyam Brahma*. Significant of this is the fact that the

ideal in the Maharshi's teaching is—not the potent revelatory Brahmic Word, but the utter silence. Speech is the most characteristic feature of human consciousness, and as explained in the Mantra Shastra, its genesis and meaning are profoundly symbolic of the one Reality flowering into multiple being. The level of consciousness which the Maharshi urges one to realise is that massed-up ingathered pre-creative and proto-creative level in which there is no trace of auditory or visual elements; once this level is possessed, creation is no longer something to be strained at, it becomes the normal nature of Action.

The indigenous science of this country is Atma Vidya, the science of the self—whose first discoverer or expounder is Yajnavalkya of the Upanishads; undoubtedly it is the highest of the sciences, as the explicit self-consciousness in man is not only the highest of the values manifested in natural evolution, but the basis of every other conceivable value. Many spiritual teachers in India have taught and propagated Atma Vidya in various forms and at various levels, and thereby not only brought solace and comfort to innumerable suffering individual selves, but buttressed them up in the difficult and dangerous situation of life. One can however hardly escape the impression that the Indian Atma Vidya has not yet matured sufficiently for achievements above this individual level, that it has been unable to make contacts with the interests germane to the State-self. In spite of all controversies of the relative values of the Individual versus the State, the fact remains that the State-self functions as a protective over-self in relation to the individuals composing it, affording them the conditions for their development and fulfilment. The State-self is concerned with the pursuit of the following values:

- (1) Technology of production, industry and manufacture.
- (2) Branches of science connected with Medicine and Education.
- (3) General scientific knowledge relating to the Earth and the Visible Universe.

If, as is claimed in Yajnavalkya's teaching to Maitreyi, 'all this is verily the Atman,' then the systematic pursuit of Atma Vidya should result in far-reaching contributions to the purposes of the State-self. As a matter of fact, we have records of what appear

to be fundamental discoveries in these realms, in some of the cryptic utterances of the Indian scriptures. For example, the doctrine of the *panchabhutas* can only be interpreted as the claim of a final resolution of the problem of the structure of matter and atomic energy. The Ayurveda seems to be based on a real understanding of the nature of the vital mechanism and of disease. The degree of knowledge of plant-life displayed in the *materna medica* of the Ayurveda seems to belong to a level of consciousness higher than human. The Vedic Rishis talked of 'worlds' and their astronomical descriptions seem to be as much psychological as astronomical. The modern Indian who appears to be the degenerate descendant of a virile race, is unable to make any sense out of these Adhyatmic records of the past, or to relate them to what passes for Science at the present day. If Atma Vidya is the bread of life not only for the individual but also for the race, then the most urgent problem for Indian spirituality at the present day is the recovery of the body of knowledge concealed in the scriptures, to make it available for the daily utilities of social life. It is no doubt an arduous task to possess and systematise spiritual knowledge to the level of the ancients; indeed, on the standards of a Viswamitra, fifty years' *thapas* is nothing. But unless this can be done in modern India, no very glorious future can be envisaged for the human race.—(R.V.).



SWATANTRA
8, Westcott Road,
Royapettah, Madras.

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

It is a pleasure
to
Write with
JABCO. . . .
FOUNT INK. .



2½ OZ

This is the confirmed
opinion of every user



JAYA BHARATHAM CO.
MADRAS BANGALORE
CHENNAI.

LETTERS

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

Greetings from Overseas

Really your weekly can be placed among the most efficiently edited weeklies in the world.

Without exaggeration, it is daring and it is different!

My visitors—all Indian youths of the working class—are unanimous that it is for the first time in their life that they have seen such an up-to-date Indian weekly.

They have asked me to congratulate you on their behalf for creating such a brilliant newspaper as *Swatantra*.

M. M. HANIFF.

Port Louis, Mauritius.

Government Publicity

In the leading article appearing in the issue of *Swatantra* dated 1st February under the caption 'Congress and the Communists' you said that the Publicity Department were inactive during the days following the arrests under the Public Safety Ordinance and the failure of the Department to explain in time the reasons behind the Government's policy had forced the public to grope in the dark. The complaint against the Publicity Department is neither justified nor relevant. Any authoritative official statement on the reasons for the Ordinance or the action taken thereunder could possibly have been made by the Hon'ble the Prime Minister alone as head of the Government, and in any case, it could not have been made in advance of the issue of the ordinance itself, or simultaneously with it. This point was made clear in the brief statement issued by the Premier on his return from Delhi in the course of which he said, "that it was not possible to state the reasons (for the promulgation of the Ordinance) because of the steps contemplated to be taken by the Government close upon the promulgation." A full statement, as promised by him in that first statement, was in fact subsequently made on the floor of the Assembly and the Council.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO,
Director of Publicity, Government
of Madras.

The Prakasam Ministry

Of late, much is being written against the Prakasam Ministry. There was a raging controversy when Gandhiji used the word *clique* when condemning the action of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee in connection with the anti-C. R. activities. I was then one of those who objected to the usage of that word—though Gandhiji quoted the dictionary to show that it was a harmless word—but now I feel that it was rightly used. Now two groups, the Kamaraj and the Gopal Reddi groups, are against the Prakasam Ministry. These two groups are moving heaven and earth to throw out the Prakasam Ministry. Let him who might have been offered the Premiership by these groups, bear in mind that the same fate would befall him if he displeased these groups. Can anyone deny that the measures sponsored by Prakasam form part of the constructive programme of the Congress? Then why this anti-Prakasam move if it is not for personal selfish motives? Can anyone assert that they would not promulgate this kind of repressive ordinances if they were placed in similar circumstances, whether it be C. R. or Dr. Subbarayan or anyone else? Have they forgotten the much worse ordinances in previous regimes about which no one raised a hue and cry as they do now?

Do not these leaders with their tall talk realise that it is sheer hypocrisy to preach Hindu Muslim and other party unity when they cannot maintain order within their own party by implicitly following their leader—a leader chosen by them alone.

It is high time the Congress High Command interfered and with an iron hand to put down this kind of indiscipline.

T. K. S. RAGHAVAN.

Raids, Searches and Ordinances

Nation-wide raids on the offices not only of the Communist Party and Congress Socialist Party but also of non-party organisations like All-India Kisan Sabha, All-India Students' Federation



HE WAS GIVEN UP FOR LOST!

The life of a child in the throes of acute Liver complaint need be given up for lost.

If on account of ignorance, neglect or inept treatment the child's condition is getting bad and further symptoms, such as, hardening of the Liver, pain over the region of the Liver, high temperature, jaundice (shown by the condition of yellowness of urine, eyes and skin), collection of fluid in the abdomen, distension of the abdomen, protruberance of the abdominal veins, swelling of legs, face and hands, are developing, it need not be given up for lost, as there is still every hope that the child will recover even at this stage if proper care is taken in conjunction with JAMMI'S LIVERCURE "COMPLICATED."



For over 30 years, Jammie's Livercure has earned the reputation of reclaiming thousands of children from the jaws of death, and it may be truly described as the only recognised remedy for INFANTILE LIVER & SPLEEN COMPLAINTS.

JAMMI'S LIVER CURE

JAMMI VENKATARAMANAYYA & SONS

Head Office: Mysore, Madras.

Also Offices at: Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Trichinopoly & Bangalore, I. Co.

Beauty plus Utility.

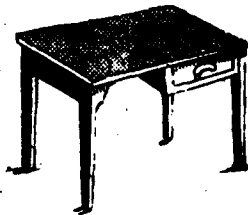
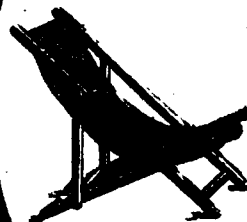


Table: Length 3', width 1½' with Drawer on right side.



Cremone, Folding Chair: Easy folding type with comfortable back perfectly matching with 'UTILITY' table.



Canvas Easy Chair: A perfect companion to the folding chair. A piece of 'Utility' in comfort.

An ideal combination for Home, Hotels and Students. Packed safe and forwarded. Damaged pieces replaced or refunded. Price Rs. 37-8-0

THE INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION LIMITED.

"INDUSTRIAL HOUSE" WHITEFIELD.

and Friends of the Soviet Union are symbols of the conspiracy that is being hatched by the British imperialists to sabotage our freedom movement and to split the freedom front. Pandit Nehru's denial of responsibility for all these searches and raids came in time and counteracted misgivings which otherwise would have overwhelmed many not only in India but also abroad. But following this denial Pandit Nehru ought to have openly repudiated the British military plans, which the die-hard imperialists had contemplated in case the present effort to find the way out of the deadlock ends in fiasco. Even now he can and must do it. Further, the Interim Government must immediately order the police to withdraw the prosecutions that had been instituted by them in connection with these raids.

Placing my faith upon the aphorism of the great Edmund Burke who once said that calamity is a mighty leveller, I, through the columns of your esteemed weekly, appeal to the Interim Government and the Congress Ministries to face facts boldly without becoming a party to the imperialist game of splitting our freedom movement which is about to realise its noble object.

K. SADASHIV.

Secretary, S. Kanara Journalists' Association, Mangalore.

Telling Americans About India

Our contact with the American people in general has revealed to us the fact that an average American is ignorant of everything about India. We, the Indian students of the University of California at Berkeley—about 60 in number, have decided to do our utmost in dispelling the wrong impressions the people over here have about India. The International House gives us untold facilities for establishing better relationship not only with Americans but with students belonging to fifty-five different nationalities. To promote such relationship, better understanding and appreciation of culture, art, literature, etc., we have organized the Hindusthan Students Association of America, where among other activities we have an Indian Table, and under this arrangement a weekly programme on India is conducted: music, dances, literature, art, philosophy, etc., of India are represented. The International House authorities have been kind enough to permit all these activities, and the increasing attendance at the weekly meetings of the Indian Table has encouraged us to go further.

For the furtherance of such work it has been felt that a library of Indian books should be maintained at the International House where more than seven hundred students of different nationalities reside. To maintain a good library we feel that we have to approach all authors in India and abroad and to request them to donate copies of their books on India.

We hope readers of *Swatantra* will appreciate our move and help us to build up this library—INDIA SECTION, by sending on to us any books or pamphlets published on India. The Information Department of the Government of India has consented to send the books to us. So the books may be sent to them at New Delhi.

Thanking you for your co-operation,

SATYA RANJAN BAROOAH,
General Secretary, Hindusthan Students Association of America.

International House,
Berkeley 4, California.

"Our Teachers"

I am so grateful to Mr. Padmanabhan for his clarion call to the teaching profession (published in *Swatantra* of February 1). I can to-day almost contemplate with detachment the case of a youthful teacher of ten years ago who breathed poetry, radiated idealism and infected his pupils with lofty literary enthusiasms. Strange to say, this Dr. Jekyll, who in public actually 'hitched his waggon to a star and rode into the pure serene,' was a veritable Mr. Hyde in his private life, visiting pawnshops on the sly, then selling the last scraps of gold and silver in his house, finally watching his first-born die for want of medicines he could not afford to buy. Today, the passing years have added only to the number of his dependants. He is 'cut' by his former friends who find him strangely altered for no apparent reason. He flutters about in tatters biting his under lip, but still not striking his colours so far as class-room teaching or interest in things of the mind is concerned. Was it not Mahatmaji who said that 'God himself dare not appear before the poor in any other shape than bread?' Nobody comes forward to meet the demands of a chaprasi or an R.M.S. packer with talk of culture, or offer to fill the bellies of his family with 'ideals'! 'Plain living and high thinking' applied with specific reference to a teacher alone in these abnormal times can at best be only a cruel joke.

Udayarkoll.

K. GURUSWAMY.

"A Daniel Come to Judgment"

Sri Padmanabhan, the self-styled repository of culture and intellectual worth and saviour of education, has preached a homily to the members of the noblest profession: "Better yourselves intellectually and do not cry for living wages." He seems to be oblivious of the fact that the average modern teacher is better equipped and more well informed in all the branches of knowledge than the very few erstwhile pedagogic fossils whose vision never extended beyond the horizon of their classrooms. The modern teacher is not only a master in his profession but a great adept in worldly affairs and modern knowledge. The modern teacher is prepared to stand any test along with the members of other professions, not to speak of your erudite correspondent, in any branch of knowledge before any impartial tribunal.

The teachers know their duties and responsibilities and cannot for a moment tolerate any scurrilous and light-hearted remarks. Mr. Padmanabhan pathetically complains that the teaching profession has degenerated to a mere money-making machinery. While the pockets of the hoarder, the profiteer and others are bulging, those of the teachers are always empty.

It is indeed a noble profession, but like any other profession it is also a bread-and-butter affair. Of all the professions in the world why should the teachers alone be actuated by a missionary spirit?

With supreme indifference and condescension it is often repeated parrot-like by eminent high-salaried men, even Ministers, that the teachers should raise their status not by asking for more salary, but by service, sacrifice and character. To expect teachers to work on with a missionary spirit on empty stomachs, only with a promise of reward in the other world is really overestimating the capacity of human beings for self-sacrifice.

S. BALASUBRAMANIAN, B.A., L.T.
Negapatam.

(11)

Not content with reviling the present-day teacher, Mr. Padmanabhan impeaches the entire nation. He has discovered in it: "a genius to reduce any profession, however noble, to a mere money-making machinery." I daresay he feels much superior to his brethren!

My first impulse on reading his letter was to ignore it; but, on second thought, I decided that such writers ought to be

disabused of the idea that they can malign a whole class of worthy people, and get away with it.

Has Mr. Padmanabhan gathered statistics about the equipment of the teacher and do they reveal that the teacher is poorly equipped for his job? Is the teacher more ignorant of the world around him, confined as he is to his class-room, than, say, the superintendent in the Secretariat whose only contact during waking hours is with musty files, or the manager of a firm whose mind is too full of accounts, vouchers, cheques, bills and invoices to allow access to other items of knowledge? Again, should we grant the proposition that only the teacher should maintain a high ethical standard and a lofty level of culture. Is the Prime Minister or his colleagues, or the engineer, or the doctor, or the merchant, or the rationing officer exempt?

There has been a good deal of loose thinking on this matter and more of supercilious expression of opinion. It is time that these were exorcised, and people in responsible positions and offices ceased preaching and did their duty by the teacher fairly, and without condescension.

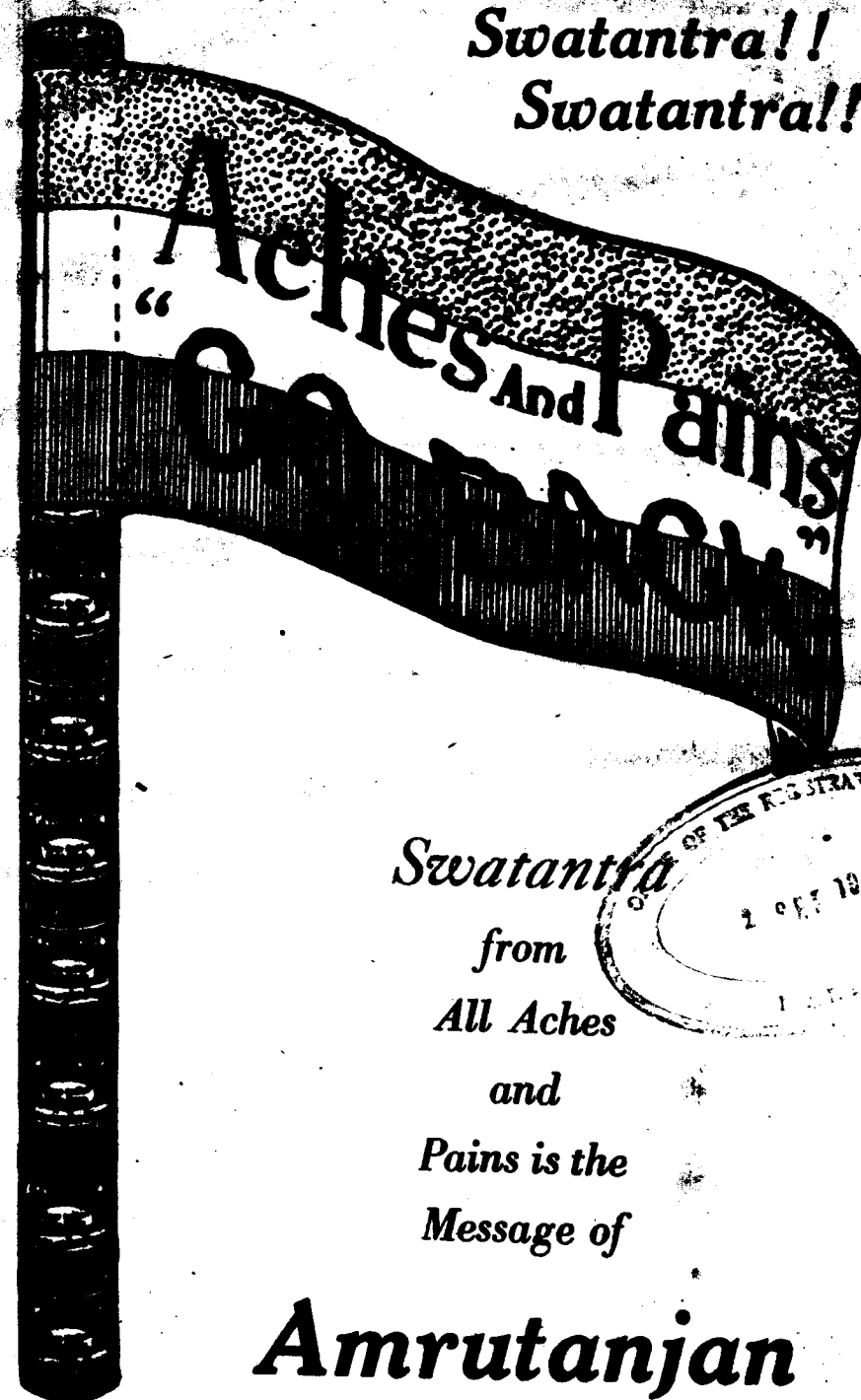
S. ANNAJI RAO, M.A., L.T.

Over-Taxation

The introduction of the agricultural income tax now proposed by the Madras Ministry is inopportune. Despite the rounding up of the Communists who have been leading the cultivating tenants by the nose, the woes of the mirasdars have not ended. Increased expenditure on all incidents of crop production is the order of the day and there seems to be no prospect of any economically advantageous cultivation. The imposition of agricultural income-tax is sure to hinder the mirasdars in the matter of intensive or extensive cultivation. If the prospect of getting a net income unreduced by any additional tax is blighted no mirasdar whose efforts to grow more food can really count, can be expected to enthusiastically grow more food or have more food grown. The result will be an appreciable reduction in the output. We have been waiting for the day when the popular Government will reduce the burden of land tax; it therefore behoves the powers that be to think twice before leaping into further taxation. Over-taxation is but killing the hen that lays gold eggs.

Tanjore E. BALASUBRAMANIAN.

Swatantra!
Swatantra!!
Swatantra!!!



Amrutanjan

ARE YOU WORRIED

AT THE STREAKS OF GREY PEERING
THROUGH YOUR LOCKS OF HAIR, OR
AT THE BUNCH OF HAIR COMING OFF
ON YOUR COMB?

SWATHI'S MEDICATED HAIR OIL

PREVENTS THIS.

SWATHI PRODUCTS LTD.

Post Box 655
MADRAS

IMPORTANT
TO INFANTS

"BABY GRIPE"

AN INFANTS
PRESERVATIVE



Protects your baby from all
ailments arising out of acidity,
indigestion and other internal
disorders.

Available at all Chemists.

Manufactured by
THE SOUTH INDIAN MFG. CO.
MADRAS

AGENTS: Rajan Drug Stores, Nynsappa Naloken Street, Madras-3; Sotharam
General Stores, Bowbada; Grijha Medical Stores, Bangalore City.

UNSURPASSED

IN PROMOTING
LUXURANT GROWTH
OF HAIR - - -



JABCO HAIR GROWER

MADE OF RARE HERBS



JAYA BHARATHAM CO.
Madras - Bangalore - Ernakulam

SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 2.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1947

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Cover Page—Jai Prakash Narain, Leader of the Congress Socialist Party	
Rainy Night (picture)—By H. V. Ram Gopal	4
Editorial Comments	5
Sotto Voce—By Vighneswarar	9
Marks For Good Wifeship—By Mahomed Nizam	10
Sidelights—By Saka	11
Ministerial Crisis In Madras— By Our Political Correspondent	13
The Temple Entry Bill—By S. R. Venkataraman	15
The Slum Problem—By R. Javanthnathan	16
Gentlemen Of The Press—By "Sphinx"	17
The Gentle Art—By "P. M."	19
Jai Prakash Narain—By V. V. Prasad	21
An Evening In Peiping (short story)—By K. K. Rao	22
Spotlight On The World—By Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A.	24
Protection For Protector! (cartoon)—By R. K. Laxman	26
Prema Goes To The A.I.R.—By K. Sunder Rajan	28
Dr. Julian Huxley	30
A Fair Deal For The Teacher— By Binod	31
Reforms For Travancore—By "Mimi"	33
Kundan Narain	36
Chiang Kai-shek	38
Confucian Socialism Vs. Marxian Communism—By V. G. Nair	39
Brigadier Cariappa—By N. P.	41
Late Ch. Subblah Naidu—By M. S. Prakasa Rao, B.Sc., LL.B.	42
Books	43
Letters	45



RAINY NIGHT

—by H. V. Ram Gopal.

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 2

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

CRISIS BREWING

CONGRESS-LEAGUE relations at the Centre are fast heading into a crisis. Before the advent of the League into the Interim Government, perfect harmony prevailed between its Congress and non-Congress elements and Lord Wavell had a taste of what a British Viceroy's position would be reduced to if the Indian Executive at the Centre acted unitedly. He evidently did not like it. He took steps to introduce disharmony into the Central Government. In fairness to Lord Wavell it must be said that he had striven very hard over a long period to get leaders of the principal Indian political parties to join the Government at the Centre replacing the hand-picked men that had previously composed the Central Executive Council. But when he was confronted with the result of his labours in the form of a Cabinet that worked like a team, knew how to combine and unite for common tasks and had the gift of adjusting differences among its component elements, he found power slipping away from him, and the experience threw him into a fright. From that moment Lord Wavell was a changed man with a definite anti-Congress bias. He turned to Mr. Jinnah to rescue him and the British Empire from the inevitable extinction of political power in double quick time with which they were threatened as a result of the assumption of office by the Congress at the Centre. Mr. Jinnah rushed to Lord Wavell's rescue as it gave him a

golden opportunity to play more adroitly than ever before the traditional game associated with his leadership of the League, of exploiting the differences between the Congress and the British for the aggrandisement of his party.

In the struggle of the Congress for Indian independence, Mr. Jinnah views himself as an outsider. Not as a detached outsider looking on at a fight and leaving it to take its own course, but as an interested tactician wishing to see it go on uninterrupted, so that by playing on the fears of the parties he could reap personal and sectional advantages impossible otherwise. In Congress-Muslim League relations, there has been nothing like equity and justice as between the interests represented by the two organisations. It has been one continual process of yielding, on the part of the Congress, to the demands of the League, irrespective of their being fair or unfair, out of a desire to prevent the League from throwing its weight on the side of British power. This sort of placation of Mr. Jinnah by the Congress has set him up before the Muslims as an extremely clever and able tactician who knew, every time the Congress wrung more power from the British, how to force a diversion of the lion's share of it to the League. Their admiration of Mr. Jinnah is a product of gratified sectional interest, to the fulfilment of which the Congress has contributed most

generously in the past, since Mr. Jinnah's hectoring and the studied submission of the Congress to it, have built up for Muslims in India, with the least amount of strain and struggle, a larger amount of special favours and privileges than is enjoyed by any other community. The Congress pampers the League for fear of a combination between the League and the British. British authority pampers the League for fear of a combination between the League and the Congress. These combined pamperings illustrate the tactical advantage traceable to the fight between the Congress and the British, enjoyed by Mr. Jinnah and the League, and if he is to continue to enjoy that position, the struggle between the Congress and the British should go on and there should be no settlement. The plain fact of the matter is that Mr. Jinnah is selfishly interested in the continuance of British rule and the continuance of the Congress struggle to overcome it, and the whole drift of his policy as leader of the Muslim League has been towards unpatriotic thwarting of the success of the nationalist forces in the country engaged in a fight with British power for political freedom. As open unashamed acceptance of foreign rule cannot pass muster with common people, Mr. Jinnah has thrown to the latter the concept of Pakistan to beguile their love of freedom. But if freedom has anything to do with Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah is the worst sinner against it, as at present he has reached the stage of being the greatest bulwark of British power in India protecting it from the forces impelling it to quit the country.

It was no wonder, therefore, that Lord Wavell and Mr. Jinnah should have made common cause against the Congress in the Interim Government. On the pretext of helping the League to join the Constituent Assembly, Lord Wavell brought the League into the Interim Government. He is reported to have

told Pandit Nehru that Mr. Jinnah had pledged himself to come into the Constituent Assembly after the admission of his nominees to the Interim Government. There has been much shady camouflage as to whether it was Mr. Jinnah or Lord Wavell that broke a pledge, but it has served as nothing else could have done, to reveal the close unity of purpose between the Viceroy and the League for causing obstruction to the Congress. Apart from main political issues, ever since the advent of the League into the Interim Government, there has been such insufferable administrative chaos deliberately introduced in the administration through the pursuit of communalism in some of its wild and vicious forms, that its continuance, for which Lord Wavell cannot escape responsibility, must be regarded as a blot on his character as an administrator and as a sign of his unfitness for the high office he holds. It looks as if Lord Wavell, a chela of Churchill, unable to reconcile himself to the liquidation of British imperialist power in India, has planned deliberately for a regime of confusion and disruption at the Centre, to prove Indian incapacity for self-rule and the indispensability of British authority for the sake of peace.

Lord Wavell has written himself down as an enemy of Indian freedom, and while he continues at the helm, any prolonged continuance of the Congress in the Interim Government is unthinkable. He has acted as if he regards Hindu-Muslim differences as a British asset. His recall is indispensable for Hindu-Muslim peace in India. League aggressiveness has been encouraged by Lord Wavell's attitude, and the League is not likely to be turned to the path of conciliation so long as his patronage is available for it. In the event of the British Government deciding to keep Lord Wavell at his post, we may soon expect the exit of the Congress from

the Interim Government, accompanied at once by a fresh nationwide movement for freedom. Provincial Congress Governments will then be confronted with the task of how to reconcile the limitations imposed on them by statute with the obligations of their duty to the Congress. The risks and uncertainties of the Congress-League position at the Centre call for highest mobilisation of Congress unity in the provinces so that Congress organisations there might be enabled to act with utmost efficiency in any emergency of the immediate future. It is a pity therefore, that the spirit of quest for jobs should in a province like Madras lead to disruption within the Congress Party to the hurt of its established leadership. The occasion calls for discipline and the avoidance of quarrels, for energetic cooperation of all in common tasks, and in Madras as well as elsewhere, all who have unthinkingly lapsed into petty self-seeking intrigues, should pull themselves up into higher conceptions of public duty and national service, if only because of the very critical times that lie ahead of the Congress to which they have all pledged their loyalties.

The Railway Budget

IN A POLITICAL atmosphere that is depressing it is perhaps impossible to produce a budget that radiates optimism but Mr. John Mathai has succeeded in taking the Railway budget out of the ordinary rut by approaching the problem from a scientific and practical point of view. While we are unable to agree with some of his generalisations, especially his reference to the self-defeating effects of wage increases because inflation not merely continues to exist but is on the increase,—we cannot but admit that the budget as a whole reveals the careful preparation behind it in the hands of

an economist-businessman. Our regret is that his services could not be made use of in a much larger sphere for the purpose of controlling and remodelling the general finances of the country in the most fateful period of its history, on account of the operation of communal and party considerations.

A considerable part of the budget speech is devoted to the demands for the increase of wages and other amenities by the Railway employees. Considering that 63 per cent of the total working expenses is spent on staff pay, allowances, gratuities, provident fund contributions and loss on cheap grain shops, it is only fair that this aspect of Railway expenditure gets the main attention. While it might be something in the nature of an assurance to the workers that if the findings of the Adjudicator in the first instance and the findings of the Central Pay Commission that is now at work later on, lead to the grant of further concessions to the workers, provision for the increased expenditure on this account will have to be made by means of a supplementary demand being presented to the Legislature, it can scarcely satisfy the public with whom the proposed increase of 6¼% on the fares will not be popular. Dr. Mathai cites in support of his proposal to increase fares the fact that while the cost of living has risen enormously, Railway fares have been subjected to an increase of 12½% only and consequently a further increase of 6¼% will not be a great burden on the public. Perhaps he is not aware that the same reasons were put forward by Sir Edward Benthall and Sir Jeremy Raisman two years back but the Legislature was not in a mood to accept the validity of the argument and the proposal for an increase in fares was voted down.

We are glad to see that Dr. Mathai feels that the appointment of the

High power committee to recommend economies in all branches of the Railway administration as well as economies 'by any other means' does not fully exhaust the entire range of possibilities for cutting down expenditure and that he proposes to take measures to remodel the whole technique of financial control. The separation of 'expert facts' audit from control over expenditure is much overdue. We are however not convinced that there is any valid excuse for further postponement of regrouping of Railways as we feel that such changes in the Railway administration as regrouping might entail, had better be done during the present time when remodelling of the organisation to suit peace-time needs is also being undertaken. Nor are we able to appreciate that the proposed construction of new lines and the restoration of abandoned lines would make regrouping at present premature. Dr. Mathai's idea of regrouping seems to be for creating units covering equal mileage instead of undertaking regionalisation on the basis of homogeneity of the economic conditions of each region.

On the question of revision of rate structure Dr. Mathai's approach seems to suffer on account of his academic economic background. While we do not favour over-simplification of this intricate problem we feel a beginning has to be made in regard to the simplification of the existing complicated and be-

wildering rate structure, sooner than later. The relation between the Railway revenues and their contribution to the general revenues has been a thorny question far too long. The failure of the 1924 Convention, specially when there was no surplus in the Railway budgets during the decade following, has impressed all concerned about the need for further investigation into the matter so that the insularity that the Railway administration was fast developing may not lead to the general revenues (and thereby the tax-payer) being deprived of their dues. The committee set up by the Legislature two years back was unable to reach any conclusions as its complementary expert committee presided over by Mr. Sankara Iyer, a former Railway Financial Commissioner, was not enabled to report on the state of obsolescence of the rolling stock and other depreciating assets. It would appear that Dr. Mathai proposed to revive the Railway Convention Committee though its personnel might be different and we hope, now that vested interests are no longer in control over the Railways, that the new committee will be enabled to reach conclusions satisfactory to the general tax-payer while placing Railway finances on a sound basis. Dr. Mathai's effort, while it suffers from being overcautious, has nevertheless in it the hall-mark of expert handling which we feel augurs well for the future.

I was so impressed by the courtesy of a conductor toward the passengers on a street-car in Chicago that I spoke to him about it when the crowd had thinned out. "Well," he explained, "about five years ago I read in the paper about a man who was included in a will just because he was polite. 'What the heck,' I thought, 'it might happen to me.' So I started treating passengers like people. And it makes me feel so good that now I don't care if I never get a million dollars!"—R. Webber, Jr., (Chicago, Illinois.).

Sotto Voce

The Two Birds



A QUERULOUS bus-load of office-slaves forgot their contentions for a moment when, passing a European hostelry, they saw a sight that transported them back to childhood. Two young men were making ready for a game. A net hanging from a cross-bar had to be patched *in situ* and the cross-bar could not be reached from the ground, being too high. A ladder might have been requisitioned but was not—either because it would have been inconvenient or, more likely, because they liked to do it the other way. And that way was the way beloved of children—and monkeys. One young man rode astraddle over the shoulders of the other and attended to the business quietly, efficiently and without a trace of self-consciousness.

If the rider was bland the mount was positively blithe. Steadying his load with a hand on each heel of his companion he moved about as the latter's task required, without giving a thought to the matter, obeying the laws, as it seemed, of some inner impulsion. Within the narrow ambit of that march up and down he was executing, with a demure precision, the steps of a miniature dance and whistling an appropriately merry tune. That passing glimpse of the jocund pair brought a smile even to the face of the strap-hanger.

It is not quite easy to imagine two Indians of the same age taking their pleasure in that wholly natural way. For one thing they would, it is to be feared, think it too childish. For another, the question of

settling who was to ride and who was to be ridden might prove insoluble. The commonsense way of deciding it would perhaps be that the taller of the two should carry the shorter or that man with the nimbler fingers should be enabled to use them to do the work quickly. But commonsense makes hay of personal prestige. And, having little else left, we feel we cannot afford to lose 'face.'

Tamil legend speaks with pride of two poets, one blind and the other lame, who pooled their physical resources as well as their gift of song and moved about from court to court with as much ease and dignity as if they had caparisoned steeds to carry them. For a breed of fierce individualists, what splendid co-operation! The locus classicus on the subject is the Upanishadic story of the two birds, the one eating the fruit of the *peepul*, the other looking on in blissful contentment. Poetry and contemplation, being self-forgetful activities, have no use for "saving face."

It is this self-forgetfulness that is the secret of happiness, whether you are playing a game or trying to realise the Atman. The world's work has to be carried on; and it involves much drudgery for many millions which not all the infinite potentialities of the split atom can avail to banish. And the modern habit of romanticizing work is no remedy either. The "play-way," whether in education or in life, is just a euphemism for dodging reality. But work, as a function of being, need be no more unpleasant

than digestion in a healthy man and no more self-conscious.

The young man at the cross-bar busy mending his net had no time to think of his proud elevation on the shoulders of a fellow-human. And the latter, so far from regarding himself as a beast of burden, skipped and sang for sheer joy, moving on the light fantastic toe like a well-ballasted boat. The net would no doubt have to be fixed up again and again. But the uncalculating joy the young men had in the doing of it was pure gain. It is the kind of joy that jealous rivals and crafty intriguers can never know—whether they are cricketers with an eye on the box-office who try to browbeat the umpire or

upstart ambition and wounded vanity intent on pulling down a Ministry.

Spinoza polished lenses for a living. Thiruvalluvar practised his hereditary craft of weaving as deliberately as he practised the higher life. They neither idealised work nor claimed immunity from it. Their conduct, being free from the slightest suggestion of the theatrical, attracted to itself neither disturbing adulation nor unhealthy curiosity. It was of such that the poet said that they were "true to the kindred points of heaven and home." To the free all things are free.

VIGNESWARA.

MARKS FOR GOOD WIFESHIP

by MAHOMED NIZAM

The contents of *Swatantra* of 11th January overpowered me. I went through article after article, and my curious eyes caught the quotation of Robert Burns. His scale of marks for good-wifeship has not satisfied me. He had given 4 marks for good nature out of 10 and 2 marks for good sense. It is good sense that moulds the perfect character. Out of good sense one should become the maker of the new world. The Mahatma ranks to-day as one of the highest and most superb personalities of the world by virtue of his good sense. Good nature compulsorily follows good sense. Hence a maximum of 3 marks is reasonable for good sense and good nature should have no precedence over good sense.

Next he gave one mark for wit. That is quite inadequate. Are we not aware of the fact that our Indian Nightingale (Sarojini Naidu) often brought the weary Congress Committee members to ceaseless

laughter by her ready wit? Wit deserves twice the number of marks given to it by Burns.

Then to personal charms, viz., a sweet face, eloquent eyes, fine limbs, graceful carriage, he awarded one mark. This too is unfair. In fact each of them deserves high appreciation. Shakespeare paid a high tribute to women's eyes.

I do agree with Burns about the value he has set on education. It deserves fully the two marks given to it. Education is necessary for every housewife. But education should be of the right type based on scientific methods. "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." That should be the spirit of education. Are we not proud that Vijayalakshmi Pandit has won world-wide fame through education? I wish India would give birth to more of such children who would spend their lives to win freedom, peace and progress.

SIDELIGHTS

Democracy ought not to be equated with perfection, for it is not an exercise in perfectionism. If it is to function, democracy requires sacrifice. It is the most difficult and delicate form of government, as it is based on the accommodation of both similar and different tastes making diverse claims on a limited amount of goods. For democratic government there is no regular or easy recourse to the bludgeon, the revolver, or the chloroform of propaganda.

—HERMAN FINER.

THE remarkable thing about the "no-confidence" motion that is being proposed against the Madras Premier is the utter lack of confidence among themselves on the part of the signatories. The 110 signatures, of which so much is talked about, have not yet been brought into a common pool. Dr. Rajan holds one list of the signatories of his group, and Kamaraj Nadar another list of his supporters. The two leaders trust each other so little that one is not prepared to hand over his list to the other!

The public ought to know that within three or four days of Dr. Rajan coming into the open as a signatory of the no-confidence move, he and another of his group were to be sworn in as Ministers. This was agreed to between him and the Premier, and was about to be implemented. Just then trouble arose in Dr. Rajan's own camp where one or two that wished to be Ministers themselves raised a storm. Generally when an ambitious politician finds himself about to be baulked of his ambition, a "principle" comes into play, which he gets hold of and it is used as a bludgeon to prevent any other snatching the prize coveted by him. And along with the principle, if he is lucky, he discovers an appropriate apostle in the powerful position of being able to uphold it without any taint of self-interest. Such an apostle, in this case, was Sri. A. Vaidyanatha Iyer. The one man in the whole body of

Congress legislators in Madras Province that is absolutely unmoved by the lure of a Ministership is Vaidyanatha Iyer. Because of his easy irritability, bluntness, and capacity for tactless assertion of unpleasant truths, he is a very inconvenient colleague and treads on everybody's corns. But in respect of indifference to material rewards, genuineness and honesty of purpose, he is a veritable saint on earth and is profoundly venerated by all as such. To him Rajaji is a god in human form. "Are we to barter for a couple of Ministerships all that we have stood for these months?" he asked. Dr. Rajan's plan of joining the Ministry wilted before his attack. Let the public note that Dr. Rajan's "no-confidence" in Prakasam must be taken to be totally unconnected with anything that the Premier did or failed to do, as only three or four days earlier he was prepared to accept his leadership and join his Cabinet as Minister. Actually it was the internal trouble within his group which obstructed his original intention of accepting office in the Prakasam Ministry, that fructified in public as "no-confidence" in the Premier.

The content of the "no-confidence" attitude of Kamaraj Nadar is also an interesting study. His hitch with the Premier began when the latter refused his request for a Ministership to Madhava Menon. If Prakasam had appointed Madhava Menon as Minister, Kamaraj's vanity would have been soothed and the attack on the Premier would not have started so soon. It would have waited till some other request turned down by the Premier provided the occasion for a grouse. The genesis of Kamaraj's lack of confidence in the Premier is traceable to the Premier's refusal to change him by finding a place for his appointee on the Cabinet. Since the day of that refusal, Kamaraj became an embittered man bent on

bringing about Prakasam's downfall. In the pursuit of this aim he has abandoned what at one time was the sheet-anchor of his politics—the right of a Congress province to determine its own leader without intervention from the High Command. To prevent C. R. from becoming leader, Kamaraj swore by the doctrine of provincial independence. To oust Prakasam from the Premiership, the same Kamaraj has now forsworn the doctrine which he preached as so sacred a year ago and he has handed over his apostasy as a present to Dr. Rajan and his friends to tempt them to join him in pulling Prakasam down. Nadar is using all the resources of his office of Presidentship of the P. C. C. for indulgence in a personal hatred.

The third group participating in the no-confidence move consists of Andhra legislators. Gopala Reddi and Kala Venkat Rao are its leading figures. These two have been changing one leader after another with an eye on office, until now they are left with no politics except that of rank self-interest. Over a year ago, at Rajahmundry, Gopala Reddi strained every nerve to prepare the ground for a no-confidence motion against Prakasam in the P. C. C. But when he found that a threatening mob had surrounded the building shouting imprecations at the anti-Prakasam party, Gopala Reddi consulted his safety by himself moving a vote of confidence in Prakasam, while his fellow no-confidence-wallahs melted into thin air. Disappointed greed for power has unbalanced Kala Venkata Rao to such an extent that he nowadays goes about proclaiming everywhere that in Andhra politics there is no room for both him and Prakasam, and so the Premier should quit.

It is not proposed here to defend the Ministry against its blunders. It has made a mess of several very important of its public responsibilities. The Premier has not chosen his colleagues wisely. Some of them have been stabbing him in the back with secretive support to hostile elements bent on giving him trouble. The charge of inefficiency is such as cannot be lightly dismissed. Everywhere there is discontented talk of the doings of a pampered civilian who is running the administration much as he likes. While all this is conceded, the fact remains that the no-confidence move has nothing to do with defects in the administration, since precious little of attention was devoted to any discussion on them in any of the numerous party meetings recently held. In party meetings Prakasam has had continual triumph in the matter of securing support for his policies. Most of this no-confidence of which so much is being made is a canvassed affair. Its protagonists are prompted by desire for positions, and would have been silenced if Prakasam had yielded to them and gratified that desire. Lack of confidence, if genuine, would have manifested itself openly in party meetings first, instead of in the form of an outburst in the Press after prolonged private hunting for signatures. Groups in the party and open public defiance of leadership in advance of discussion within the party are disruptive of discipline, and on disciplinary grounds the disruptors have placed themselves in a position justifying their exclusion from serious responsibilities. How fantastic it is now for Kamaraj Nadar to describe the whole affair as "domestic," after having done everything in his power to deprive it of that quality.—SAKA.

(17th February, 1947).

A newly married young man said, "During courtship, I talked and she listened; after marriage, she talked and I listened; and now, we both talk, and neighbours listen."

MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN MADRAS

(From Our Political Correspondent)

A democratic system of government can function effectively only when a balance is maintained among the several organs that constitute it. These organs are the electorate, the legislature, the party and the Cabinet. Each has got a part to play and each must be prepared to play its legitimate part. When any of these ceases to function or usurps the part that belongs to any of the other organs, Government ceases to be democratic and becomes dictatorial. The electorate should keep a vigilant and constant watch over the other three organs but should not try to interfere in the day-to-day administration, which is not properly doing its function. Similarly each of the other organs should keep itself within the limits and the sphere which are proper to it.

The ministerial crisis in Madras to-day is the outcome of the attempt on the part of the party in majority to usurp the functions belonging to the Cabinet and reduce the Cabinet to the position of a mere agent of the party with no discretion of its own in implementing policies and in carrying on the day-to-day administration. Owing to the absence of a strong party in opposition in the legislature some of the groups inside the party in power are usurping the functions which rightly belong to the party in opposition. They are making it impossible for the Ministry to run the administration of the Province.

With a view to explore the causes behind the move against the present Ministry I interviewed about twenty members of the Congress Legislature Party and I found that personal rivalries are responsible for the no-confidence motion against Mr. Prakasam. Several of those that are opposed to him and that have signed the no-confidence motion do not know exactly why they did so. They were unable to

explain their position. Several others stated that they did not differ from him on questions of policy or legislation or on the general principles of administration. The only grievance these had against him was that he was not in the habit of consulting his party before announcing his policies or proposals for new legislative measures. When it was pointed out to them that in 1937-39 when the Congress was in office there were fewer meetings of the party and discussions were brief and that in these respects things are certainly better to-day, they had nothing to say. It is to this attitude and the outcome of it that the term party dictatorship and usurpation is to be applied. There were however some members who accused the present Ministry of many serious shortcomings like (1) corruption, (2) incompetence, (3) partisanship in giving jobs and in nominating persons to Committees like Village Committees, (4) interference through personal recommendations in administration by permanent officials, (5) abuse of power in granting licences, control permits and (6) frequent changes in policies as in the case of cloth rationing. More general charges levelled against the Ministry are (1) that it has no well thought out plan; (2) that its legislation is hasty and of a piecemeal character and (3) that it is ruining industry through the textile policy and through the formation of producer-consumer-co-operative societies. One member seriously argued that the Congress should not wage war against middlemen and merchants as it was through their support that it had won the elections and as it is sure to lose the next election if this support is lost. It was put to them whether at any of the party meetings serious charges like corruption were formally made and what answer the Prime Minister

if the other Ministers gave. The reply however was that it was not ne, and that it would be done sometime later. This is not fair to the Ministry. They should be informed of the grounds on which the Government has lost confidence in them and given an opportunity to explain themselves. Failure to do this has resulted in mere propaganda against the Government and every one is aware what technical propaganda can do.

To the question whether all this is being done with a view to bring the Government back to Madras the answer is not direct. They could only say that there was nothing wrong with such a move and that it could not be wrong at all, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Prakasam himself had been trying to patch up his differences with C. R.

It therefore appears that on the whole the present move is the result of some of the groups in the Congress Party disliking Mr. Prakasam personally and of the leaders of these groups adopting any and every means to get into the Cabinet. It is a species of job-hunting though it be at the ministerial level. Personal rivalries and power politics are at the bottom of the whole affair and not any differences in regard to principles or programmes. If there are such differences it ought to be the duty of the leaders of the rival groups to take the electorate into confidence and tell their constituents why they made Mr.

Prakasam leader eight months ago and why they wish to dispose him now. The party groups are not everything. The electorate is ultimately their master. They seem to forget this.

If the move of the group leaders succeeds it will lead to disastrous consequences. Power politics will come to stay permanently in the Province. Other groups would be organised and their leaders would only be interested in making and unmaking Ministries. Ministries would be spending their time not in solving problems of food, clothing or housing but in keeping themselves in office. The Congress itself would become discredited and power would pass perhaps into the hands of Communists. When driven out of office Mr. Prakasam is sure to appeal to the masses and carry on a whirlwind campaign against the group leaders who are making it impossible for any Ministry to carry on constructive work. There will be division in the ranks of Congressmen and the struggle for freedom on which the country will have to enter in the near future will receive a set-back. It will not do therefore for the Congress High Command to be indifferent to what is going on in Madras. It must promptly intervene, put an end once for all to rival cliques and groups inside the Congress and penalise the formations of such groups in the future.

Celebrating birthdays is a vicious practice because it keeps reminding us of the passage of time. And time in the minds of most people is what brings on old age. That is a mistake. Your age is not a question of years, but of the condition of your body and the state of your mind. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Countless men and women are growing old faster than there is any physical reason for, simply because they think they are growing old.

Back of this keeping count of our birthdays is a secret dread of them. And back of our interest in other people's birthdays is a wish to assure ourselves that they are growing old just as fast as we are. Women are right when they avoid telling their age in years. Youth is not a matter of years but of mental and emotional spontaneity and activity.

Keep your enthusiasms, and forget your birthdays.—
Eugene Lyman Fisk, M.D., in *The American Magazine*.

THE TEMPLE ENTRY BILL

by S. R. VENKATARAMAN

THE Temple Entry Bill now on the anvil of the Madras Legislature is unnecessarily cautious and defective in many particulars and requires to be greatly amended.

Clause (3) in Section 1 says that that section alone in the Act will come into force immediately and that the other provisions in the Act will come into force as and when a publication to that effect is made by the Government in the Fort St. George Gazette. The first section deals with the title of the Act and the extent of its jurisdiction. According to Clause 3 of this section we can have a Temple Entry Act extending to the whole of the province whose enabling provisions will not come into force immediately. Though legislations of this kind are not uncommon, it is strange that this procedure should have been adopted in the case of this particular Act. This Act if passed with this limitation is as good as not having an Act at all. We do not know what the intentions of the Government are. The Statement of Objects and Reasons does not furnish a clue to the puzzle. Is it the intention of the Government to apply the provisions of the Act as and when circumstances favour enforcement of the provisions of the Act in respect of a particular temple in a particular place? If that is the intention of the Government, they may as well pursue their present policy of opening temples by persuasion, instead of stultifying themselves by bringing such an anemic and lifeless Act. The penal section in the Act will be meaningless when temples are thrown open by persuasion, the Government setting their seal of approval under this Act either before or after a temple is thrown open by persuasion. If temples are thrown open by persuasion, where is the need for a penal provision in the Act?

A reform like temple entry is long overdue and a halting measure will do more harm than good. There-

fore it is desirable that all the provisions in the Bill with the amendments that are suggested below are brought into force immediately.

The term Hindu should include Jains and Buddhists so as to make the Hindu religion the universal religion that it was once. I would go a step further and suggest that a leaf may be taken from the historic Temple Entry Proclamation of the Maharaja of Travancore. The acceptance of Hinduism by Dr. Jayaram Cousins on the basis of this Proclamation has universalised the Hindu religion. In fact it will be a memorable day when temples are thrown open to people of other faiths also, who come to the temple in a devout spirit. The newly built temple of Sri Lakshminarayan in New Delhi is open to everyone who believes in Arya Dharma. The Christian Church, the Mohammedan Mosque, the Buddhist Vihara and the Jain Bhasi are open to people of every faith. But the Parsis like the Hindus do not allow any non-Parsi to enter their Agiari. These distinctions should disappear from the house of God. My plea is that every Hindu temple should be thrown open to any one who conforms to the rules laid down for the worship of Hindus. If this reform is given effect to, especially in the present temper of our country's religion and politics, it will bring the different communities nearer and establish the much desired concord and unity between them.

Section 4 empowers the trustees to make rules for regulating worship in the temple under the Act. This is not a satisfactory provision. It is desirable that the Government themselves frame the minimum number of rules applicable to all temples alike and allow the trustees to make supplementary rules wherever deemed necessary, subject to the approval of the Government and provided they are not in conflict with the rules made by Government.

The clause relating to penalty is very lenient. Imprisonment along with fine should be made compulsory. Just as collective fines are levied in places where people disturb public peace and security, a similar

collective fine may be collected from all those in a village, town or locality who are against the provisions of this Act and who organise, finance and openly take part in any activity directed against temple entry.

THE SLUM PROBLEM

by R. JAVANTHINATHAN

MANY recognise vaguely that the wretched hovels in which millions of our fellow-countrymen are born, live and die, constitute a menace to public health and morality, but they appear to imagine that the whole responsibility of dealing with so vast and complicated a problem can be cast on the shoulders of the Government or local authorities or blamed upon private landlords. Little do they realise that this problem needs much care and hard thinking for its solution and can be tackled only with the joint effort of both the public and the authorities.

The slum dwellers with their lack of knowledge of the principles of hygiene and sanitation may protest at the attempt of the authorities to lay their hands on their abodes and thus prove obstructive to improvement schemes.

Since the majority of the denizens of the slums belong to the labour classes who are bigoted and tied to the traditional way of living, it may prove difficult to wean them from their superstitions and inculcate in their minds the necessity for a changed way of living.

Experience goes to show that some of the new buildings of the speculative landlords who are bent upon exacting high rents, erected with the help of an underpaid contractor, and with the cheapest and most inferior materials at the greatest speed, tend to develop into slums. Such a practice must be put an end to. These are some of the hurdles that have to be crossed before actually the task of improvement of slums can be embarked upon.

Local authorities must go round in propaganda vans and appeal to

slum-dwellers to cooperate in their attempt to fight the menace of physical and moral degeneration arising out of the existing unhealthy conditions, which will make the first step of slum clearance an easy task.

The Government must step forward with loans to owners for reconstructing the slum-houses and recover the loans by instalments. The Government must provide funds for erecting temporary tenement buildings in far off sites to prove shelter to the slum-dwellers during the period of construction of new houses in their original places of residence.

Rules of hygiene and sanitation must be enforced while reconditioning of houses takes place and an official must be posted to supervise the construction at each stage. All new constructions must be provided with plenty of air space and light around them. Construction must be carried out at the greatest possible speed with the best engineering skill and slum clearance must take place gradually, first on an experimental basis, and then continued.

Employers of big businesses and factories must be asked to undertake colonies for their labourers. Rent must be charged moderately so as to suit the means of each labourer. Propaganda must be undertaken, preferably by women officers, to teach each housewife, the principles of sanitation. Facilities of medical aid within reach of even the lowest-paid must be provided so as to stave off epidemics, etc. Education of slum-dwellers is equally necessary. The Khadi scheme and Prohibition will provide the necessary moral appeal.

GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS

by "SPHINX"

IF there is a body of people as much sought after as they are dreaded, it is the Gentlemen of the Press.

These are seen all over. In Government Houses and at the gates of prisons, in the conference halls and at the scene of riots, in the music pavilions and at the High Court Sessions—they are, like God, omnipresent.

They are the eyes and ears of the public. They write about editors, politicians, saints, musicians, dancers and cine stars. Yes, they write about all others, but no one writes about them. The public—discerning or otherwise—while reading what all they give, hardly try to know anything about what are termed "reporters".

"Reporters!" What manner of men are they? Well, here is a pageant of the top few who rove about the city of Madras for news.

Vasudeviah, the Chief Reporter of *The Hindu*, is the tallest among pressmen. Encased in what would strike one as an odd assemblage of clothing—trousers, close-coat and turban wound round to produce maximum effect with minimum material—he works at the higher levels of society and politics. He will cut with utmost good-humour the news-veins of his victims and drain them to the last particle of information. But, if you try to play the same trick on him, you will find him wearing a steel armour. What you can get by way of replies to your questions is just a nod or a smile or both. If it is a purposeless chat, you can catch Vasudeviah being even garrulous. He keeps confidences and therefore evokes respect. He is the squadron-leader of about ten dreadnoughts.

The man who is seen going about most is A. K. Venkatesan, sharp-featured and intellectual to look at. You can see Venkatesan in two dress-styles. Dhoti wound round the waist as per Brahminical tradition, close-coat and turban with faded streaks of sandal paste shooting horizontally across his forehead—these mean that Venkatesan is out to attend some offi-

cial business. But when he comes out in dhoti, shirt, often khadi and angavasthrum of the same brand, with his knotted tuft as his only head-gear, you can be sure he is out to cover a meeting. With a record speed in shorthand, Venkatesan displays remarkable political insight and sense of proportion in reporting meetings. He is particularly skilful in rendering Tamil speeches into English. He is of *The Hindu* and in serving the paper, friends and colleagues are at a discount.

If, during the days when the Madras Legislative Assembly is in session, you see in the lobbies anybody bounding along as though equipped with india-rubber heels, you have spotted Ganapathi Sarma, the Chief Reporter of the *Indian Express*. Sarma has a real nose for news, though his nose is somewhat snubbed in his rather mangaloid face-cast. His eyes, always a-twinkle, often bubble up with mischief. He has a knack of sizing up the human side of events and of imparting some colour to monotonous incidents, lifting them up to a level of interest. There is a touch of Americanism in his make-up. He wouldn't wait to get the dead man to confirm his own death before putting the news through. He shows remarkable *esprit de corps*. He would fight like a cat on the side of his colleagues.

Ramachandran, who is Sarma's lieutenant, looks a little compressed in his suit. He, too, is a man who wouldn't regard sensationalism as something untouchable in news-purvey. He is very often silent, sometimes as cool as a frigidaire. At such times regard him as a tiger waiting for a spring. A good friend, he is a better reporter.

For acid "asides" which would evoke peals of laughter from the press gallery and reduce those for whom they were intended to powder were they within ear-shot, Desikachari, the Chief Reporter of the

Mail would suffer no rivals. He is a specialist in sensationalism, especially if that relates to Congress politics. He views Congress politics with microscopic eyes and paints differences, disharmonies and quarrels in outsize proportions. The notorious "third page" in the *Mail* could not have been conducted without the "scoopy" aid of Desikachari. There is always a sneer lurking between his twitched lips and when it comes to the question of asserting his right, he will do it irrespective of persons. He is a veteran who has hob-nobbed with a vast procession of politicians.

Chakravarthi of *Swadesamitran* looks aggressively orthodox, his dress and his forehead trumpeting the fact rather loud. He knows when to speak. More than that, he knows when to stop and where. He wears a smile which is a smile in the company of friends; but it is a grin in the midst of those he dislikes. He carries himself quietly and plies his trade with success.

Everytime you meet Ganapathi, the assistant of Chakravarthi, you have a feeling that a comedian has strayed into journalism. His jokes—he would very often indulge in "body-line bowling"—would set people go in guffas. By raising his eyebrows, by glancing his eyes, by twitching his mouth and by shaking his head, he would produce a comic effect throwing his over-worked colleagues into ripples of laughter. You can find cynicism hanging round the corner of his lips. He would give the impression that he is not as serious as the rest of his colleagues but he is a tough guy.

Mark out Vanchinatha Iyer of *Dinamani* and *New Times*—clean-shaven head, forehead painted thick with sandal paste, unbuttoned close-coat hanging loose with either of the pockets stuffed with peeping papers and dhoti tied not in studied trim. But mark him also as an ace news-sleuth who knows more about our city papers and provincial politicians than the rest. Vanchinatha Iyer has served practically in all the

newspapers of the city and most of the present generation of reporters were trained by him. He has his own way of news-gathering and wouldn't mind being aggressive in the discharge of his functions. Age notwithstanding, he is quick of limb and brain. He is a big man and there is nothing small about him. He has no rancour, no malice. Only don't mention the name of Rajaji. He will then flare up.

Subramanyam of the *Free Press*, *Bharat Devi* group is a youngster who is building himself up fast. Nice friend, good reporter too.

Viswanatha Iyer of Associated Press looks a very glum man indeed. But he is not. He is serious because he takes his job seriously. But if you catch him when he is not on his work, he is very jovial and very nice. Representing the most important news agency, he is eternally on the whirl. But in his case news often tracks him. That is his luck.

The United Press has a chubby young fellow, Ramaswamy, the only man who has a muscular build among pressmen. Quite clever in his job, you can see him more often listening to people with squint-eyed interest than speaking. He knows some text-book Hindi and during Mahatmaj's visit he was the mainstay of the press gallery for interpreting and not unoften misinterpreting too—Gandhiji's speeches.

With his eyes popping out of their sockets, Swaminathan of the Free Press of India can be seen going about with a portable type-writer, the symbol of hurry. Swaminathan would stake his existence for news. An enterprising news-hound, he would drop people after sucking them news-dry. He has now grown very conscious of the world importance with which his agency has been invested by Mr. Sadanand.

These are the Gentlemen of the Press—gentlemen here, as per Dr. Sinha's ruling, including of course ladies whose absence no doubt robs the community of much colour. Note them when you meet them next.

THE GENTLE ART

by "P. M."

IN a recent issue of *Swatantra*, there appeared a cartoon under the above legend which sought to enrich a venerable phrase with a new meaning. It set me thinking, albeit at a tangent, along lines redolent of many historical and literary associations which I should like to share with my gentle readers.

It may not be generally realised that the term 'gentle' which is now practically emptied of all meaning, had peculiar force and unction wherever it is found used in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It stood for the heroic virtues when applied to men, and among the arts, distinguished the liberal from the mechanical ones. The parvenu who had begun to strike roots was anxious to signify his arrival by going to the College of Heralds in search of a mythical ancestry; and always found one to suit,—for a consideration! The Age of Chivalry was killed by the incognito knight and the squire of low degree; and a series of new times began with every one dubbed a gentleman. Shakespeare uses the epithet judiciously to a choice few and had it applied to himself by his discerning contemporaries!

But it was the right-worshipful and ever-to-be-affectionately-esteemed Master Izaak Walton who used the phrase 'gentle art' to denote angling. That a draper who early retired from business to enjoy *otium cum dignitate* should have achieved a literary masterpiece was itself symptomatic of the historical change from the age of chivalry to that of the Country Gentleman. Written amidst the noise and din of the Civil War, *The Compleat Angler* unfolds an idyllic picture of rural felicity from which, by the rule of contraries, we might almost infer the horrors of the Civil War itself! Walton seems anxious to defend himself against those who might stigmatize his favourite hobby as fit

occupation only for loafers; for the addition of the epithet 'gentle' was calculated to disarm the scoffer as well as to raise the recreation to equal honours with other manly hobbies of the upper classes like shooting, fencing, boxing, riding, etc.

For nearly two centuries, the phrase had remained unknown and unused. Lamb, who recovered many quaint things from the quaint school and gave them a fresh currency with a new gloss, somehow missed this one. I like to imagine that his frequent *tete-a-tetes* with the 'gentle reader' are proof of his awareness to the existence of the phrase itself. But it was left to Whistler, almost towards the end of the nineteenth century, to revive the phrase, but so as with a difference. What he did was something notorious; he destroyed the old association of ideas, and set up a new one of his own fabrication. In 1890 appeared his collection of essays under the catching title: 'The Gentle Art of Making Enemies.'

The late history of the phrase is best given in the words of the discreetly peremptory editor of 'Modern English Usage'—Mr. H. W. Fowler who has become as current as English itself! Says he: 'The oxymoron (of Whistler's title) was what made it effective; but the journalist, aware that Whistler made a hit with 'gentle art,' and failing to see how he did it, has now by rough handling on inappropriate occasions reduced it to a 'BATTERED ORNAMENT.'

Let me hasten to explain that the use of the phrase in the *Swatantra* cartoon is happily exempt from this stricture. For the artist obviously caught the point of Whistler's phrase, and has effected an ironic instead of a contradictory combination. For the art of self-advertisement being vulgar, the ascription of gentility to it suggests an undertone

of delicate irony. In the upshot, however, I am unable to determine who is the party who comes out second-best in the cartoon, taken as a whole!

Let me now pass in review those who have successfully practised the 'gentle art' after the manner of Whistler. It might seem at first sight as if nothing could be easier than to make enemies; in truth, nothing is more difficult. In the first place, your opponent must be worthy of your steel. In the second place, he must oblige by retaliating; for as the proverb hath it, it takes two to make a quarrel. Theoretically speaking, there might be a thousand ways of making enemies; but in practice, not all of them will work, nor all of them merit literary honours. It is only the latter that I have strung together in the following illustrations.

Johnson had a poor opinion of actors. When he heard that Sheridan (father of the famous dramatist and orator) was given a pension for his labours as an elocutionist, he was so annoyed that he exclaimed: 'Then it is time that I gave up mine!' Some eavesdropper faithfully reported the remark to the victim, and a coolness ensued between two who had till then been friends. Everybody knows how Boswell stuck to Johnson like his shadow. Some exasperated English admirer of the great Cham said that Johnson was always followed by that 'Scottish cur.' Goldsmith who was by, gently corrected him by saying: 'O, no, not a Scottish cur, but a Scottish bur!' If the original remark was a sample of the gentle art, the reply was an exquisite instance of the gentle answer that turneth away wrath! Swift who was graduating in misanthropy under the unheeding patronage of Sir William Temple must have received the shock of his life when Dryden, on the strength of some distant kinship, gave him the engaging tip: 'Cousin Swift, thou wilt never be a poet!' In the satirical and oratorical output of the age of Enlightenment, what scintillating specimens of the

gentle art embarrass our choice through their very profusion! Zimri, Achitophel, Atticus, Sporus, together with the victims of Junius, Byron and Canning illustrate the potentialities of an art which is anything but gentle. When Pitt was followed by Addington as a stop-gap premier, some wag remarked

Pitt is to Addington

What London is to Paddington!

The bathos of the change could not have been more neatly pickled for all time! Disraeli described Gladstone's oratorical cascades as wordy ineptitude. Churchill devastated MacDonald on one occasion by saying that the 'Rt. Hon'ble gentleman has more than any other man the gift of compressing the largest number of words into the smallest amount of thought.' By the way, I had almost forgotten Leigh Hunt's classic badinage in describing the Prince Regent as a 'corpulent Adonis of fifty'—*le mot juste* which he had to expropriate by a term of imprisonment for *lese majeste* or *scandalum magnatum* or whatever is the relevant section of the Penal Code. After the outbreak of the last war, when Russia and Germany agreed to a pact over the prostrate body of stricken Poland, *Punch* came out with a biting cartoon representing the two war-lords greeting each other thus:

Hitler to Stalin: Assassin, I presume!

Stalin to Hitler: Murderer, if I am not mistaken!

Such were the compliments which they had been bandying about before the pact, and they reverted to them again in good time,—afterwards!

Let me conclude by pointing out that we in this country have no reason to feel deficient in the gentle art. For Mr. Jinnah has been a host in himself, and has dispensed his favours with reckless prodigality all round. Remember, he traduced the Viceroy as a liar first, and an underling later; he was pleased to com-

pare Jawaharlal to a 'donkey which imagined itself to be an elephant,' forgetting that it indicates a flattering possibility, while the donkey which insists on being no better than a mule only proves itself an

ass. From all of which, one conclusion seems fairly legitimate: that the gentle art, however savage it may be, ceases to be gentle the moment it is divested of good manners!

JAI PRAKASH NARAIN

by V. V. PRASAD

JAI PRAKASH NARAIN has over the Congress-minded youth of the country a tremendous hold. During recent months he has emerged as a forceful and independent thinker. The elders in the Congress Working Committee will do well to pay heed to his words. Jai Prakash has much in common with Jawaharlal Nehru. With Nehru busy running the Government of India, Jai Prakash will be a good substitute for him in the Congress organisation.

Jai Prakash differs from Jawaharlal in that he has a well-knit Socialist Wing with him. Jawaharlal is there not because he has his own Group within the Congress, but because everybody, with a very few exceptions, wants him at the very top. Jai Prakash is in a better position to capture the Congress organisation. He has said in reply to a question that it was an extremely difficult thing to capture the organisation from those who were in actual possession of it. But he did not think that what was difficult was impossible. Jai Prakash is opposed within the Congress hierarchy by the same people as oppose Jawaharlal.

J. P. sees clearly the role of the Muslim League, and his opposition to the League is therefore forceful and uncompromising. He does not want any settlement with the League, because he knows such an agreement is superfluous when you are settling with the British direct. If Britain wants to come to terms with the League, let them do so. Let them hand over the Government to the League if they want, but Congress should not be a party

to any such settlement. Congress should deal not with agents but with principals. J. P. believes that Congress has grievously erred by negotiating with the Muslim League during the past several years. It is for the League to come to terms with the Hindu Mahasabha or vice versa, if either or both desired it. Congress should never have allowed itself to be dragged into the mire of communal politics.

But it appears there are forces at work within the Congress leadership trying to bring about the downfall of the Congress Socialist Party. These forces instinctively feel that there is more in common between themselves and the present leadership of the Muslim League. They are not inclined to tolerate the Socialist Radicals. Watch out, Jai Prakash!

Jai Prakash said to a Communist Correspondent recently that the Socialists were not as good at publicity as the Communist Party of India, because they had to do very hard thinking before they wrote, whereas the Communists could more easily decide on their Party line. This was because, said J. P., the Communists had cut and dried plans for given situations whereas the Socialists had not. He suggested that these plans came from Moscow. I am afraid that J. P.'s semi-blind spot is just now Soviet Russia. A critical attitude towards every subject is to be appreciated, but there need be no overwillingness to believe propaganda against Soviet Russia or any other subject. Scepticism should never lead to a superstitious acceptance of all anti-propaganda.

Short Story

An Event in Peiping

by K. R. Rao

PEIPING was an occupied city. The Japs held it with their guns and tanks. But the Japs, in spite of their superior military forces, breathed in frightful suspense. For the Chinese were invincible. Especially the Chinese guerillas caused so much havoc. For the past few days the guerrillas swelled in number, and the power of the Japs was challenged every moment.

This day all through there was the firing of cannons. Jap planes buzzed in the air. A couple of bombs were playfully dropped; the planes circled in the skies pompously, more to show off the might of Hirohito than to achieve any palpable objective. The reason for this military activity were the Chinese guerillas. They were a sort of pest. They had broken a prison camp and liberated about a thousand Chinese prisoners. And they all went back to the hills, carrying considerable enemy arms and ammunition with them.

Something must be done, realised the Japs. The Chinese guerillas could not be left alone to do things as they liked. The civilian dwellings, big and small, must be searched, and the guerillas in hiding must be eliminated.

In the early hours of the morning, a short Jap officer in cap and uniform and jackboots went about the streets, followed by half a dozen Chinese police. They knocked on the houses one by one and checked up the persons living in each house.

Lao Peng sat alone. He was old, past sixty, yet he seemed strong for his age. The Jap officer pompously stopped before the house, tilted up his chin and looked at Lao Peng through his spectacles and queried: "Who's the owner of the house?"

"Myself," came the gruff reply.

Then followed a rigorous cross-examination. How many men, women and children were living in the house? What were their ages, qualifications, business connections and relationships? Lao Peng took the form and filled it up, giving all the wanted particulars.

Presently with the list of the names of the resident persons in his hands, the Jap officer stepped into the house airing an artificial majesty. One by

one the persons were shown to him; their names were ticked off. But there was yet one name to be ticked off. Where was she?

The Jap officer turned enquiringly towards the Chinese police.

"There's yet a Tsui Tannin," said the officer.

"She's in bed," replied Lao Peng.

"Why?"

"I am ill," answered a soft voice from within the opposite room.

"How is she related to you?" asked the officer.

"In no way," replied old Peng.

"What's she doing here?"

"Nothing."

The Jap officer was shocked. It was something inconceivable that a woman should be living with one to whom she was not related and be doing nothing.

"Then why is she living here?"

"She's a guest."

"Was she born here?"

"No."

"Where was she born?"

"Somewhere in the north," intervened Tannin coming forward a few steps, having got up from her bed. She was afraid. There before her stood the Jap officer, his chin tilted up and an awkwardly artificial smile hovering over his lips.

The Jap officer paced towards her, stopped before her and looked fixedly into her eyes. Lao Peng had half a mind to dart at the officer and tear his throat. But something held him to his spot; something that ran in the Chinese blood since the times of Confucius and Lao Tse. Patience! Yes, that was what was needed on these occasions. These Japs would not go scotfree. The day of judgment would dawn. And then these pigmy power-drunken militarists would have to answer for their atrocities, for their rapes and loots. Let the Jap officers be as cruel as they could be to the unarmed Chinese women and children so that the Chinese might detest them the more for that. Lao Peng stood on, unmoved.

The officer stared her out of face. He stuttered in his broken Chinese: "You are pretty! You are pretty!"

He pinched her cheek. He winked his eye at her from behind the glasses. Suddenly he clicked his boots and marched a few steps.

Abruptly he turned back and again stood looking at her.

Tsui Tannin was there before his thirsty eyes, her face aglow with youth and ire. She was trembling.

"You are pretty! You are pretty!"

His look was frightening. She screamed. And he walked out with an affected military bearing.

Her innocent eyes rose towards old Lao Peng.

"Don't worry, daughter Tannin. Patience! All will be right some day." And his hand softly touched her back.

She stood alone before the Jap officer. She presented a lovely picture; she, with that yellow complexion, those black curly locks and that beautiful bluish mole on the base of the neck. She literally shone with youth. He stood up, walked round the table and faced her sternly.

"Tsui Tannin, you are pretty!" he spouted.

His eyes winked behind the glasses. The awkward, artificial smile fitted on those lips. She was silent.

"You know why you are brought to this military camp?" he asked.

"I don't know."

"Why don't you know?"

"I haven't been told."

Her little frame was trembling. Yet there was confidence in her tone; courage in her look and dignity in her gait.

"A woman is the leader of the guerillas. You are that woman," he announced.

"I am not."

"I say you are. Therefore you are."

"What if?"

"You must be eliminated. We have lost all faith in sending you to a prison house. The dirty guerillas are damned active in liberating the imprisoned...."

He paused abruptly. He looked at her wickedly.

"Here's the pistol. You know our reputed hara kari. You must eliminate yourself."

He took out a pistol and held it frighteningly in his stodgy hand. Holding the pistol, he walked towards her. She mysteriously forgot all fear of death. Her frame trembled no more. She stood before him, her feet nailed to the floor.

"You are pretty! You are brave too!"

She was brave. It was something his Japanese mind couldn't explain. How could anyone be brave, without a pistol, without a gun? He walked closer, putting back the pistol in its place. He stood face to face. He pinched her cheek. He smiled artificially. He pulled her towards himself. He was overwhelmed by passion. Everything was forgotten: his country, the divine Mikado.... Only Tannin moved in his mind, waltzed on his heart, warbled through every sinew of his pigmy frame. He closed his eyes and pulled her nearer.

Suddenly you heard a shot. And the stodgy, small Jap officer fell back on the ground, his high military boots kicking one another fatally and his glasses shattered to pieces. Presently there was the rush of many boots. She was there, the dead officer's pistol in her hand. All around her were Jap soldiers, with glistening bayonets. She stood erect and turned the pistol right at her head. A shot and down she fell with a thud.

And all was quiet. Only jackboots moved on the ground pounding it wrathfully. In a moment there started the ceaseless firing of the cannons. Jap planes shot up the sky and buzzed in futile circles. The might of the Mikado was shown off.

It is related that a noted politician who was surveying the landscape from the back platform of a railroad car in motion, was warned by the coloured porter that he must not stand there, and when he remarked that he thought a platform was meant to stand on, the darky replied, "Oh no, sah, a platform ain't meant to stand on. It's meant to get in on."

THE SIGNING of the treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland has brought peace in the official and formal sense of the term to all parts of Europe except Germany and Austria. Till the very last moment it was doubtful if Yugoslavia and Italy would sign the treaties. But in the end discretion proved the better part of valour and both have signed them. It is Italy that suffers most in consequence of the peace treaty. She has lost major territories in her Eastern frontier, the Dodacanese group of islands in the Aegean Sea and has renounced her claim to her African colonies. Mussolini set his heart on the revival of a "Roman Empire." His Fascism has resulted in Italy being deprived of even the modest empire she had before the war. Finland and Rumania have also had to cede certain territories to Russia. In one sense Russia may be said to be the greatest gainer in Europe, though the gains are not directly due to the peace treaties. For in addition to the formal acquisition of territories through these treaties she has been able to establish her indirect domination and influence over the whole of Central and Eastern Europe. Her empire now is really far more extensive than even that of Napoleon at the height of his power. This is the permanent outcome of the Second World War so far as the balance of power in Europe is concerned.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The long-drawn out debate in the Security Council at New York as to the procedure to be adopted in considering the subject of reduction of armaments has come to a close. The American point of view has been adopted. The issue of the control of atomic weapons is to be considered independently of the issue of general disarmament and the latter is not to have the priority which was claimed for it by the Soviet. Moreover, the Disarmament Commission is not to have the right to deal with atomic matters. In pursuance of this agreement the Security Council has now set up a

Disarmament Commission whose duty it would be to prepare within not more than three months proposals for the general regulation and reduction of armaments. The Council has also begun to consider the report of the Atomic Energy Commission embodying in the main the suggestions of Baruch, the former representative of the United States, on that body. This is a welcome move as the consideration of the report has been put off on some ground or other for the last two months. A third result of the agreement on procedure is the passing of a resolution requesting the Military Staff Committee to submit before April 30, its recommendations regarding the armed forces which the members of the United Nations are to place at the disposal of the Security Council for enforcing collective security. This is absolutely necessary before any nation can be persuaded to adhere to any plan of disarmament. All this indicates that by summer the Security Council will have some concrete proposals before it for bringing about a general reduction of armaments—a step which is a preliminary requisite to the maintenance of international security and peace.

U.N.O. TO CONSIDER PALESTINE

The London Conference on Palestine has failed and Britain has now decided on placing the whole question before the United Nations Organization. This is the only appropriate course open to her. She holds Palestine as a mandatory under the old League of Nations and she cannot legally bring about a change in the status of that country unless it be with the approval of the United Nations Organisation. But all this is different from saying that the U.N.O. will succeed in devising a solution for the Palestine

by
Prof. M. V. NATARANGAIYA, M.A.

problem which will be satisfactory to the Arabs as well as the Jews. The Arabs insist on the preservation, first, of the unity of Palestine, and second, of their numerical preponderance. They are dead against partition. They cannot tolerate the Jews ever becoming a majority. With equal fervour the Jews insist on the creation of a separate National State for themselves in Palestine even though it might imply a partition of the country and they also demand an unlimited right for the Jews abroad to come and settle here in any number. The British decision to place the whole matter before the U.N.O. has not been received with enthusiasm either by the Arabs or by the Jews. What the Arabs want is independence and there is a danger that the U.N.O. might recommend the continuance of the mandate in the new form of trusteeship. The Jews are afraid that as they are not directly represented on the U.N.O. there would be none to plead their cause. There is also the risk that the question may be looked at not on its own merits but only as an item in the game of power politics in which alone the bigger States—the Soviet, the U.S.A. and Britain—are interested. The problem therefore has no nearer solution.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

The deputies of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four States now sitting in conference in London to prepare the ground for the Moscow Conference have not been able to come to any agreement on the more important questions of pro-

cedure to be adopted in the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany and Austria or of the kind of treaties to be concluded. Such questions are being left over for decision by the Foreign Ministers themselves later on at Moscow. The part that smaller powers have to play in drafting the peace treaties is one source of disagreement between the Soviet on the one side and Britain and America on the other. The Soviet is not prepared to give to the smaller powers the opportunity to play an important part in the matter. She looks with disfavour even on China having a substantial share even though she (China) has been reckoned as one of the Big Five. Apart from this, on matters regarding Austria also, certain acute points of difference have cropped up. The Soviet wants to treat Austria as an enemy State while Britain and the United States are disposed to look at her more as a victim of Hitlerism and not as a regular belligerent. Another point of difference is the assessing of German property in Austria. The Soviet is anxious to include in this category properties which really belong to Austria and which became German only technically as a result of the annexation of that State to Germany. All these questions therefore will have to be solved at Moscow.

FRANCE

Speaking before the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee the other day, Mr. George Marshall, the Secretary of State, said that "the world is in a very critical condition." This seems to be true of most countries. It is not Britain alone that is passing through a severe crisis. France is facing a similar if not a worse situation. The labour unrest has assumed serious proportions in that country. Work-

ers of all grades are demanding a general increase in wages. The Government, on the other hand, is embarking on a policy of price reduction. Leon Blum, the previous Prime Minister, brought down the prices by 5 per cent and the present Prime Minister proposes to reduce them by another 5 per cent. But such a price policy will become impossible if meanwhile the labourers demand a wage increase. Employers cannot afford to pay higher wages to satisfy the labourers and also reduce prices to satisfy the Government. The country is thus placed in a dilemma. Meanwhile the labourers are forcing the issue through widespread strikes. A token general strike has taken place and the members of the civil services, the police, the transport workers and workers in several other public utility concerns took part in it. Newspaper workers have been on strike for a number of days. Food shortages, coal shortage and several other shortages of essentials are adding to the labour unrest. It is feared in certain quarters that all this might even lead to civil strife. The economic unrest is reacting on the position of the Cabinet. The cleavage between the Communists on the one side and the Socialists, the Christian Democrats and the other parties in the Cabinet on the other, is becoming wider. The Communists are unwilling to oppose the workers' demand for higher wages or to actively support the policy of price reduction. Meanwhile differences have arisen in regard to the proposed Anglo-French alliance. The Communists are a little suspicious of its outcome. They fear that it may alienate them from Russia. And if a split occurs between them and the other parties and if they decide on leaving the Cabinet, the situation in France will assume a grave character.

THE SOVIET ELECTIONS

It is strange that while elaborate reports are made available about elections in countries like Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania and Finland, very little is known about elections



Spotlight On The World

PROTECTION FOR PROTECTOR!



in the Soviet. A few days ago there were in Russia elections held for the Supreme Soviets (Parliaments) of the Republics of the Soviet Union. Nearly sixty millions representing 92.95 per cent of the general electorate took part in the voting. This is a record number. In no country does such a large percentage participate in elections. This shows the enthusiasm displayed by the peasants and workers of the Union in political matters. There is however a tendency to belittle the significance of all this on the ground that elections do not have the same meaning in Russia as they have in orthodox democratic countries like England, France and the United States. This is due to the fact that in Russia the Communist Party is the only legally recognised party and as no other political party is allowed to exist the candidates standing for election are all set up by this one party and the choice left to the voter consequently becomes narrowed. It is only when candidates belonging to different parties and with different policies and programmes stand for election that the voter's vote has any significance. The only relaxation from the rigidity of this rule is that the Communist Party is permitted to put up as candidates some non-party men also while it is open to trade unions and other workers' organisations to suggest certain candidates. The Soviet

view of democracy is different from the traditional view of it as it obtains in countries where there is a large amount of economic inequality. This does not mean that elections have no significance in Russia. It only means that the significance has to be differently estimated.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND INDIA

It was good that Mr. Bevin made an *extempore* speech at the dinner given in London in honour of Mr. Asaf Ali, the Indian Ambassador to Washington. In it he stated clearly that India is the key to the critical situation in which the world is now placed as a consequence of the threat of Russian imperialism and the financial imperialism of the United States, with Britain in the middle. In a prepared speech he would not have been so frank in his references to Russia and the United States and he would have used some kind of diplomatic language. This statement is highly revealing and explains to a great extent what the motivating factors are in the determination of British foreign policy and why the British are particular today in adopting a policy of conciliation towards India and preserving as far as possible her political unity.

Being in Berne in 1905, after expressing my surprise at the excellence of the government of the Swiss Confederation, I asked a well-informed and judicious Swiss friend to tell me frankly what he thought were its faults. "You must have some faults," I said, "and you can afford to let me know of them." After a little reflection he replied: "We have a practice of referring a difficult question on which legislation is desired to a Committee—like one of your Royal Commissions or Parliamentary Committees in England—which is charged to enquire into and report on the subject. Such a Committee frequently chooses to conduct its investigations at some agreeable mountain hotel during the summer months, and lives there at the public expense longer than is at all necessary. This may not often happen, but we consider it a scandal." "If you are not jesting," I replied "and this is the blackest sin you can confess, then think of Paris and Montreal, Pittsburg and Cincinnati, and in the words of our children's hymn, bless the goodness and the grace that have made you a happy Swiss boy."—Bryce in "Modern Democracies."

PREMA GOES TO THE A.I.R.

by K. SUNDER RAJAN

WHENEVER my wife suggests to me to hear our 'sweet' daughter's music on the violin I know that a wordy duel is just round the corner. I know precious little music myself and when Prema takes to her violin it is a polite request for me to clear out of the house. This weapon has been conveniently adopted by my wife who, whenever she wants me to be out of the way, asks Prema to sing a few kritils of Tyagaraja. As Prema goes on relentlessly playing one kriti after another, her mother will be looking out of the window to see if I have gone out. The joke got into such scandalous proportions that whenever I was found rushing out of my house my neighbours greeted me with the question: "What, has your daughter started her violin exercise?"

Imagine my surprise, then, when one day Mangalam (pardon me, it is my better-half's name) dandled before me a brown cover with an enclosure from the All-India Radio fixing a half-hour programme for Prema on the morning of the following Wednesday. It was an agreeable surprise for me and my wife rated me soundly for my colossal ignorance and lack of taste in not being able to appreciate her daughter's music. My distaste for Prema's music vanished and I began to bestow solicitous attention on her performance from that very day. Prema for her part was much moved by my change of heart and the result was the inauguration of an almost non-stop performance of hectic bow versus string rub by Prema. As a fond parent, proud of the accomplishments of his daughter, I wrote to all my relatives informing them of the great event.

As the day approached I was not able to sleep properly in the nights. I was anxious that Prema should acquit herself creditably as the worthy daughter of a worthy father. I counselled her not to get excited although the little girl made

out that it was not she but someone else who was getting excited. I imagined my little Prema being garlanded profusely by the radio authorities. Perhaps magazines may go rapturous over the 'little genius.' I heard someone saying "Surely she must be Tirukkodikaval Krishna Iyer re-born" and turning round I found that it was none but myself.

Wednesday morning found us up and active at 5 a.m. Suddenly I heard the noise of the moving wheels of a jutka. The cart stopped in front of my house and out jumped my sister and her husband while their three little kids brought up the rear. My sister told me that to comply with my request she had come to Madras to listen to Prema's music. Incidentally she would stay in Madras for a fortnight and spend the Christmas with her beloved brother. I could not give her any reply. Vague apprehensions about my probable expenses during my sister's stay floated before my eyes and I was brought to my senses by a vigorous slap on my back. My two brothers-in-law had come bringing with them their mother. I felt that I was a lost man. On second thoughts, however, I consoled myself. Was not my child Prema making her debut in the music world to-day? It was but fitting that her relations should be present on the glorious occasion.

Before leaving the house Prema prostrated before me. I was overcome with emotion, my tongue faltered and I could only nod my head. I engaged a cart to take Prema and her mother to the Radio Station. The whole street turned out to see them off.

The clock struck 8. In about quarter of an hour's time Prema was to get immortalised. I was as excited as a sprinter at the starting point. Just when the English news was nearing completion, my radio set was seized with a terrific booming sound. You can imagine my anguish. I put off the switch and

after five minutes, with considerable misgivings I tuned in once again. Ah, Heavens be praised! There was my Prema playing her favourite kriti in a truly magnificent manner with a professional's tempo. I was amazed at her performance. I looked around and watched the faces of my relatives. It was the proudest moment of my life. One 'sangati' was so fine that I cried 'Once more, Prema'. Fortunately this remark passed off unnoticed. I began discussing with my relatives the prospects of a violinist's career for my Prema.

Just then a cart stopped in front of the house. I cursed the newcomers for rudely intruding when our Prema's great performance was about to conclude. But lo! my sister's son came shouting 'Prema

has come.' "What? Prema has come?" I shouted. At the same time the announcer's voice rasped out "As Kumari Prema was unable to come, Vidwan Srinivasan of the A. I. R. gave a violin performance during the last half-an-hour." Poor Prema told me that the horse wouldn't pull the cart and that even before they crossed Lloyd's Road it was inclined to advance in the rear with the result that by the time they reached Royapettah it was past the stipulated time. So they had returned home. I was enraged. I wanted to teach the cartman a lesson. That fellow and his slow-moving horse deserved to be shot. Imagine my surprise to find the horse galloping away from my house and the fellow grimacing at me!



SWATANTRA

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Shifted to 156, Lloyds Rd., Royapettah, MADRAS

Subscription Rates :

Inland	{	Rs. 20 for one year
	{	Rs. 10 for six months
Foreign	{	£ 1 16 sh. or 8 dollars
	{	(U. S. A.) per year

Agents required in important centres in Northern India and Malaya

For Agencies in unrepresented places

Apply to Manager

DR. JULIAN HUXLEY

MAN OF MANY PARTS

THE MAN IN THE STREET knows the recently appointed Secretary-General of UNESCO as a voice—a pleasant, friendly, intelligent voice. Dr. Julian Huxley, an admirable broadcaster, is an original member of the Brains Trust.

Dr. Julian Huxley has everything: matter and manner are alike unfailingly right.

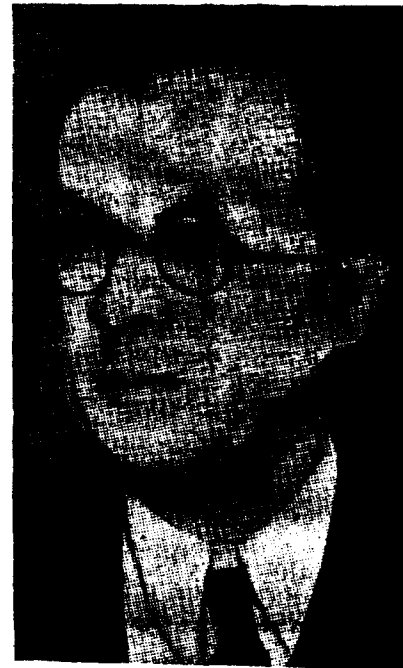
On only one occasion has he been known to be a few minutes late for a Brains Trust; this was at the height of the London blitz when the Zoo of which he was then in charge had been hit, with the result that some of the animals escaped; the director had been kept out till the small hours chasing a stallion zebra round Maida Vale.

About this same time, on a suggestion from his wife—who, Swiss by birth, is by a happy chance called Juliette—he put on an "Off the Ration" Exhibition in the elephant walk in the Zoological Gardens, to encourage people to grow more food. His lively pen supplied gay verses for the various exhibits: the ostrich, for example, carried the following admonition:

Don't be an ostrich
With a head in the sand
And fail to grow greenstuff
If you've got the land.
Each extra savoy that
You put on the map
Is gain to your country
A plume in her cap.

His outstanding quality is his immense vitality. Never bored himself, boredom cannot exist in his company. This, combined as it is with a first-rate intellectual equipment, a wide knowledge of peoples and places and an unrelenting concern with ideas, makes him the ideal chief officer for UNESCO.

Julian Sorrell Huxley, now in his 60th year, is a son of Leonard Huxley, the distinguished Liberal



Julian Huxley.

editor, and grandson of Thomas Huxley. His resemblance to the great rationalist is not merely facial: it extends to the characteristic contour of his thinking. From Eton, where he was a King's Scholar, he went to Balliol, again with a major Scholarship, and at Oxford carried everything the University had to offer by way of prizes and distinctions. For several years he taught in Houston, Texas (at the Rice Institute) and his contacts with the U.S. have ever since been continuous and warm.

After World War I (when he was attached for a short period to the British G.H.Q. in Italy) he returned to Oxford: took part in the expedition to Spitzbergen organised by the University and then became a professor at King's College, London, a post he retained until 1935 when he became Secretary of the Zoological Society and director of the Zoo in Regent's Park, a post he held until

1942. He created the Union of Scientific Workers; he took an ardent and creative interest in educational films—he is part author of a film on "The Private Life of the Gannets—he visited Africa more than once, both in connection with Lord Hailey's Survey, and on educational missions sponsored by the Government.

A FAIR DEAL FOR THE TEACHER

by BINOD

THERE can be no better evidence of the perverted sense of values in this topsy-turvy world than the way we treat the members of the teaching profession.

The edifice of the nation is of many fabrics; among these, its schoolteachers are of great importance. They it is who give a start to the young; they it is who keep alight the lamp of learning, preserve the cultural inheritance and foster the spirit of intellectual and scientific enquiry. To them go the nation's children: from them come the leaders of the future.

Yet who cares for the teacher? His glories are unsung. He has been the subject of no sacred bard. He has barely insinuated his way into a modern novel.

Poverty marks him for her own. With a pay somewhat lower than the unemployed dole in other countries, he is always down and out. He lives on the bare edge of everyday necessities, while a carefully considered and severely monotonous way of life presses on his spirit. One day to him is a replica of all others, nothing "exciting" ever happens. There are no pleasant surprises, no unexpected visits, and treats there are none.

Even thus he is hardly able to achieve that tortuous labour known in small households as making ends meet. For, just as he tries to make both ends meet, somebody—the grocer, the cloth dealer or the rack-renting landlord—moves them further apart.

His misery and discontent are aggravated by contrast with the insolent displays of extravagant

splendour around him. In a society of which the motive force is money, he has no money. In a world in which status is the index of worth, he has no status. In an order in which power is the key to comfort, he has no power.

It is time the teacher was given a square deal. Not ethics alone but practical politics demands that this should be done. If the money isn't there, it must be found, because things other and greater than money are at stake. Children are the nation's most valuable asset, and measures for their well-being must be regarded as the premiums to be paid on the insurance policy of the nation's destiny. If these premiums are high, they must still be paid, for this is a policy that must not be allowed to lapse.

Schoolteachers recently have in some cases shown unusual energy in voicing their demands. They have staged demonstrations and gone on strike and undertaken fasts. And who shall blame them? These developments provide an inkling of the immense upsurge of the underprivileged which is the key to the social upheavals of our time. They are the last resort of persons who are becoming a little tired of legal democratic official ineffective action.

This does not mean that our schoolteachers will discard their pens and ravage the country with fire and sword. They swarm easily but they are not barbarians; they are poor but they are not tramps. They are the victims of a system which must not be allowed to become an eternal truth.

RECONSTITUTED MILK

REGISTER NOW.

The Government Milk Factory supplies first class milk reconstituted by a special hygienic process from milk powder with the addition of vitamin A.

Price	Sealed pint bottles	Four annas per pint
	Supply into customer's vessels from sealed can	One anna six pies per ollock.

The milk can be obtained from the following branches of the T.U.C.S. Limited, Madras:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Chepauk. | 10. Gopalapuram. |
| 2. Nungambakkam. | 11. Alwarpet. |
| 3. Mylapore I. | 12. T'Nagar I. |
| 4. Mylapore II. | 13. T'Nagar II. |
| 5. 108, Big St., Triplicane. | 14. T'Nagar III. |
| 6. Abiramapuram. | 15. T'Nagar IV. |
| 7. Royapettah I. | 16. Teynampet I. |
| 8. Royapettah II. | 17. Madavapuram. |
| 9. Lakshmiapuram. | 18. Saidapet II Branch. |

Coupons entitling holder to a guaranteed daily supply are being issued by the above branches to customers who register. Coupons are free and payment is made on taking the milk. There is a small deposit required of those taking sealed bottles as security for return of bottle.

The reconstituted milk will also be sold in retail at the Factory premises in Adyar in the Government Godowns (near Chingleput Collector's Office) between the hours of 6-0 a.m. and 9 a.m. and 3-0 p.m. to 5 p.m. at the price mentioned above.

Payment must be made in advance for a period not exceeding one month at a time for direct supply from the factory. Deposits in cash for the supply of milk will be received at the Factory Office between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. and a receipt given.

For other particulars, please apply to the Manager, Milk Factory, Madras.

The reconstituted milk is similar to that which has proved so popular in Colombo.

Unutilised milk is sold without coupons after 8-30 a.m. in the forenoon and 6 p.m. in the afternoon at T.U.C.S. branches.

PLEASE MAKE A TRIAL PURCHASE.

Issued by the Director of Information & Publicity, Govt. of Madras.

REFORMS FOR TRAVANCORE

by "MIMI"

THE provisional scheme of constitutional reforms for Travancore contained in the recent Government communique smacks more of an imperial and colonial mentality than of a substantial element of responsibility in the contemplated Government. Far from having any resemblance whatsoever to the American constitution as was so loudly and so extravagantly claimed for it, the suggested scheme is akin to the imperialist constitutions framed in the past by Parliament for India. It is regrettable that the devices adopted by an imperial power to perpetuate its rule over India should have been sought to be repeated on behalf of the Ruler of an Indian State with reference to his own subjects. When it is found that the proposed scheme bears a close resemblance in certain parts to the condemned Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935 and is worse than those Acts in certain other respects, nobody need have any fear of being charged with exaggeration or playing to the gallery in describing the scheme as thoroughly reactionary, wholly out of tune with the demands of the time and totally opposed to the aspirations of the people.

The proposed scheme confers equal and identical powers on the two chambers of the Legislature, though the Assembly is to be elected on the basis of the general constituency to represent the entire people of the State and the State Council on "a functional and facultative basis." No constitution in the world providing for a responsible government creates a bicameral legislature with co-equal powers, as the sole function of the upper chamber is to act as a revising authority, thereby preventing or delaying any hasty legislation that may be resorted to by the uncontrolled populace represented in the Assembly. Even the Senate of the Congress of U.S.A. which is considered to be the most powerful upper chamber in the world, though having considerable influence over the President and the administration, does not possess equal powers with the House of Representatives; a money bill cannot originate in the Senate. Section 63 of the Government of India Act, 1919, which has been incorporated in Schedule IX to the Act of 1935 declares, "Except as otherwise provided by or under this Act,

a bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by the Indian Legislature unless it has been agreed to by both chambers, either without amendment or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both chambers"—and this provision has been practically verbatim transferred in para 23 of the Travancore Government communique. Though the Act of 1919 did not make any distinction between money bills and other bills, it gave power only to the Legislative Assembly to sanction the budget demands. On the other hand, though the Government of India Act, 1935 made a distinction between financial bills and other bills in keeping with other Dominion constitutions, in so far as the financial bills can originate only in the lower house, it provided that demands for grants in the Federal centre have to be passed by both the Assembly and the Council of State, the two houses being bodies with co-ordinate powers, and that in the Provinces the second chambers have no power in connection with demands. Thus the scheme for Travancore, in not making a distinction between financial bills and other bills and providing for the demand for grants to be submitted to both houses of the Legislature, runs contrary to the provisions of all other constitutions of the world prescribing a bicameral legislature and is more reactionary than the Government of India Act, 1919. What was not good for India in 1919, cannot obviously be good for Travancore in 1947 when India is on the threshold of freedom and the people are claiming complete sovereignty. Particularly when the exact character and composition of the upper house is not known, to invest it with powers equal to those of the Assembly is to impose an unwarranted fetter on the powers of the latter whose supremacy has been recognised in all democratic constitutions of the world.

Para 24 of the scheme prohibits the Legislature from enacting or discussing any matter relating to or affecting the Royal family of Travancore, the State forces, the Hindu religious endowments, the relations of the Government with the British Government, the Government of India or with foreign States or Princes, matters governed by treaties, conventions, etc., or the provisions of the Reforms Act. Such serious and

drastic restrictions imposed on the powers of the Legislature will make a mockery of responsibility and reduce the Legislature to a position of definite subordination. Further, such a provision is absolutely uncalled for in view of India becoming free and Indian States autonomous units within a well-defined Federal structure. This, coupled with the provision that the previous sanction of Dewan is necessary for the introduction of any measure (a) which affects the public revenues of the State or which imposes a charge on such revenues or (b) which affects the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of the State subjects, or (c) which repeals or amends any law passed by His Highness directly (whose power to pass laws directly in the future is in no way to be limited or controlled even by the constitution) nullifies any claim for the supremacy of the Legislature or prevalence of the popular will.

One of the fundamental features of a democratic constitution providing for a responsible government is that fullest powers should be conferred on the Legislative Assembly representing the people, over the purse of the State. It is in fact the most formidable weapon in the hands of the Legislature to pull up the executive, to criticise it and to refuse sanction to the demand for grants moved by it whenever it wants to exercise control over the actions of the executive in the day-to-day administration, and any provision curtailing the powers of the Legislature in this respect has come to be considered as retrograde and reactionary. This scheme of reforms provides that a number of heads of expenditure including those that relate to items removed from the cognisance of the Legislature, pensions and gratuities, salaries and allowances of officers appointed under the Sign Manual or whose appointments are specified in Rules passed under the Act (the scheme does not specify the officers to be appointed under the Sign Manual), contributions made by the State and *maramat* and political expenditure involving the major portion of the State expenditure, shall not be submitted to the vote of the Legislature; further they shall not even be discussed by the Legislature. Nothing can be more derogatory to the powers of the Legislature. Even the Government of India Act of 1935 which provided for certain items of expenditure being non-votable in the sense that they are not to be submitted to the vote of the Legislature, expressly stated that it "shall not be construed as

preventing the discussion in the Legislature of those estimates." Thus it can be clearly seen that the powers of the Travancore Legislature under the new scheme will be far more contracted than those of the Legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1935. But it is not all. The scheme also provides that with regard to even those items that are to be submitted to the vote of the Legislature, "if the Dewan declares, for reasons to be stated in writing, that he is satisfied that any demand which has been refused by either house or by the joint sitting is essential to the discharge of the responsibilities of the Government, the Government may act as if the demand had been passed by the Legislature." So, the position of the Legislature with regard to the State expenditure boils down to this: (1) certain items of expenditure involving a major portion of the expenditure are not to be submitted to the vote of the Legislature (2) the other items of expenditure will be submitted to the Legislature; but their decision is not final with regard to them. If the Legislature refuses to pass any demand, the Dewan can certify that such a demand is essential to the discharge of the responsibilities of the Government and restore the grant. Thus in the ultimate analysis, the Legislature has no final and effective control over the expenditure of even a single pie of the State revenue. All that it can have is the satisfaction of discussing and voting on some heads of expenditure and seeing its adverse vote nullified and the demands it had refused being restored by the Dewan. Corresponding to Section 67 (2A) of the Government of India Act 1919, and to Sections 40 (2) and 86 (2) of the Act 1935, there is an omnibus provision contained in para 28 of the Travancore scheme declaring, "The Dewan shall have the power to certify, for reasons to be stated in writing, that any bill which has been introduced or proposed to be introduced in either chamber of the Legislature or any clause of such bill or any amendment thereto affects the safety or tranquillity of the State or any part thereof and he shall also have the power to direct that no proceedings shall be taken by the chamber in relation to such bill, clause or amendment" and the language of the provision in all material particulars is identical with that of the sections referred to above. At least with regard to these provisions of the Act of 1935, there was the Instrument of Instruc-

tions directing the Governor not to exercise the power to stay proceedings in respect to a bill, unless in his judgment, "the public discussion of the bill, clause or amendment would itself endanger, peace and tranquillity" and any unjustifiable action of the Governor in this regard will be openly discussed in the British Parliament. But the discretion of the Travancore Dewan will be absolute and uncontrolled in this regard and there is no authority under the scheme to prevent its unreasonable exercise. Para 27 of the scheme provides for certified legislation by which "Where either chamber of the Legislature refuses leave to introduce or to pass in a form recommended by the Government, any bill, the Dewan shall have the power to certify, for reasons to be stated in writing, that the passage of the bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of Travancore or any part thereof, and thereupon the further necessary steps for the passing of the bill, will be taken, and the bill shall thereupon become law"—and this provision is practically a verbatim reproduction of Section 67-B of the Government of India Act 1919. It constituted such a serious and drastic infringement of the powers and functions of the Legislature, that it was omitted in the Government of India Act of 1935. But, with all the glory of a provision for responsible government on the American model, it has found its place in the Travancore scheme in 1947.

The Executive Committees contemplated in the scheme will have practically no power over the administration of the State. It has been specifically provided that "These Committees will deal with matters of administrative policy and administrative measures pertaining to the subjects allotted to them. But the Committee shall not have power over the routine administration, or appointments, promotions, transfers, etc., of the officers in the Departments," and even with regard to matters of administrative policy and administrative measures the recommendations of these Executive Committees are not final as "the Dewan shall have power to veto any recommendation of the Executive Committees." Thus it is clear that the real executive of the State is the sole individual, the Dewan, and these Executive Committees are no more than glorious advisory bodies whose recommendations on matters referred to them by the Dewan are not binding on him. In the face of these facts the claim made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in explaining the scheme that "His Highness the Maha-

raja has now decided to vest in the Legislature complete control over all but a few of the items of administrative and executive policy" and "the committees through their chairmen may be deemed to fulfil in effect and in essence all the requisites of a responsible Ministry" are, to put it in the mildest terms, absolutely unwarranted.

Under the scheme the Dewan is invested with a universal veto over all actions of the Legislature and the Executive Committees. To confer such a power on an authority in whose appointment the people neither directly nor indirectly through the Assembly have any say is negation of the very foundation of democracy.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has declared that "while the popular will should prevail in the executive and administrative fields, yet a removable executive is not the best agency for the purpose," for, of many defects of such an executive one is that the existence of the Ministry "is made dependent on a chance vote of the Legislature." But in trying to provide for an irremovable executive the scheme has completely failed to provide for the prevalence of popular will. Even under the scheme, the Executive Committee are removable by the Legislature by passing a specific motion of no-confidence carried by not less than two-thirds of the members of the chamber against individual members of the Committee. It is possible to provide for a responsible Ministry, at the same time taking care to see that it is not dependent on a chance vote of the Legislature. By providing that a Ministry is removable only by a specific motion of no-confidence passed by not less than two-thirds majority of the members of the Assembly present and voting and at least fifteen days' notice shall be given for any such motion, the defects pointed by Sir C. P. in the case of a removable Ministry can be eliminated. Such a proposal has got the further advantage of giving a chance to the Ministry to mend itself before it is actually removed from office. When there is a provision for a Ministry enjoying the confidence of the Legislature, there is no place for a Dewan in the administrative field. The position of the Ruler will correspond exactly to that of the King of England, being strictly a constitutional monarch. Even if it is felt that the existence of a Dewan is essential in the immediate future, his appointment can be made to depend upon the choice of the Legislature corresponding to the convention followed in the appointment of the

Governor-General in British Dominions where the Government is consulted before the Governor-General is actually appointed, as was forcefully brought out in the appointment of Mr. John Mekell as Governor-General of Australia recently.

The constitutional position under the scheme is as follows:

- (1) The Legislature has no final say in the budget proposals and in the legislative measures.
- (2) The recommendations of the Executive Committees are subject to the veto of the Dewan.
- (3) The Dewan can prevent the Legislature from passing any measure, force it to pass any measure, restore any demand for grants refused by the Legislature and reject the recommendations of the Executive Committees.
- (4) The Dewan is at the head of the whole machinery of the State and he is appointed by the Ruler and holds office during his pleasure.

- (5) No provision of the scheme will affect or derogate from the powers of the Ruler to enact laws or to take action under the Ruler's inherent sovereign powers.

Though this is the strict legal position, the twin provisions for the introduction of adult franchise and the retaining of the joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities, which are two of the welcome features of the scheme may generate such a tremendous power of political consciousness and "cohesive political action" that the character of the scheme may be entirely changed within a surprisingly short time. Further, the scheme is only tentative and there is no reason to assume at present that the Government of Travancore who have promised to consult representatives of public opinion and take their views into consideration before the new constitution is promulgated in the form of statute, will not liberalise the scheme sufficiently to win the wholehearted approval of the people and serve as a model to other States, particularly in view of the rapidity with which events are moving in the political horizon of India.

KUNDAN NARAIN

Sindhis were great businessmen before the war. Business blood is in their veins and there is hardly any part of the world where you do not bump across a Sindhi merchant. The war affected them greatly and they had to hurry back, at considerable sacrifice, to their home province. They did not keep quiet in Sind. They opened business firms and netted tidy fortunes during the hectic war period.

Now that peace is on, they are again spreading their business claws all over the world. Every plane and ship that leaves Karachi takes a handful of Sindhis who want either to renew old contacts or forge new ones.

Among the adventurous Sindhi young men is Mr. Kundan Narain, an enterprising Karachi photographer, who is proceeding to the United Kingdom and the United States on an eight-month tour, mainly to study colour photography.

Though only 26, he is an artist in



Kundan Narain.

his realm. He comes from a well-known firm whose members have taken to photography as duck to water. Narain wants to enlarge his studio and make it up-to-date on American lines, on his return.

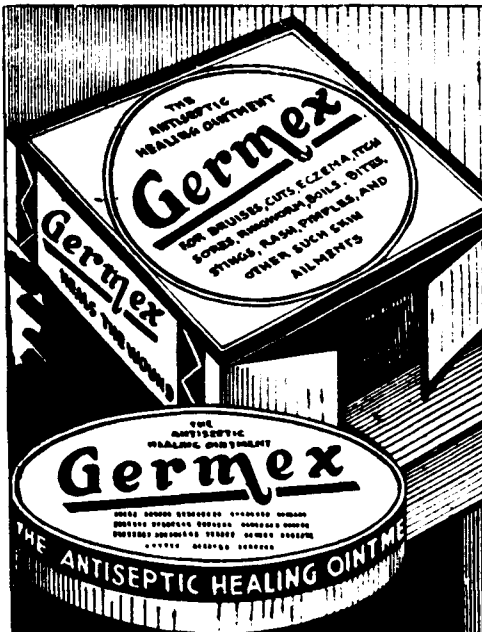
Why Suffer like this



Saridon

STOPS ALL PAIN
IN 10 Minutes

**YOU CAN SOON
GET RID OF THESE
SKIN TROUBLES**



**RING WORM
ECZEMA
PIMPLES
BOILS
RASH ETC**

**USE GERMEX
THE ANTISEPTIC
HEALING OINTMENT**

GERMEX

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

SYMBOL OF THE NEW CHINA

MAN-POWER millionaire Chiang Kai-shek is the living symbol of the new China. During the war, wherever he moved was the No. 1 target of the Japanese air force.



Chiang Kai-shek's position is unique among world leaders. This man, who is 59 this year, rules one-fifth of mankind by the remotest of remote control. Almost unseen, almost unheard, Chiang alone in 4,000 years of Chinese history has made the myriad Chinese—racially, linguistically and physically as diverse as Europe from Norway to Italy and from Belgium to Poland—salute a common cause and a common flag. China wages a ruthless war on the seven deadly sins of the country: slackness, indecision, red tape, graft, corruption, evasion of responsibility and inac-

curacy. For a crime against the State, Chiang is merciless. A panicky order took the scorched-earth torch through Changsha in 1938, although the Japanese were actually blocked 40 miles away. Although the garrison commander, a full General, was one of Chiang's "blood brothers" of the old Whampoa military academy days, he was court-martialled and shot.

Chiang's plan of war against Japan needed all his great qualities of statesmanship, ruthlessness, intelligence, political astuteness, stubbornness of purpose, inspiration, righteousness and ability to "meet ten thousand changing circumstances with a changeless self." On July 7, 1937, he called all China to arms, saying: "China fights to the last. Neither a time of suffering nor circumstances will permit our stopping midway to seek peace." When the Japanese plunged into North China and smashed at Shanghai, Chiang possessed only 500,000 front-line Central Government troops—"Chiang's Own"—no tanks, little artillery and only two hundred fighters and bombers.

Foreign observers gave China three months to survive. So Chiang held Shanghai for three months to show the nation—and the world—that the Japanese were not invincible. The Japanese took Nanking, raped and looted for a month, thinking the war was won. The breathing space enabled Chiang to reorganize his armies and begin the now famous tactics of trading space for time by drawing the enemy into the interior.

Chiang Kai-shek is affable, buoyant, debonair. With a grin-lit, lean, handsome face and a tall, spare, uncommonly graceful frame, this man whose eyes bore through you when he talks to you has a tremendous mental and physical force dammed up within him.

CONFUCIAN SOCIALISM

VERSUS

MARXIAN COMMUNISM

by V. G. NAIR

THE KUOMINTAUNG-COMMUNIST conflict in China is the outcome of two diametrically opposed ideologies. Both strive for one objective through two different channels. One aspires to realise its goal by peaceful means, and the other by force. What we witness in China is the manifestation of the clash of ideas between Confucian Socialism or State Socialism on the one hand, and Marxian Communism or Scientific Socialism on the other. Confucian Socialism is based on the fundamental concept of the

world as one family. It taught that 'all mankind originates with one common ancestor' and 'all within the four seas are brethren.' It viewed the world as a great Commonwealth of free nations. Long before Marxism was born, it proclaimed Universalism in all aspects of life. The Analects, the Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean or the Conduct of Life constitute the three great Gospels of Confucian Socialism. In effecting reforms, these Gospels advocated evolutionary rather than revolutionary



AN ENDURING OR SHORT-LIVED FRIENDSHIP?

President Chiang Kai-shek, Representative of Confucian Socialism giving a toast to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Representative of Marxian Communism, at a banquet in his honour, when the latter came to Chungking for the Government-Communist parley before the present outbreak of hostilities. U.S. Ambassador Patrick Hurley can be seen at the extreme right.

methods. They relied on such effective moral Laws as Kindness, Love, Justice, Harmony and Peace and rejected Hatred, Injustice, Dis-Union and Chaos as infective weapons.

Sun Yat Sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, is the modern interpreter of Confucian Socialism. For over thirty years, he studied its theories along with the tenets of Marxian Communism. Finally he found the latter unsuitable to Chinese soil and temperament. China is an old country with an ancient civilization and traditions. Compared to Russia, Europe and America, she is industrially very backward. He respected Marx, Engel and Lenin, but he asserted that their Scientific Socialism could not be applied to China in view of her poor industrialisation. He therefore opposed its introduction as it clashed with his moderate, democratic State Socialism. He proclaimed that Socialism might be brought about through gradual reform and peaceful evolution rather than through class struggle and violent revolution. He therefore condemned Marx's revolutionary movement which aimed at the overthrow of the capitalistic system by force of arms. His aim was essentially a centralised State-controlled planned economy evolved through legislative enactments. With this object in view, he founded the Kuomintang or the Peoples' Party and entrusted it with the task of working out his schemes. He formulated his ideals

in the now famous 'Three Principles of the Peoples', or the 'San Min Chu I,' and advocated four cardinal principles for creating a Socialist State. They are (1) Equalisation of land ownership; (2) regulation of capital; (3) control of all large-scale industries and (4) national ownership of all means of production, communication, transport and public sale of food commodities.

Mao Tse-Tung, the foremost Red leader of China says that his party's principles are based on Marxian philosophy. The development and progress of his party, he asserts, originated in the determined fight against dogmatism and empiricism that repudiate Marxian theories. He is wedded to class-struggle and violent revolution. 'Capital' is his political Bible and not the teachings of Confucius and Sun Yat-sen.

No doubt, the Chinese Communist Party includes many able Generals and high intellectuals. Their patriotism is not a whit less than Kuomintang followers. Their organisational ability and administrative talents are equal to those of Kuomintang leaders. But they stick to Marx for their emancipation from capitalistic oppression instead of relying on their own racial and historical traditions.

The future is shrouded in darkness. Unless these two forces agree to work under a common banner, it is certain that they will fight until one exterminates the other by sheer force of arms.

When my sister, a decided redhead—decided about everything—married a tall and taciturn ensign, everyone said he would soon be the world's most hen-pecked husband. Instead, she behaved from the start like a child the week before Christmas. I asked how it happened.

My sister blushed. "The first thing I saw after he carried me across the threshold was a pair of his trousers thrown over a chair. I started to put them away, but he stopped me. 'Put them on,' he said.

"But darling, what for?" I protested. He just smiled. So, to find out what he had in mind, I put them on. They were about six sizes too big. 'Do they fit?' he asked. 'Oh, sweetheart, you know they don't' I answered. He pulled me to his knees and said, his face perfectly dead-pan, 'Then never forget who wears the pants in this family!'"—(Anonymous).

BRIGADIER CARIAPPA

FUTURE C-IN-C. OF INDIA?

BRIGADIER CARIAPPA, the first Indian Army Officer to get a King's Commission from the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, twenty-seven years ago is visiting London at present and he has evoked much interest in Fleet Street. The *Evening Standard* regards him as the likely man to be appointed C.-in-C. of the independent Indian Army some day in the future. Cariappa in an interview told the *Standard* that as a soldier he could have only one loyalty and it was for his own Government. He said he was not a "political." Brigadier Cariappa is a son of Coorg and is now in his 47th year. A dark tall figure six feet high, the Brigadier is a sportsman with a good physical build, being a keen athlete. He plays golf and rides a horse with the ease of an American cowboy of Arizonian ranches. He counts among his personal friends such noted soldiers as Field-Marshal Von Mannerheim of Finland and Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Allied Commander in Japan to-day.

Brigadier Cariappa joined the Indian Army in 1920 and served in the first battalion of the Seventh Rajput Regiment. He was in the Waziristan Campaign of 1921-22 in which for his part he got mentioned in despatches. He is also the first Indian to be sent to the Staff College, Quetta, where he topped the list of passers in the College course and that was sixteen years ago. In 1933, Cariappa attended the Staff College, Camberley. He was promoted to the rank of Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, being posted to Quetta.

When World War II commenced, Cariappa was back in Delhi with his Regiment, himself being second in command. Four years ago, he was given another command of a battalion in his own Rajput Regiment and this was the first time an Indian was given the full command of a Regiment in the



Brigadier Cariappa (Right).

Indian Army. Next he was placed as an Assistant Quarter-Master General in the Twenty-sixth Indian Division and was posted to the Arakan front where he had to see continuously jungle warfare for eighteen months. In the famous battle of *Tong Bazar* in 1944, Cariappa earned a distinction for himself fighting against the Japs who were then on their invasion campaign of India. Though he was a staff officer, Cariappa was all the time working side by side with the men in the Artillery and he evinced the keenest interest in the welfare of the Indian troops during all these campaigns.

Once the Allied forces reached Rangoon in 1945, Cariappa returned to New Delhi and continued service in the General Headquarters as a member of the Army Re-organization Committee. By this time, he was elevated to the rank of Brigadier. Here again, he had the unique distinction of being the first Indian Brigadier. The next many months saw him touring all over India planning about the status of the post-war Indian Army. He was also sent to the United States of America by the Government to study the latest methods of military science at West Point. On his return to India, the Brigadier was

sent to the North-West Frontier Province in command of the Bhanu Frontier Infantry Brigade.

A charming personality he is a social figure of very gifted manners and under him the soldiers developed a very high sense of loyalty and discipline. He commanded univer-

sal respect wherever he went. No wonder such a fine Indian soldier is tipped for the place of Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck sometime in the future. May be to-morrow, may be ten years hence, and if Brigadier Cariappa is lucky to be that, all that could be said is, he deserved it by merit—N. P.

LATE CH. SUBBIAH NAIDU FAMOUS FOOTBALL CENTRE-FORWARD

CH. SUBBIAH NAIDU was born in the year 1912 and was educated up to Intermediate standard in the Mrs. A. V. N. College, Vizagapatam, and died on 2-2-1947.

People used to mark out the qualities of a good foot-baller even from his boyhood. From his high school and college days, he was particularly interested in the game of football and gave very high hopes of becoming one of the star players of ANDHRADESA.

He was, throughout his football career, a staunch member of the well-known "SPORTSMEN CLUB" of Vizagapatam and had contributed a lion's share in the success and glory of his mother Club. By the time he left the College, he had attained the standard, more or less, of a Professionalist, and had mastered the art of football.

He should be regarded as one of the very few star players of Andhradesa, who earned marked reputation and who, by virtue of their inherent talents, deserved fitting places in the sphere of Football. He was possessing all the typical qualities that are required of a perfect sportsman, and had maintained his position as a "Centre forward" right through his career with undeniable sagacity. His charming control over the ball was really appreciable. The noteworthy feature of his game was his *presence of mind* in the opponent's area, which very few foot-ballers can boast of having this unique quality.

He was a young man of 35 years, always cheerful with pleasing man-



Subbiah Naidu

ners and quite amicable to each and everyone. He was very scrupulous and never gave room for incurring the displeasure even of his rival club members. This is the reason why he was liked by all.

He was still precocious to retire from the field of Foot-ball and more so from this world, had it not been for the embracing of the deadliest disease, T.B., which had separated him once and for all, from all his comrades as well as his beloved wife and his two young sons.

It is an irreparable loss for the sporting sphere and it cannot be gainsaid that ANDHRADESA had lost one of its gems it has ever produced so far.

M. S. PRAKASA RAO, BSc., LL.B.

BOOKS

Consequences of Pakistan. By K. L. Gauba. (Published by Lion Press, Lahore. Price, Rs. 6.)

For most of the ills from which India is suffering to-day the responsibility lies on those who have been demanding the division of the country on a religious basis into two sovereign States of Pakistan and Hindustan. It is the obstinacy with which this demand is being put forward even though time and again critics have demonstrated its utter unreasonableness and the harmful results it is bound to produce not only for India as a whole but for the Muslims for whose advantage the demand is supposed to have been made, that is postponing the day of India's freedom. Mr. Gauba traces the genesis of the idea of Pakistan and its evolution during the last sixteen years. A detailed examination is made by him of the contribution made to this by Poet Iqbal, Choudhary Rahmat Ali, Dr. Latif, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and the late Nawab of Mamdot. He also sketches the course of events which led to the conversion of Mr. Jinnah to this idea when he found no other means of effectively appealing to the Muslim masses and asserting his leadership. History is shaped to a great extent by particular personalities and this truth is illustrated by the twist that Mr. Jinnah has been able to give to the contemporary history of our country. There is however one conclusion of Mr. Gauba with which very few will agree. It is the conclusion that Hindu communalism is responsible for the counter communalism of the Muslims of which Pakistan is the outward expression.

The more valuable part of Mr. Gauba's book consists in his analysis of the consequences of Pakistan. It can't be achieved unless as the result of a civil war. It is bound to be resisted by the Sikhs to whom the Punjab is a national home. The defence of Pakistan from external aggression will be beyond the abilities of any Government. It will create complications with Afghanistan and the tribal peoples on the frontier. Because of the poverty of its resources it will reduce the standard of life of its masses. By the theocratic principles which will constitute the basis of its civil law and adminis-

tration it will take the people back to the middle ages and deny to them all the benefits of modern civilization. Wisdom therefore lies in the Muslims abandoning once for all this demand for Pakistan. After all, the demand comes in the main not from the Muslims in the provinces where they are in a majority but from the Muslims in the provinces where they are in a minority. The former have not much to gain from it. Mr. Jinnah himself belongs to a Muslim-minority province.

The value of Mr. Gauba's book consists not so much in listing all these evil and harmful consequences of Pakistan—this has been done by many writers previously—but in very many details which he furnishes in support of his views.

The Buddha. By J. Vijayatunga. (Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 1-4).

During and after the World War II Mr. Vijayatunga and many others like him, (Mr. Gerald Heard is an example), have felt the need for the spiritual regeneration of Man, which means a re-education in moral values. Mr. Heard pins his faith on the neo-Brahmins; Mr. Vijayatunga on the teachings of the Buddha. What he has done in his book is to give the reader an idea of what the Buddha lived for in the form of a soliloquy by the Enlightened One. Real unselfishness is the only criterion for judging human action; interested altruism is always wicked. Hypocrisy is rampant everywhere; honesty and self-sacrifice should be the ideal before every man. Life is Sorrow; the world is only a vale of tears. Hence one should try to attain complete detachment from the world and all it stands for, but one should not do as the San-yasins did. The mind is quartered in a childish wayward body. There is no use of tormenting the body, no use of making it ugly as the mind is injured thereby. And an enumeration of the eightfold path to Nirvana completes the contents of the book.

Mr. Vijayatunga, being a considerable poet, has set the Buddha talking in a solemn, high-flown, repetitive, rhyth-

mic and poetic style. But he has not been able to maintain this *tour de force*. There is a sudden change in tempo, a fall to normal prose expression on page 22 and onwards. It is also very doubtful whether the Buddha had such a profound knowledge of the ethnic types in India as the author supposes he had. One also notes that Mr. Vijaytunga's Buddha has a lot of Wordsworth and a little of Hardy (nature-red-in-tooth-and-claw-business) in him.

However, the book is of real use because it tells us what the Buddha thought, what he preached and what he lived for without our having to go to the Pali texts, though we may have our differences with the author regarding the purely religious and philosophical part of the thesis—(R.V.).

I Too Have Spun. By Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. (Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 1-8).

If Rodin were to write a textbook on sculpture, and Botwinnik one on chess-strategy, we may be sure that their writings will attract everybody. It is exactly that kind of attraction that Dr. Sitaramayya's book has for the general reader. In this little handbook on the art and technique of good hand-spinning, Dr. Sitaramayya, a master of spinning himself, has packed a fund of intimate personal knowledge, a lot of humour and useful information. His scientific description of the various parts of the Yervada *charka* is precise and clear. He stresses the fact that learning to spin is an adventure; no amount of theoretical knowledge about gear-ratios and what not will ever make one good at spinning; the only thing to do is to start spinning. He also rightly avers that spinning is an art too. One admires efficiency, but one loves a display of skill when it has an element of beauty and harmony in it. The book also contains select information on the strength of yarn and on the measurement of twist and uniformity besides some lively arithmetic and computation tables.

Of course one may have one's doubts about the economics of Khadi; but such matters apart, this is a thoroughly enjoyable book written in the doctor's inimitable style.

The relegation of the diagrams to an appendix is a serious handicap: they will look better at the appropriate places in the body of the book.—(R. V.).



3 POINTS . . . YOU CANNOT FORGET

- THE FAMILIAR CARTON
- POPULAR NAME
- RELIABLE MANUFACTURERS



2 1/2 OZ

JABCO FOUNTINK

THE IDEAL INK
FOR ALL FOUNTAIN PENS

JAYA BHARATHAM CO.
MADRAS—BANGALORE
ERNAKULAM



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

Cloth Permit Scandal in Kurnool

Will any M.L.A. raise the matter of the cloth permit scandal in Kurnool Town, mentioned here in the Legislature?

For several months now, the sale of mill-cloth in Kurnool Town has, under the orders of the Collector, been allowed only on permits issued by a Special Deputy Tahsildar appointed for the purpose. While a certain quota of cloth is given uniformly to the common citizens, there is apparently no rule about the issue of the notorious "special" permits. These "special" permits are issued by scores in quantities ranging upto even hundred yards to those who either are high officials or are influential people. To give one example of abuse of power, several "special" permits for huge quantities of cloth were issued to the majority of the staff of a local hospital during the last week of December last, when the wife of the Special Deputy Tahsildar happened to be a patient there.

But a more amazing story is yet to be told. The post of the Special Deputy Tahsildar was abolished on Dec. 31 last but no alternate arrangement was made for sale of cloth since then. Nor has the cloth rationing scheme, proposed for the province by the Government, been so far introduced either. The cloth position, so far as the general public are concerned, has been that no single yard of cloth could be secured since January, as neither shops were permitted to sell without permits nor was any officer entrusted with the duty of issuing such permits as was the case till the end of December last. In these circumstances, the public are shocked to find select individuals buying large quantities of cloth in the shops. Enquiries disclosed that the sale was on "special" permits issued by the local Revenue Divisional Officer. It is a scandal that while the people at large are suffering acutely for want of cloth, a select few should be enabled to secure cloth in this manner, under the very nose of the District Collector.

"A MAN-IN-THE-STREET."
Kurnool.

The Madras Estates Land Revenue Bill

The Madras Estates Land Revenue Bill should be thrown out because of the great injury that will be inflicted on the ryots and the State. Under the Bill, the Settlement Commissioner should make researches, and fill up the gaps by his imagination in fixing land revenue. He should discover the year when the estate yielded a lower land revenue than in 1801. He should apply to lands assigned after the settlement the mohey rents of other lands, by a comparison of soils, etc. He should discover the customary share of produce and the prices of 1801, or failing the latter, apply the prices of the nearest year for which information is available. Where neither the division of produce nor the price can be found out, he should apply the revenue rates prevailing in the neighbouring areas. The settlement will result in inequalities in the payment of land revenue. The revenue will vary from estate to estate in proportion to the feudal dues compounded in it in 1801. Where money rents were fixed high in 1801, they will continue. Garden taxes amounting to four times the ryotwari rate will also continue. In as much as gross produce and not net will be commuted as revenue, ryots with poor lands or incurring less cultivation expenses will pay a greater sum of land revenue than others. The fundamental relief which the Bill will give is by commuting the grain rent at the price of 1801. Should revenue be fixed according to the needs of the State and the capacity of the land to pay, or because an assumed historic justice has to be rendered? The State has nowhere been prevented from fixing the revenue to be paid by ryots in the zamindari areas. The Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Bill says that it is introduced because the Legislature wanted a bill on the basis of the recommendations of the Prakasam Committee. In 1938 it was feared that any measure beyond the corners of the Permanent Settlement was *ultra vires*. But in 1946 times have changed and

No Ugly Reactions.

No Deleterious After-Effects.

SRI RAMA YOGI'S TRISULAM

THE KING OF TONICS

Analysis :

Calcium, Gold, Iron, Sulphur, etc.

When administered for any one of the diseases for which it is indicated, Trisulam not merely attacks that disease with specific effect, but it simultaneously attacks and cures any of the other diseases lurking in the system. Hence arises the safety of TRISULAM and its superiority to other specifics in the field.

DISEASES IN WHICH TRISULAM IS INDICATED

FOR LADIES

Leucorrhoea

Irregular, Excessive or defective menstruation.

Pre-and-Post-delivery ailments.

T.B. of the Intestines, Lung, Bone or glands, etc.,

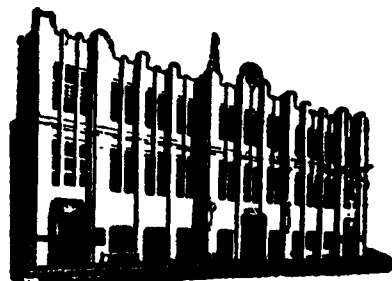
Colic,	Phthisis,
Dyspepsia,	Bronchitis (Acute
Gastritis,	or Chronic),
Chronic Diarrhoea,	Coughs consequent on
	Pneumonia,

Chronic	Malaria,
Constipation,	Influenza,
Other gastro-intestinal disorders	Measles,
	Other stubborn coughs.

Liver & Spleen DISORDERS.

GAURI VIHAR,

**118, Purasawalkam High Road,
VEPERY P.O. :: MADRAS**



THE INDIAN BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE :

**"Indian Bank Buildings",
North Beach Road, Madras.**

LOCAL OFFICES :

**Esplanade, Triplicane, Mount Road,
Mylapore, Theagarayanagar,
Purasawalkam and Egmore.**

BRANCHES AND SUB-OFFICES :

**In all the important places in the
Madras Presidency and in Bombay**

Issued & Subscribed
Capital Rs. 71,10,000
Paid-up Capital „ 51,67,608
Reserve Fund „ 61,50,000

All kinds of Banking Business done.
**For particulars apply to any Office
of the bank.**

N. GOPALA IYER,

Secretary.

the British Parliament will not in any case stand in the way. Further, the Prakasam Committee report itself says "that the rule relating to price levels did not enter the minds of the legislators in 1802, 1822, and even later years. That was because there was no occasions to think of enhancing the rate on account of fluctuations in price." All the Acts, reports, and High Court judgments have upheld that money rents as well as the division of produce rent fixed in 1801 were unalterable, and that where produce rent was commuted, it should be left to the decision of the parties.

The Bill commits the State to wrong canons of taxation. At a time when it wants revenue to cover the loss by the introduction of Prohibition, the State will forego the benefit of enhanced land tax due to rise in prices. The Ryotwari owners will equally demand benefit. Again the State commits itself to a wrong principle of unalterable land tax. As garden tax existed in 1801, the State commits itself to another wrong canon, taxing the improvements made by a ryot at his cost. Fourthly, land tax which today is based on net incomes can be hereafter collected on the medieval method of a share of gross produce.

In so far as the Bill restores the Permanent Settlement, it has also to support all the feudal levies of zamindars on forests, communal lands and waste lands.

Further, great deductions from the rights of the State are made which after all will only harm the people. The administration of common lands and forest lands is vested in the village community about whose community of interests we learnt a lot from the speech of the Prime Minister about agrarian troubles on the Public Safety Ordinance! Mining rights too of the State are partly handed over to private citizens.

It is impossible to improve the Bill. The action of the Government is puzzling when in one breath they want to abolish the zamindars and in another breath they bring in a Bill for continuing the system.

K. G. SIVASWAMI.

Discrimination Against Pensioners

The prices of all articles required for living have already risen to three hundred to four hundred per cent. and are still rising by leaps and bounds. Even fairly paid officers are unable to make both ends meet. Strikes are generally resorted to by employees to compel

employers to pay them higher wages. In some cases relief has been granted partially, while in others such reliefs have been granted only after strikes were organised. The policy of the Government does not seem to be fair and impartial to all people evenly; it seems to be to help only those who are VOCIFEROUS and able to assert themselves by resort to direct action such as strikes. Such a policy hits people like pensioners very hard. Pensioners need special treatment in consideration of their past faithful service over long years to the Government and their consequent inability to work and earn so as to make both ends meet. Their case has been neglected and ignored, while those who are in active service (including all highly paid officials who can afford to get on without any dearness allowance) are allowed a fair allowance with which they are not satisfied. Why should the poor pensioners be discriminated against in this way? Does it not behove the people's Government to be faithful to the old subordinates with whose substantial assistance the wheels of the Government were running in the past and to be impartial to them?

D. N. GOPALA IYER,
Retired Dy. Supdt. of Police,
and fifty others.

Teachers' Salaries

The revised scales of teachers' salaries falls far short of the expectations. In the first place, why should an invidious distinction be drawn between servants under local bodies and those under Government when both are governed by the same rules and regulations? Should not the service conditions and emoluments be the same? The scale for the L.Ts. (assistants) under local bodies is 70-5-140 while under Government there are two grades, 80-5-120-10-190 for the lower and 160-5-200-10-240 for the higher. Similarly, the scale for a secondary grade assistant under the local body is 35-1½-65 (plus 5 for craft training) while under Government it is 40-3-55-2-85 (or 45-3-60-2-90 for craft trained teachers).

The chances of teachers under local bodies for promotion to higher posts are rare: an L.T. can at best become a headmaster and all L.Ts. cannot aspire for it, while for a secondary grade teacher there is nothing at all. But in Government service, the opportunities for promotion are very many. Further, a lower division clerk—an S.S.L.C. after passing the Service Commission

examination gets 45-3-62-60 with full chances of promotion to the upper division where the scale is 80-3-85-5-125 and still higher. Compare with this the lot of the secondary grade trained teacher who too is an S.S.L.C. but has spent two years of his time and many hundreds of his money for the arduous training. And yet they say that the status of the teacher has been raised! What incentive can there be for an S.S.L.C. candidate or a graduate to choose the Education Department? What has the popular Ministry done for ameliorating the lot of the teachers? Do not ends of justice require them to cast off their complacence and redress the wrong?

SIVALA RAMAMURTHY,
President, Taluk Harijan
Sevak Sangh, Tekkali.

Nationalization of Motor Transport

The nationalization of motor transport has become a subject of crucial controversy in this country. Dr. Pat-tabhi Sitaramayya, presiding over the seventh session of the All-India Motor Union Congress, held in New Delhi recently, opposed in strong terms the nationalizing motor transport. He said: "The case of the individual motor owner deserves patient understanding, close examination and careful judgment. The motor owners are a set of highly patriotic men who have done their bit for the country, both in the economic and political lines. Now suddenly to say that they shall surrender their business into the hands of local Governments is to do evil unto those who have done good." My opposition is from a different angle and not in sympathy with capitalism. The various provincial Governments are making an unnecessary fetish of nationalizing motor transport. In India, what we have to do first is the development of roads, and transport services, both intensively and extensively. Nationalization, if at all it comes, should come at a later stage when the industry is fully developed and tends to gather huge profits and when India has attained complete sovereignty. We know now what the standard of efficiency of the various telephone services which are running under Government auspices is, compared to that when they were running as public limited companies. I would advocate nationalization only when India is entirely free from foreign control and not under the present set-up of Government machinery. If the Government are moving towards Socialism as they undoubtedly should, many other public utility con-

cerns have to be taken over by Government before, however, motor transport goes under State ownership and State management.
Calcutta. A. SWAMINATHAN.

Production And Procurement

Procurement of paddy through the agency of the Revenue Department has proved effective in a way. But it cannot be said that all paddy unwanted for use was procured, nor can it be said that there has been no black-marketing. The offer of bonus to bring out the stocks proved useful. At any rate, all kuruval paddy has been sold out since it is not usual to store it and the offer of bonus was an additional inducement for selling it.

As a result of the several concessions made by the Government, all available areas in villages adjoining cultivated holdings, remaining waste, have been taken up for cultivation, so much so, there is hardly any space left in villages for cattle to go about and graze. There seems to be no scope for further expansion of cultivation under this head.

Against this increase in area cultivated, lands previously cultivated must have been left waste since the net increase in area cultivated according to figures published in the Administration Report (Irrigation Branch, P.W.D.), is much lower and does not represent the increase reported under the system of subsidies.

Efforts are being made to improve methods of cultivation by the use of selected seeds, grown in bigger seed-beds properly manured. But the use of manure which is the most important item is still far from satisfactory. Farm manure is scarce and quite insufficient. It is found difficult to get seeds for manure crops. The use of artificial manure is restricted by the availability of supply. The efforts of the Agricultural Department to arrange for the supply of manure have not proved successful. This is the position now and the cultivators are at their wit's end to know what to do in the matter. Any help rendered will be quite welcome. It is for Government to consider ways and means by which manure can be supplied and effectively applied to the land. Vigorous measures should be taken towards getting a good supply of manure and applying it to the land according to the needs of the crop with the help of the officers of the Agricultural Department.

N. SWAMINATHAN IYER,
Retired Civil Engineer,
Government of Madras.



Some Delay in
Getting us on
the Phone?

Save yourself some trouble by remembering that on the 26th January 1947 our Telephone No. was changed to

84064 (2 lines P.B.X.)

Don't forget, when you want a good Printing Job done in a hurry give us a ring and we'll do the rest.

ASSOCIATED PRINTERS
165, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

"TRUST BEGETS TRUST"

Tittimatti (S Coorg)

January 2, 1947.

I was beset with numerous difficulties when I first thought of buying some diamonds and gems. For one thing I was made to believe that it was necessary to consult an expert in this line to avoid disappointment. Fortunately I came across your advertisement and I made up my mind to place an order with you by Post though with some fear; because I have had no personal touch with you.

And I am very glad now to say that I have made the right choice. Mere mention of my limit and the jewels required was enough for you to give me a Necklace, a Bracelet and a Ring to my entire satisfaction each one excelling the other in gems, workmanship and design. I hardly thought it was possible for you to execute this order so promptly.

I can now confidently say that there is nothing like a direct deal with a responsible firm like yours and your advertisements are but **naked Truths** so easy and yet reliable.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) N. CHITTIAPPA.

JUSTIFIED

SURAJMAL'S

"TRUSTWORTHY JEWELLERS"
"SINCE 1895"

313, ESPLANADE
MADRAS