

SWATANTRA

EDITOR: KHASA SUBBA RAU



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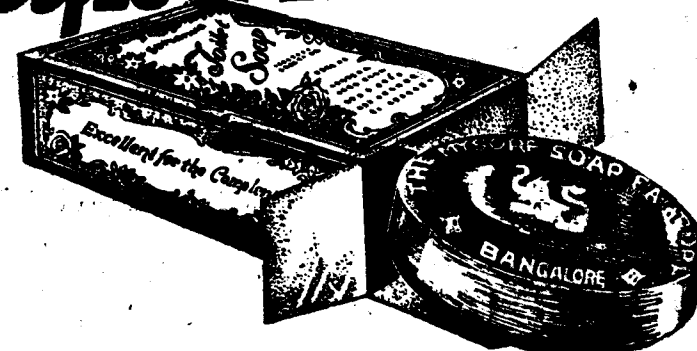
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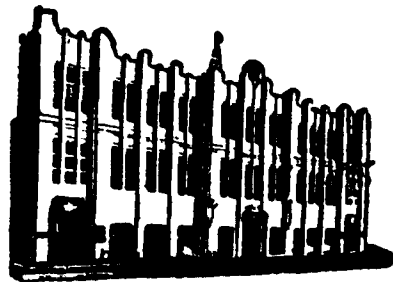
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LIABILITIES.				ASSETS.			
	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Capital Paidup	..	..	18,75,000	0	0	..	3,23,61,983
Reserve Fund	..	..	7,75,000	0	0	..	1,98,510
Contingent Fund	..	..	16,525	13	11	..	1,05,425
Provision for Taxes	..	..	76,182	15	0	..	53,684
Deposits and other liabilities	..	..	5,49,01,266	3	3	..	..
Bills for collection and commercial credits	..	..	39,00,258	12	2	..	39,00,258
Drafts and T. T.'s payable	..	..	2,99,196	2	8	..	6,75,515
Sundries	..	..	79,311	0	3	..	1,56,74,768
Branch Adjustments	..	..	17,26,806	10	8	..	..
PROFIT & LOSS ACCOUNT							
Brought forward:	3,588	7	1				
Net Profit for the Year	8,14,606	11	3				
Less appropriation as per balance sheet of 30-6-46	8,18,195	2	4				
	3,86,469	1	0				
Total	..	..	6,40,81,273	11	3	Total	.. 6,40,81,273 11 3

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SWATANTRA

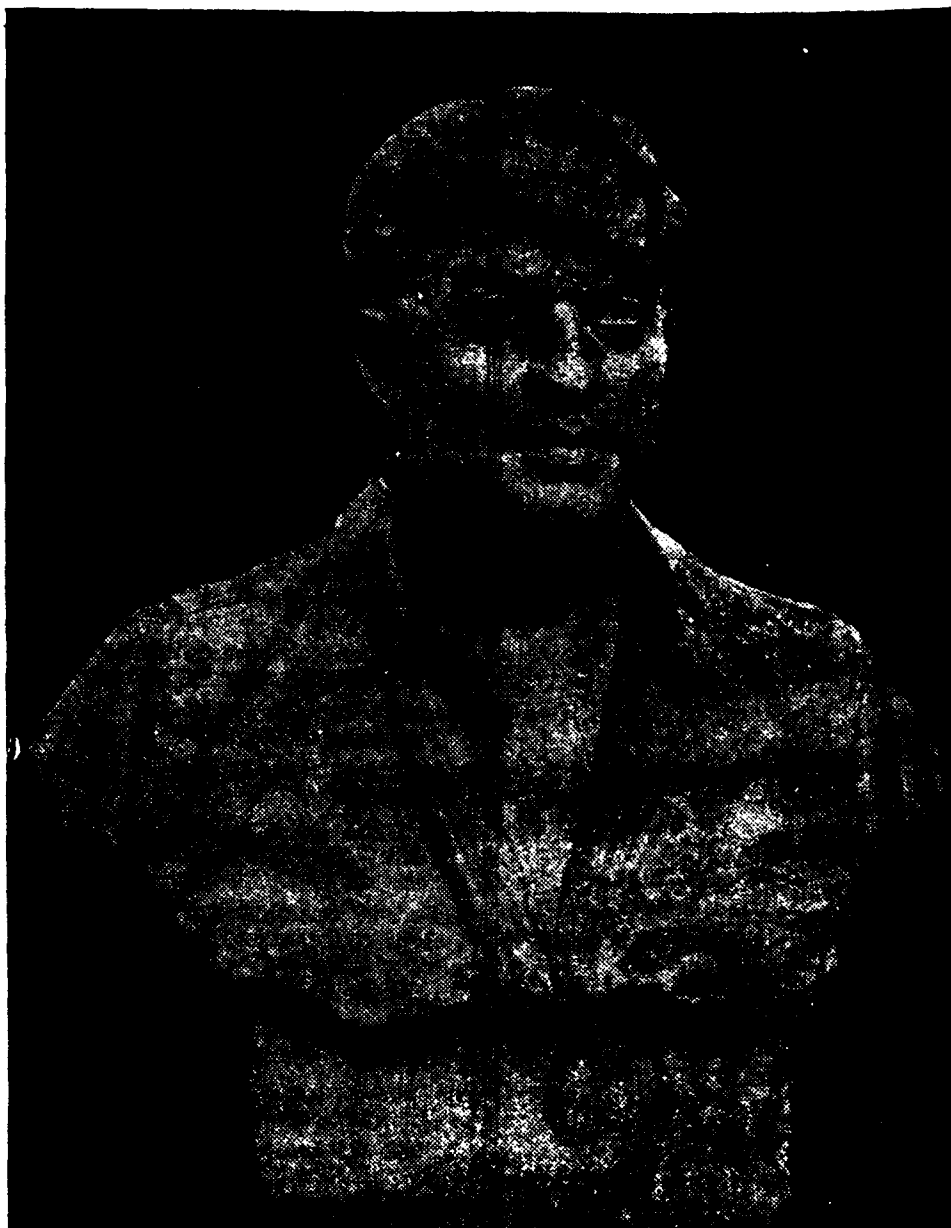
Vol. II, No. 5.

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1947

MADRAS

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LIFE-SIZE BUST OF J. P. L. SHENOY,
Commissioner, Corporation of Madras.
(Done in clay by Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury).

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
 No. 5

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1947.

ISSUED
 WEEKLY

BATTLE FOR INDIA'S FUTURE

A REPORT, which may be nothing more than the kind of intelligent anticipation on which Special Correspondents thrive, has it that the first thing Lord Louis Mountbatten will do on taking charge is to demand the resignation of the Interim Government. He will then reappoint the present members of the Interim Government and take the opportunity to secure the League's participation in the Constituent Assembly by insisting on it as a condition precedent to the reappointment of the League members. Clever as the suggestion is, it has nothing more to recommend it intrinsically than the demand, made in turn by the Congress members of the Interim Government, that the Viceroy should call upon the Leaguers to resign as the League had failed to join the Constituent Assembly as promised. It is perhaps not without significance that on the morrow of Mr. Attlee's statement of February 20 the Viceroy asked Mr. Nehru and his Congress colleagues, according to reliable reports, whether they still insisted on the Leaguers getting out. But the Congressmen were not keen on pressing their points as in their view an entirely new situation had been created by Mr. Attlee's announcement. The Congress Working Committee's resolution which demands that the Interim Government should be treated as a Dominion Government, may be supposed to be incompatible with the mood of

acquiescence in the present composition of that Government which, according to the reports above-mentioned, had been induced in the Congress as a result of Mr. Attlee's declaration. But a moment's reflection should show that there is nothing inconsistent between the two positions. If the Interim Government is to be treated as the succession Government or, to give it the name suggested by Sir Stafford Cripps, the Interim National Government, it should develop without delay the habit of collective responsibility and it should have enough moral authority to leave Britain no option but to transfer the ultimate power she exercises to that Government, even if a brand-new agreed Constitution does not come into existence by June 1948. But collective responsibility would be impossible, and Britain could plausibly deny moral authority, to the Interim Government if it should continue to be torn by internecine quarrels. If the Muslim League should go out, whether of its own accord or under British pressure, it might be possible to set up a Government that would be representative of all shades of opinion in the country except the League. And in spite of the opposition of the latter, it might succeed, by wise and patient negotiation and long range planning for social ends, in establishing such a power of goodwill for itself that the League might find itself foiled in its disruptive tactics. But two

BRICKBATS & BOUQUETS FOR BUDGET!



things would be essential if it was to have a fair chance of establishing itself—time and freedom from distraction. The League, bent on sabotaging it, would see to it that it was denied such favourable conditions.

The battle for India's future is going to be fought in the Provinces, notably the Punjab and Bengal. Mr. Attlee's statement has made this inevitable. The statement is, in essential particulars, so vague that it is just possible that it was not meant to be a charter for Pakistan. Unfortunately the surface meaning of the relevant paragraphs in the statement seems to put a premium on League intransigence. That explains the renewed attempts that are being zealously made to seduce the N.-W. Frontier Province from its allegiance to the Congress and the frantic efforts to set up a League ministry in the Punjab, which have had such untoward results. If the League hoped to stampede the Punjab into supporting its bid for communal hegemony it clearly did not reckon with the possibility of so explosive a reaction on the part of the Sikhs and the Hindus. League strategy has always favoured the policy of lulling Sikh suspicions by fair if vague promises; and this policy is now again to the fore. Rather incongruously Mr. Firoz Khan Noon appears as the protagonist of conciliatory diplomacy—a role for which nature never fitted him. He has argued that the Congress in proposing the partition of the Punjab has shown itself prepared to sacrifice Sikh interests. He asks the Sikhs to take note of this and of the fact that under no possible division of the Province could their integrity be preserved. The League on the other hand would be glad to allow them to make their choice of any one of a number of equally attractive alternatives. At the same time he tries to frighten the Congress by suggesting that if

it should succeed in separating Eastern Punjab from the rest of the Province, the former would still have a Sikh-Muslim majority over the Hindus and that might after all induce the new Province to throw in its lot with Pakistan. But what this amateur strategist forgets is that the Sikhs know their history. Their natural ties with the Hindus are far greater and if it comes to partitioning the Punjab the Hindu part of it would be able and willing to offer them more substantial attractions than the Muslims are ever likely to do. The Congress, which realises the importance of carrying the Sikhs with it in propounding any solution for the Punjab with some chance of its being accepted, must have been assured that it would be backed by the Sikhs if it were to press the proposal for partitioning the Province.

On the purely administrative plane there is something to be said for making the Provincial units as homogeneous as possible. If Sind and Orissa could be constituted into separate Provinces there is no reason why Bengal and the Punjab should not each be divided into two if this could be done without creating new difficulties in the place of the old ones which are sought to be eliminated. So far as the Punjab is concerned there is in fact a formidable difficulty in the way of such division. The Sikhs, as the Cabinet Mission pointed out, might under any scheme of division find themselves split up. They are not likely to acquiesce in this. The Congress, in saying that partition may be the only way of preventing a recurrence of such horrors as the communal outbreaks of the past fortnight, might have been influenced by the consideration that if the League accepted the challenge, the onus of making the Sikhs agree to any plan of partition would lie upon it. Confronted with this problem the League might

conceivably come round to the view that a tripartite settlement between the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims would perhaps be easier and in any case be more satisfactory than any kind of partition. It is to be hoped that it will realise this betimes. If it does it must see that a tripartite agreement of that sort would be possible only within the framework of a Constitution for all India in which the Punjab would have its place like any of the other Provinces on a footing of absolute equality. The British Government has been loosely talking of handing over the Central Government's powers in certain areas to Provincial Governments or to "Combined Governments." And the latest resolution of the Working Committee would seem to have accepted this in principle and claimed that it logically follows from this that parts of Provinces which wish to join the Indian

Union should have equally the right to determine their own future. But there are certain vital powers, notably Defence, which it would be impracticable to distribute among a number of claimants. Only a Union whose authority is acknowledged by the entire country or a Central Government ruling so large a part of the country and having such relatively large material and military resources as the United States has on the American Continent can hope to ensure that India shall remain free from external attack and internal dissension. A Monroe Doctrine for India may prove to be the best way of achieving this objective. If so, it will be for the free people of India to agree upon such a solution. So far as Britain is concerned she must hand over the reins to the Government at the centre she has set up, leaving it to the people of India to decide what is good for themselves.

Sotto Voce

Cheap And Nasty

ADDRESSING a Conference at Cawnpore Mr. C. Rajagopalachari put in a plea for the production of durable cloth, which went straight to my heart. The only authentic revolution I have witnessed in my time is in respect of the life of clothes. In the far off days of my schooling the ubiquitous dyed dhoti known as the "Pudukotah milk-and-red" was our uniform. The two-cubit piece, without which Deepavali would have been inconceivable, was expected to last at least two years. Our frugal parents saw to it that it did, by buying us only one bit every year.

And we made much of it, God knows. Dacca Muslin could not have been taken care of more lovingly; in our zeal for making it last for eternity, we used to squat in class on our bare bottoms, gingerly gathering up the precious fabric against contact with mother earth. We industriously washed it after the daily bath, laundering being an unknown luxury; we vied with each other in showing that our dhoti could hold water like a water-skin. So, when the first rent appeared, we quaked "like a guilty thing surprised," dreading paternal reproof,



and sarcasm more deadly than reproof.

School-boys of today reading what I have written are bound to pat themselves on their emancipated backs. Even those who still stick to the old-fashioned dhoti patronise khadder for the sufficient reason that its life is mercifully short. No parent dare question the axiom that khadder lasts only three months. Pants and pyjamas, on the other hand, are supposed to enjoy near immortality, collectively considered. 'Buy two dozen at a time and you will find that they last twice as long as they might if you bought them one by one.'

It was our passion for solidity, for what would wear well, that explained why everything British found favour in our eyes in those days; snobbery had little to do with it. The countryman delighted in such famous brands of imported cloth as "Wilson's Clasp'd Hand" or the "Crown Mark"; they were cheap and durable. The town-buck wound the "1703 mull" round his waist with ceremonial care before he started on his evening rounds; it was fashionable and durable. The gentry, however, went in for hand-woven from Salem and Mannargudi; it was Sastha and durable.

Port Arthur and American mass-production changed all that. Indian patriotism boycotted Lancashire only to patronise Japan; and Lancashire in its turn was no less ready to discard the old fetish about quality. Brummagem ceased to be a term of contempt, and Liverpool and Manchester retained their distinction only in the stiff prices they continued to charge. No wonder that Japan had the best of it in this game of bluff. When pasteboard sandals from the Land of Sunrise sold at eight annas a pair, what chance had English shoes? Unfortunately they drove out of the market the indigenous variety as

well, though that was built to last a life-time.

A new philosophy had in fact swum into our ken. "Departmentalism," said Lord Curzon in a classic minute, "is not a moral delinquency; it is an intellectual hiatus." The twin gospels of the Economic Man and the Dynamic Life had a contempt no less withering for the solid and substantial, attachment to which was denounced as a Victorian superstition. Machinery was like the Vetala of Indian fable; you had to keep it fully employed lest it should eat you up. And unless "Cheap and flimsy" was your motto how could you escape falling from the Scylla of under-production into the Charybdis of over-production?

Cauveri water which my grandfather brought for his daily worship was doubly sweet to infant lips because the vessel that contained it was of burnished copper. Cleaned by the loving hands of three generations it shone like the rays of the morning sun and its beautiful pattern of leaves and tendrils was a perpetual delight. But copper has long disappeared from the domestic cupboard; the modern housewife cannot be bothered to give it the daily polish it needs. The shapeless brass tumbler and bastard aluminium reign in its stead.

The home-life of most middle-class families is as brittle and unstable as that of a wayside camp. The furniture is a jumble of odds and ends, picked up in auction sales or got on hire purchase under the delusion that it is cheaper. The house does not wear the aspect of having been lived in and there is nowhere the slightest suggestion of history, of the hand that in our grand-mothers' phrase "ruled and used". In our anxiety to avoid the reproach of being static we have deserted our household gods.

VIGNESWARA.



SIDELIGHTS : :

Could you on this fair mountain
leave to feed,
And batten on this moor? Ha! have
you eyes? —SHAKESPEARE.

YOU CANNOT get round numbers. One hundred and thirty-four in a party of one hundred and ninety-six are against Prakasam. How is one to circumvent this fact without nullifying democracy? There might have been intrigue. But intrigue is permitted in democracy.

This is a specimen of what the Congress President who has come down to Madras to resolve the ministerial tangle, has been saying. To characterise as 'intrigue' the background operations that have culminated in the collection of the 134 signatures by the no-confidence faction is to fail to assess them at their true and proper value. What has taken place is not intrigue but fraud.

Some legislators wanted labour leaders of whose growing influence they were jealous to be arrested. The Premier who was at first misled by their importunities released them as soon as he realised his mistake. Result: "No confidence." The labour leaders in question are Narayanaswami Naidu and Vallatharasu.

Dr. Rajan missed being a Minister in the Prakasam Cabinet with the skin of his teeth. The actual time even when he was to be sworn in as Minister was fixed. He was prevented from implementing his agreement to join the Ministry by trouble caused by aspirants who wished to see themselves in office, inside his own group. The disability that unexpectedly intervened to prevent Dr. Rajan from giving effect to his agreement with the Premier took the incarnation, two days later, of his going over to the no-confidence faction! Is anything more needed to show that Dr. Rajan's "confidence" or "no-confidence" is worth nothing, since it is based not on any action or omission of the Premier but on in-

cidents in his own group totally unconnected with the Premier's administration.

One of the "no-confidence" party has been going about saying, "Since Prakasam came in, sir, black-marketing has been on the increase." This particular gent sells medicines and his firm once charged Rs. 8 for a drug that should have been sold for Rs. 3-4. The buyer, armed with the receipt, threatened prosecution and demanded a penalty of Rs. 1,000 for every rupee charged in excess. His forbearance was eventually purchased with a gift of half his demand. The plain truth of the matter is that amongst our legislators there are a good number who ought to be in jail, and they find Prakasam with his honesty of purpose and imperviousness to worldly considerations extremely inconvenient, and not being able to dislodge him in any other way, they have taken to defaming him, and to pooling their votes, in defiance of public opinion, in a concerted attempt to get rid of him.

The difficulties of the Premier are due to his faithfulness to the Congress programme. His opponents do not share that faithfulness. To most of them the Congress is an institution to exploit for personal gain. The Premier is loved and revered as nobody among his opponents is. He enjoys an enormous degree of support among primary Congress organisations. He symbolises the Congress to the people and is the most popular figure in the province. If the question of who is to be the Premier is to be referred to popular vote, Prakasam would sweep the polls against all competitors. The attempt to dislodge such a man cannot but be characterised as a fraud on the electorate, and on the vast mass of people without votes whose goodwill has been the basis of Congress influence; and to encourage such a fraud is to dig the grave of Congress influence with the people in South India.—SAKA.

SCENES FROM MADRAS ASSEMBLY

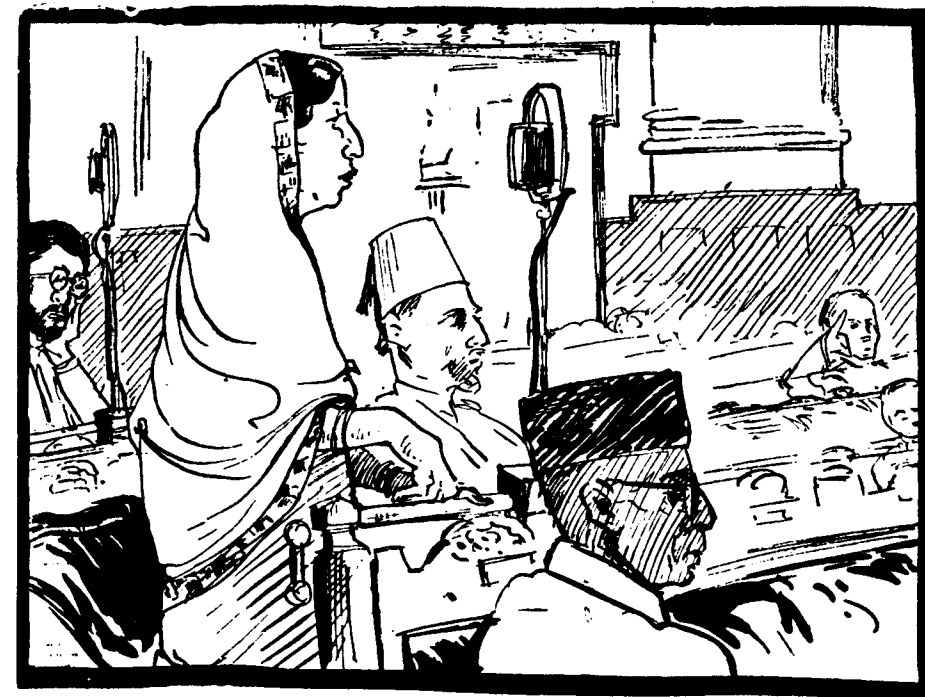
(Drawn by H. V. Ram Gopal)



Mr. Mahomed Ismail, Leader of Opposition, delivering one of his opposition speeches.



Premier Prakasam, presenting the Budget.



Begum Mir Amiruddin, presenting a Muslim League point of view.

POLITICAL ACROBATICS OF ANTI-PRAKASAMITES MADRAS MINISTERIAL CRISIS

by "GAUTAMA"

THE unholy alliance between Dr. Rajan's group and Kamaraj Nadar's faction to pull down the Prakasam Ministry marks a lamentable decline in the political morals of the Congress Legislature Party and appears, to watchful minds, ominous to the future well-being of our Province.

The Rajaji group played till recently a conspicuous part as fearless and constructive critics of the Ministry, upholding zealously the honour, dignity and fair name of the Congress. It was the one disinterested group in the confused medley of the Congress Legislature Party, containing seasoned Congressmen of acknowledged ability and character. But it is a misfortune that this enlightened group should have taken a new Avatar under the wrong-headed leadership of Dr. Rajan and joined the thrice-discredited Kamaraj faction, lending its moral weight to a section responsible for the political chaos of this province. Public memories are proverbially short, but they cannot be short enough to forget how this Tamil Nad 'clique' carried on a ceaseless crusade against Sri. C. Rajagopalachari last year and hunted him out of provincial politics. The same group today wants Sri. Prakasam's head on a charger. This group, only a resurrected Justice Party in disguise, is intent on giving a new lease of life to communalism. Dr. Rajan by his maladroitness has played into its hands and has given this group a cloak of respectability. The so-called Rajan group owes an explanation to the public as to how it came to be associated with the Nadarites with their gospel of hate and their politics of the notorious Tiruppurankunram variety. The mystifying and overnight change of the Rajan group, from being friendly critics of the Ministry into relentless foes is a supreme exercise in absurdity,

a feat in political acrobatics. Their unreasoning hate for Sri. Prakasam has landed them in a quagmire of intrigue and forced on them strange political bed fellows, of whom they cannot feel proud in their sober and reflective moments.

Let us examine for a moment, why there is all this wild talk of 'no-confidence' and the feverish search for a new leader. Does Sri Prakasam deserve all this violent antagonism? Has he not administered this province during a most troubled period with consummate ability, wisdom, courage and vision? Has he not averted the food crisis, which threatened to engulf this province? Did he not stand four-square against the monster of communal hate which tried to raise its ugly head, in the wake of the Noakhali tragedy? But for him, a miniature Bihar would have been repeated in this province. It is only leaders like Sri Prakasam, with no hate in their hearts, no trace of communalism, no bitterness or rancour, that can solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. The Muslim League party in the Assembly is obliged to hold him in esteem. Their appreciation of Sri Prakasam is a striking tribute to his fair-mindedness and his passion for even justice. Sri Prakasam's handling of the Railway strike and the threatened non-gazetted officers' strike was marked by firmness and restraint and there was no trace of vindictiveness or sabre-rattling in his utterances.

As it is rightly pointed out, Madras has implemented the constructive programme of the Congress with faith, energy and courage. Sri Prakasam's village uplift schemes, his filip to Khadi, his Prohibition drive and on top of all, his textile policy are all calculated to put new life into our drooping villages.

In all his work, he is handicapped by lack of co-operation from his

party. He had not even free choice in the selection of his colleagues. He had to function under the frown of the High Command. But he has battled heroically against the conspiracy of circumstances, and his achievement even under these limitations and handicaps can stand comparison with those of any other Congress Ministry.

Apart from his work of signal worth, in the face of unscrupulous opposition and a hostile Press, let us contemplate for a moment the man. One is overpowered by the charm of a character of rare simplicity, delicacy and instructed

idealism. His self-command, his imperturbable calmness in the face of the crisis, his manly courage, his masculine grasp of affairs, and absence of anger and bitterness mark him out as a great leader of men. The accent of emotion and sympathetic tenderness lend to his speeches in the Assembly a rare dignity and power.

Should we sacrifice such a valued captain? To what will the blundering hatreds and mischievous intrigues of the power-mad political manikins of the Congress Legislature Party bring this province?

REMEDY FOR THE EVILS

by PRABHAKARA REDDI

I had the good luck to attend the meeting held at Gokhale Hall on 26th February evening to support Premier Prakasam's Ministry. One thing that impressed me was the suggestion about adult franchise and direct election to the Premiership just as the Americans elect their President. In this connection, may I suggest that the voters should be given the power to call back their respective representatives in the Assembly, in case they run amok, as in the present case. I think that this will make the representatives responsible and true to the people.

Many speakers stated at the meeting that the signatories to the no-confidence motion, "are refugees from their constituencies," and that they are "running away" instead of facing the people. I wish that they should face the people; not only they but all the other responsible people also should face the public; and not only for this but in all important matters that concern the people. Mr. Prakasam also should have faced the people with his pet Khadi scheme, the Public Safety

Ordinance, etc. Those who talk about cliques now should remember that these are the very same cliques which were encouraged to elect Mr. Prakasam as leader, and that these are the very same cliques that functioned in the parliamentary boards when selecting the candidates for the Assembly and that these are the very same cliques that are functioning in different parts of the country to enhance their selfish interest. Is there any M.L.A. (or for that matter, any responsible Congressman) who does not belong to this or that clique?

Considering the present Congress Party position, Mr. Prakasam is the only man who can lead his party, but he has to thoroughly overhaul his Ministry and his policy as well.

This Assembly should be abolished and fresh elections should be ordered. This is the only honourable way to save the prestige of the Congress and to avoid future troubles in the Congress Legislature Party. The public should agitate for adult franchise and fresh elections.



A POLITICAL JESUS

by G. RAJANNA

A DAY before the arrival of Premier Prakasam at Rajahmundry it was announced all over the town that he would be arriving the next day and there would be a grand reception and a public meeting at 9 p.m. The next day, however, signboards were put up changing the hour to 8 and leaflets were circulated to the effect that the meeting would commence at 6 p.m. I could not understand why there was this disparity between the printed notice and the written signboard. I did not care to enquire. And to my company belonged the vast multitude of people to whom what mattered was Prakasam's arrival and Prakasam himself and not the time or place. Whatever the hour they were determined to see him and hear him speak. As a sample of the veneration in which he is held by the working classes, I may mention here that my workmen (I am the Manager of a Press at Rajahmundry) eagerly looked forward to his visit and his speech.

Prakasam was not unduly late; it may be said he was slightly earlier, considering the fact that he was journeying a long distance, obliging admiring audiences on the way and crossed the Godavari via the anicut. The vast concourse of people that gathered at the meeting place looked like a sea of humanity. It was composed of men, women and children—all classes, all parties. No sooner did he arrive than he was greeted with cries of "Andhra Kesari Ki Jai."

When he rose to speak, his voice was not in order, it was bad. To the dismay of all the mike failed. He was not deterred, however, and he began his speech in his inimitable homely style. He was not audible for more than a few yards but everybody literally hung on his lips and strained his ear to catch the slow voice and the steady word. To assist those at a distance Mr. Narasimhadevara Satyanarayana of Alamur with his trumpet voice officiated as a loud speaker. But un-

fortunately he twisted the speaker's words and distorted their meaning—unintentionally of course. On occasions he was pulled up by the speaker. I could discover at once how great an art it was to convey in identical, if not exact, terms the words heard without adding to or subtracting from their meaning. This is not such an easy talent as most people imagine. You have to approach the task with an open mind, an attentive ear, a retentive brain and a truthful tongue. Mr. Satyanarayana gracefully confessed his limitations and sat down with the fond hope that, with silence all around, Prakasam's voice would go up in its pitch making his speech more and more audible. For about 20 minutes Prakasam went on. The mike was set right by that time. But Prakasam's defective voice did not suit it. So it was removed and another trumpet voice stepped in. It was Mr. Madduri Annapurniah. He was a bit better than his predecessor though not quite up to the mark. Well, to cut a long story short, Prakasam spoke for over two hours either with or without assistance. All this time the people evinced exemplary order and listened with rapt attention.

What did Prakasam say? The sum and substance of his speech is this:

1. Despite differences in the Madras Congress Legislature Party, Prakasam as leader was trying to patch up differences in a business-like fashion with the sole object of working in a team spirit for the well-being of the people.

2. There was a lot of commotion in the newspapers about a crisis in the Madras Ministry. He, as the people's representative, elected on the people's suffrage, thought that it was the people that had the sovereign right to set matters right whenever differences arose between elected members.

3. To say that the people had no right was wrong. It was at the bar

of public opinion that one had to stand and obtain the verdict.

4. Ministership was not a bed of roses. A Minister must be a true servant of the people. Everybody could not be a Minister for obvious reasons.

5. Formation of separate groups within the same party was against the rules. Yet it was not in any vindictive spirit that he had appointed a committee to investigate and report on the matter.

6. People were affirming their confidence in Prakasam's leadership and the Prakasam Ministry. So long as the people asserted themselves in the right manner and guided their representatives well and truly, Prakasam's Government would be there, because Prakasam's association with the Government was due to the fact that it was the people's Government.

All along I was wondering how the people were tolerating so bad a speaker. He lacks the equipoise of Dr. Pattabhi, the charm and parables of Rajaji and the sweep and dynamics of Jawaharlal. But he has one quality which none of these possesses. He is homely, speaks like a mother to her children—straight to the heart, no mincing of words, no equivocation, no artistry. In short, he is a political Jesus. He has the confidence of a captain that is sure of his chart, steady at the rudder, courageous and bold to steer the ship safely even through perilous seas. There is an aureole about him which no other public man in India save Gandhiji has. In his presence it is not easy for anyone to think or say or act meanly. That is the reason why intriguers are forced to play their game at distant Delhi. He is the idol of the people—revered, honoured, adored.



The Birth of a Great Soul



By

Radha Eswaran

USHA was just eighteen and in the process of completing her B.A. (Hons.) when she met Salim.

Salim Hatim Tai was an evacuee—had trekked all the way from his home in Mandalay and after meeting with the most exciting and incredible adventures arrived in Madras. His Moslem father had died on the way, his Burmese mother, lovely Ma Thein, the Belle of Amarapura town, had chosen to stay behind and charm the Japanese invaders.

Salim was what is known in Burma as a Zerbadi—such is the denomination for the offspring of the unions between the "Kala admis and Burmese women". All these years his father's family, who traced their origin from the Prophet, had frowned on this hybrid relation of theirs. Now out of sheer pity for his destitute condition, his uncle, who owned a flourishing electrical concern in Broadway consented to employ him there and give him food and shelter in his house.

Salim was a thing of beauty to behold. The classical features of his father, the grace and sex appeal of his mother made of him a being so unique that all who saw him once, turned to look again. Yet he had lived all these years untouched by any stronger emotions, remote, immersed in his own feelings, aloof even from his own parents whose interest if any in him had been at best nominal.

Usha too was lovely to behold. She could not boast of a classical cast of countenance but her colour was that of warm ivory, her eyes like black opals, her long and curly hair had the colour and sheen of the raven's wing and her coral lips when unclosed in

the prettiest of smiles revealed superb, brilliantly white teeth. Her figure—ah! it was a poem come to life, her voice something to listen to by the hour.

Usha belonged to an orthodox Hindu community whose girlhood spent their post puberty years in the strictest seclusion, emerging once more from this chrysalis state only after marriage. Usha's father (her mother died years ago) had succumbed perhaps a shade unwillingly to the current craze for higher education and so it came about that despite her eighteen years, Usha roamed over practically the whole of Madras, and termed it getting educated.

Returning from her lecture room one afternoon, she ran headlong into Salim who had come there to supervise the installation of some special electric lights for enlivening the particularly dark passage in which the collision took place. After a brief period of breathlessness, the two took stock of each other. The result was that thing which strikes like lightning "Love at first sight" and which like lightning strikes in the most unexpected places leaving very often in its wake a trail of desolation.

After a week of such meetings in the dark passage, side-long glances and fleeting smiles, Salim took his courage in both hands and said "You study in this college?"

Usha laughed in her clear ringing way. "Of course I do you duffer. Else why should I be here?"

Salim was abashed. Why hadn't he been able to see the obvious? Perhaps the intoxicating effects of love!

Usha continued: "We've been banging into each other for a week now. My name is Usha Ram Nath. Your's is.

"Salim Hatim Tai."

"How quaint. Who named you like that?"

"My parents."

"Of course it's always parents who inflict names on their children. Good afternoon Mr. Tai."

She moved away, and Salim with a bravado born of desperation followed her: "Miss Ram Nath, Miss Usha Ram Nath, when can I see you again? We

Love which took no count of caste or creed, poverty or wealth, social codes and conventions, the structure and veneer of society, love which did not even stop to think whether the goal of marriage could be at all possible.

In all fairness to Salim it must be said he had no idea of having an "affaire". Marriage was his ultimate objective, a creature of the wilds, born of unconventional contacts, he could not understand—nay he did not even know



"After a brief period of breathlessness, the two took stock of each other."

must be friends. Do you come to the Marina at 5 o'clock."

"No, no, Mr. Salim Hatim Tai. I am not allowed to speak to creatures of unknown origin on the Marina at any time. But I tell you what. The Cinema show at 6-30 will be better, because I am allowed to go with friends."

They met once, they met again, and yet once again, and this weed of love flourished and grew on the soil of such stolen meetings.

the formidable almost unsurpassable barriers of caste religion and status which stood between him and his love. As for Usha, she never thought of these things. Woman is wise only after the event, and she had not the wisdom of her elders to guide her through the shoals and quicksands of Life and Love. And so happily unseeing the lovers drifted on this sea nearer and nearer to the rocks of tragedy.

Usha's father, he lived only to make money for the happy future of his

beloved daughter, was called away to Bangalore for a week on some very urgent business.

What a glorious chance! Usha was almost alone. Her only chaperon was the toothless, deaf and nearly blind grandmother, whose main occupation was chanting prayers whilst she fingered her gold cased beads, performing endless pujas to innumerable gods, and paving the way for her imminent entry into Heaven by indiscriminate acts of charity.

Occasionally—and more because she deemed it her duty, she gazed at Usha sternly and said "Where have you been? Why so late? Have you had an oil bath?" and similar things, but it never entered her head that such peculiar things as love, and that for men of entirely different origin could come to pass or were things to be enquired after. Granny only visualized marriages and that when horoscopes agreed (most important), Gotras differed and the castes were the same. That of course would happen to Usha in the fulness of time and then there would be little great grandchildren for Granny to fondle, if she survived that long.

Meanwhile the lovers had taken their chance and used it to the full. That week was one of the supreme bliss to those two. The sun shone and hay was made. If Usha was a bit late at home in the process who was to question her? Granny could only curse the college which made its students study so arduously, and the sole tale bearer, Usha's tip top sedan which she often drove herself was dumb!

Father returned and brought with him Sankar who was of Usha's Caste, whose gotra was Koundiniya in apposition to her Kousika whose horoscope agreed with hers to a "T", and whose parents were prepared to accept Usha as their daughter-in-law and utilize her decent dowry for the further education of their son in America.

Sankar himself was an ordinary Hindu boy of good middle class parentage. College educated, yet conservative in his views, neither extraordinarily good looking nor frightfully ugly, longing for love and a wife, yet not prepared to go out into the wilds on this quest.

The last day of that week was marred with tears and sorrow. Usha knew, Salim knew that Father plus Sankar would arrive!

"Oh Salim, my love, light of my life, heart of my heart," wept Usha eloquently as befitted a literature honours student. "When shall we meet again?"

What will happen to us hereafter? I shall die without you my Salim!"

Salim too was bewildered, unhappy and tongue-tied. What to do now? They had gone so far together, and could now go no further, nor could they recede. Marriage, the ultimate solution to love was not for them, as he had first thought. Everything was against the correct and moral termination of their relationship. To run away!—a run-away marriage? Salim had faced months in his evacuee life, months of life in the rough and the rain, soul searing experiences never to be repeated during his life time. Run away and face hardship and want? Never! The solution? Urgent, necessary, for the fruits of their madness, though yet unknown to them had taken tangible shape within the fair form of Usha Ram Nath.

"Dear Usha," said Salim "Marry Sankar. We can meet sometimes. Or forget me Usha. No, don't forget me Usha. Remember me Usha". Poor Salim. Poor Usha! Poor misguided souls, the products of a society in ferment!

Usha was married with great pomp and éclat to Sankar and all the élite of the city attended the years best wedding. And there were photos in the leading weeklies and dailies which Salim saw and which seared his soul still more.

In the olden days when Hindu girls were wedded young, marriage was one thing and its actual consummation another—a much later affair. Today, the post-Sarda era made fortunately for Usha, marriage and its consummation an almost simultaneous affair.

Sankar had only to count the hours before his adored was his. He adored Usha. To him her dowry meant nothing. He thanked God on his bended knees for having given him such a charming wife, and he spent his wedding night in the seventh Heaven.

Only, Usha cried, meaninglessly and with fervour. Sankar was so gentle, and yet she cried. 'Young, frightened innocent fawn'. Girls, young girls were like that thought Sankar. Especially Indian girls whose contact with the outer world and men was so superficial.

The days passed and Usha still wept, though Sankar was kinder and more loving than ever. Granny when consulted said it was the sight of a man, and confessed to herself having been that way for a whole year. Sankar's mother, without being consulted, and as befitted a mother-in-law remarked that

DID YOU REALISE

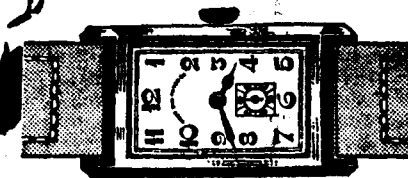
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it was the result of being a motherless and consequently spoilt child.

Then Usha and Salim met again and Usha's tears ceased to flow. Sankar thought it was because she had got used to him, and was radiantly happy. Further happy news—that granny, would be a great grand-mother was made public and a subject of great rejoicing.

Sankar was due to sail for America a few months before the event, and his jubilation was tinged with sorrow. He was glad more for Usha's sake. The child would keep her occupied, and when he returned, the babe would be grown up enough not to stand in the way of his and Usha's being together to the full.

Castles in the air! Frail castles in the air! Knocked to pieces by the first wind that blows! Here too it blew, what unexpected wind toppled over Sankar's castles and changed the course of events.

Sankar discovered Salim. He discovered him and understood thereafter many things—Usha's tears for one.

How did it come to pass? A photo in a drawer? An untorn letter? A word in slumber? Why divulge such secrets. The fact remains that Sankar discovered his rival! Sankar was a well brought up boy, deeply religious, morally conscious, sexually loyal. This revelation stunned him beyond description. Anger, jealousy, these were feelings foreign to his nature and so he did not feel them. He felt something far worse. The finer emotions of man offer greater scope for pleasure or suffering. Sankar suffered the tortures of the damned because his emotions were of the finer variety. Yet these very same fine instincts kept him from taxing Usha—"having it out with her!". He suffered in silence, smiling, deceiving the world, his family, Usha into believing him a happy fool.

Through this Hell on Earth he went to America—and Heavenly Salvation. Sankar, in America as the fruit of his bitter experiences became a yogi—Swami Siddhananda at whose feet morally blasted men and women of the west sat and imbibed religious consolation. Los Angeles went wild over the teachings and preachings of this youthful swami with the austere countenance and sad eyes and sexless appeal.

His family, Usha, all learnt by letter of this event, which was backed by a cheque for the amount of the dowry. The family wept, Usha trembled for she in some subtle womanly way knew that her husband had found her out. She trembled, and haunted and oppressed

by the ghosts of her past, passed into what is termed for want of more explicit language "a nervous breakdown". She was an object of sympathy which made it worse! The world thought her a deserted woman, and Usha could not, though she wished, go and shout out her misdeeds from the house tops (or terraces) of Madras. She too suffered in Hell—a Hell of her own creation. In the midst of all this, Baby Balu made his entry into the world, a bit too early, and succumbed almost simultaneously. Granny followed him ten days later, broken hearted by all these events.

Salim, what of Salim? Sad, half mad he roamed the streets, a menace to the heavy traffic there. Once, he tried frantic beyond all diplomacy to see his beloved bed-ridden Usha in her house. He rang the bell, and Granny opened the door. "Go away" she said "Amma is not well. We don't want any jacket cloths". Blind, old, Granny! She mistook Salim, the handsome Salim, the heart of her grand daughter's heart for a hawker!

"Lady I must see Miss Usha. How is she?" pleaded Salim.

"Get out you impudent rascal", cried Granny wild with rage. "Get out you dirty jacket vendor, you vile hawker of useless clothes!" Salim stunned by this flow of language, stunned by a view of Usha, pale, unsubstantial as a ghost, aroused by the noise and come to enquire the reason, beat a hasty retreat.

Usha too saw him—pale, with unkempt locks falling into his once handsome dark eyes, a nondescript beard framing his chin, gaunt hands gesticulating futilely at the enraged old woman. She saw more than that, she saw wreckage—human wreckage for which she was in some measure responsible. If she had collided with him and at once passed on?

Usha grew worse. The doctors said it was "T.B." They recommended a sanatorium and her fond father, still alive and in pursuit of endless wealth, took her there, and once more back to Salim, also a "T.B." of a more advanced type.

Witness the last act of this little drama of Life. Salim and Usha together again, but past all physical desires, waiting, praying for Death, merciful death to come!

Who informed Swami Siddhananda of Usha's plight? Was it a letter, or did he find out by his wonderful occult powers? One day the Sanatorium was in a ferment. Swami Siddhananda, the renowned Swamiji from America had returned to India, and was ex-

pected in this town today. He was visiting the Sanatorium immediately on arrival, to bless the inmates, and give them the benefit of his spiritual wisdom.

Usha was very ill that day. She was at her last gasp! Nothing but sheer will power, the desire to be seen and forgiven by Swamiji kept her alive.

Swamiji came! The austere countenance broke into smiles at sight of her, the sad eyes grew glad, the Swami free from all frailties of flesh, drew the ravaged travesty of Usha's charming face into his lap, implanted on her forehead a kiss which transcended in its intensity all kisses, of the world of flesh and desire.

"Swami, Swamiji" breathed Usha between laboured gasps, "Am I forgiven?"

"Yes Beloved", replied Swami Siddhananda and so Usha breathed her last.

The storm-tossed soul entered the peaceful waters of the Harbour of Eternity. Safe anchorage at last.

Salim too ended his last days in the lap of the Swami, fortified by his divine love which had no boundaries of caste or creed, and by his wonderful spiritual wisdom. That was much later, two months after Usha had gone on her way.

Swami Siddhananda then visited his parents and gave them too of his love and wisdom. Then? God calls his disciples in mysterious ways when their work in this world is over. Swami Siddhananda's mission was over, he had conquered his earthly self, and had loved, blest and taught good to all mankind, even his enemies. He had brought to life all the best precepts of every religion on this earth. Swami Siddhananda went on a pilgrimage to the Himalayas, and was never heard of any more. He joined his creator on those mysterious heights amidst the eternal snows.



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others, seeing off Mr. K. P. S. Menon, the Ambassador-Designate to China at the aerodrome. Mr. Menon is seen in the centre.





(Top): A view of the gathering at the Open Conference. (Left): Volunteers singing the National song. (Right): Mr. Achyut Patwardhan addressing the gathering on the second day.

ALL-INDIA SOCIALIST PARTY CONFERENCE (Held at Cawnpore recently).

(Bottom Left): Lady Volunteers at the Flag-hoisting ceremony.

(Bottom Right): Dr. K. B. Menon, Mrs. Kamala Devi, Dr. Lohia and Kurshid Ben on the dais at the opening Conference.



Spotlight On The World

By Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A.

THE signing of the Anglo-French Treaty of Alliance at Dunkirk on March 4 is considered to be an event of great significance. It derives this character from a variety of circumstances. In the first place its direct object is to establish the most intimate co-operation between the two countries for the purpose of preventing any German aggression in future. In this sense it is merely a continuation of the policy which kept the two countries together during the first world war and in the early stages of the second world war. Preventing German aggression implies agreement on many matters—political and economic—connected with the Germany of the future. The alliance therefore is really of a more comprehensive character than what it appears to be on the surface. In the second place the alliance aims at the co-operation of the two countries in a number of economic matters for promoting the prosperity and the economic security of both of them. The French have their system of planned economy now and the British also have such a plan. It is expected that in certain spheres at least one will be made complementary to the other and there will be a large amount of economic rapprochement between the two countries. In the third place the signatories have tried their best to assure the world that alliance does not mean the creation of any thing like a Western Bloc against the Soviet. But the fact that such an assurance has been found necessary shows that whatever may be the aim of the signatories the alliance itself may ultimately result in the formation of such a bloc though it may not be against the Soviet. For as things stand today we must recognise that there are three distinct ideologies dominating the world—the Communistic, the Capitalistic and the Socialistic. Britain and France

stand decidedly for the Socialistic ideology. They are the two leading democratic nations who are making a conscientious effort to transform the Capitalistic democracy of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries into a Socialistic democracy and some of the smaller States of Western and Northern Europe—Belgium and Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden—belong to the same category. It therefore looks quite likely that this alliance may embrace in course of time the other smaller democracies of Europe which are eager to adopt a middle way of life as between Communism and Capitalism.

BRITAIN'S MAN-POWER BUDGET

The economic crisis through which Britain is passing today is of such a serious character that it has been found necessary to have a three-day debate in the House of Commons on her "first economic or man-power budget". This shortage in man-power does not seem to be a temporary phenomenon. It is the result of a number of factors which have been in operation over a long period. There has been a steady decline in the birth-rate since 1921, so much so that it is apprehended that the number of youngmen of 18 will fall from 417,000 where they stood in 1939 to 295,000 in 1950. This year the birth-rate has shown a rise. As a matter of fact it is the highest on record for the last twenty-five years. But there is no knowing that this increase will continue. For there was a similar increase in the period immediately after the first world war and a decline after 1921. The same thing may happen now. Moreover in these years there have been large improvements in public health with the result that the deathrate has fallen and the men in the older age-groups whose value from the

point of view of industrial ability is not much has increased. The decision to raise the school-leaving age from 15 to 16 has also resulted in worsening the man-power situation. In 10 years more industry will have only half the number of juveniles it employs today. In addition to all this there is a clamour from Dominions like Australia and South Africa that they should get more British immigrants, especially youngmen and women. The employment of more than a million men in the defence forces and six hundred thousand workers in the munition-making industries has added to the acuteness of man-power shortage. All sorts of remedies are being suggested to overcome the difficulties created by this shortage, remedies like the employment of more foreign labour—Polish, German and Italian—for which there is opposition from the trade unions, bringing more women into industries, increasing the hours of work and introducing new machinery and equipment to raise the efficiency of the workers. The economic future of Britain, and along with that, her political future will depend considerably on the decisions at which the House of Commons arrives as regards the measures to be taken to relieve the man-power shortage.

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

The stage is now set for the work of the Moscow Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers which has met on the 10th of this month. Its object is to draft the treaties which have to be concluded with Germany and Austria. Mr. Bevin has already warned his countrymen that they should not expect too much from the deliberations of the Conference. Mr. George Marshall of the United States has given expression even to a more pessimistic view. While he expressed the hope that the Conference might reach complete agreement on the Austrian Treaty the negotiations regarding Germany would be extremely difficult and it was doubtful whether the actual draft of the

German Peace Treaty could be completed for consideration at the Conference. The Conference of the Deputies of Foreign Ministers which sat for a number of weeks in London and which was expected to arrive at agreement in regard to various preliminaries including the procedure to be adopted at Moscow could not achieve much. All the crucial points have to be settled at Moscow itself. There is no doubt whatever that the German problem is a most complicated one. It is the problem as to how a virile and talented nation of 66 millions living in the heart of Europe in an area which possesses vast potential resources can be prevented for all time from pursuing a policy of military aggression while enjoying a fairly decent standard of life. These are people who are accustomed to strict discipline, who have a high sense of patriotism and who feel that they have as much right to share in the material and spiritual blessings of human life as any other nation. It is not an easy task to reduce them to a position of permanent weakness. But unless this is done there is no guarantee that they will not once more threaten the peace of Europe. It is in this context that the question of Germany's future frontiers, the reparations she has to pay, the form in which these have to be paid, the political division of the country, the question of centralisation versus federalisation and the regulation of her agricultural and industrial economy—all these have to be solved. And they have to be solved in an atmosphere in which there are so many mutual suspicions among the four powers. Unless the efforts at solution are preceded by a complete understanding among them and by the formation of a four-power pact involving a fairly long period of occupation of Germany by them the conclusion of a peace treaty at this Conference may not become possible. Besides all this there is the need for satisfying the middle and smaller powers of the world who played their part in the defeat of Germany and who are anxious to have an equally im-

portant part in settling the terms of treaty with her. It is against this background that we will have to follow the proceedings of the Moscow Conference.

GREECE

Ever since the close of the war Greece has been a problem for the British, the United States and the Soviet. The British have stationed their troops in that country and now they are committed to their withdrawal. But there is the fear that if these are withdrawn an actual war may break out between the Right and the Left parties in the country and that the Left may come out victorious with the result that the Soviet influence which is already dominant in the other countries of the Balkans and South Eastern Europe might become dominant over Greece also. Not merely the British but the Americans view with alarm this upsetting of the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. They are afraid that such a result will inevitably follow as the present Greek Government is facing an acute financial crisis which can be tided only with the help of a large American loan. A Tripartite negotiation is now going on between Britain, the United States and Greece as regards the amount and the terms of the loan to be granted. The Americans are prepared to grant a fairly big loan provided that the British troops continue to stay there and prevent all internal chaos until a time arrives when the Greek troops become sufficiently strong and well-

equipped to preserve order. Controversy is now going on in the United States not on whether a loan should be granted to Greece and whether 50 per cent of it should be spent on strengthening the Greek military forces but on whether this may not prove to be a first step in America taking over British financial commitments in other parts of the world.

FRENCH POLICY IN INDO-CHINA

The Prime Minister of France has now enunciated his country's policy towards Indo-China where the Viet-Nam forces have been fighting to establish the country's freedom on a stable basis. The policy consists of three parts. One is that the French will not think of negotiations unless and until they achieve complete victory on the battlefield of which they are quite certain. It is important to note in this connection that the British have been rendering substantial military help to the French in the war in Indo-China. The second part is that they will not recognise the unity of a free Indo-China. All the three important States constituting the country may form into a loose federation but each of them should have direct relations with France. It is the virtual Pakistanisation of the country. The third part is that this loose federation should remain an integral part of the French Union which will therefore continue to exercise control on foreign policy, defence, etc. There is no likelihood of this policy being accepted by the authorities of the Viet-Nam Republic.

THE ROSE

O darling of the dewy morn,
With petalled-glory bright,
As a lonely star of midnight, thou art born
To shed on folly's darkness wisdoms priceless light:
Amidst the brambles curved and thin
You live, and make us strive
Against the world of hatred, toil and sin,
And in whatever lowly state to thrive.

by G. SOUNDARARAJ.

INDIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY

by GIUSEPPE MARTIROSI

THE National Government of India is taking vigorous steps to establish diplomatic and trade relations with other countries. The important part which India will play in international affairs in the future and the tremendous trade possibilities open in India are realised by foreign countries which have hastened to send their representatives to India. The Republic of Italy has taken an initiative in this matter and has appointed Dr. Mario Orsini Ratto as her Consul General in India. The friendship and warm affection which the people of Italy feel towards India will be testified to by the thousands of Indian soldiers who took part in the Italian campaign. Italy, the home of Western culture, feels instinctively drawn towards India, the mother of the civilization of the East.

The arrival of Dr. Ratto has been an event of great joy and encouragement to the Italian community in India. A man of great ability with a long diplomatic career to his credit, Dr. Ratto has lost no time in taking steps to bring about closer political, cultural and economic contacts between India and the Republic of Italy. He has announced his readiness to provide facilities for Indians to visit Italy for technical studies and for trade purposes. A special commercial delegate is attached to the Consular office and he will be pleased to give any information about Italian products and the type of goods which Italy requires.

Dr. Ratto is also desirous of strengthening the cultural contacts between the two countries and in this great task he is ably assisted by his talented wife Madame Janina de Witt. Madame de Witt is a famous singer and is well known in London music circles. It is her ambition to establish a conservatorium of music in India where Indians could learn the methods



Madame Janina de Witt.

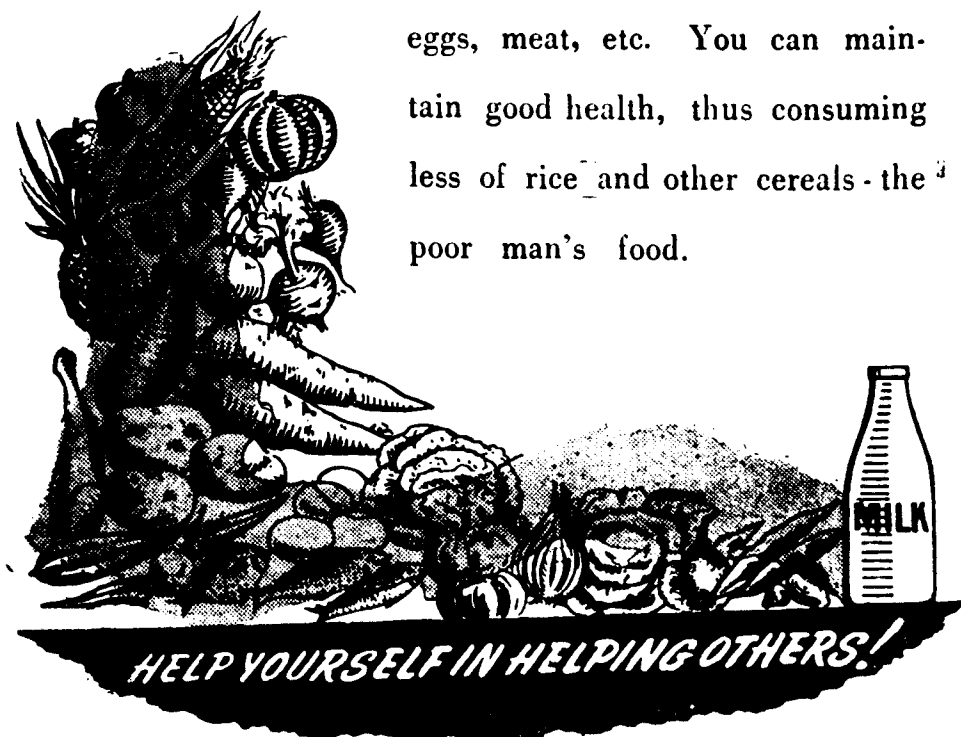
and technique of Western music so that they can apply the results of their study to the development of Indian music. With this end in view Madame de Witt has organized a cultural centre in Bombay known as Casa D'Art which means House of Art. The centre is at present located at the St. Xavier's College and lessons in music are given by Maestro Morelli, a noted Italian conductor. The Casa D'Art also conducts classes in Italian, exhibitions of Italian art and lectures on various cultural subjects. The activities of the centre have attracted considerable attention and a large number of Indians have taken advantage of the facilities offered by the centre. A feature of the centre is that all the teaching is free and there are no application forms, no fees to pay and no preferential treatment.

BALANCED DIET

IS BETTER DIET

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ISSUED BY THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION & PUBLICITY,
GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

A POOR MAN'S BUDGET

by Y. KRISHNAMURTHY.

THE central budget for 1947-48 differs fundamentally both in its objectives and contents from the previous budgets.

The principle that governed the fiscal policy of the Government of India until now has been the discredited dictum, 'taxation for revenue only'. Only lip-service is paid in our country to the principle that the prime object of fiscal policy should not be revenue alone, but the reduction of economic inequalities. The new budget represents a thorough departure from this narrow view.

The abolition of salt tax deprives the Government of eight crores of rupees but the relief to the poor is very great.

The nationalisation of the Reserve Bank is a necessary measure in the direction of the nationalisation of the key industries of the country. The only important argument that is advanced against it is that it will become a tool in the hands of the Government. All those aware of the relationship between the Government of India and the Reserve Bank during the war years will find it surprising that such an objection should have been seriously advanced in the Central Assembly. The raising of the exemption limit for income-tax from 2,000 to 2,500 gives the much-needed relief to the middle class tax-payer necessitated by the war time economic conditions. A levy of 25 per cent on business profits exceeding one lakh, the revised scales of super-tax, a graduated tax on capital gains—all these represent an increase in the burden to be borne by the business classes. The setting up of a commission to investigate into the vast accumulations of money is a very interesting proposal.

Protests are already being made against the budget proposals, by stock exchanges and chambers of commerce. The Calcutta and Madras Stock Exchanges have decided to close indefinitely as a protest against the budget proposals. The common objection is that steep rates of taxation would reduce the incentive to save and invest, kill initiative and private enterprise and hence retard the economic development of the country, ultimately affecting the common man adversely.

This argument is purely academic. To prevent the big money from getting hold of the economy a high level of taxation and state industrialisation proceeding side by side are the accepted conditions in every democratic country. And a national government wedded to the nationalisation of the key industries need not wait and allow private enterprise to develop the country's economic resources slowly, with all its attending suffering and misery.

The budget is truly a national and a poor man's budget as some have termed it. The underlying object is the reduction of the economic inequalities. The abolition of the existing taxes and levy of new taxes and revision of some existing taxes cause a desirable change in the snuffing of the tax-burden from the poor to the rich. The nationalisation of the Reserve Bank is a necessary pre-condition for the nationalisation of the key industries and the orderly economic development of the country. The budget has clearly shown how important it is that the two major political parties should forget their differences, which are purely superficial, for tackling the urgent economic problems to improve the lot of the vast multitudes who are precariously living on the verge of starvation.

Children are all silently, steadily, relentlessly bullied into being good. They grow up good and then they are no good.—
D. H. LAWRENCE.

BALLETS OF INDIA AND EUROPE

by "EKALAVYA"

THE Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA) of England, formed during the War for giving the troops the best entertainment that can be carried to them, staged a series of European theatrical ballets in almost all the prominent cities in India. The occasion provided an opportunity to the students of Indian dance to make a comparative study of the Western and Indian ballets.

The European ballets, including the English ones, are purely of the metropolitan type while the Russian ballets are of the localised country variety excluding those with political background. Almost all of them are neatly conceived and presented beautifully. Music, costumes, stage settings and decorations generally adopted are simple and clean without the excessive flourish or ornamentation of the Saracenic School.

In India, the familiar ballets in Kathakali, Yakshagana, Bharata Natya and Kathak dance forms, are all traditional. The dance dramas are invariably accompanied by classical music and the old school artistes are not used to elaborate or impressive stage settings and lighting arrangements. The costumes used by them are archaic and the garments—rococo. Sporadic attempts are being made by some artistes to establish a modern school of Indian dancing similar to those existing in Russia and other Western countries; but the Indian people drunk deep in the inexhaustible reservoir of beauty in the classical schools refuse to entertain the shadow for the substance.

A close study of the ballets of the East and West reveals that the Occidental ballets, specially the modern metropolitan ones, are realistic and irrational. The ideas underlying them are the outcome of an individual's imagination rather than rational artistic creations. The realism of everyday life or a phase of human activity or a trend of thought prevailing at a particular

period is different from artistic realism. Artistic realism is built on a permanent structure of science, grammar and beauty while human realism varies from person to person, place to place and is impermanent. The traditional Indian ballets are rational artistic creations, pure and simple. They do not seek to preach morals nor do they try to convey mystic ideas but only reveal the beauty of the dance art.

It is essentially wrong to import art to depict human realities. The basic or absolute art gets itself diluted and disjointed, losing its vigour and brilliance on application. Only specialised art can be made use of to translate highly dramatic ideas or permanent elements in human nature, but even here one must have a profound knowledge of the absolute art, which alone possesses intrinsic beauty and strength.

Examining the Oriental and Occidental ballets in this background, it is apparent that the essential purity of art is distorted to display a wild appetite for superficially beautiful impressions, symmetry and sensual experience. The traditional Indian dance dramas attempt to display none of these sentiments and human frenzies. They either present a complete story or outstanding events from the epics or translate a piece of music or a song.

There is sensational appeal in the European ballets on account of brisk movements and quick rhythm, which is usually lacking in Kathakali, Yakshagana and the applied dance form of Bharata Natya. In spite of the high artistry, innate beauty and strength of the Indian dance forms, this is a defect. Sincere students of the Indian dance should concentrate their efforts to offset this defect rather than try to mutilate or maim the traditional art in their desire to create new dance forms and arrogate to themselves such names as 'art creators' and 'dance designers.'

WHAT ABOUT BOYS?

by A. B. RAGHAVAN

I have read the following three articles in *Swatantra* simultaneously just for the pleasure of it.

1. *Whither, College Girls?* by Mr. D. Anjaneyalu.
2. *In Defence of College Girls* by "K. N."
3. *Hand That Rocks the Cradle Rules the World* by Mr. R. Vijayaraghavan, B.Sc.

The subject of these articles should be tackled by educated girls and not by young men who are certainly apt to view the matter in a one-sided manner.

I admire "K.N."s gallantry in defending the college girls. If "K.N." is a girl or a woman, she has done full justice to education and educated girls. Mr. Aajaneyalu has been unfair to college girls, cheaply dismissing them as using educational careers as passport to matrimony.

Mr. Vijayaraghavan, evidently a Medical College student, has dealt with his subject very fairly. He has done full justice to sides of the subject and stressed that college education does some good to certain really enthusiastic girls. Of course a college educated girl desires to keep her home neat and trim, her children well-dressed and wishes that they should be brought up in healthier company and society.

But let us leave this here and talk of boys.

What do the boys do? Only less than 50 per cent of the Matriculates desire to get themselves admitted into the college; there is only so much accommodation there and the poor parents cannot easily finance their sons for this costly career. These Matriculates plunge headlong into any clerical cadre for cheap wages and get married in course of time, and pass off their lives peacefully.

As for those who enter college, about 10 to 15 per cent, after com-

pleting their degree examinations, feel like furthering their studies in engineering, medical or other colleges. Some who have brains earn wealth and fame. But all are not destined for that.

The rest of the boys disappear from public life never to appear again. They consider that they had learnt enough and that was the end of their educational career. To these people, education was to be only the means to an end just allowing them to earn pittances to keep body and soul together.

If such is the case with boys, how can it be different with girls who are never encouraged to become great? Of course, we have a Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit who has recently become a world-figure, a Mrs. Sarojini Devi and a Kalpana Dutt. But these are the exceptions to the rule.

As soon as a girl comes out of college, there is always a man waiting for her hand, attracted by her education and culture. As it is, there is no use blaming her, as "the age-old ceremony of marriage seems to settle her fate and relegate her life to the comfortable limbo of domestic oblivion." According to Mr. Vijayaraghavan, "good-looking maidens who can easily secure well-to-do husbands need not waste their time in career-hunting and thus spoil their youth and beauty."

Some husbands, even educated ones, do not like their young educated wives to mix freely with modern boys and girls and thus their sphere of activity is forced to be limited. Some other husbands try to force their uneducated wives to mingle with boys much against their will.

In the circumstances, it is better for everyone of us, be he a reader or contributor, first to see our own faults and defects with an attempt to rectify them, before pointing out the defects of others.

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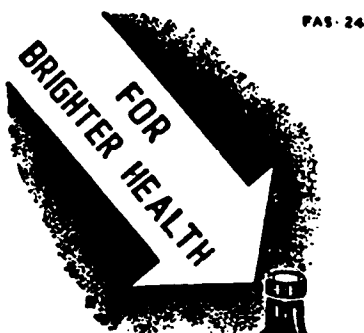
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YARDLEY AND OTHERS

by N. S. RAMASWAMI

"NO MAN WAS ever written down but by himself", said Dr. Johnson. I am unable to take seriously the critic who, two weeks ago, informed the readers of this journal that my remarks on the comparative efficiency of Joe Hardstaff and M. Sathasivam, the Ceylonese batsman, were unsound and naught. His argument was strange. He entirely neglected to take into consideration what I had explicitly stated that I did not watch the play on the first day of the match, and that consequently, my views were based on the Ceylonese player's style and manner on the second day. I am as far from denying as I am from confirming that his display combined the forward strength of Amarnath with the backward elegance of the Nottinghamshire batsman for the excellent reason that I did not watch him in action on the first day, when admittedly he was in form. It is necessary to remember simple facts before venturing on a criticism which presumes that the author of unpalatable views will be unable to support them.

My critic would have the readers believe that my power of judgment is inferior to my skill in writing, whatever may be the extent of this latter quality. I am loath to believe this accusation. If over a decade of very intimate, devoted, even fanatical association with the game will not suffice to enable a man to judge of the difference in style between two batsmen, common intelligence would have enabled him to perceive it. Perhaps, my critic may be more inclined to pay greater attention to what that undoubted and eminent authority, Wisden, thought of the disputed innings. In its edition for 1939, the "Bible of Cricketers" said, "Everything else on the opening day (of the match between Madras and Lord Tennyson's team) was dwarfed by a grand innings by Hardstaff who, hitting the only double century of the tour, gave a glorious exhibition of stylish play. Apart

from a chance when 129, he never appeared in trouble and, batting five hours, he hit twenty-four fours." Is it seriously believed this strain of praise will be employed in describing the innings which set up the present ground record for Chappauk?

My purpose, however, in recalling this fruitful match has been to recover to memory the exploits of Norman Yardley. A certain fascination, in no way connected with snobbery, correctly attaches itself to amateurs. Only vague recollections exist in my mind of Jardine's team, but the figure of B. H. Valentine, debonair, unconcerned, and gay, is fortunately one of them. It has been said of Sutcliffe that he used to make it appear that his dismissals were a regrettable lapse on the part of Providence. Not unlike this Olympian detachment was the manner in which as I recall it now about fifteen years afterwards, the Kent amateur turned his back and on his heels as he started for the pavilion after being bowled by a leg-break from Paltia after a cavalier innings of about forty runs. There were four other amateurs in the team, including the legendary Captain. But Jardine was as the rock of ages, Walters very modest and unassuming, Marriott frighteningly academic, and Human a little ineffective. It is sad that those high glories of Valentine have merely faded into a dull mid-day.

Only the astonishing and unexpected success of Yardley in the M. C.C.'s tour of Australia, which has now concluded, has preserved him from a similar stultification. When the age is grown much more "picked that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier" than could have been conceived by King Lear, it is permissible for a reactionary to rejoice that in cricket at least the glories of blood and state are enabled to fulfil their ancient office of giving rare satisfaction. Yardley trailed clouds of Fenner's about him. If it were

not the abomination of sacrilege to say so, one may even assert that he represented to us, poor and benighted here, the glories of "the other shop." The "last enchantments of the Middle Ages," even the fascination which properly attaches itself to the "home of lost causes", were personified in him, as he scored 71 runs in the second innings, a true banquet of delights. Those who watched him that memorable day have a proprietary interest in his welfare, and therefore it is that nothing in the concluded

M.C.C. tour is more palatable than the triumph of Yardley.

Lord Hawke is once said to have prayed to God that no professional shall ever captain England. It is possible that the strait-laced were not happy that this honour should have devolved on Hammond, who was for a considerable number of years a professional. If it should be bestowed on Yardley next season, it will have come to one who will bear its burdens with dignity and will possess its sweets with patrician equableness.

HELPLESS MASSES

by "A VILLAGER"

In this presidency there are hundreds of villages without any road, without hospitals, and with no drinking water supply. Is it not the duty of the popular Government to look to these wants in preference to other needs? What do the villagers care whether the Executive is separated from the Judiciary? I do not say this is unnecessary; this is an All-India question and could therefore be postponed to a later date. If this reform is carried out, will it bring roads to the villages or hospitals or water supply to the masses? The only effect of this reform in the present state of affairs, will be more jobs to lawyers; they will be benefited of course; but in what way will it benefit the masses? It will result in further drain on the poor taxpayers' money with absolutely no benefit to them.

The Ministers should visit villages, remain there for a day or two, see their troubles and wants, as Mahatma Gandhi is doing in Bihar and take steps to mitigate their sufferings. At the time of the first Congress Ministry, I saw a photo in the "Hindu" showing some Ministers travelling in bullock carts. Our present Ministers spin about the country in trains and

motor cars—and return to Madras. These very people were complaining before that much money is wasted on travelling allowances. What do we find now? The present Ministers are out-Heroding Herod. If the Ministry is really popular they should be very careful in spending the poor taxpayer's money.

If they think that India lives in villages, and they are the people's servants, they should cut down all unnecessary expenses, provide sufficient clothing and food to the masses and take up seriously the question of providing roads, hospitals and drinking water to the villagers. A true people's Government should look to these matters in preference to other reforms.

There is still bribery, corruption and lamentable inefficiency in the various Government Departments. Villagers' complaints and requests to heads of Departments are, so to speak, thrown into the waste-paper basket. This I say from my own experience. A popular Government should put down ruthlessly such indifference to people's requests on the part of heads of Departments. If this is not done the ministry ceases to be a popular ministry.

ARTHUR KOESTLER—A STUDY

by VASOO

THIEVES in the Night (Macmillan) brings Arthur Koestler once again to the literary front. To know him in life is to know his works, as to know his works is to know him in person; for, Koestler lives what he writes and writes what he lives. He is one of the few novelists who go out for action in search of a plot for their novels, and do not relax in their easy chairs to write their best-sellers. Born in Budapest, he was educated in Vienna, served on a farm in Palestine at the age of 21, worked with an Arabian architect for a short time and later edited a weekly in Cairo. The year 1936 prepared the stage on which Koestler was to shine as a writer. He went to Spain as correspondent of *The News Chronicle* to cover the Spanish civil war, where he was arrested by the fascists and condemned to death. Through the intervention of the British Government, his release was secured in exchange of a Spanish prisoner.

This period of his life, comprising his three months internment in prisons at Malaga and Seville, went to produce *Spanish Testament* (1937), a revised version of which is *Dialogue with Death*. Two years later, in 1939, appeared *The Gladiators*. The next year *Darkness at Noon* was written as a result of the Soviet purges. The Russian trials, that were, in fact, a mockery of justice formed the backbone of the novel and the characters assisted Koestler to speak the arguments of Stalin and his rivals. The argument for the establishment of a model Soviet State as against the fight for world revolution occupies many pages and lifts the novel to a higher plane in modern literature.

Koestler's novels cross the limits of fiction and wander into the regions of modern politics. When the war broke out in 1939, Koestler was detained in Le Venet Camp. Inevitably, *Scum of Earth* (1941) had to tell the world the intolerable

truth and the callous indifference with which genuine revolutionaries were treated at a time when fascism was fought with every ounce of strength that the democrats could obtain. In 1943, *Arrival and Departure* spoke for Koestler. This story of 'a sceptic crusader in search of a cross' details the life of a refugee in an unnamed neutral country. The hero of the novel enters the book from nowhere and in the end leaves to proceed somewhere. The highlight of the narration is a defence of fascism by a fascist character. But the year 1945 was destined to focus sharply the attention of the public on Koestler. *The Yogi and the Commissar* was well received not only by readers of modern literature but also by political observers. Though an anti-fascist to the highest degree, Koestler was not a worshipper at the altar of the Kremlin dictator. The book created a stir. The iron curtain was removed and the Stalinite group was shorn of the glamour which the victories of the Russian army had shed over it. The cloud of heroic greatness attributed to the present Russian Government was blown away and 'the precious myth' exploded.

Today, the major controversial problem in the world of politics is the struggle between Arabs and Jews for supremacy in Palestine. Koestler uses his stay in 'The Promised Land' and his study of political activities there to cover the interest of his readers. He has no difficulty in creating characters because they are real. His novel is not a book of fiction. It is a chronicle of an experiment. The main character is not a person. It is a body of Jews, who are on the march to acquire as much land as possible, bought from the Arabs through the national fund. Their inherent capacity to create and their enthusiasm to establish a homeland is so powerful as to turn



the hills into plains and rivers into lakes. The first chapter in the book introduces the important persons in the Hebrew settlement. Among them are extremists and moderates in political thought. Joseph is the leading man because he alone is fixed to our gaze till the end of the book. Apart from him another striking figure is Bauman, who goes underground after the first few days. He is a terrorist in action and a fascist in thought. Rueben is a quiet man who follows the set programme of the party and is, therefore, fit for the post of the general secretary of the commune of Ezra's Tower. Simeon is the brain of the party. He is sick for the best part of the story, but he is important as he drives Joseph to the side of violent action. In the party are also girls,—Dasha, flabby and fleshy, Ellen quiet and generous, Dina, independent and courageous. In general, the ladies are, from the viewpoint of the Arabs, 'loathsome, shameless women with bulging calves and thighs, and nipples bursting through their tight shirts, whores, harlots, bitches and daughters of bitches . . .' The party soon settles down on the newly acquired place, called Hill of Dogs by the Arabs, and gets ready to meet any emergency, for the Jewish settlers are aware that they have to fight two parties, the Arabs and the British, who may at any time side the Arabs.

Opposite the commune of Ezra's Tower lies the village of Kfar Tabiyeh. The Mukhtar, who is the head of the village, is a cunning old man, silent in his actions unlike the leader of the extremist group, the Syrian revolutionary, Fawzi el Din Kawki. He knows that so long as the portrait of Mr. Chamberlain hangs in his room, he will have nothing to fear. The Arab leader's first line of defence lies in the British white paper, and the British Foreign Minister's replies to the queries raised in the House of Commons.

After a few days, the first attack starts, and one of the Jews, Naph-tali, is shot dead. Joseph thinks over the incident and remembers

his past, which has driven him to an unsettled present and is to drive him to a violent future. 'From Lily's bed to Ezra's Tower' is a phrase which sums up his life. Joseph, at Oxford, had loved a girl, Lily. One night while she was in bed with Joseph, she noticed on the bare body of her lover the sign of the covenant 'the stigma of the race incised into his flesh'. Joseph was shown the door and the path outside had led him to Ezra's Tower. After the description of this shooting incident, Koestler continues the story with the help of Joseph's diary. The inner mind of a member of the Zionist Party is laid bare with great tact. In the pages to come we learn of a peacemaking ceremony between two rival Arab groups and get an insight into the mental behaviour of the British officials towards the Arab-Jew problem, by their short conversations at office and outside. The Hebrew settlement, has, by now, reached a perfect stage, its development being based on a pure socialist frame-work, while the Arab village presents a medieval background. The reader suspects that the Jews are pushed away everywhere, because of their intelligence.

Ezra's Tower is not the end in the programme of the Zionist Council and hence the novel cannot be closed after the perfection of the Hebrew settlement. The members of the commune have still to prepare ground for the wandering population that has been set adrift by other nations. Jews from Poland, Jews from Germany, Jews from every part of the world, enter Palestine as legal or illegal immigrants. The course of the future action has to be laid down as demanded by circumstances. Joseph fully realises his responsibilities. The days of wrath are to pass over him. He watches a trial of an illegal immigrant and flares in anger. The Khamsin, 'a hot dry easterly wind blowing from the Arabian desert', passes over the village and makes matters worse. Affected by the Khamsin, Dina rides out, at dead of night, to a lonely cave and on her way back to Ezra's Tower is murdered by the Arab chieftain's son. In return,

Joseph tricks the Mukhtar, and puts him to death. As the days of wrath pass over, we find Joseph has gone underground and has resorted to violent methods to speed up the settlement of the question of gaining a Hebrew homeland. His connections with the commune of Ezra's Tower are maintained only to safeguard his position, and he walks on the surface to be safe underground.

The fate of the Jews, as a nation, still undecided, a new piece of land is bought and a party of settlers headed by certain members of the commune of Ezra's Tower, drive in lorries hoping to turn the wilderness into a garden. Like thieves in the night they move on and on.

Koestler, at the end of his sympathetic voicing of the demand of the Jews for a national home, identifies the unfortunate condition and nature of the Jews with humanity as a whole.

For Jews were not an accident of race, but simply men's condition carried to its extreme—a branch of the species touched on the raw. Exiled in Egypt, in Babylon and now over the whole globe, exposed to strange and hostile surroundings, they had to develop peculiar traits; they had no time nor chances to grow that hide of complacency of a spacious security, which makes man insensitive to and forgetful of the tragic essence of his condition. They were the natural target of all malcontents because they were so exasperatingly and abnormally human. . . .

In short, Koestler has once again triumphed in combining the imagination of a novelist with the facts of a political student. The thieves in the night are brought out to public view and the world realises its fatal mistake in misjudging the men and the women in search of homes.



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. S. M. Sih, the Chinese Charge d' Affaires and Mr. K. P. S. Menon, India's Ambassador-designate to China, on the eve of the departure of Mr. Menon for China.

LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR

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

People's Right

If the legislators have the right to change their leader, the people also have the right to remove their legislators.

G. R. RAMANA RAO.

Premier's only Sin

Sincere and steadfast implementation of the Congress Constructive Programme is the only sin Mr. Prakasam has ever committed. The shaking of a popular Ministry to its foundation shows what powerful vested interests are capable of when they are injured. It is certainly a sorry day for the Province when business magnates, zamindars and mill owners assume the helm of affairs.

S. SIVARAM.

"Anti-Prakasam Campaign"

I have gone through your editorial "The Anti-Prakasam Campaign." I am sending one copy of *Swatantra* containing the article to Babu Rajendra Prasad whom I consider to be a good judge in political matters, and another to Mahatma Gandhi.

I hope a copy would be forwarded from your office to the Congress Parliamentary Board for reference before it sits for discussion on Madras political affairs.

Peddapuram.

Y. V. RAJU.

Ministers Piloted No-Confidence

It is really appreciable that from the beginning you have been condemning the no-confidence move. From the day Premier Prakasam assumed charge, persons who were frustrated began to pilot this move. It is evident that even some of the Ministers who resigned recently had been with the pilots of this no-confidence move. Madras politics is deteriorating day by day. Whether Prakasam is Premier or not, he is the

real leader of the masses in Andhra, he alone and none else. *Swatantra* has been trying to put wisdom into the movers of the no-confidence motion. Let us look to the decision of the High Command which we hope will do justice to the veteran Congress leader Prakasam by setting right the differences existing among the various groups in the Congress Legislature Party.

T. S. SUBRAMANYAM.

People Betrayed.

Certain legislators have abused the confidence bestowed on them by the people. Today Mr. Prakasam commands the full confidence of the masses and to dislodge him from his position is only an attempt to frustrate the wishes of the people. I ask those M.L.As. who sponsored the no-confidence motion against Mr. Prakasam if they have any confidence in themselves in that they are capable of representing faithfully the masses by whom they were elected. Let me remind them that they are ultimately as much responsible to the public as the Premier is responsible to them. In case they feel they have no confidence in Mr. Prakasam they should refer the question to the public at large first and not to the Congress High Command, consisting of a few individuals who are in distant parts of the country, obviously ignorant of the feelings of the people of Madras.

Why do not the honourable members of the Legislative Assembly come forward with their grievances if they have any at all!

P. SRI KRISHNA PRASAD.

No Meaning in Pulling Prakasam Down

All this confusion will result in great calamity. There is no meaning in pulling down Prakasam. The members of the Legislature should not act in such a way as will serve their ends

only. The five Ministers who have resigned are not noble, real and pure Congressmen. They have earned a bad name for the Congress Party. If they are not really power-wishers, why should they resign at this critical moment and be seeking for a place in the next Cabinet? It is not proper for them to have resigned at this time, for there was the budget to attend to. The budget was settled in their presence in the Cabinet and they had been consenting parties to it. The Legislature is only the representative of the people. We, the people, desire to have only Prakasam's Ministry and no other, such as Omandur who is unpopular.

Why don't the High Command give a proper decision? Why don't they advise the Legislature to turn from the wrong path of having got up the 'no-confidence' motion without proper reason and against the consent of the people?

RAM RAJYA.

Confidence Resolutions at Public Meetings

I have read many a report regarding the passing of confidence resolutions at public meetings in support of the Prakasam Ministry. One of such meetings was held in Mangalore on 23rd February.

The public meeting was convened very urgently by the General Secretary of the D.C.C. At a meeting of the general body of the D.C.C. held on 8th February, I had properly given notice of a resolution congratulating the Ministry on its bold stand that in respect of textile policy and such other ameliorative measures and promising the full support of the D.C.C. The resolution was shelved and the persons responsible for doing this hurried to the public maidan to get a resolution passed in support of the Ministry.

I earnestly pray that the Prakasam Ministry will rely on God rather than on such confidence resolutions engineered and sponsored by people who are unsteady in their convictions.

P. RAMADAS NAIK.

Member, Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee.

Panemangalore.

Approach C. R.

After the formation of the Ministry, whenever the Kamaraj group found anything not suitable to them, immediately, they began to shout 'no-confidence'. Meantime, we must admit that

the people gained nothing by the Prakasam Government. Corruption is rampant among Government servants from top to bottom. Police atrocities have grown and our Communist friends have made their own choice.

If the members of the Congress Legislature Party want to serve the people in the name of the Congress, let them approach C. R., the best politician, statesman, and administrator, who stands above party politics and beg him to guide them.

When Premier Prakasam, next to C. R. the most competent man in ability, character, patriotism and leadership is not able to get on with the administration, any other person in his place will be still less able to tackle labour unrest and cloth and food shortage.

If the members of the Congress Legislature Party do not do good to the province, the people will have to rise up demanding the dissolution of the Assembly.

Madras.

N. S. GANESAN.

Power Politics of Third-rate Politicians

Despite the present muddle in our provincial Congress organisation, the heart of Madras is sound. Not long ago, C.R. had warned us that the personnel of the Parliamentary Board and the selection of candidates for the legislative elections were initially wrong. But 'cliques' got to work and put up many non-entities as legislators. Caste-hatred, group-politics, job-hunting are therefore now the order of the day. Mahatma Gandhi felt so sore about the situation that he expressed sorrow at the existence of 'cliques' in Madras. Our legislators resented the appellations then. But does not the cap fit them?

Prakasam is undoubtedly a stalwart and mature nationalist. Maybe, some plans of his are not fully thought out and worked out in a practical way. But should not others of the Congress Party strengthen his hands in a constructive spirit? Should we disrupt ourselves and expose our weakness and disunion? Is our Legislature only a replica of the faction-ridden union boards? Even taluk boards and district boards functioned on a higher level of public life. The public are now at the mercy of the power-politics of third-rate politicians.

V. G. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A., B.L.
Tirukoilur.

Public Behind Prakasam

As public opinion is becoming distinctly clearer every day, I hope the

legislators who embarked on the 'no-confidence' move will realise their error and retrace their steps before the whole Province is caught in dangerous confusion. Even if it be assumed that by abuse of their present numerical strength they succeed in overthrowing the Prakasam Ministry, the large masses of people who have sent them to the Legislature will never forget the treachery of their representatives in pulling down a Premier who is their idol and who is consecrating his whole energy to root out misery and poverty and save the common man from being exploited by the mill-owners, the zamindars and black-marketing profiteers. For the common man has sense enough to understand that Sri Prakasam is their best friend and every programme of his is calculated to uplift the lowly and the down-trodden masses and bring comfort and cheer into their lives; they also know well enough those others who in the garb of Congressmen cleverly worked their way to legislative seats, but whose heart is wholly set on power, and wealth. If the present venture to dislodge Prakasam should succeed, it will not stop with that, but will lead to an unstable administration and a whole multitude of evils, whose magnitude no one can now sufficiently imagine. Let not Madras add to the already critical situation in the country and the difficulties besetting the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly.

V. VENKATASUBBAIAH.
Nellore.

Tools of Vested Interests

"It is a shame that the electorates in many constituencies have elected unreliable and self-centred persons as their legislators. These have been used simply as tools in the hands of some vested interests.

The blame lies partly on the High Command for not gauging the situation properly and not checking the activities of certain power-mongers at the right time. It is high time that the High Command interfered and acted according to the wishes of the people now at least. An effective purge in the existing party is the only remedy for the prevailing vicious atmosphere. Wherever people express want of confidence, they must be given full opportunities for electing representatives voicing forth their genuine views.

I demand from the M.L.A. of our constituency (Chandragiri) Sri T. K. T. N. R. Tatachariar to state whether at any time he consulted his electorate on such

a major issue as overthrowing such a popular leader and efficient Premier as Sri. Prakasam.

P. DHARMA RAO, B.Sc.
Kalahasti.

No Public Support for "No-Confidence"

In the Andhra Province there are 14 District Congress Committees, viz., North Vizagapatam, South Vizagapatam, East and West Godavari, East Kistna, West Kistna, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Chittoor, Anantapur, Bellary and Madras. Of these, 11 District Congress Committees passed resolutions condemning the conduct of the signatories of the 'no-confidence' motion coming from their districts. In three districts, viz., Anantapur, Nellore and East Godavari, the Taluk Congress Committees comprised in the constituencies from which these no-confidence signatories come, have passed resolutions condemning their conduct and expressing full confidence in Premier Prakasam. The District Committees in these districts dare not meet.

Besides in Anantapur there was a District Conference in which three signatories coming from that district were heard and the Conference did not accept their explanation and unanimously passed resolutions condemning the three signatories and expressing confidence in Mr. Prakasam. In these circumstances it is wrong to think that the signatures of no-confidence in Mr. Prakasam have got any public support.

Besides these, hundreds of telegrams from primary Congress Committees also expressing complete confidence in the Premier and condemning the no-confidence move have come to our office. In the tour of Mr. Prakasam in the Andhra areas the no-confidence signatories did not come out.

From the information we have received several areas in the Tamilnad, Kerala and Karnataka Provinces also are supporting Mr. Prakasam only.

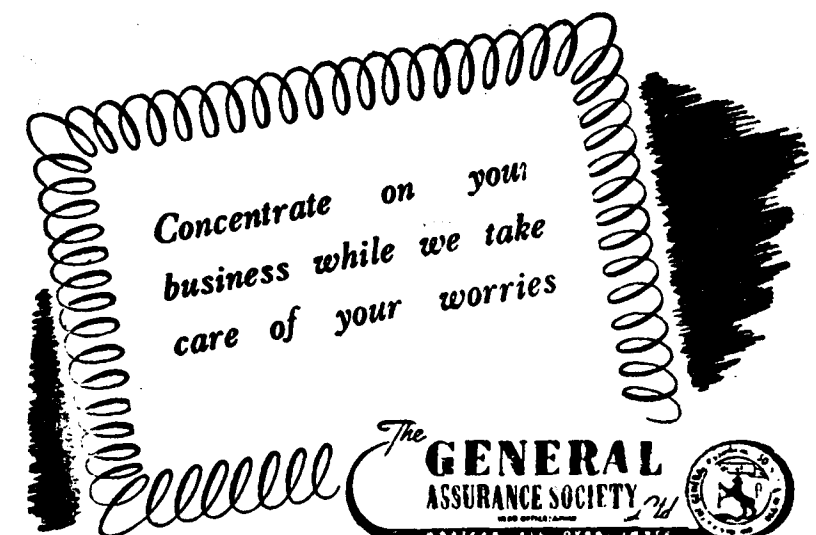
Besides these, mass meetings everywhere are expressing confidence in the Premier in view of his Congress constructive programme schemes.

G. LATCHANNA.

Joint Secretary, Andhra P.C.C.

Cleaning the Aegean Stable

Regrettable as it is, the hard fact is that as far as our Province—specially Tamil Nad—is concerned, the Congress Party has become a thinly veiled communal body. If the High Command means business it has to devise means



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to thoroughly overhaul the Congress machinery in this Province. But this is easily said. The rot that has set in, can only be remedied gradually.

The trouble is that even in the Congress fold, castes have been created. The Congress "workers" are clamouring for key positions in the Provincial administration, forgetting that a soldier, however valorous he might be on the battlefield, can hardly hope to become a General, without other great qualities. This is however not minimising the importance of workers in our national movement. But for the workers to imagine that they are more important than the leaders is to do the leaders less than justice. It is as ridiculous for the stomach to declare that it is a more important organ in the human body than the head. The workers must look up to leaders for a proper lead and the leaders have to move among the workers and treat them with the respect and consideration they really so richly deserve. If the workers should become arrogant or if the leaders should treat the workers with contempt, the whole national movement is doomed. It is this want of camaraderie between the workers and the leaders that is responsible for all the trouble in Madras. Even a dozen or two men of straw can work havoc in democratic institutions, as we have recently seen in the case of the Punjab.

The "workers" no doubt have to be appeased because they are not likely to be satisfied with the slogan that sacrifice in the cause of the country can have no material reward. But "workers" must not be put up as legislators. One of the means by which the prestige of the Madras Congress Legislature could be raised, is to induce some of the Congress legislators to resign and set up in their places candidates who would be able to make a valuable contribution towards the proper governance of the Province. This Province is in sore need of more than one Prakasam for the simple reason that one swallow does not make a spring.

The Congress High Command must go in search of good men with requisite talent and integrity, even outside its own fold. If the Congress could do this in the case of the Constituent Assembly, it ought to be able to do so in the realm of Provincial administration as well.

The other alternative of dissolving the Congress Party in toto and selecting a better type of legislators will be possible only if Sri Prakasam is able

to induce the Governor to prorogue the Assembly and order a fresh general election.

POLITICUS.

"Cat is Out of the Bag"

Curiously enough none of the 131 rebels has given any reason for their losing confidence in the leadership of Sri. T. Prakasam. We are told that the no-confidence motion was moved by Mr. K. Madhava Menon and was seconded by Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, without a speech. Dr. Rajan, however, shed much light later in a Press interview. Two relevant passages from his statement merit quotation. They are:

"The question of taking into the Cabinet some men from Rajaji's group has been in the air and from all reports, Mr. Prakasam seems to have accepted the proposition, put forward by the Congress Parliamentary Board, of including two or more members from this group in his Cabinet. The question of passing a no-confidence motion against Mr. Prakasam or asking him to resign does not seem to have been thought of at that time.

"Subsequent events have taken a new turn. Mr. Prakasam could not give more than two seats to Rajaji's group while he was prepared to enlarge his Cabinet to 15. It was in that connection that I was asked to join Mr. Prakasam's Ministry. But the question of the relationship of the Congress Parliamentary Board with the Madras Cabinet was not discussed at that time. The point at issue then was how many more men could be taken from Rajaji's group to strengthen the Cabinet. That was the position last month."

After indulging in an irrelevant fling at Sri Prakasam for what he has said or not said in his Andhra tour, Dr. Rajan flamboyantly says:

"Today there are no groups amongst Tamil Nad legislators. They have all to a man accepted the control and the advice of the Congress Parliamentary Board."

To use a hackneyed phrase, Dr. Rajan has really let the cat out of the bag. The reasons for the no-confidence motion are clearly the existence of groups within the Congress Legislature Party, evidently working at cross-purposes, and the hunt for jobs for satisfying sectional ambitions. Dr. Rajan's statement alone is enough to vindicate Sri Prakasam's stand. I wonder if there is further need to record evidence to prove the existence of groups. A lawyer friend of mine, after going through

Dr. Rajan's statement minutely, exclaimed:

"I've never thought Dr. T. S. S. Rajan would prove so bad a witness. He has bungled in chief examination itself; there is no need for cross-examination."

Even laymen will echo the same sentiment.

It is yet to be seen whether these 131 rebels would be prepared to abide by the decision of the Congress Parliamentary Board, were it to suggest some other than Mr. O. R. Reddiar as leader. The High Command may thus test the veracity as well as *bona fides* of the tall talk about discipline and obedience to the Parliamentary Board.

Rajahmundry.

"G.R."

Dishonourable

No one can say that the programme of the Ministry is anti-national. No one can, for a moment, accuse the present Ministry of insincerity. Why then this clamour for removing from leadership a revered person like Sri PRAKASAM.

No one who is responsible for the no-confidence motion, has put forward any reasons for the present move. The public of the Province have a right to know why this 'No-confidence' motion is started at all. What are the charges that are levelled against the present Leader? No one can say that the present Leader Sri Prakasam is inefficient. No one can question his sincerity and patriotism. Why then this move to oust him from leadership? The obvious reasons one can see are:—

(1) His present textile policy.

(2) His present land reform schemes.

If one were to think deeply it would be clear that this present move is due mainly to vested interests affected by these policies. The textile policy will cripple many Mill magnates, and the zamindari reform will end the zamindari class.

In addition to these two classes, we have a set of disgruntled pseudo-Congress legislators who have been unable to secure offices. These pseudo-Congress legislators would never have been able to secure a seat in any Legislature, had they been outside the Congress organisation. They have been elected in the fond hope that they will advance the interests of the Congress. In their

mad race for office and power, these legislators have forgotten their duties, their principles and what is more, they have despoiled the fair name of the organisation they profess to represent.

These legislators who seek to remove a leader revered by the masses, have acted in a dishonourable manner.

N. RAMANUJACHARI B.A., B.L.
Ellore.

High Command on Trial

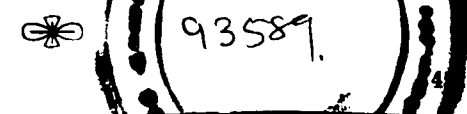
The Congress High Command are really on trial now. It is for them to decide whether the "No-confidence move is to be put through as a reward for the Prakasam Government for boldly implementing the propaganda of Gandhism and of the Congress Manifesto into action, inspite of vehement opposition at every stage and on all sides and for tiding over the food crisis, labour troubles, strikes, and what not.

Arguments were advanced in the Press that if disciplinary action has to be taken and a member is expelled from the Party, opportunity should be given to him for answering the charges levelled against him for such an action. When a member is entitled to so much consideration, is a leader prohibited from knowing at least the charges, if any, made against him and the name of the signatories, before such a step like 'No-confidence' is taken against him? If they are really sure of their motion why should they shirk their elementary duty of handing over a copy of the signatories' list to the leader? Why not openly challenge the leader and level the charges also in the requisition?

The public are still left with a strong hope that the crisis would be averted and the Party put in a disciplined way by the Congress President, who is well-known for his discipline and Gandhian principles. It is to be hoped he will not tolerate the burial of the very principles he had stood for all these years. The public have eagerly noted the recent statements and speeches of the Congress President regarding discipline and the place of job-hunters and self-seekers in the Congress.

If the High Command is impotent to avert the crisis, Sri Prakasam would do well to dissolve the present disordered Party and hold fresh elections.

BHIMARAJU NARASIMHA RAO.
Ongole.





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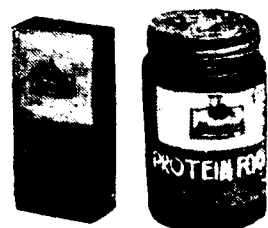
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