

SWATANTRA

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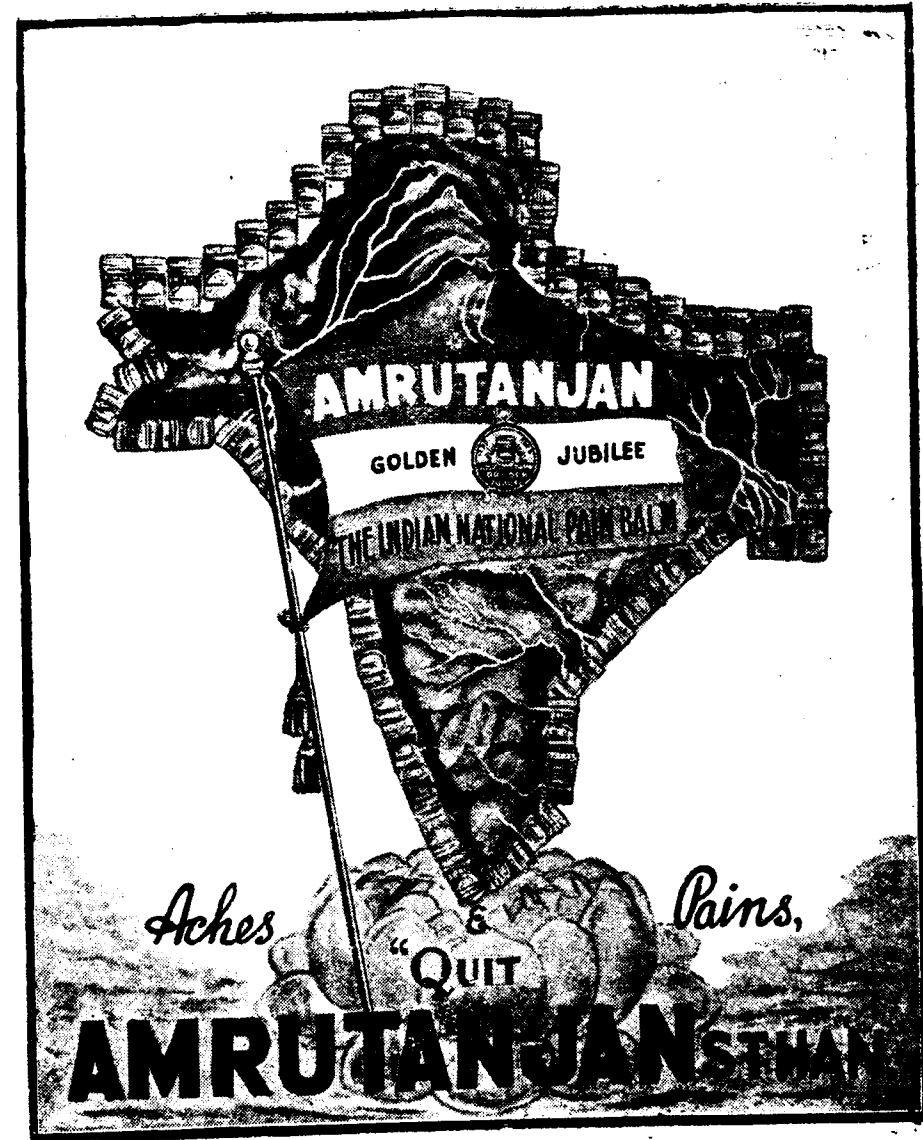
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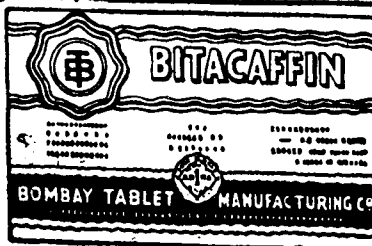
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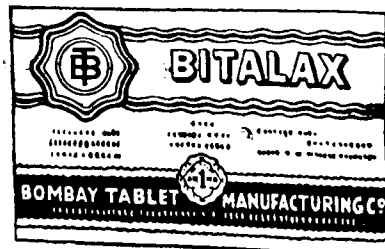
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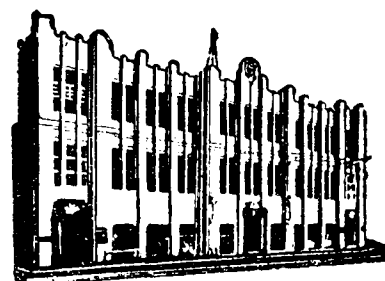
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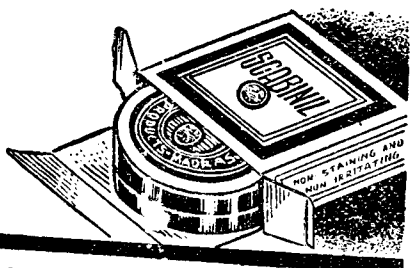


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SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 12.

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1947.

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THE UNREASONABLE BIRD



SWATANTRA

VOL II
No 12

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

ON THE EVE of the Moscow Conference Henry Wallace sounded in the columns of the *New Republic* a terrible warning about what its failure would mean to the world. "If Moscow fails," he said, "if war—not peace—is in the hearts of the negotiators, if Germany is handled so as best to help the war plans of the great nations, then we may expect the development of psychological warfare of a sort that will disintegrate almost every human being by its lies. There will be an intensification of espionage, publicity machinery, diplomatic double-talk, military preparedness and economic planning, all in the framework of spiritual warfare preparatory to the final showdown when civilization blows itself to pieces." What Henry Wallace dreaded might happen seems now near being precipitated from possibility into actuality by the bungling of the participants in the Moscow Conference. In whatever way controversialists may seek to camouflage the issues involved, there can be little doubt that the fundamental trouble that has wrecked the Conference and threatens to wreck the peace of the world is the deepening distrust which since the death of President Roosevelt has been embittering the relations between the Russian and American leaders in administrative control of their respective States. Roosevelt succeeded in establishing a very fine personal relationship with Stalin, and he succeeded also in performing what was really a

difficult feat, that of carrying Churchill on his shoulders in his all-out plans for winning the war in co-operation with the Russians. Roosevelt was helped by the backing of the American people who, knowing full well that firm friendship with Russia was the keynote of his foreign policy, elected him as President not less than four times with overwhelming majorities.

The passing away of Roosevelt placed the key to American foreign policy in the hands of a man of altogether inadequate resourcefulness for dealing fruitfully and efficiently with the tough problems of the present world situation. Unlike Roosevelt, President Truman has virtually little personal prestige with the framers of Soviet foreign policy. He has become identified with a widening American campaign with links in many other countries spreading hatred of Russia through the most facile and dangerous of all methods of propaganda, that of rousing panic. Millions are being sought to be stampeded into the view that democratic Capitalism and Soviet Communism cannot live in one world and whichever fails to suppress the other first will go down and be wiped out. Hostility is easily roused by fear; and fear of Russia preached with tireless and ruthless persistence through many skilful channels of modern propaganda is poisoning the minds of even large sections of liberal American opinion, filling them with ill-will supplanting reason and judg-

ment. In the developing crisis so fraught with prospects of ruin for harmony and peace, Wallace has become a symbol of all the unfulfilled constructive purposes of Roosevelt at his best for the settlement of post-war issues. Wallace is a friend of all that seek freedom. He is an enemy of imperialism wherever found. He is a believer in the faith that the only effective answer to Communist propaganda is the abolition of human misery. He holds that "the easiest way to break down the illusion that Communist and democratic societies cannot live side by side is for them to work successfully on common projects and the best way to work for these ends is to work together for world prosperity." Wallace represents an idea replete with immense potential force for reconstructing life on this planet on peaceful lines conducive to the freedom and welfare of all, and people everywhere should put forth a mighty effort in proper time to secure victory for the idea if the "final showdown when civilization blows itself to pieces" dreaded by him is to be averted.

Congress Communalism

CONGRESS leaders at the Centre seem to have quietly reconciled themselves to Pakistan. The spirit of Jinnah seems to have entered into their souls with triumphant gusto; for while he is content with a division of the country as a whole on broad communal lines, they are content with nothing less than intensification of the communal principle of division to the point of applying it wherever possible to even the provinces. We are thus brought face to face with a complete abandonment of the non-communalistic attitude of mind which in theory Congress leaders have been delighting to swear by all these years. What has happened will cause little surprise to dispassionate observers. For they cannot have

failed to notice the remarkable consistency with which the authority of the Congress has been lent, time and again, to promote in practice the violation of principles theoretically avowed vociferously in public. To take an example, the biggest political fight of the Congress in South India where there is happily no Hindu-Muslim problem, has been with the Justice Party. Communalism was the sheet-anchor of the Justice Party. In the elections the party was routed, but after defeat it achieved a disembodied triumph of spirit over virtually the entire morale of the Congress organisation in the province. The spirit of the Justicites took the Congress captive and the Congress went communalist. What need was there for a separate organisation for the vindication of communalism when the ordained national institution for giving it battle proved itself ready to yield to the essential spirit of communalism for all practical purposes? It would even appear as though the Congress had become a convenient vehicle for the gratification of the political ambitions of prominent Justicites after they found their careers impeded by electoral defeats. It is a significant fact that in the present set-up of the so-called Congress administration in Madras, the Leader of the Lower House, the Industries Minister, the Minister for Housing and the Speaker were all once prominent leaders of the Justice Party, while of some others it can be said that they are no more than Justicites in disguise since they are well known as virulent communalists capable of teaching lessons in communalism even to the Justicites. As a result of the intrigues and manoeuvres of Justicites masquerading as Congressmen for ends of their own, the old veterans of the Congress whose names have become bywords for service and sacrifice, have been forced to go to the wall.

As in Madras the spirit of the Justicites has captured the Congress organisation, so in all-India politics, it is the Muslim League that has come to dominate the Congress. Mr. Jinnah stands for objectives diametrically opposed to those of the Congress. But the record of the Congress has been more or less one of continual submission to Mr. Jinnah's demands after preliminary temporary denials which he invariably refused to take seriously. That Mr. Jinnah has succeeded in establishing an unshakable hold on millions of his co-religionists, and is therefore a political force not to be ignored, is of course indisputable. Nor can it be denied that adjustments with dissentients and opponents embodying compromises without surrender of convictions, form in themselves a necessary part of any discipline of freedom as conceived for the benefit of all. But the beauty of compromise as a discipline inseparable from freedom has been marred, so far as the Congress is concerned, by the extreme reluctance evinced by its mentors to extend to leaders of other minorities, notably Dr. Ambedkar, the consideration which they never failed to show Mr. Jinnah. They allowed bullying to get established as a paying proposition as a result of their regrettable policy of paying no heed to demands couched in less peremptory fashion. Dr. Ambedkar has an incomparable position as a leader of the Scheduled Castes, and by virtue of that position he was entitled to an honoured place in the Interim Government. His exclusion, taken along with the admission of the five nominees of Mr. Jinnah, reveals the lop-sidedness of the mentality of the ruling Congress bosses who seem less interested in picking out trusted leaders of the people for the strengthening of democracy than in elevating certain favourites of their own to

power and office as though the State were a private patrimony of their own for autocratic disposal as they pleased.

Through its electoral victories the Congress won the position of being politically the strongest and most influential organisation in the country. Sacrifice and service, generously inspired in the hearts of large multitudes by worthy exemplars, contributed more than any other factor to that position, but the assets of it are being swiftly liquidated through practices connected with the game of power politics that are jarring unpleasantly on thinking minds and straining acutely their loyalties to the great national institution. The ruination of Congress prestige is being precipitated by courses tending to convert the organisation into an Eldorado for time-servers and small men of towering ambitions with a gift for successful intrigue. A sad state of affairs.

Cochin's Lead

STUDENTS of history need not be reminded of the ironic relief furnished by a princely renegade to the sombre drama of the French Revolution as it unfolded itself a hundred and fifty years ago. The Duke of Orleans became Philip Egalite, and expounded the pernicious philosophy of ruffians like Rousseau to the unspeakable scandal of aristocracy and the eternal discredit of privilege and prescription!

H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin has become the hero of a similar episode in relation to the princely order of our own country. Inaugurating the convention of a United Kerala, he spoke in language of such forthright simplicity as would have delighted the heart of Tom Paine or sent the Abbe Sieyes into ecstasies of admiration. With unrivalled authority derived from inside know-

ledge, he has exposed the fascist tyranny that has been masquerading under the term 'Paramountcy.' We can recall the classic instance of the resounding snub administered to H.E.H. the Nizam by Lord Reading when that potentate was ticked off with a magisterial finality from which he made no attempt to salvage his punctured vanity. At the opposite end is the mirage of 'sovereign independence' which is now seducing many of these erstwhile puppets to dream like Malvolio of greatness in the second or third degree! How comes it that there should be these diversities among the Princes in regard both to their own future and the future of the country as a whole?

In the first place, a majority of these princelings have been kept going by a process of artificial respiration. They represented so many 'pockets' on the analogy of safety valves found in a huge modern engine. They prevent the engine from bursting irreparably or functioning but intermittently. In most of them semi-feudal conditions have been preserved with a zeal and forethought which have been unnatural to a degree. In the biggest of them, there is a political inequilibrium which has also been carefully nurtured during the last one hundred years. The precariousness of the Nizam as ruler over a 90 per cent Hindu population is paralleled by that of Kashmir *vice versa*. Mysore is half and half, not in population but in ideology. For the policy of the Paramount power there has always been to nurse a Muslim minority with malice prepense, on the ostensible ground that the State was conquered by a Muslim ruler for a time, but really in the hope that the communal problem might never be liquidated. In proof of this it is only necessary to draw attention to a recent resolution of the Muslim Party in the State to the effect that

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they opposed the grant of responsible government as that would mean majority rule! The Punjab is claimed by the Muslims on the ground that they are the majority there, they claim Hyderabad for reasons of undisturbed possession and long-forgotten conquest, they want Calcutta because they must have an outlet to the sea, and so on. After all, the truth is that the Muslim popular parties wherever they are in a minority clamour for the perpetuation of the *status quo*, while wherever they are in a majority, they want to see democratic principles applied without qualification! Never has there been a more delicious instance of 'Heads I win; tails you lose!'

The lead given by Cochin has a double value. It is a welcome indication of an attempt at integration when the prevailing trend is towards further fragmentation. More than that, it gives a sensible and courageous lead to the princes who by their collaboration in a spirit of enlightened self-interest can help to effect the change-over from foreign to self-rule with minimum damage to the body politic. If tomorrow, there should be a referendum on the issues raised by the Maharajah of Cochin, there is little doubt that the great bulk of Keralites would vote for a sub-federation of Kerala as a unit of the All-India Union.

Although the Maharaja did not specifically elaborate his own position in such a sub-federation, there is no insuperable obstacle to his functioning as a constitutional head within that unit precisely as he has been functioning till now. Rather, the only obstacle that stands in the way of the proposed union is the fear of loss of sovereignty which is being looked forward to as a new accession after the formal withdrawal of British power from what is known as British India. Sovereignty

has become tenuous under the conditions of modern life. The sovereignty of Travancore, for instance, might have to be bartered in exchange for food to be imported from Brazil or Burma; the sovereignty of the Nizam is a metaphysical quiddity, as portentous perhaps, as it is liable to be circumscribed by a *cordon sanitaire* which would crib, cabin and confine the most exalted of Indian princes to suffer from many varieties of asphyxiation. If the British are quitting, whoever succeeds will sooner or later have to forge a constitution for the whole country which will guarantee freedom of movement from one end of the country to another as till now, freedom of person as till now, and freedom of speech as till now. All these freedoms are inimical to 'islands,' excluded areas, sovereign states, independent princes and other figments of imagination!

Another long-range effect of the United Kerala Convention is likely to be the growth of movements for the reformation of provincial units on viable and rational grounds. It

was part of the Machiavellian policy of empire builders to put as many spokes in the life of a nation as possible without utterly destroying it. It was in pursuance of that policy that homogeneous linguistic areas were deliberately cut up and distributed among incompatible and unsympathetic rulers. The Andhras have pegged in their claim; the Keralites have followed. If the Maharattas bring up the rear, we shall have witnessed one of the greatest steps in the reorganisation of Indian life in coherent parts contributing to the varied and growing virtues of a magnificent whole.

It is because a few rulers obsessed with dynastic ambitions which have been carefully and secretly pampered by the departing power are delaying this consummation by raising irrelevant bogeys, the vision seems unattainable. But the awakening is now almost universal, and in many parts of the country it is marked by a tempo which augurs ill to those who like the Bourbons have 'learnt nothing and forgotten nothing!'

Sotto Voce

Voodoo



A *cause celebre* which strained the resources of war-time newspapers almost to breaking point has had a late sequel. Two film stars have regained their freedom which has now been declared to have been infringed without just cause. As in days of yore Moses brought the tables of the law from Mt. Sinai, so the last word in the interpretation of the laws under which we live has to come to us from the banks of the Thames. That this leisurely business

should have blacked out two years from the lives of two men who were tax-payers like you and me and popular entertainers to boot, is bad enough. But others who were involved still remain behind the prison bars; they are apparently not in a position to invoke the intervention of the English tribunal.

Appeal to the Privy Council will in all probability be shortly done away with along with many other

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links that made the British connection. But law's delays are hardly affected by geography. Procedure which was devised to expedite justice has in the grip of routine often come to be so worked as to delay or even deny it. Even more fantastic, modes of trial which are cherished as the ark of individual liberty operate only too often with the proverbial blindness of Fate. And the worst of it is that the more alien the system is to us the greater is the passionate attachment we profess for it.

Take trial by jury, whose errors have just been demonstrated to us once again. It is, as the Britisher loves to recall, as characteristically British as the British Constitution itself. And that is why, as some of them would explain, it is not an exportable commodity. It has always seemed to me that it might work tolerably well in an exceedingly primitive society or, at the other end of the scale, in a society of supermen. Trial by one's peers, to be successful, must be conducted by men who live purely by the instinct as the animals do or by those who have risen above all human feelings and limitations.

The theory is that the jury is the final judge of facts, while the judge has the last word in regard to the law. And facts are the most difficult things in the world to discover, when they deal with human motives and limitations and human ingenuity is actively at work all the time trying to obscure the truth. The man in the street is the most unobservant creature in the universe. Most of the time he lives in a private world of fantasy, of romance and wish-fulfilment. He has not the slightest difficulty in weaving hypotheses on the slenderest thread of evidence. And where a simpler explanation will serve he invariably elects for a more fanciful one.

Most people have no chance to indulge their daydreams of power exercised and ambition fulfilled. But the citizen empanelled on a jury has that chance in a thousand. Just imagine what it must mean to the modest office-worker who is one of a crowd to find himself invited, nay, summoned with all the imperious authority of Oyer and Terminer, to take his seat along with the presiding Judge clad in scarlet and armed with thunder, and to partake in the awful rite of looking into the heart of the poor cowering wretch at the bar. And when to this is added the pleasant stimulus of incense offered by the expert hand of the great advocate whom you had known only as the supercilious neighbour who always looked above your head in casual street encounters, your fingers may excusably tingle with a feeling of happy exaltation.

It is extraordinary how quickly cocksureness descends on the ignorant. The man sitting within touching distance of the learned judge whom to have jostled unwittingly in the corridor might have been contempt of court, comes after the first nervous day or two, by an easy if illogical transition, to feel that some of the virtue had entered into him. He consciously inhibits the impulse to be deferential, and most of his time is taken up with striking and sustaining unnatural postures. To expect such men to give their close attention to complicated evidence in which truth and falsehood may be inextricably tangled up, to judge dispassionately on the facts which lawyers on both sides try their best (not of course intentionally) to confuse, and to appreciate the nice distinctions between fact and law with which the charge to the jury bristles—to do these things is to put faith in judicial magic. Trial by fire and trial by water had at least the virtues of being simpler and less expensive.

VIGHNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS :

"The soul of a people ought to be in its Press, but this Press in the hands of a few financial magnates may murder its soul by corruption instead of directing it."—Paul de Sury d' Aspremont.

MYSTERY hangs over the elevation of Sri Devadas Gandhi to the Presidency of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in supersession of Sri Tushar Kanti Ghosh who had been announced earlier as having been duly elected. The correction that was made eliminating Tushar and installing Devadas illustrates the perfunctoriness of the procedure governing the annual election of President of the A.-I.N.E.C. There is apparently no finality about it at all of the sort usually associated with elections as such. It is a sad state of affairs reflecting little credit on the integrity of an organisation like the A.-I.N.E.C. that it should be possible for one of the Secretaries to make and unmake the President with no more effort than a cryptic statement in the papers.

There have been four Presidents of the A.-I.N.E.C. so far. Of the four, Tushar Kanti Ghosh stands as a symbol of inherited prominence divested of personal effort and distinction, that is so largely characteristic of the Mammon-made journalism that dominates the land. Sri Kasturi Srinivasan also inherited, like Tushar, a great and wealthy legacy. But there the resemblance between the two stops. Vast improvements have taken place in the *Hindu* since Sri Srinivasan came to the helm. They, like him, reveal character—a sort of character (rare and unique in this huckstering age) of which the keynote lies in ability to produce results without anyone being wise about the how of it. There are few that can resist criticising the *Hindu*, but there are also very few that can resist buying it. Barren praise that steers clear of the tribute paid in the form of the coppers that go to swell newspaper revenues, confers no power and strength,

whereas what matters more than anything else to a newspaper is that people should feel the need for it and be unable to get on without it. Only those who have had to get along without the *Hindu* after having once got used to it can have any idea of what a void it means in the day. *Swarajya* had this same hold on readers' minds, but of no other newspaper now printed in South India can the same thing be said.

The unobtrusive exterior of Sri Srinivasan masks many admirable qualities. He is no crusader for Right of the ferocious type, and lacks the restless conscience which, unmindful of friend or foe, convulses the world with stern precept and example in inflexible pursuit of preconceived notions of justice and propriety. He overtakes events with a pleasant receptivity that is part philosophy and part shrewdness. Kind, gentle and generous, he is yet undeceivable, and he has to his credit an enormous record of benefactions mostly rendered on the sly. No newspaper proprietor in the country is so warmly loved and respected in his own office as he, nor do I know of anyone so utterly unspoiled by power, wealth, position and influence of which even a little often suffices to turn a man's head. A strike has been unknown in the office of the *Hindu*.

Even those that differ from Sri Srinivasan cannot help being impressed by his simplicity, his social charm, his gift for getting things done, his quiet ability. Instead of going out precariously on an annual search for President, allowing the choice to be determined by intrigues and by factors having no relation with the question of competence, the A.-I.N.E.C. would do well to confer the office for a fair duration on a leader of commanding integrity and worth. For such a distinction the editor of the *Hindu* would be the aptest choice and the most deserving.—SAKA.



by C. V. NAGARAJA SASTRI, M.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Edin.)

*The East bowed before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.*

ONCE again 'the Asian spring-time is nigh' sang our great poetess Sarojini Naidu in a melodious oration that thrilled the mother of continents. Sarojini was inspired to an eloquence vibrating with the same charm as of 1916. The Indian Nightingale was the heart and soul of the great 'dawn'—the Asian Conference—at the historic Purana Qila of Delhi, the city of faded empires. Asia is the home of all religions and perhaps her great spiritual message is the background of 'a symbol and a promise' of cementing one world. 'There is a struggle and turmoil in various parts of Asia today and yet behind it all there is new vitality . . . there is something of the turbulence of youth about her today and there is also something of the sparkle of youth in her eyes. An age is coming to an end and a new era is beginning for the countries of Asia'—the awakening of a great continent was thus heralded by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and 'she broke her barriers' that had temporarily snapped old bonds and ties of fellowship, after 200 years. Twenty-nine countries of Asia met to establish this awakening. 'In this

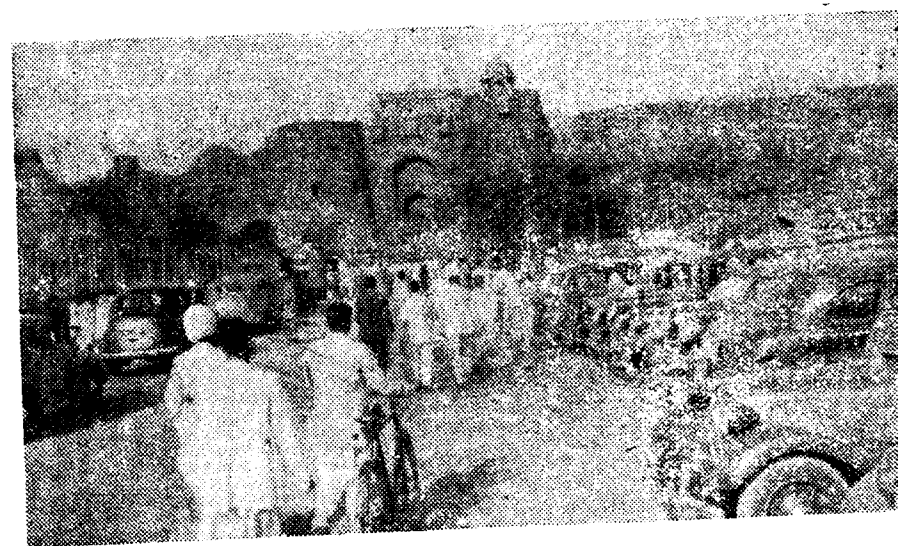
work there are no leaders and no followers' said Jawaharlal; and thus did this august assemblage work. This is no Pan-Asiatic movement of aggressive intentions, nor is it the 'yellow' or 'brown peril'—there is no occasion for Oswald Spangler's warning—only an assemblage for cultural and social welfare of Asians who form a great bulk of the world's population, and what aggression can there be in this object? Mrs. Naidu said 'Asia shall redeem the world—not through bitterness and anger, not through hatred and strife, but through compassion and love and forgiveness shall the world be redeemed . . . This is an old message of Asia'. 'We have to live together if we have to live at all' said Dr. Abdul Majid, leader of the Afghan delegation; and the Iranian chief delegate placed India as Asia's heart—the new hub so to speak. The Bhutan delegate brought greetings 'pure and clean as the air of the mountains' of his country. The Burmese Kyaw Mint J., brought General Aung San's message 'take the bull by the horns, so to say, augurs well for the future of Asia and for the cause of independence of the Asian peoples.' The Ceylonese Bandernaike said it is for 'spiritually, the removal of that degradation of the soul which servitude brings in its train;

materially, the achievement of freedom from poverty and want, from debase and ignorance and the assurance to all as far as lies in our power of equal opportunities and a just standard of living; psychologically, the elimination of fear. . . ; culturally, the fostering of our languages, literature and art and our ways of life.' It is easy to remember a great past and on that foundation quickly build a greater future—the spokesman of the Soviet Asian Republics referred to the quick transition and capacity of Asians to recoup their past and advance. The Arabian delegate stressed the necessity for the well-being of India which relatively affected the Arab lands that lay 'on the road to India.' The Chinese delegate said that the conference is a veritable 'bridge between Asia and the rest of the world.'

In the Asian map, Soviet Asia dominates in area, but in population India and China together make 3/4 of Asians and the continent is populated by over half the races of the world. There is greater and greater interdependence of countries in all spheres. In matters of food, not only have countries to help each other but one part of the same country has to help another. Most Asian countries have to depend on the

'rice economy of monsoon Asia' and many have unduly specialised on commercial produce geared to European economy—like Javanese sugar, Burman timber and rice, Iranian and Arabian oils, Malayan and Indonesian rubber and rice. India was also chiefly dependent on export of 'commercial' crops till World Conflagration II upset her basket, proving the futility of its over-stressed importance. Then again one of the greatest problems of Asia is demographic—over-populated areas have to be eased by adjustment of populating the lesser congested parts. This may involve political considerations. The conference opined that it was purely for the countries concerned to control immigration.

As Asia is mainly agricultural, reconstruction in that direction attracts attention, like discussions on (1) general problems (population, mass poverty land tenures etc.), (2) organisation (peasant farming, co-operative farming, collectivisation), (3) agricultural planning (food, mechanisation, problems of supply cottage industries, rural welfare, standard of living), and (4) financing reconstruction in agricultural policy (crop planning, research, stabilisation of prices). Racial pro-



Delegates to the Asian Relations Conference on their way to the Purana Qila, where the session was held.

blems were gone into for elimination of roots of conflicts and social discriminatory laws for establishing racial equality in Asian Nationalism. Movements for national freedom were non-politically touched. Industrial problems so urgently staring Asia were thrashed out, for Asia has to industrialise if her prosperity is to be assured—transport and communications; raw materials, capital equipment, manpower, personnel, financing public and private enterprise, centralisation and decentralisation, health, hygiene, housing, factory legislation, all were thrashed out. Social services like education plans, training of teachers, etc., were among the subjects considered. Cultural problems were gone into, and they comprised a large field like religion, philosophy, literary influences, common language, art, architecture, industrial and commercial contacts and mutual co-operation in educational, economic, social and political subjects. So also were scientific research and status of women and women's movement considered. Permanent Asiatic institutes for furthering many of these objects have now definitely come into being.

The 'pilgrims of life', these delegates, who ascended the Asian rostrum addressing huge gatherings, were all first class men and women by all standards—they were used to swaying large audiences by eloquence and reasoning. 'Asia—our immemorial but unaging mother, at whose bidding they have assembled, journeying across steep mountain passes, floating on the vast bosom of many coloured seas, riding amid clouds of dawn and darkness to reach her threshold and receive her gracious benediction and drink the cup of her knowledge, wisdom and devotion to an imperishable ideal of peace', voiced our great poetess-president, Jawahar had said 'not even in the long and chequered story of Asia has there been such a gathering of representatives from many countries of Asia. . . . the occasion is unique and full of historic significance. May it be har-binger of a closer fellowship in the work of peace and progress and may it light a flame which will burn brightly in every country of Asia and bring light in the darkness that envelops world affairs today'. To conclude with Sarojini 'We do not cry for the moon. We pluck it from the skies and wear it upon the diadems of Asia's freedom'.



Mahatma Gandhi at one of his prayer-meetings in Delhi.

INDIA AND INDONESIA

DR. DARUSMAN'S CALL FOR MUTUAL CO-OPERATION

by "G. N. S."

THE Trade Union Delegation from Indonesia spent a few days in Madras on its way back after taking part in the Inter-Asian Relations conference. The delegates were all young, the oldest member being 35; but they were rich with the experiences of the revolutionary struggle for their country's freedom in which they have been actively engaged. When I met them on behalf of *Swatantra*, they expressed surprise at the Madras police refusing permission for an open air meeting which was to have been addressed by them. This was particularly strange, since they had just returned from a conference which had been convened for the specific purpose of promoting close contact between Asiatic nations. The following is an account of my talk with Dr. Maruto Darusman, leader of the delegation.

From the beginning the British actively assisted Dutch forces in establishing control over the free Republic, said Dr. Darusman. The islands were actually held by the British until Dutch reinforcements arrived to take over charge. Both British and Indian troops were used. But the latter, especially the Muslim soldiers, did not fight wholeheartedly. "Many Indian soldiers walked over to our side and handed their weapons to us," he said. Only the Gurkhas, being the most backward section politically, continued to fight the Indonesian nationalist troops. "Java is the main base of our movement; it contains the major part of the whole population of the Dutch East Indies. Next in importance is Sumatra. Both these islands constitute the present Indonesian Republic, and Dutch troops have not been able to penetrate to the interior. Only the big cities are controlled by them. In the other islands the Dutch are still in control, and fighting was going on until the agreement signed in March between

the Republic and the Dutch Government. Though the declarations by Dutch authorities might be liberal in tone, the position is that



Dr. Darusman

the Home Government has not been able to control the dominant reactionary military group in Indonesia."

National Unity

"But the unity of the nationalists will ensure our final victory. There are various parties in our country, the most important being the Muslim Party which is the biggest (80 to 90 per cent of the population is Muslim); the Nationalist Party led by Sukiman and the Left Bloc otherwise known as the United Socialist Front which includes the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Labour Party and the Indonesian Socialist Youth Organisation. Besides these three major parties, there are minor parties like the Christian

Party and the Catholic Party. All these are completely united on the question of Indonesian freedom. The Muslim and Nationalist parties were opposed to the recent agreement, but the Republican Parliament has adopted the agreement by a majority under the conditions that Dutch troops should be withdrawn immediately and that democratic rights should be safeguarded in all the islands of the Dutch East Indies."

Dr. Soekarno's Leadership

When I questioned Dr. Darusman about the charge of collaboration with the Japanese which the Dutch levelled against Dr. Soekarno, he gave an account of Dr. Soekarno's position in the country. The most popular and universally respected leader of the Indonesian people has been and continues to be Dr. Soekarno. Having been exiled by the Dutch, Dr. Soekarno returned to Indonesia during the Japanese occupation. "Speaking personally," said Dr. Darusman, "I would say that co-operation with the Japs was not a correct line. But because of their intense anti-Dutch feeling, several honest and sincere leaders regarded co-operation as necessary. But the Left leaders thought and acted otherwise. The important thing, however, is that both sections came

together to resist the reimposition of Dutch rule."

Relations With India

"The question of Indonesia is not only our question. If there is a setback suffered by us, you will also feel it here immediately. Today India, Indonesia and Viet Nam form the corner-stones of the Asiatic freedom movement. They are test cases affecting world imperialism. We are a peaceful people, and we need peace for our development. But we do not want peace at any cost. We offer everybody, even the Dutch capitalists, our fullest co-operation provided it is based on respect for our freedom and observance of democratic principles. Now there are trade and diplomatic relations between us and India. We will welcome any step to extend this relationship and to give it official status. This will also be in the interests of India. The textile position in our country is bad. But we have rice. Here is an instance in which we could co-operate for mutual benefit. In fact your industrialists will do well to turn their attention to the Indonesian market. Otherwise American and British capitalists will be there ahead of them. Our need is for clothes, agricultural implements, machinery, technicians, etc. India can help us in these matters, with benefit to her own interests."

J. B. PRIESTLEY ON SHAW

He had learned from Marx to observe the structure of society. He added economics to literary genius, just as Wells added biology to literary genius; and in each instance it was just this immense bonus that gave each man so much force and originality.

International control of atomic energy is inevitable. It represents too absolute a power for it to be easily or safely vested in the hands of one or two nations however benevolent their intentions. "Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it," said the elder Pitt, and Lord Acton expressed the same truth more epigrammatically and more sweepingly when he said: "Power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts absolutely." They were speaking of men, but what is true of men is no less true of nations as the rise and fall of great empires in the past has shown. No one nation or small combination of nations can be trusted alone to exercise authority over so unique a power.—Francis Williams.



The Humble Pie

by M. Krishnamoorti

HIS father had told him: "What is the good of merely passing the examination in the ordinary way; you must secure a first class, if not, at least a second. If you get merely a third they won't even admit you to sit for the competitive examinations. And you know how difficult it is to get a good job now-a-days." Kumar agreed with his Dad, but not for those reasons. He wanted to make a noise in the world, he wanted to be a Boss, and when he passed along the road he wanted people to turn round to look at him and say "There goes so and so the Big Shot." And, of course, he could marry Nalini if only he became a big officer. He was, in short, an average young man with brains, consumed by ambition. The Honours examination came and our young friend did get a first and quite as a matter of course he applied for and was admitted to sit for the I.C.S. examination.

And so he sat down at his books again and read as he had never read before. Far into the night he read and into the small hours of the morning too. He took to drinking tonics containing phosphorus because he was told that phosphorus was essential to the functioning of the brain and that the brain fag that might otherwise result from his overwork could be averted by the administration of that element. He made frantic efforts to improve his general knowledge and became interested in out-of-the-ordinary things like the length of the railway bridge over the Jumna at Delhi, and the anthropological details of totem and taboo. The various records set up in the various sports were eagerly memorized and even in his sleep he could have told you about the dimensions of a baseball field! He had played only cricket but now he showed a new interest in

other games, at least in the rules governing these other games. The Mashie and the Stymie were no longer mysterious to him and he could have told you the population of even little known towns in Kamchatka! This general knowledge menace always unnerves the average candidate who goes to laughable lengths to secure information about out-of-the-way things. He scanned the daily newspapers no longer with his usual nonchalance but now studied their foreign news pages and their sports pages and their Indian news pages with careful eagerness. He never missed even a single line, and the editorials he knew by heart.

But like the false Sextus thrice Kumar attempted the examination and thrice he failed to get selected. As if to mock him, every time he was among the first ten candidates, and the very last time he was the fifth; and they selected four men. The poor youngster was heartbroken.

There was a violent revulsion in his feelings after this disaster. From a normal young man with laudable ambitions he became a morose cynic who could see no good in anything or anybody. He had not to work for his bread, his father was very rich. He wanted to do just what he liked, to become a teacher (that would give him plenty of leisure), and to write stories and articles. All his ambitions to get away from the tracks of the also-rans were blasted; to be alone and to be quiet was all that he wanted now.

This may appear to be a simple matter. You may argue that it is only he who wants favours from others that has to lose his self-respect and peace of mind and that an unambitious individual has nothing to worry about. If a man is prepared to sit tight at home or to devote his life to solid social work

without expecting remuneration for it what, you no doubt argue, can disturb his equanimity?

The answer is contained in one single word, "Relatives."

They came down on him like the Assyrians in the famous poem. They came singly and they came in batches of twos and threes. They tried all sorts of arguments: they threatened and they cajoled. They held before him the fine prospects that were ahead of him if only he would decide to devote himself to some particular branch of work. There was the Law College always open to him and with his cousin's influence and under his tutelage he could become a big lawyer very soon. He could enter on some business; they could easily get him in to some bank or other; his father was a big gun in banking circles. But to his proposal that he should be allowed to become a teacher they all turned a deaf ear; the pay was not alluring.

Not all his relatives joined together could have had any influence on Kumar if there was not one ambition that he had not given up—to marry Nalini. He told her that what he now wanted to be was a teacher. She was all sympathy and understanding for his point of view but she was firm at the same time that he should not become a poorly paid teacher; he must earn a good deal. What was life without plenty of money? Of course she knew he had enough to live comfortably on but she wanted also a social prestige that would attach only to a successful man of the world. And as for making a name and success as an author her scornful laughter rang forth the moment he timidly mentioned it! When She-who-must-be-Obedient had said her say what is there for a mere male to do but to listen and obey?

So he went to the Important Relative of the family; his father had died meantime, for misfortunes never come singly in our world. This Important Relative was a direct contrast to the usual run of important relatives; he was a kind-hearted man with an unbridled tongue, not the usual specimen of the important relative—a suave blackguard and absolutely selfish at heart.

Kumar wanted his help to secure a decent berth in a good bank; they all were telling him that banking career was the best suited to him and that it held plenty of opportunities for a hard-working and deserving young man.

"Of course, it does", agreed the Important Relative, "I was hoping you would see sense some day and come to me with a request of this sort. Already I think you have wasted enough time; you have become, no doubt without being aware of it, a loafer, only a genteel loafer of course, but a loafer all the same. What is the good of moping about past things? I agree you were very, very unfortunate but what is the point in crying over spilt milk? You have plenty of brains and abilities; I can think of several fools in the big services who have undoubtedly got in by mistake. I know also that you need not work for your bread and your shelter and your clothing. But have you ever thought of the possibility of your allowing yourself to rust by merely sitting tight at home? Your mother was telling me you wanted to become a teacher or an author. Regarding the second, I have nothing to say except that it is absolutely futile and foolish. Of every thousand fellows who set out to make a living by writing only one or two chaps make a success of themselves. I know you can write good English but that is not all that is wanted; you must have luck and I can't think of anyone more unlucky than you. As regards the teaching profession, I suppose you think it a noble profession, and that it will give you plenty of leisure to loaf about. But you yourself must confess, if you are honest, that the average teacher soon gets into a rut and loses all interest in life; he becomes an automaton, dissatisfied with himself and his profession. The noble profession also has a way of being underpaid. I know you can use money well; don't you think you ought to earn plenty of it?"

It all sounded so convincing and there was always Nalini in the background. Kumar agreed with what his uncle told him. "I think the best thing for you would be", continued his uncle, "to enter a bank. That will mean plenty of work in the beginning and very hard work too. No shirker can ever do well in that profession. But with your brains, and if you skip your usual tendency to loaf, I think we can reasonably look forward to good things in the future in banking. I think I shall be able to get you a job without much difficulty. What do you say?"

Again there was The Girl ever hovering in the background and our young friend said with becoming modesty, "I shall take it up and try my best to do well at it."

Pretty soon you might have seen Kumar adorning one of those tall uncomfortable monstrosities that go by the name of counter chairs in the banks. There he sat from early in the morning to late at night behind the gleaming railings of the counter, like a bird caged and kept away from all pleasant things. The monotony of the figures in front of him in the enormous ledgers was almost nerve-wracking. Adding, adding, adding, and then subtracting, subtracting, subtracting and very occasionally varying the dull monotony by a few multiplications and divisions. At first the row upon row of figures spelt nothing but chaos to him but very soon he perceived an order in them. Sometime later he was able to see a beauty in them; he had lots of imagination. But that beauty was very temporary; a chronic monotony set in in its wake.

There was a streak of obstinacy and an unsuspected power of concentration in him that kept him working hard and well at his desk from morn till night. And, there was The Girl in the background!

He had now to give up all the pleasant things of his way of living. In the morning he had to get up at a disgustingly early hour, have his shave everyday, and bath and snatch a hurried meal, against all the natural inclinations of his poor tummy, and spend a soporific three-quarters of an hour in a rotten old tram that took an unconscionable time, like the Merry Monarch, to take him to his office. There, like Samson in Gaza, he toiled at the mill with slaves only, he was not yet eyeless; that would happen later he was sure. How could one help spoiling his eyesight if one had to pore over row upon row of figures for hours together? He stayed at the office till eight at night and he therefore had to give up the pastimes so dear to him like playing cricket or seeing films. He was too tired even to amuse himself when he started on the journey home in another silly old tram. And even the meal at night he could not enjoy at leisure; he was so tired and wanted to rush to his bed.

But there is a haven of peace even for a bank clerk; there is always Sunday. And these days of blessed relief he always spent in the company of Nalini and the memory of that day carried him through the rest of the week. But on certain Sundays she had to do something else and the ensuing week would then be one of agony to

Kumar. But every time they met she encouraged him to keep on and painted a rosy picture of the future when they would be married and happy and prosperous, when he would not be a mere ledger clerk but an officer with enough leisure to do what he so much wanted to do.

And thus he went on working at the bank satisfying his Boss with the correctness and the cleanliness of his work and his willingness to do hard work. Therefore he was sanctioned a special increment in pay and he was more or less promised an officer's job if he would only pass some of the necessary banking examinations. He was so pleased with himself when he came out of the Boss's room after this interview that he phoned to The Girl straightaway telling her the good news and asking her to meet him at the theatre that evening in time for the first show; they must celebrate, he said, and Nalini agreed. The evening arrived. He got through his work quicker than usual so that by five-thirty he was at liberty to go away. For the usual work done later in the night he had arranged with a colleague of his who had promised to do it for him that night as an obligation which Kumar swore, he would never forget. But what a clerk proposes his immediate superior officer can always dispose of. Kumar's immediate superior was the Junior Superintendent, a man of the most morose type; further he was feeling sore about the special lift that had just been given to Kumar and already he saw in our friend a rival. "I want you to do some urgent work for me," he said, when he saw Kumar put on his coat preparatory to departure. "Please copy out these figures in our Cash book and see whether they tally. It is not yet time for you to leave; after all, it is only five-thirty."

"If you don't mind, Sir, I want to leave early this evening," Krishnarayan will do it instead. He has promised to substitute for me this evening as a favour."

"Krishnarayan! No, no, I want our best clerk to do this. It is important work. And you are our best clerk, witness the special rise the Boss has given you. You must stay and do it."

"Please Sir," expostulated Kumar, "It is something important and urgent."

"Don't stand there arguing. Do it, I say" shouted the Superintendent.

Kumar was desperate. "I won't do it," he answered.

"Indeed" sneered his torturer, "If you do not obey me I shall report you to the Boss and you know him well; he will sack you on the spot."

"I don't care" said Kumar and flung out of the building in a rage.

At the theatre Nalini was waiting for him and she greeted him happily and congratulated him heartily. He told her nothing about the later developments till the interval; and then her mood changed.

"What! Do you mean to tell me you have given up a good job for the sake of a rotten show at the theatre?"

"But, look here," he tried to explain. "It was not a mere show. Did you expect me to keep you waiting, to disappoint you? You know I would do anything but that."

"I suppose you expect me to fall upon your neck and congratulate you on having made a priceless ass of yourself. Can't you realise our whole future is now blasted?"

"But, Nalini, nothing irreparable has happened. I can get a job elsewhere. And, after all, we can get along without a job you know."

"The same old tune again!" she cried. "You and your property! Who cares for it? Heaven help me if I agree to marry a lounge lizard. You must be something worthwhile in the world, a success, if you want me."

"But darling," he replied, "I really do not like the work. It is so drab and all my brains and all my abilities are going to rust. Uncle will get me some sort of job very soon. There is nothing to worry about."

"You know your uncle very little indeed if you think he will help you further after you have given up the job he has got for you and at which you promised him to work hard. No, No, you have ruined yourself and being a selfish male, I suppose you expect me to approve of everything you do and follow you blindly. You are much mistaken if you think so."

His anger flared up. "Go to hell" he said succinctly. "You are not everything in the world to me. There is life to be lived and there are plenty of other girls."

Through the darkness she rushed out of the hall. He sat on for some more time but could not follow the picture. He too was depressed and left the theatre soon.

The next morning he presented himself at the office; he wanted to do something to keep his mind away from the agony of separation from Nalini; even the usual grind would do; further that would enable him to please her.

"Why have you come to-day?" asked the Superintendent. "I have spoken to the Boss and he has sacked you."

"If you don't mind I shall see the Boss personally and take my dismissal from him," said Kumar.

"By all means, Sir, by all means," laughed the Superintendent. "Please yourself."

With a sinking heart he pushed open the door leading to the Boss's room. The Boss looked up.

"Oh! it is you, is it?" he said, "Why have you come? Haven't you been told you have been dismissed?"

"Yes, sir" replied Kumar.

"My decision is irrevocable. I cannot have the discipline of the office upset by a clerk who presumes upon a favour shown to him. You are not indispensable to our office."

"Please, sir, just listen to me," said Kumar, and before the Boss could say anything he rushed on with his story. The Boss listened without a word till the very end. And then he smiled.

"So you are not only jobless, you are girl-less also, is it? he asked. "I am sorry for you and I shall be sorry to lose a promising young man too. But office discipline must be maintained at all costs. If you become an officer tomorrow will you put up with such insubordination? I am prepared to excuse you if you will apologise to the Junior Superintendent in front of the rest of the staff. After all that is nothing much. You are at fault and like a man you must own up. Will you do it?"

For a moment he hesitated and then The Girl, who is ever at the background of the whole narrative, decided the issue.

"I shall, sir," he replied in a low voice.

"That is good," said the Boss in satisfied tone, "Come with me and get the whole thing over."

They did get the whole thing over though the words of mumbled public apology almost stuck in Dharman's throat and refused to come out! He went back to his desk.

But all the time he was thinking of what his future relations with Nalini would be. Her hardness was a painful surprise to him. She wanted only a successful man of the world, it seemed; she did not care for him personally. Heaven help him if he made the first advances towards a reconciliation! He had meant every word of it when he had said there were other girls besides herself in this world and that there were other things than love to live for. But by one in the afternoon all his resolution had vanished and he had decided to go up and get into touch with her on the phone, when the peon approached him and said, "Phone for you, Sir." With a beating heart he took up the instrument, hoping it would be Nalini. It was.

"Darling, I am so sorry about yesterday, darling," she apologised sweetly.

"That is all right," he answered in a voice gruff with emotion.

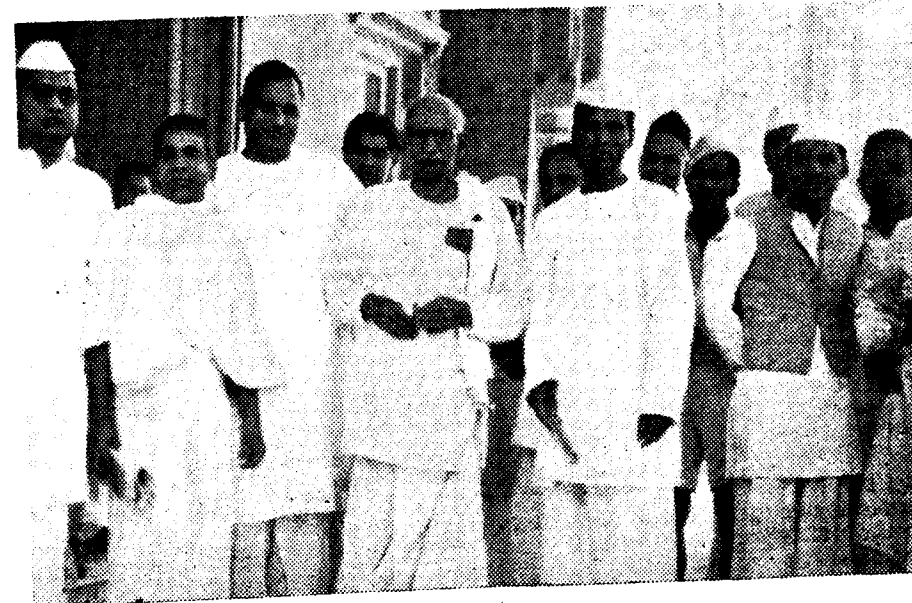
"But you don't sound all right," her sweet voice came to him over the wire. "My dear boy! Can't you realise I said all that only because I love you and want you to be a b-e-e-g man?"

"Hum," said he non-committally.

"Come, come," she said soothingly, "Say that there are no harsh feelings between us. I am really very sorry about having behaved like an absolutely selfish pig. Please forgive me, darling, won't you?" "That is all right," he answered; and then "How did you know I would be at the office? I told you I had been dismissed."

He heard her silvery laugh over the phone and then she cut off.

Still wondering at the mystery of woman he went slowly back to his seat, full of hope and happiness.



Photograph taken after the General Council Meeting of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference.

Left to Right: Kamal Narain Bajaj, Shanker Rao Deo, Hiralal Shastri and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

Spotlight On The World

by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

THE Moscow Conference sat for seven weeks but it accomplished next to nothing. It is best to recognise that it has been a complete failure though diplomats are not prepared to say so. It is not of much importance to try to apportion the blame for the failure among the four big powers. Each of them was stiff in its own way. The result is they could not arrive at any agreement either on the future of Austria which was considered to be an easy question or the future of Germany, a much more complicated subject. It is true that a special commission has been appointed to examine further the details regarding the Austrian Treaty and that hopes are being entertained that when the Council of Foreign Ministers meets again later in the year there would be a larger amount of agreement among the Big Four. But all this does not in any way affect the view that for the present the Moscow Conference should be regarded as having failed to accomplish the task for which it met.

THE MOSCOW FAILURE

The cleavage between Soviet Russia and the United States which has been growing for the past eighteen months is now a definite fact and the world has now to reckon with this for some time to come. Instead of one world there will be two, and each of these two powers will make strenuous attempts to strengthen itself in its own world and to attach to itself as many of the neutral areas and countries as possible. So far as Europe is concerned it will mean the definite division of Germany and Austria. In Germany the zones in the occupation of France, the United States and Britain will become merged and be separated from the zone in the Soviet occupation. Communism will make complete headway in Eastern

Germany; and modified capitalism will exercise its sway in Western Germany. It is this division that will make Germany the danger spot of Europe.

OTHER CONSEQUENCES

It has also brought about other consequences. It has brought closer the various countries within the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. There is now a talk of a Balkan economic federation. In the second place it has given a further support to Truman's doctrine that the United States should extend its aid to as many countries as possible, defend "democratic" institutions in them and prevent them from falling into the hands of the Communists. In the course of this week President Truman is likely to take definite decisions on the aid to be given to Korea, Iran, Iraq, Egypt and it is said even India. The amount of aid is put at the staggering figure of £1,250,000,000. In the third place it has stood in the way of the revision of the Anglo-Soviet treaty. Stalin wanted that Britain should be prepared to come to the help of Russia not only against any future German aggression but aggression from any other quarter like the United States. Mr. Bevin however was not prepared to go so far. The result is that the Anglo-Soviet treaty is practically dead and Britain is brought closer to the United States. It is in this connection that special significance is to be attached to the speech that was delivered by the new United States ambassador in England—Mr. Douglas—in which he emphasized the ties connecting the two English-speaking countries and the need for their working together. It was in a sense a reply to the speeches of Mr. Henry Wallace who pleaded for peaceful understanding with Soviet Russia. Final-

ly the Moscow failure has given some strength to General de Gaulle and his anti-Communist drive in France.

THE U. N. ASSEMBLY

It is in this atmosphere that the United Nations Assembly is meeting in a special session to discuss the question of Palestine. Britain expects the Assembly to appoint a fact-finding commission which would go to Palestine and study the subject on the spot so that when the Assembly meets in September next in the general session it will be in possession of all the facts on the basis of which it can decide whether the British mandate should continue or it should be replaced by some other kind of political organisation. But the representatives of the Arab States do not like the idea that the special session should devote itself merely to the appointment of a fact-finding commission. They are anxious that the subject of the political status of Palestine should be taken up for consideration and that Palestine should be declared an independent State. The Soviet also wants a full dress debate on Palestine so that the world may know how miserably Britain failed even in the discharge of the elementary duty of maintaining order in the country in spite of the presence there of a large number of forces equipped with the latest types of arms. In recent weeks terrorism has once more been on the increase. The United States has not as yet revealed the nature of her policy towards Palestine. She has to face a number of issues. The Jews in the United States wield a large amount of political and economic influence and they are for creating a Jewish National State in Palestine. They have been exercising a large amount of political pressure on the Government for this purpose. In addition to this they have been supplying to a great extent the funds with the help of which illegal immigration of Jews from Europe into Palestine is being organised. Then there are the oil interests of the United States in the whole of the Middle East and she will have to consider how far these

interests will be affected by her adopting a pro-Jewish policy in Palestine. In her case as well as in the case of Britain there is one other consideration, namely, that if the Arabs are alienated the Arab States might look to the Soviet for help. Anglo-American policy is directed against the extension of Soviet influence into the Middle East. The aid to Greece and Turkey is a part of this policy. This will rule out the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. It is therefore in this atmosphere of numerous mutually conflicting issues that the United Nations Assembly is meeting to discuss the question of Palestine.

FALL IN PRESTIGE

Notice should also be taken of a fall in the prestige of the United Nations Organisation in the course of the past six months. This is illustrated by the fact that it has been by-passed by the United States in the matter of giving aid to Greece and Turkey. The tendency in that country is to pay lip sympathy to the United Nations and rely more on her own military and financial strength to carry out her policies than on using the U. N. O. for the purpose. A second point to be considered in this connection is the statement made by the British as well as the Arabs that on the question of Palestine they are not bound by any decision reached at the U. N. Assembly. If that is the way in which the parties to the dispute are approaching the question it only indicates how the nations of the world are not as yet in a mood to use the U. N. O. in the general interests of the world.

FLOUTING THE U.N.O.

The failure of General Smuts to implement the decision of the U. N. O. on the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa points to the same tendency. As a matter of fact the position of the Indians has become much worse after this decision. There has been a systematic campaign organised against them by the European in the form of an economic boycott. Very many Indians—most of them petty traders—have

been put to considerable loss. No action has been taken by the Government on the boycotters. This is the reply that the South African Europeans have thought fit to give to the U. N. O. for its resolution recommending that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations and the relevant provisions of the Charter. Instead of suspending the Ghetto Act and paving the way for the Government of India lifting the economic sanctions imposed against South Africa, General Smuts has been tinkering with the problem. The colour prejudice has become deep-rooted among the Europeans—not only in South Africa but also in Australia. They are directing their energies to get more European immigrants. In Australia both Dr. Evatt the Minister for External Affairs and Mr. Menzies the Leader of the Opposition do not want to abandon the white Australian policy even though they are most anxious that India should continue to be a member of the British Commonwealth and enter into special defence arrangements with Australia and New Zealand.

CHINA

One important step has been taken in bringing China nearer to domestic peace. For twenty years the country has been a one-party State ruled by the Kuomintang. There was some justification for it in the days of the war with Japan. But there was always opposition to it and it grew stronger after the conclusion of the Second World War. Now the Government has been reorganised and an All-Party State Council representing the Kuomintang, and a few other minority parties has been constituted. Of the 27 members in the Council 7 belong to these parties. This is not much but it goes to some extent in broadening the basis of Government. The new Premier is determined on taking all measures necessary to put down administrative corruption and to improve the economic lot of the common man. It was this corruption and the establishment of numerous Government monopolies

that were responsible for the recent rebellion in the island of Formosa which assumed formidable proportions. The Formosans were also dissatisfied because of the atrocities of the Chinese troops and the exclusion of the inhabitants of the island from employment in public offices. The rebellion of course has now been put down and steps are taken to redress the grievances of the people. But this does not mean that China has come to the end of her troubles. The war with the Communists is going on. Owing to the inefficiency of the Nationalist forces and their war-weariness they have not been able to completely defeat the Communists. An American loan is being negotiated and with this will come a reorganisation of the army.

JAPAN

April has been a month of elections in Japan. There was first the election of the prefectural governors, mayors of towns, and village heads. This was the first time when the people have had an opportunity to vote for these officials who under the old regime were appointed by the Minister of Home Affairs who was also the head of the police forces in the country. The next election was to the Upper House of the Legislature—the House of Councillors. Hitherto the Upper House consisted of members holding their seats through hereditary right. This has been changed under the new constitution. To-day the House consists of 250 members, 150 elected from various prefectural election districts and the remainder from the nation as a whole. Lastly, elections were held for the Lower House. One feature of these elections was the failure of the Communists. It is the Liberal element—the element that stands for the middle way as distinguished from the extreme Right and the extreme Left—that has won the largest number of seats. The inference is drawn from this that democracy has a fair chance of success in Japan and that the people will follow a moderate course which will ensure preservation of freedom and individual liberty.

SOUTH AFRICA MUST BECOME A DEMOCRACY

DR. NAICKER ON THE RACIAL PROBLEM

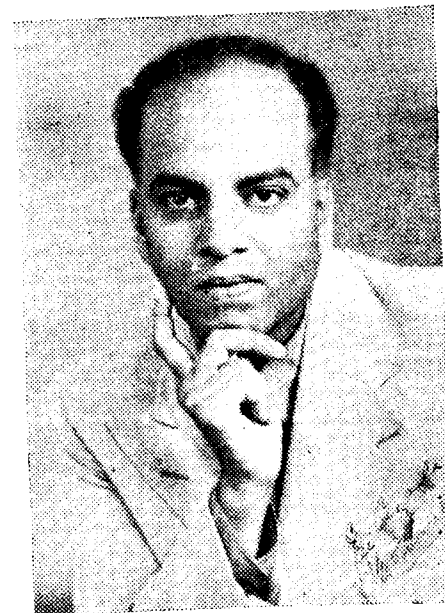
By Our Staff Reporter

THE future course of action by the Indian community in South Africa is being discussed with leaders in this country by Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, and Dr. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress. It was only during the past three years that Drs. Naicker and Dadoo, through intense work among the Indians, succeeded in retrieving the Congress organisation from the control of the old inactive leadership. In 1940 Dr. Naicker was expelled from the Natal Indian Congress which was then under the grip of the reactionaries. Then he formed the Progressive group which now commands an overwhelming majority. The idea of non-European unity to end domination by the whites has been popularised by these two leaders. They were among the first to be arrested during the passive resistance movement which is now going on. After their release the South African Government tried to prevent them from making the present trip to India, but the passports were granted after a public agitation. I met Dr. Naicker at Madras on behalf of *Swatantra* to get his views on the general problem of racialism in South Africa, and on the mutual relations between the whites, local Africans and Indians.

Racial Discrimination From Cradle to Grave

Dr. Naicker gave a few illustrative instances of segregation of the coloured population in daily social life. The European will not play with non-Europeans, there are separate racial sports grounds. Non-Europeans are segregated on municipal trams and buses, in the city markets, at counters of post and telegraph offices, on trains, in schools and even on the beach of the Indian Ocean. Even when fishing the white

men have wharfs from which the rest may not angle, as if the whites would catch white fish and the rest should only land coloured fish! The doors of municipal libraries are



Dr. G. M. Naicker

closed to Indians. Wages of labourers are racially differentiated; coloured men are prevented from becoming skilled workers.

Divide And Rule

The Government and its press have been trying to keep the various non-white sections apart by giving a little more of privileges to one section than to another. The gradation of rank is something like this. The Africans are on the bottom rung of the ladder. They have to carry some twelve passes with them wherever they go. An African can be put in prison for failure to produce any one of these twelve passes on demand. Nearly one lakh Africans are jailed each year for this technical offence. Africa is, in

fact, a vast prison house. The local population suffers under even greater disabilities than the Indian community. Now the whites tell these people that the land is theirs, and that the Indians have come over to exploit them and their country's resources. This is in accordance with the classic imperialist policy of *divide and rule*. Similarly they tell the Indians that they hail from a land with great and ancient traditions of culture and that they should not soil themselves by association with the 'niggers.' The white population is of course on a different level altogether; white children are fed with the rankest form of racial doctrines about white superiority just as the German youth was indoctrinated by Hitler.

Non-European United Front

But the hard reality of common suffering under the whites has been too forceful for the whites' propaganda to have much effect. In recent years the various non-white groups have been coming together

in a joint front against white domination. "I am glad to say" said Dr. Naicker, "that since we (the Progressives) gained the leadership of the Indian Congress, we have impressed our African brothers with our sincerity, and our present struggle has given them an inspiring example. The stand taken by the Indian delegation in the U.N.O. Assembly on the South-West African question has brought about a growing feeling of unity which is taking concrete shape. Two days before Dr. Dadoo and I left for India, the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the African National Organisation (of the local Africans led by Dr. Xuma) issued a joint declaration pledging themselves to struggle for common basic rights like full franchise, abolition of inter-provincial barriers and the pass laws, etc. Even a section of the white population has begun to co-operative with us. Individual clergymen have joined the passive resistance movement. But all the organised political parties of the

whites are united on the policy of segregation, repatriation of Indians, economic strangulation and political domination of the non-whites. Only the Communist Party has been consistently supporting the Indians and Africans. But the Communists have no voice in Parliament.

Reactionaries Among Indians

Dr. Naicker then answered my questions about the compromise move initiated by certain Indian leaders in South Africa. These people, said Dr. Naicker, play for security, however temporary. They are backed by a small section of the more affluent Indians. Against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Indians, they have made overtures to General Smuts. A. I. Kaje, P. R. Pathar, S. R. Naidoo and Ahmed Ismail belong to this group. Their policy is one of total surrender to the racial policy of Smuts. They are advocating the return of the Indian High Commissioner to South Africa, removal of the Indian complaint from the agenda of the U. N. Assembly, removal of the trade sanctions against South Africa, and acceptance of whatever Smuts chooses to offer. These gentlemen voted for the passive resistance movement, but they have not taken part in it. Some of them have been co-operating in the celebrations connected with the King's visit, which was deliberately arranged by the white regime in order to cover up the rotteness within the State by fanfare and trumpeting. But the only Indians who were persuaded to participate in the *tamasha* were small school-children for the most part.

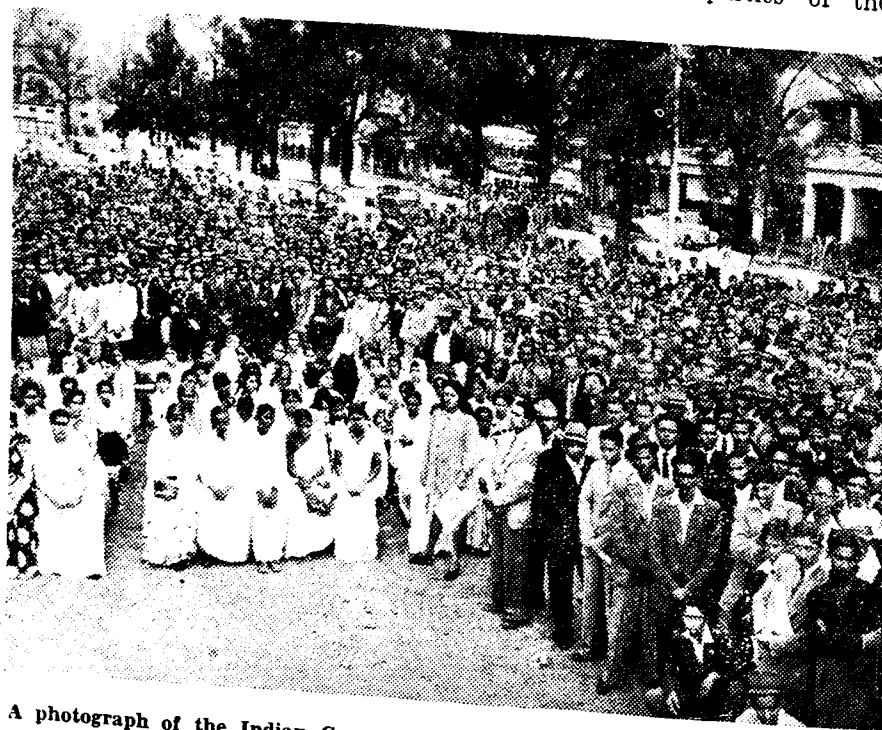
Attitude Of Other Nations

I questioned Dr. Naicker about the alleged absorption of the Indian delegation into the Slav bloc at the U.N. Assembly session. Dr. Naicker then gave an analysis of the voting on India's complaint. The British voted for Smuts because they feel that South Africa is their preserve and a convenient bastion for British imperialism in a possible Third World War. They want to build up South Africa as an imperialist base, and have invested large amounts for the

purpose. One third of the mining industry in Transvaal, which is the key industry in the whole country, belongs to British capitalists. They also have a stake in South-West Africa. The U.S.A. has also invested lots of money in the area and, what is more, the Americans are fearful of the skeleton in their cupboard—the treatment of the American Negroes which might receive world attention just as the treatment of Indians by the South African Government was brought before the bar of world opinion. Hence Britain and America voted against us. They also exerted their influence on satellite nations like Turkey and Greece to make them vote against us. So if at all there was a bloc, it was an Anglo-American and not a Russian bloc which was operating. Russia supported us because Russia's ideology does not permit any discrimination on the basis of race or colour. Other nations too, which had passed through immense suffering as the result of a war brought about largely through the racial doctrines of Hitler, voted for us and against the Fascist policy of racial discrimination which is being practised by Smuts. The voting was not according to white versus coloured nations. It was based on adherence or otherwise to democratic principles.

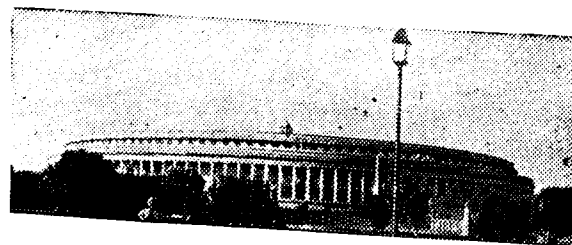
Permanent Solution

The ultimate solution of the racial problem in South Africa lies, according to Dr. Naicker, in the democratisation of that country's Government. Franchise must be extended to all sections of the population, irrespective of colour. At present democracy in South Africa means democracy for the whites alone. The Inter-Asian Conference should serve as a warning to the racialists. At the same time all democratic countries should beware that while imperialism is being weakened in Asia, it is looking to South Africa as a safe refuge. The establishment of complete unity in action among the non-Europeans and the implementation of the Charter will pave the way for ending principles of the United Nations racial domination in South Africa.



A photograph of the Indian Community in Natal assembled at the Red Square, to protest against the Ghetto Act.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

THANKS to Oleg Orestov (New Delhi Correspondent of *Tass*), there was a private screening the other day of the Soviet technicolour film, *The Stone Flower*, which received a high prize in France last year at the Cannes Festival.

The most outstanding thing about the picture is that the producers never bothered about making it a "box-office hit". They did not therefore have to achieve the impossible feat of worshipping both God and Mammon at the same time—a feat which Hollywood always comes within an ace of performing. (God in the present context stands for both Truth and Beauty, and Mammon, it is obvious, is neither truthful nor beautiful). The technicolouring is done with remarkable restraint, and this leaves a single total impression on the mind as one leaves the theatre (after the picture is over). Hollywood colouring is so bright and so full of contrasts that their technicolour always leaves an unsatisfying blur in our mind at the end of it. They seem to be trying to paint the lily. There has therefore been not one great technicolour picture from Hollywood. Bernard Shaw, I guess, had noticed this, and instructed that his *Caesar and Cleopatra* should be done in more balanced technicolour. The result has not been entirely satisfactory, because I believe the spirit of the play has not been fully re-captured in the screen-version. Incidentally, *Caesar and Cleopatra* was also exhibited at the Cannes Festival, and a French newspaper thought that Gabriel Pascal was qualified to be regarded as one of the worst film directors in the world. Another view expressed is that the very bright and ironical comedy has been trans-

formed into heavy, theatrical, pompous show". I am not myself sufficiently an adherent of either school of thought, and it seems to me that both the critics have taken violently extreme positions. I hold that Gabriel Pascal is a man of genius. Bernard Shaw recognised his genius in a minute's time when Pascal went to Shaw and proposed that he should be permitted to produce Shaw's plays. Shrewd businessman that he is, Bernard Shaw asked Pascal: "How much money do you have?" Pascal replied: "I have ten shillings and six pence with me; but I already owe to the extent of one pound." Shaw immediately paid him the odd ten and six, and Pascal went into production with *Pygmalion*. I am also not convinced that *Caesar and Cleopatra* is a "very light and ironical comedy." But I should think the film *Caesar and Cleopatra* was not as excellent as it might have been.

The film *Stone Flower* is based on a book of tales and legends of the old Urals collected and written by the Soviet writer, Pavel Bazhov—who was himself an old Urals worker. "The book tells us of the life of the miners and the artisans of that area under the old Tsarist Russia, of their hardships and their attitude towards their exploiters. The story is of the times when serfdom prevailed, and workers were the slaves of their employers, who were the landlords and the owners of the mines. It tells of the dreams of workers and artisans and their beliefs out of which grew beautiful legends."

I must say there was no effort in this film to make the story a vehicle for spreading Communist ideol-

ogies. The spirit of the above quotation was only incidentally present, and popular legend was not used didactically as the ancient Greek dramatists did. The Soviet films seem not bothered about propaganda, and to concentrate on producing works of art. The Soviet film director Sergei Yutkevich, writing about his impressions of the Cannes Festival, scoffs at the naive Hollywood propaganda in such films as *Notorious*. He says Ingrid Bergman and Cary Grant were there no doubt, and that the plot, was extremely complicated. He proceeds to describe the plot and points out how the father of Ingrid Bergman was an enemy agent, and how she—for she was a patriot—was made to marry another secret agent by U.S. Intelligence Service. The whole thing is further complicated by Bergman actually being in love with the secret agent. Finally of course evil is punished. "And together with evil," Yutkevich remarks, "the innocent cinemagoer is also punished." I think such an attitude towards absurd film propaganda is a healthy one. It is to be presumed all Soviet films reflect this health.

The American technicolour film entered at the Cannes Festival was *Wonder Man* featuring Danny Kaye. It simply beats one why this of all films should have been entered. Yutkevich makes a shrewd guess

when he ironically remarks that technicolour should not have been wasted to present in all its brightness Danny's hair. There is no humour in the film, but farce. There is clownish gesture and noisy behaviour, as Yutkevich says. ("My Meetings in France." By Sergei Yutkevich. Published in *Novii Mir*—New World—for December 1946, Moscow). I am sorry to say that Hollywood has not yet understood the proper use of technicolour—Walt Disney excepted. Bright technicolour throughout a picture may be compared to a man who keeps shouting all the time. Such a man is likely to create an irritating effect on those around him. And when he does want to emphasise something he finds that he cannot raise his voice any higher. Therefore he succeeds in irritating people without being able to impress them. That is what Hollywood technicolour has done. Aldous Huxley has described the shooting of a film in Hollywood—naturally aptly. The Director asks the music-makers to play. They play. He is not satisfied. He says: "Put more pep into it." And Aldous Huxley reports: "Some more pep was put in." This kind of putting pep into things at every stage is also to be found in the style of the American *Time* magazine. Which, for that reason, gets on our nerves after a few weeks' reading.

Patient:—Doctor, are you sure that my case is that of pneumonia? Sometimes doctors prescribe for pneumonia and the patients die of something else.

Doctor (with dignity):—When I prescribe for pneumonia, you die of pneumonia.

Communists throughout the world now total 17,009,000.

Charts prepared by the Communist Party of Great Britain said 56 countries had parties which, though not necessarily calling themselves Communist, were based on the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

Soviet Russia, the charts said, has 6,000,000 Communists, Italy, 2,200,000, the United States, 74,000, and Great Britain 43,000.



SRIMATHI TARA CHAUDHRI

by OUR ART CRITIC

DELEGATES to the Inter-Asian Relations Conference were happy about many things they saw at Delhi. They were delighted, in particular, with one function which they attended. It was a dance recital



by Tara Chaudhri. Appreciation of her art was so great that the delegates from several Asiatic countries invited her to visit their respective lands. Prof. G. S. Akhvlediani, the Georgian scholar who has translated our Sanskrit classics into Russian, said about Tara's dance performance: "From the most primitive to the most sophisticated movements, her great art both surprised and enraptured us. . . . It would be sad, indeed, if the Soviet Union and especially Georgia, missed seeing the charming Tara Chaudhri." Pandit Nehru, who was unable to attend the performance, invited her to give a display of her art at his residence and presented her with a signed copy of his "Discovery of India" in memory of the occasion.

This was certainly a great distinction which the young dancer achieved at Delhi. It is interesting to note that when at the age of eleven her brother, Mr. A. R. Chaudhri, made her learn dancing, Tara was not at all interested. It was only when she was fifteen that she began to enter into the spirit of the art into which she had been initiated almost against her will. Mr. Chaudhri who himself learnt the art of dancing under the late Sankaran Namboodri of Travancore (the guru of Uday Shanker) has been the organizer of her performances all through her career. When Tara began to perform in public, the family circle did not like the idea of a girl from a respectable family becoming a professional dancer. They sternly discountenanced her efforts to achieve public recognition. But the brother and sister faced all the difficulties arising from social boycott by relatives. To-day, the spirit of the dance has entered into Tara's blood. So much so that during sleep she unconsciously adopts various dancing poses, and ends up by performing the parting *namaste*!

Tara Chaudhri belongs to Lahore. The Punjab is not noted for any great tradition in respect of dancing. Nor was there such tradition in her family, in which Mr. Chaudhri was the first to study the art. His sister has now put the Punjab on the map of the world of dance. She has the unique distinction of having mastered the various distinctive dance styles which are peculiar to different parts of India. Coming down to the South for the first time in 1938, she learnt the Kathakali style under the direction of Poet Vallathol. Pandanallur Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai and Srimalathi Gowri aided her in learning Bharata Natya. Tara Chaudhri is also an accomplished performer of the Manipuri and Mohini Attam styles. Of all these forms, she says that she enjoys doing Bharata Natya most. She is the only North Indian dancer who has captured the secret of a style that

is distinctively South Indian. It is no wonder therefore that her performances in South India and Ceylon as dance-partner with Ram Gopal were greatly appreciated.

It was in 1941 that Ram Gopal discovered Tara Chaudhri. He visited the Bharata Natya School which she founded in Lahore in 1939 for the promotion of classical Indian dancing. This is what Ram Gopal said after watching Tara's dances: "The young prodigy who is Tara—delicate and graceful, with unusual plastic movement and the most extra-ordinary hands and wrist movements of any female dancer I have yet seen. She is like a young goddess! I hope her simplicity and budding genius will flower to the fullest and that she will show the world some day how Indian dancing should be performed by a woman." Ram Gopal invited her to join his group at once, but Tara felt that she was not yet ready, and wanted to develop her talent independently for some more years. She joined Ram Gopal only in 1946 and was his dance-partner in their tour of India and Ceylon.

Tara Chaudhri is very keen that young talent should be encouraged. "So many budding dancers are allowed to wither away due to the exceedingly unsatisfactory conditions of patronage in our country. Individual patronage of the arts by wealthy persons has decayed and something else has to take its place. It should be the State." Only then, she said, can we effectively bring out the talents of artistic individuals and prevent the woeful wastage that has been taking place. "You cannot produce artists by spending money; they have to be recognised and encouraged." She also expressed the view that Governments of the various countries, especially in Asia, should promote mutual visits by artists so that a cultural contact could be built up which will correspond to the economic and political integration of nations.

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A LAHORE DIARY

by "BAROO"

Lahore: In one of the best drawing-rooms of Lahore, the other day, I heard an orange-robed Swamiji narrate blood-curdling eye-witness accounts of atrocities, and outline a long-range programme of "defence" to a set of highly-placed Government officers! The Swami poked fun at Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of non-violence, and at his ministerings to the Muslims of Bihar, but this was understandable. What I could not readily appreciate, however, was the ease with which he convinced his listeners of the need for an aggressive and militant policy and for a "seek-no-quarter-give-no-quarter" sort of attitude. I came away with the impression that there must be few people to-day who can be truly called Indians. One is either a Hindu or a Muslim, or a Sikh or Christian or whatever else it might be. Never has the nation's unity stood in greater peril.

But if national unity has become a dream, then the Pakistan of Jinnah's vague definitions has become a dream within a dream. For if there is anything one can be absolutely sure of, in the Punjab to day, it is the inflexible determination of Eastern Punjab (which the Sikhs define as the parts east of the river Chenab) not to be part of Pakistan. In 1944 Rajaji proposed a district-wise plebiscite to determine the boundaries of Pakistan in the East and the West, and Mr. Jinnah rejected the suggestion. There will be few, even in the Muslim League, to-day, who seriously imagine that the Punjab will retain its present boundaries in any future set-up.

Lahore is quiet, absolutely quiet, but it is depressing to see how demoralised the people are. Don't we Indians lack the guts that enabled a blitzed and battered London to retain a semblance of its normal life even in the dark days of '40? Does

not the answer or rather part of the answer, to communal hooligans lie in maintaining the usual routine of life even at some risk to life and property? Passing down the Mall at night, I am reminded of blacked-out Mount Road in 1944. Cinema houses in the Civil Lines have second shows, but not those in the City. Box-office receipts have shown a steep decline, and the Indian picture industry has suffered grievously. I am told by one who is in the trade that the recent disturbances in the country have put a majority of the studios out of work, and that many will have to sell out or close down for good if normal conditions do not return soon.

But the most pitiable cases are those of menials and domestic servants and others of the kind who have lost their jobs just because their masters belonged to the opposite community. A dhobi who had lived all his life, since early boyhood, in a particular locality and washed the clothes of the people around him, was thrown out of his work merely because he belonged to the other community and was suspected of spying on their behalf! Most—almost all—tongawallahs are Muslims, and there is a move afoot to break this 'monopoly'. Such examples could be multiplied endlessly with credit (or discredit) to both sides.

While it is far from true to say, as *Dawn* does, that the Hindus will fight to the last Sikh, a cynical mind cannot help being amused at the spectacle of a mercenary motive being identified with religious "duty." Fat old *baniyas* who cannot see their toes when they are on their feet, have employed impecunious Sikh stalwarts who are allowed by law to carry long, reassuring-looking swords to be their gatekeepers and night watchmen!

EXPLOITING THE MAHATMA'S NAME

ANAMOLIES OF THE OMANDUR TEXTILE POLICY

by L. KRISHNASWAMI BHARATI

THE OMANDUR Ministry has reversed the textile policy of the Prakasam Ministry. In doing so, it has trampled under its feet the tender plant of Khadi. Omandur carries the tradition of a saint, with all its paraphernalia of daily prayer, weekly fasts and silences. The strangling of the Khadi plant cannot be a deliberate act on his part, but circumstances have conspired to give him a due share of the responsibility for it. It is given to a devoted disciple of Gandhiji to bury Khadi unceremoniously.

Prakasam's Khadi scheme in Madras is Gandhiji's scheme. The non-acceptance of the allotted quota of spindles is part and parcel of the scheme. Mahatma Gandhi has made it plain, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the new Khadi scheme cannot flourish alongside the expansion of new mills: Let us examine the position:

The resolution passed at the meeting of the Madras Legislature Party on 20th March reads thus:—

"While supporting the Khadi scheme and resolving to implement the resolution passed by the A.I.S.I. at Delhi in October 1946 under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress Legislature Party resolves that in view of the stand taken by the Government of India relating to the allotment of spindles already made, the Madras Government need not pursue the matter any further with regard to the surrender of spindles."

The resolution resolves itself into three portions, with three district ideas:

- (1) Support to Khadi policy.
- (2) Resolving to implement the Delhi resolution of the A.I.S.A.
- (3) Accepting the spindles allotted to new mills.

Anyone with an iota of common-sense will have no difficulty in finding that portion (3) is in direct conflict with portions (1) and (2). The important part in the Delhi resolution reads "They, (the Government) should see that no new mills should be set up, no new spinning and weaving machinery is indented for the existing mills. The Government should make the necessary enactments to give effect to the above and carry them out."

What a curious way it is of resolving to implement the Delhi resolution of "no new mills" and "no spinning and weaving machinery" to agree to set up "new" mills and accept "new spinning machinery"! A solemnity is sought to be attached by this tragically comic part of the resolution by adding, "presided over by Mahatma Gandhi"! Is it fair for the sponsors of the resolution to have brought in the name of Mahatma Gandhi in the peculiar context! The resolution cuts at the very root of Gandhiji's long cherished ideas. The invocation of his name is obviously intended to hoodwink the masses and a good number of unwary legislators as if the resolution is in keeping with the directions and ideas of Gandhiji. What a travesty of Truth! The following quotation from Gandhiji's writings will show how the present Madras Government has flouted his views but want to bask in the sunshine of his sacred name.

Writing in *Harijan* dated 6th October, '46, Gandhiji wrote:

"Now that the Provincial administrations are in full swing, the question has arisen as to whether these Governments can admit new mills, and at the same time promote hand spinning on a national scale. My answer is emphatically in the negative, if encouragement to hand spinning is meant to be sincere."

Yet this is just the feat that the Madras Government intends to do, in spite of Gandhiji's declaration in the clearest language. If critics characterise the Madras resolution as "meant to be not sincere," It is Gandhiji who must be held responsible for the idea.

Again Gandhiji wrote in Harijan of 27th October, 1946 as follows: "The great flaw about new mills was detected by me. It was when the Textile Commissioner was convinced of the absurdity of the two things running side by side and the feasibility of the scheme as envisaged by the A.I.S.A. that he ventured to recommend to the Madras Government."

It is therefore crystal clear that Gandhiji is against new mills being installed, side by side with the work-

ing of the new scheme. The Madras Government is entitled to the opinion that Gandhiji's view is wrong. But to use Gandhiji's name, and to do exactly the opposite of what he declares, is neither fair nor proper.

If the Madras Government is not convinced of the feasibility of the Khadi scheme, as envisaged by Gandhiji, it is criminal folly on its part to spend a rupee on the scheme.

The scheme is too sacred to be tufled with in the manner the Madras Government proposes to do.

I would suggest that the Madras Premier should meet Mahatma Gandhi and discuss the matter with him. I have no doubt that he will come out a wise man.



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A GREAT JOURNALIST ON JOURNALISM

Extracts are given below from Sri N. Raghunath Iyer's presidential address at the Annual Conference of the Southern India Journalists Federation held at Madras on April 26, 1947:

The idea seems to, be that increases when they come are to be regarded as manna from heaven and not as a matter of right.

In industry the principle of profit-sharing is coming to be increasingly accepted. And so long as newspapers are produced for profit, the right of the intellectual worker to a fair share must be no less clearly recognised than that of any of the other agents of production.

A trade union to be effective should have a substantial body of members with a homogeneous outlook. The industry whose workers it organises should be sufficiently large. And the workers should have bargaining power.

Practical training has no doubt been undertaken by the newspapers; but in the absence of close and continuous co-ordination between the lecturing and the practical work, for which no provision has been made, I do not see how marking attendance for two or three days a week for a year in a newspaper office will turn the novice into a pucca journalist.

So far as India is concerned, there is no need to appeal for more space for foreign (European and American) affairs; in fact it is India and the Far East that make a poor showing in our papers.

India's journalistic potential is large enough for her to aim from now at the objective of building up a world news organisation as efficient as any of the existing world agencies.

The phenomenon of chain newspapers is no longer exotic to us; within the past year or two it has grown to alarming proportions.

The incursion of Big Business into the field of newspaper proprietorship (has taken place) with

an eye, it is to be feared, not only on the legitimate profits of this particular industry but also on the prestige and the political pull which control over the Press gives and which may be used for ends not so legitimate.

Lord Kemsley in an argument with Mr. Herbert Morrison asked how the latter could object to chain newspapers when "he does not object to the chain principle of the co-operative society." The Press Lord apparently forgot that *news is not grocery*.

The growth of big combines must inevitably squeeze out the independent journals which are the salt of journalism, for it adds to and intensifies the restrictive effect of such factors as the enormous initial cost of starting newspapers and the numerous controls that hamper new enterprises.

It is just possible that in the competition for qualified men, which invariably arises before rival groups come to terms with each other, the big fish may be tempted by big baits. Indeed this seems to be happening among us just now.

From the public point of view, the submergence of the independent editor can only be regarded as a national disaster.

There is enormous journalistic talent in India and enormous scope for its exercise. We should not allow it to be suffocated under an avalanche of third-rate imported stuff.

The Indian Press is a licensed Press and a licensed Press is not a free Press.

The duty of the Press is neither more nor less than to present factual news in a sober fashion and to comment upon it with a due sense of responsibility.

We in this country make the mistake of fighting outlaws with kid gloves on.

It is primarily the duty of statesmen to make positive contributions to the restoration of harmony; the duty of the Press is to keep them constantly reminded of that responsibility.

The main task of the Press is to gather and interpret news; in doing this it can claim neither more nor less privilege than the common man for whom it speaks and for enabling whom to form judgments based on full knowledge it exists. If a newspaper violates the ordinary law of the land, e.g., the provisions of the Penal Code against provoking class hatred, it can and should be dealt with as any private offender would be dealt with.

In a country where for a variety of reasons political opinions are still largely canalised through a single party, the need is even greater than elsewhere for the Press adopting a vigilant if friendly attitude towards authority.

The new fashion of every Government having a whole hierarchy of Press Relations Officers is more a hindrance than a help; and the amateur attempts of Governments to run newspapers and periodicals of their own should be incontinently discontinued now that the war which gave them a fillip has been successfully fought with their aid!

The freedom and value of the Press is closely bound up with the freedom of the working journalist and his finding an honourable place in society.

HERBERT SUTCLIFFE

by N. S. RAMASWAMI

FATHER TIME, as he appears above the pavilion at Lord's in the form of a weather-cock, may be benign and gentle. But he remains the "cruel old time" of the poet's shuddering apprehension. No one who looked at a photograph which appeared recently in the spring number of *The Cricketer*, could have failed to have been struck by the ravages of body suffered by many a cricketer who had graced the cricket fields of Britain in the full pride of youth. It was difficult to recognise in the doddering figure in the centre maintaining precariously its hold on a chair the mighty Hendren, the burnished athlete of many a century carved with equal vehemence against the murderous bumpers of Gregory and Macdonald and against the insinuated wiles of Grimmett and O'Reilly. The identification of the nearby phantom with the graceful "Pride of Kent", he who distributed the charm of a lovely batsmanship like largess among the multitudes, Woolley himself, appeared to be fantastic. But of all the thirteen players who gathered that day last year under the shadow of the gasometre at the Oval to constitute the Old England which gave battle to Surrey and was not worsted no one appeared to have suffered from the passage of years so much as Herbert Sutcliffe. Even making due allowances for the "fell hand", the rational mind refused to admit that this haggard, fly-blown figure could be the famous Yorkshire batsman. But in a triumph of facts over fancy, the cold print beneath the picture inexorably informed the reader that it was indeed Sutcliffe himself. But *De Senectute* is not my theme.

Sutcliffe was not the perfect master of batsmanship that Hammond and Duleepsinhji were in the same epoch. But it is possible that he will live longer in the esteem of posterity. If so uncalculating a fact could ever be gauged. For one thing, the Indian Prince is liable to be dismissed unjustly as a shadow, if not a mere duplication, of his uncle,

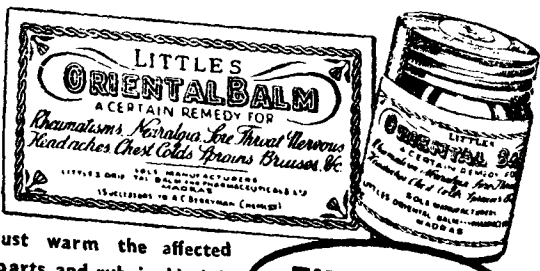
while Hammond is but another of the famous school of off-side stylists, in which the southern Counties have always been rich. The case is different with Sutcliffe, probably in no way their superior either in attainments or performance. This uniqueness can be stated in one brief sentence; he is a Yorkshire-man, a man of character and originality.

No unprejudiced observer will deny to cricket the exciting qualities of war; some fanciful philosophers have indeed attempted to describe it as a humane species of warfare. There are times when mere efficiency will avail a cricketer nothing. Imperturbability, calmness in moments of crises are equally necessary. It is here that your Yorkshire-man excels the players of other Counties. His neighbour, the Lancastrian, is perhaps only slightly less endowed with this valuable quality. Accordingly, the County championship has resided in the North almost permanently, and has never been absent for long from that tract. The story is well-known of how when England were set to make twelve runs for the last wicket to secure victory over Australia in an important Test match, Hirst told the incoming fellow-Yorkshireman, Rhodes, that they should score the needed runs in singles. This was duly performed, amidst a death-like silence and extreme palpitations of heart which afflicted everybody but the two batsmen.

This incident (doubts on the veracity of which have been thrown in these pages, Mr. L. B. Duckworth's *Cricket My Love*) is, no doubt, the classic example of Yorkshire's greatness. But, if one were to be asked to name the individual who possessed a greater share of this quality than his fellows, at least in the modern era, it will be hard to pass by Sutcliffe. He was, indeed, the embodiment of dourness and imperturbability. The reason was simple. He once told Sir Pelham Warner, who had congratulated him on a fine

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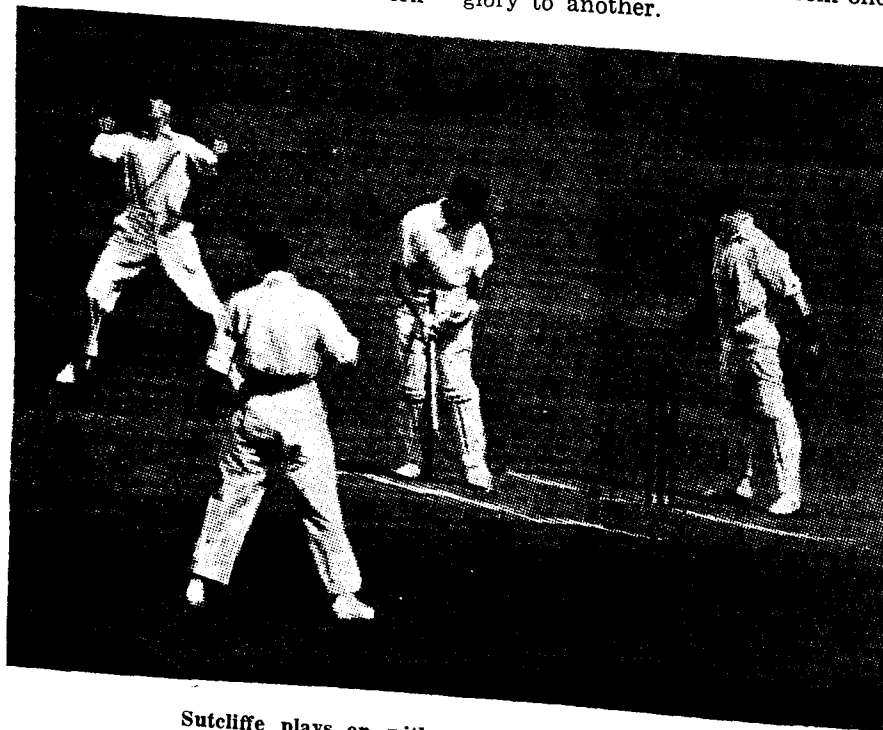
Test innings, "I love a fight." But his conception of warfare was not Gothic, but French. He loved to clothe his martial spirit in a mantle of suave suaveness, almost Turveydrop-like. His famous polished hair, always perfect and neat, was but the physical emblem of this unconcern. The world has often been told how, when a Test match was being fought out to its nerve-wracking conclusion, Sutcliffe was discovered calmly reading a book, while Sandham had to find refuge from the tension in a nearby Church.

His detractors can never explain his remarkably consistent success in the Tests, where his record is, I believe, superior even to that of Bradman. But the admirers will easily attribute it to what may be loosely called, "big match temperament". The more important the occasion, the more decidedly did Herbert Sutcliffe resolve to perform well. With his unparalleled resources of mind and his faultless technique, he was able to rise to the occasion more often than it is given to mortals. Like that other York-

shire-man and intense lover of "dog fights", Maurice Leyland, Sutcliffe scored a century against Australia in his first Test. In fact, in that tour, that of 1924-25, he compiled no less than four centuries in the Tests. It is possible that, between the two wars, no English batsman, unless it be Hobbs and Hammond, plagued the Australian bowlers so persistently and systematically.

I have not left myself space to touch upon the other aspects of Sutcliffe's genius and career. He was probably the greatest practitioner of the art of opening the innings in the modern era. Whether it was with Hobbs or Holmes, whether it was for England or for Yorkshire, he brought to his task a keen, perceiving brain, and a temperament which feared no mortal bowler.

In one sense, Sutcliffe lives on in first-class cricket in the person of his disciple, Hutton. The pupil indeed has already stormed the world of cricket. Every one will envy the luxurious feelings of Sutcliffe as he observes his disciple march from one glory to another.



Sutcliffe plays on without breaking the wicket.
Field: McCabe (with arms up), Richardson, Oldfield.

PADDY PROCUREMENT IN EAST GODAVARI

Mr. B. L. N. Sastri, Convener, Executive Committee of the East Godavari P. C. C. C. Society Secretaries' Association, writes:—

WHILE announcing the suspension of the monopoly in paddy procurement of the P.C.C.C. societies in the Circar districts, Food Minister Dr. Rajan stated that this step had to be taken in view of the impending food crisis and the low procurement by the P.C.C.C. societies. In this context we want to clarify the following points.

The P.C.C.C. societies began functioning early in February '47 and in a few cases even late in February in the East Godavari district. This year, in view of the bonus of Rs. 2 and subsequently of Rs. 4 offered by the Provincial Government short term paddy like Rasangi and Basangi was cultivated by ryots. Even before it was ready for harvest in November the millers bought all the unripe stocks and milled them immediately. These stocks which were unwholesome for human consumption deteriorated even in transit. Public memory may not be short as to what people were forced to consume during the months of November and December. Further, even the ordinary harvest thrashed in December was procured by the millers in feverish haste, as the P.C.C. societies scheme was being formulated and secretaries trained in January. Thus by the time we actually entered the field for procurement of paddy, the market was depleted of most of its stocks.

The price policy of the Government is mostly responsible for the comparatively low procurement figure. The millers, before the societies came into existence, ordinarily bought paddy at higher rates, making up for the loss and earning further profits by selling part of their stocks in the black market. The higher rate paid by the miller, together with the Rs. 4 bonus offered by the Government, fetched in all about Rs. 16 for inferior variety of

paddy like Rasangi and Basangi. But after the advent of the societies, the ryot could get only the ceiling price of Rs. 12 for the special sort and Rs. 10 for the second sort. Hence there was no incentive for the ryot to part with his stocks and naturally procurement by the societies could not be as high as by the millers.

The second crop has now come for harvest and thrashing. In April and May not less than 3 lakhs of tons can be procured in this district alone. The credit of procuring this stock which can be had for the mere asking is now to go to the millers. Thus during months of plenty and when prices are high, the Government employ millers as procuring agents and during lean months the societies were asked to procure. This only shows what stepmotherly attitude the present Madras Government has for these societies.

The enquiry about the functioning of the 51 societies in East Godavari was conducted by the Commissioner for Civil Supplies by a few hours' stay in the Collector's Bungalow. We, the secretaries who are actually working the scheme and experiencing several handicaps, were given an interview for 2 minutes while vested interests had their say for hours.

The Honourable Food Minister further stated that out of 6 lakhs of tons to be procured during this month only 2 lakhs of tons were procured till now. This could not be otherwise, for procurement could be effectively done only till 12th March.

Our short period of existence as monopolists in paddy procurement was a veritable crusade against unwanted evil and vested interests. With the sincere help and sympathy of the Provincial Government we could have shown better progress. The efficacy or otherwise of this experiment can only be properly estimated if the societies are allowed to function for one full agricultural year.

TEACHERS RESENT SARDAR PATEL'S STRICTURES

INDIVIDUALS AND ASSOCIATIONS RECORD PROTEST

Sardar Patel on Teachers

The members of the teaching profession should feel proud and congratulate themselves that their faint cry has reached the ears of no less a person than the "iron-headed" Sardar. We are very grateful for the sweet and flattering unctious he has laid to the much-tormented and tried soul of the teacher. Time and again, it has been repented by eminent and responsible men drawing four-figure salaries, that the teachers have yet to establish their reputation and do credit to their calling, acting up to its high ideals without caring for base lucre.

Like every other person, even a teacher is a human being and he has to keep his pot boiling. Like every other profession his is also a bread-and-butter affair. He cannot live on lofty ideals alone. Fine words butter no parsnips. We have the greatest respect for the valiant Sardar. But he has given us a cold douche.

The Sardar is reported to have said that society would not mind the loss of education to children if the teachers went on strike. He said that teachers would lower themselves in the estimation of the public and bring themselves down to the level of the wage-earners and sweepers, if they resort to strike. This is the most unkindest cut of all! The tragedy of it is that lesser men than the Sardar will take up his words and fling them against the poor teacher, in season and out of season as an argument against him. After all the labourer is worthy of his hire and so long as the teacher is on *terra firma* he has to adopt practical methods, albeit they are deemed unorthodox and heretical.

If the proverbial worm turns, if the ill-used teacher is forced to strike, certainly it is not the fault of the teacher. But it is the fault of the society at large and the great leaders who profess to shape and guide its destinies.

S. BALASUBRAMANIAM,
B.A., L.T.

Negapatam.

(II)

Sardar Patel speaking about teachers recently stated that "that they do not get as much pay as sweepers and postal peons. Society did not value the ser-

vices of teachers. Society would not mind the loss of education to children if the teachers went on strike." The reason for the whole situation is simple. The teachers deal only with little children who are of no importance either to the parent or to the Government.

A PARENT.

Sardar Patel on Teachers' Status

Sardar Patel's advice to Surat teachers, which has had wide publicity in the Press, is really an attack on the teachers. It is so lacking in grace and devoid of a sense of realities, that one finds it hard to associate it with a name such as his.

His insinuations are worse than his open charges and seem deliberately intended to cow down teachers who have everywhere begun to be assertive of their rights to adequate salary commensurate with the importance of their work. His statement that society is spurning teachers for being insincere in their work is a gross insult to the profession. Cases of insincerity in work are not a special feature found in teaching alone. It is found in all services and in all ranks. To generalise that society spurns teachers as a class on that account is, to say the least, uncharitable. The Sardar finds fault with teachers for asking higher wages and facilities, compares their work with the work of labourers in factories and finally drags in the parent to put into his mouth his (the Sardar's) own thoughtless conclusion that children learn nothing from schools. Nothing but complete obliviousness to present-day conditions could explain these unjust and injurious remarks. Teachers have been carrying on noble work under conditions of hardship and misery that have become proverbial. Teaching in the old days was not strictly a profession practised for a living as now, but a voluntary service undertaken for the love of it. But under present conditions, when the child's right to be educated by the State is recognised as a fundamental right, the obligation of the State to provide it on a universal scale necessarily involves the employment of a vast number of teachers who cannot but regard teaching as a means of livelihood. But no teaching can be satisfactory when adequate living is not

ensured to teachers. Sardar Patel, instead of assuring a decent wage for teachers, advises them to regain their 'lost status' by sincere work. If the State had realised its responsibility and given the teacher what society in the days of old had given him, the teacher would not have lost his status. Sardar Patel's suggestion that the teacher's needs will be taken to his house by his pupils if only he minded his duties sincerely is but an effort of his imagination to live in a past that is dead. It is high time, therefore, that our politicians and Ministers, instead of indulging in gratuitous attack on silent workers who can do no harm to them, realised their responsibility and did their duty by the teachers before the latter resorted to desperate remedies to keep themselves alive.

S. SRINIVASAN,
Member, Working Committee,
South India Teachers' Union.

Teachers Resent Sardar's Strictures

An extraordinary meeting of the Kalahasti Taluk Teachers' Association held on April 25 adopted the following resolution:

"This Association notes with disappointment and pain that a leader of the eminence of Sardar Vallabhai Patel should have charged the teaching profession with insincerity and almost justified the callous disregard of the legitimate dues of the profession by the public.

"This Association lodges its respectful but emphatic remonstrance that in professional integrity, ability and honesty teachers are second to none in the public services. It certainly does not lie in the mouth of any leader, who must inevitably owe his own rise to eminence in part to his own teachers, to make grossly unjust and insulting insinuations against a body of workers universally recognised as belonging to the noblest of professions.

"This Association therefore trusts that the strong man of the Congress will be strong and magnanimous enough to withdraw the offending words and lend his powerful help in the altered circumstance of the present times to secure to the teachers their legitimate dues without recourse to the disastrous course of direct action."

N. VENKATARAMI REDDI,
Secretary, Kalahasti Taluk
Teachers' Association.

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BOOKS

Indo-British Big Business Deals. By Arun Bose. (People's Publishing House, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Price, As. 14).

During the war the volume of production in India increased considerably. But this was the result not of expanded industrial capacity, but of a reckless overworking of existing plant and machinery and more man-hour shifts. The Government effectively throttled the establishment of new heavy industries, the notorious instances being with regard to the efforts of Indian industrialists to manufacture aircraft and locomotives and to expand the ship-building industry. So that the *Eastern Economist*, chief organ of Indian Big Business, complained bitterly: "During the war we were asked to do plenty of odds and ends but never the whole thing . . . we were menders, repairers of all things on earth, but makers of none. We had no system, no plan. Or rather, there was a plan—clear-cut and thorough—to prevent the industrialisation of this country." Nevertheless Indian capitalists made enormous profits through an orgy of profiteering and fierce exploitation of the common people. They swiftly overtook British capital investments in the country and built up "a rising pool of bank deposits." Mr. Arun Bose examines in this book the manner in which Indian industrialists are actually realising the potential power of expansion which they acquired during the war.

As a result of top-level negotiations conducted by the Indian Industrialists' Mission in London during 1945, a number of Indo-British firms have been formed. Similar deals have been made with American Big Business which represents

the biggest and by far the most powerful rival to British capitalist interests. With the aid of figures and statements Mr. Bose shows the present position to be one that imperils the economic integrity and independence of India. Both British and American industrialist, while expressing sweet and pious sentiments of anxiety for the industrial development of our country, have driven hard bargains which hamper the real and speedy establishment of new industries. The Nuffield-Birla agreement for 'manufacture' of motor cars in India is a typical example of the nature of industrialisation that is being ushered in under the supervision of British capitalists. Eighteen months after the agreement, "... the *Hindustan* Ten cars which the company is planning to manufacture have been imported and assembly has been taken up." The author says about this car which is being advertised as the First Indian Made Car that "the only thing Indian about it is the name-plate." The story of the Imperial Chemical Industry (ICI)—Tata agreement for production of dyestuffs is the same. "Until such a time as domestic manufacture is able to meet domestic requirements in full, the dyestuffs made indigenously and those imported by the ICI will be sold jointly." ICI products from abroad will thus be magically transformed into Indian-made articles. This state of affairs is admitted by Indian businessmen in candid moments. One of them said: "Every British industrialist shows deep concern for Indian industries. . . . It almost makes you feel they are prepared to give their lives just to help you . . . but when you talk business with them they do not let you remain in any doubt

that they must share 50 per cent of our industry."

The financial tie-up of Indian capitalists as the weaker partners with British Big Business, the author argues, is having its effect in the political sphere. The most alarming result is a growing tendency in Indian Big Business circles to look forward to an Indo-British share-out of political power in India instead of independence." The pressure of these circles is strong. For example, Dr. John Mathai, Member of the Interim Government, is a senior Director of Tatas. Further, the Big Business groups like the Birlas, Dalmias, Goenkas, etc., have been "actually manufacturing public opinion to suit their tastes by buying up all important daily newspapers in India."

Mr. Bose concludes by pointing to the real path of industrialisation as outlined by the National Planning Committee which laid down that "hereafter investment of foreign capital should not ordinarily be permitted to involve ownership in respect of industries of national importance. . . . It is possible, in view of India's vast capital requirements in the coming years, that she may need capital from other countries. It is not, however, in her interest to accept it if it is required for essential industries, except in the shape of loans or credit raised by or through the State." Clearly this is not what is happening now, even after the formation of the Interim Government. The book under review gives a warning that must be heeded if Indian economy is to be truly national in the future. Closely argued and packed with facts, figures and references, this book will be of immense value to all political observers as well as to students of economics.

Glory Of Islam. By Muhammad Amin. (Madina Publications, Church Road, Lahore. Price, Rs. 3).

This is a collection of the views of Eastern and Western thinkers on Islam. Mr. Amin's own contribution is limited to the first two essays which emphasize the value of the Prophet's teaching to the

modern world and for the solution of its problems. Mr. Amin's approach to some questions is extremely simple-minded. Thus he says, without any intention of irony, that "trade makes us honest because we soon learn that we cannot succeed in business without honesty." Like any garland of quotations, the present collection is full of the praise of several writers for the basic features of Islam—its conception of a Socialist brotherhood of men, the encouragement which it gives, unlike the Christian Church, to the acquisition of 'secular' knowledge, its condemnation of usury, alcoholic drinks, gambling, etc. Among the writers quoted are Wells, Shaw, Vivekananda and Nehru. The significance of Islam in human history is therefore treated from various viewpoints and in relation to the historic setting in which the religion had its origin. The life of the Prophet, the wide tolerance of his teaching, its freedom from theological meshes, the simple and democratic rule of Abu Baker and Omar, the spread of Arab influence and scientific knowledge over Asia and Europe—these are among the subjects covered.

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GOBIND RAM, **YODH RAJ,**
Manager, Chairman &
Madras. General Manager.

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.

Condemned Offhand!

On the 21st instant the Food Minister made on the floor of the Madras Assembly a statement alleging that bad procurement work in the Guntur district in the months of January, February and March was due to the inefficiency of the P.C.C.C. societies and he paid a compliment to the millers for the good procurement in April.

As one connected with the P.C.C.C. societies in the Guntur district, I want to refute the charge of bad procurement levelled against the societies. From January to March the District Collector and his subordinates did not give any co-operation worth mentioning to the societies for reasons best known to him alone. But this month, despite the heat of summer, the Collector and his subordinates are moving from village to village followed by reserve police and coercing the ryots to part with paddy. Paddy is virtually seized from the ryot and is being handed over to the miller. The miller by himself is nowhere procuring grain of paddy. May the Food Minister be pleased to tour the Guntur district and verify this statement?

I may also point out that the societies actually began to function towards the end of February and by the end of March they stand condemned! Very little time was taken to pass judgment against the societies.

G. V. SUBBIAH CHOWDHURI,
President, P.C.C.C. Society,
Bapatla.

Officials' Part In Failure Of Procurement

Now that an enquiry is being conducted into the working of the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies in Guntur district, let me give an account of the difficulties which the societies have been meeting with in the past two months, as one who worked as secretary of one of the societies until recently.

Before these societies were established, millers used to procure paddy by offering prices far higher than the ceiling rates. The Supply Department in its anxiety to supply the allotted quota to the deficit districts from this 'surplus' district, winked at the wanton inflation. The Department never actively co-operated with the executive staff of the P.C.C.C. societies in procurement work. Officials of the Supply Department stood on the fence, as though waiting for the verdict of failure. Blackmarketing, smuggling and illicit transport which have been developed into a fine art are being tolerated and the result to-day is that even the miller is not able to procure paddy at his former competitive prices. Illicit transport has enhanced the price of paddy and rice to a prohibitive degree. Above all, it was a blunder to have declared this district as a surplus area and to have exported rice to other districts. It is common knowledge that the millet crops in the dry areas have failed this year and the produce of paddy in the delta areas does not exceed on an average 10 bags per acre. It is also known that due to the preference of ryots to grow commercial crops, the acreage under food crops is being diminished. It remains to be seen how far the surplus stock—window-dressed as the figures seem to be—would tally with the actually procured stock by the end of this year.

G. RAMASWAMI, B.Com., B.L., B.Ed.
Bapatla.

"Undue Umbrage"

Emboldened by your generosity, writers in the Letters Section of your journal have taken undue umbrage at your plainspeaking. By no stretch of imagination can your remarks on C. R. be called "scurrilous and ungentlemanly." No ingenuity can exonerate C. R. from the charge of having acted in a manner which is detrimental to the best interests of South India. I am a Tamil-

ian and still regard Prakasam as an able leader and consider his downfall as a national calamity. Mr. D. Krishnamurthi, M.L.C., sees in Omandur's selection of Ministers a sagacity which many are unable to grasp. It needs no titanic imagination to fill the Cabinet with apostates of the previous Ministry and with the principal intriguers. The M.L.C. must confess that in the present Ministry there is not a Labour Minister of Giri's stature. As for the Prime Minister's talents we are assured by Mr. Krishnamurthi that they are on a par with Prakasam's capacity. It may be that Omandur has hitherto concealed his talents, intending perhaps to astonish the whole of South India with a knowledge of public affairs far beyond its expectations. But there is no gainsaying the fact that at the present age lack of a knowledge of English is a disqualification for the leadership of a modern State.

Yet another letter-writer, S. V. R., fearfully expects that Pandit Nehru will some time in the future fall in your estimation as the Sardar and C. R. have already fallen. But you have not spared Pandit Nehru if he transgressed accepted canons of justice and fairplay. Let me recall to S. V. R.'s remembrance your editorial under the caption 'Autocracy at large' in which you strongly condemned Nehru's capricious partiality in favour of Damodar Swaroop Seth as against Sibban Lal Saxena during the election for presidentship of the U.P.C.C. No man, however great in the eyes of his countrymen and foreigners, should be immune from criticism.

V. RADHAKRISHNAN.

Madras.

"True Journalism, Not Iconoclasm"

Some readers have accused *Swatantra* of fluctuating loyalties to great personalities. The accusations are meaningless. Great personalities also are human and they do err at times. It is hardly possible in true journalism to refrain from exposing the true colour of a politician or statesman and condemning him, however great the personality is, for his wrong doings.

A true journalist is never complaisant; he never deviates from his independent judgment because his once appreciated leader advocates a wrong policy. It is his legitimate right and duty to condemn and try to correct the leader.

These universal facts go to confirm that *Swatantra*, a journal of the first water, has not at all degraded itself by exercising its own independent judgment, but on the contrary its steadfastness in pursuing its independent judgment has proved what true journalism is.

M. P. KRISHNAN, B.Sc.
Tuticorin.

Content Of "Respect"

The letter under the caption of "How dare you accuse C. R." in *Swatantra* of April 12 is strange and misleading. The writer says that "overcome by grief and boiling with impotent rage at the fall of your beloved leader Prakasam, you seem to have lost control over your senses and are frantically abusing and throwing mud at all and sundry." While reminding you about moderation in language, he himself has used disrespectful language. The writer of the letter has gone wrong when he used the words "your leader." Sri Prakasam is neither your leader nor mine; he is a leader of the country as a whole. The letter-writer is again wrong regarding your remarks on C. R. Because you once admired and worshipped C. R. for his integrity, does he think that you should worship C. R. even when he is wrong? It is the foremost duty of an impartial journalist to condemn the deeds of leaders whenever they go wrong? It is the foremost duty of an instance where "wilful mis-representations" were made by you. Let me tell him frankly that *Swatantra* has given refreshingly candid views and facts which people could not get in the daily newspapers. It informed the public of the treacherous plot that was hatching in the Legislature and warned the Congress High Command about the impending ministerial crisis. There were, in particular, certain facts in *Sidelights* which one could not get in the daily press of the province.

P. VEERA RAGHAVIA RAO.

Persons Versus Principles

I am amused at the way some of your readers are castigating you for the very right and logical stand you have taken on the recent ministerial crisis. While it is manifest that you have been courageously adhering to the highest principles of journalism, you have been wrongly accused of being unprincipled. How could you, who, last year, supported Rajaji, turn round and say things about him now?

The whole issue, in fact, is as between loyalty to persons and personalities on the one hand and principles on the other. Persons and personalities may come and go. They are transient. But principles abide. They are eternal and unalterable. Loyalty can only be to such principles and not to fallible mortals, no matter how great they are. If this is understood and accepted, then your conduct throughout must be admitted as being in faithful conformity with the highest traditions of journalism. It is the duty of the Press to keep constantly before the eyes of the only too human and erring politicians their duty to the people. If I have judged you correctly I am sure you will not hesitate to criticise with equal vigour if, tomorrow, Sri Prakasam says or does anything not calculated to conduce to the well-being of the people.

Your worst critics cannot accuse you of selfish motives. You were always a champion of losing causes, as a friend of mine puts it. Last year you supported Rajaji who ultimately had to leave Madras. This year you supported Prakasam who has since been dethroned. This clearly shows that your loyalties are not dictated by considerations of personal gain.

M. RAMAMURTHI.

Tussles Impending

Many Andhra legislators may not fully co-operate with the present Ministry. Tussles similar to that which brought about Mr. Prakasam's fall might arise any moment to overthrow the present Premier. Unless Andhra Desa is entirely separated from Tamilnad, there will not be a stable Ministry in the province.

Bangalore Cantt.

P. M. D.

Bad Time Ahead

The Andhra legislators have betrayed their respective electors by letting down Prakasam, against the will of the electors. Naturally the people will resent their action and disown them. If these legislators care for self-respect and honour, they should resign their seats in the legislature and seek re-election. If this course is not adopted, I am afraid in many parts of Andhra Desa there will be unrest and these legislators and the Ministers will have a bad time with the people.

K. KRISHNAMACHARI.

Andhra-Tamil Struggle For Madras

I am closely following the speeches of the leaders of Tamilnad and Andhra regarding the separation of Andhra Desa from Tamilnad. There is nothing wrong in the separation, as each province should represent one cultural unit.

The whole trouble arises when Andhras claim Madras for themselves. Mr. Prakasam's argument in the Madras Legislature that Madras would be annexed to Andhra Desa because the British took Madras from one Chennappa Naicka who was supposed to be an Andhra, is undemocratic and unconvincing. By arguing in the same strain, Janab Jinnah can ask the British to quit India leaving the Government in the hands of the Muslims from whom the British conquered India. Historically the Andhras can claim the whole of Tamilnad as the latter was ruled by the Kings of Vijayanagar Dynasty who are supposed to be Andhras. The Tamilians can claim the whole of Andhra territory, as the Cholas, after defeating the Chalukyas of Vengi, ruled over Andhra Desa. Further, Cheran Senguttuvan was supposed to have ruled over Andhras after defeating a Satakarni as per the account given in Silappadikaram.

Instead of wasting time over these arguments it would be better to leave this issue to be solved by the people by way of plebiscite to decide which of the border taluks of Chittoor and Nellore districts should be absorbed in Tamilnad. The plebiscite should be supervised by a special committee selected by the President of the Constituent Assembly from Andhra and Tamil members of the Constituent Assembly and also some disinterested and impartial members of other provinces. This will eliminate unnecessary strife.

G. C. PATTABIRAM, B.A.
Trichinopoly.

A Lesson To The Electorate

The recent ministerial crisis in Madras has given some valuable lessons to the electorate. To place confidence in a party and thus vote for an individual irrespective of his character, political sense and behaviour is to sell away the sanctity of the vote. To beg for votes for an individual on behalf of the party which nominates him through a complex machinery, will ultimately lead to the disruption of the party itself. The electorate must be free to exercise its political wisdom in electing its representatives, judging solely by the merit of the candidate.

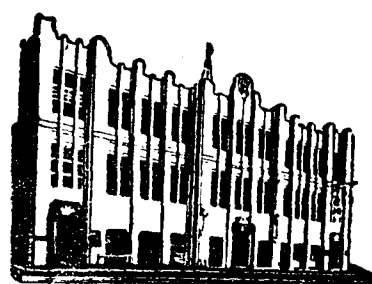
T. V. PURUSHOTTAMA RAO



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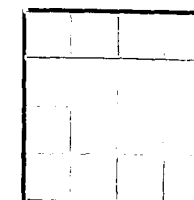
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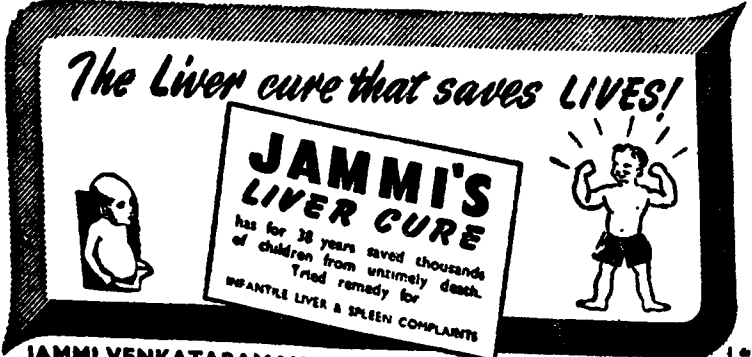


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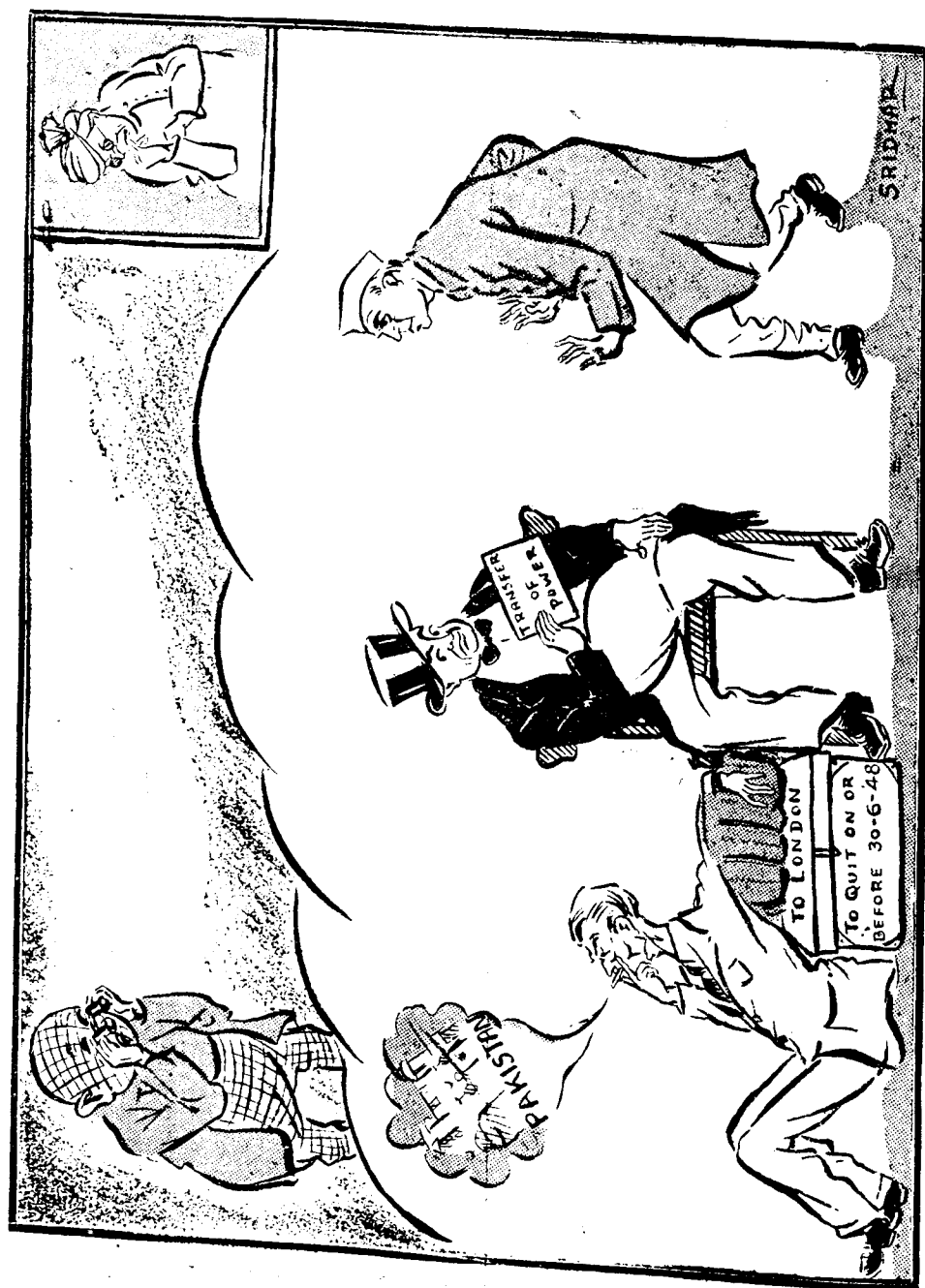
SWATANTRA

Vol. II. No. 13.

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1947.

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SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 13

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

AMERICA IN JAPAN

THE new Japanese constitution which is to come into force this week is described by an American critic as a superb document, brilliantly defining the rights of man, the limited position of the Emperor, and abjuring war. General Mac Arthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan, claims that with the new constitution "there will be established in Japan a Government erected on democratic principles, by free expression of the popular will, composed of co-ordinated organs of State responsible to the people in whom sovereignty now rests and dedicated to the realisation of the sanctity of human freedom and furtherance among men of lasting peace." As head of the American occupation forces that landed in Japan in August 1945, General Mac Arthur was entrusted with two main tasks, one destructive, the other constructive. He was "to prevent Japan from again becoming a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world" and he was "to bring about the eventual establishment of a peaceful and responsible government which will respect the rights of other States and will support the objectives of the United States as reflected in the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

The first of these tasks General Mac Arthur has fulfilled ably and well. The home army of the Japanese, consisting of two and a half million soldiers, has been demobilised. In addition three and a half million Japanese soldiers have been brought back from abroad and demobilised. The famous Kwantung Army is being fast disbanded. One and quarter million tons of ammunition and 13000 planes have been destroyed. The Japanese Navy along with all Navy yards and munitions factories, has been entirely scrapped. All Japanese submarines have been sunk. The physical destruction of the instruments and remnants of Japan's military power could not have been performed with greater thoroughness and efficiency and General Mac Arthur deserves high credit for having finished the destructive half of his mission with exemplary expedition and skill.

Destructive achievement can be measured on the spot, but constructive purposes take time for fulfilment—their results cannot be measured in offhand fashion. The future alone will provide the real test of success for the second of General Mac Arthur's tasks, that of establishing a peaceful and responsible government which will respect the rights of other States. American opinion seems rather sceptical about reformation of Japanese government without reformation of

Japanese thinking and it has begun to express itself in questions casting dark hints on the permanent tenability of the experiment for the democratisation of Japan. Is there not the danger—it is asked—that former Army officers will make a bid for a come-back by organising dangerous political movements at the earliest opportunity after the withdrawal of the occupation forces? Even within Japan, the danger of an imposed constitution has found voice in a section of the Press which sees in the excessive dominance of General Mac Arthur inherent germs for the undoing of any regime set up by him in the wake of his inevitable prospective disappearance from the scene. For example, the Tokyo paper, *Jiji Shimpō*, asks: "If the conception that government is something imposed on the people by an outstanding god, great man or leader is not rectified, democratic government is likely to be wrecked. We fear, the day after Mac Arthur's withdrawal, that some living 'god' might be searched out to bring the worst of dictatorship that brought the Pacific war?"

The occupation authorities seem to think that they have provided an effective safeguard against any future disruption of the new constitution by their deliberate policy of giving to the widest possible number of Japanese a stake in the new Japan. In this way they claim to have restricted to the tiniest fraction any sort of interest in the restoration of the old despotism. Since Mac Arthur's advent labour unions have grown with phenomenal rapidity in Japan, and the sponsors of the new constitution look to them to play the part of a powerful social and political force against any revival of the old militarism. The American reformers are now buoyed up with joy that the Japanese today are a pacific people, that they realise the penalties of militarism and that they are relieved that the

load of militarism is off their shoulders. Evidently they forget that even with the tremendous load of militarism on their economy the Japanese were formidable competitors to American industry in the pre-war world. Now with that load removed, freed from the incubus of huge military budgets, with their energies diverted solely to economic pursuits, the Japanese with their genius for invention and organisation, their skill in industry and handicrafts and the pressure of their population on land, bid fair to become economically the most advanced nation and this in itself is an explosive situation that can disturb peace as much as any military preparedness can. Industrial advancement will lead as inevitably to war as military aggression, unless a new philosophy replacing the acquisitive spirit of nations under a system of ruthless throat-cutting competition at each other's expense is replaced by a broad conception of the unity and oneness of all human welfare.

Blackmarketing Gandhian Philosophy

MR. V. CHAKKARAI CHETTIAR, President of the Madras Provincial Trade Union Congress, has characterised as "most reactionary" the move of Sardar Patel to organise a rival to the All India Trade Union Congress. Mr. Chettiar's indictment, though harsh, is yet far from unjust. It would appear that the idea of forming a separate Trade Union Congress "for workers who follow the Gandhian philosophy of life" was mooted some years ago and the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution last year suggesting the adoption of such a course. If the separate Trade Union Congress now got up is in pursuance of the Working Committee's resolution, the most natural idea that will occur to most people is as to

how far the Working Committee is competent nowadays to constitute itself into a mentor or exemplar for what may be called the Gandhian philosophy of life. Virtually every important tenet comprised in the lifelong teaching of the Mahatma has been summarily given the go-bye by the Working Committee. Non-violence has ceased to have any validity as a matter of practical administrative policy for the Working Committee. Abstemiousness and simple living, widely advertised for a quarter of a century as the basic spiritual foundation of Gandhism, became things of the past when political power devolved on the Congress. Even Khadi, dearest item of the Gandhian programme, has been betrayed. Among all those whom the tide of fortune brought to administrative power under Congress auspices, there was but one in the whole of India who took the Gandhian philosophy of life seriously and strove when opportunity came to work it honestly into a pattern of life for the people with the aid of the State. But the Working Committee had no use for him. Its leading members conspired with his opponents to bring about his downfall, and with it the defeat of Gandhian philosophy in the area where he vainly sought to make it supreme.

The charms of Gandhian philosophy are not likely to impress the workers when they are sought to be brought home to them by a power-mad egoist like Sardar Patel. Of all the top disciples of the Mahatma the Sardar is the least non-violent and most aggressive. In the matter of zest for the acquisition of power, he is the most resolute. His affiliations with capitalists are the most intimate. The veneer of devotion to Gandhian philosophy was therefore promptly exchanged by him for a blunt assertion of the real motive

underlying the new step. Explaining why they had to part company with the T.U.C. and form their own organisation, the Sardar said that the T.U.C. was today dominated by the Communists and it was no use trying to capture it. The starting of rival unions to circumvent the influence of established ones is precisely part of the obnoxious capitalist trickery against which workers as a class have ever been on their guard in intuitive self-defence, and the part now being played by the Sardar to acquire power by dividing labour is likely to be copied by the Muslim League before long, accentuating the play of communalism on the trade union movement. It will certainly be resented by the workers as an attempt to make them a pawn in the political game, and it will not add to their trust in the Congress or in the Governments run by it. Much of the criticism levelled by the Sardar against the Communists might be well within the truth. But the flaws of others afford no justification for courses fundamentally objectionable in their very nature on the part of the responsible heads of the country's administration. Even justifiable criticism of the Communists can never be any antidote to defects ultimately analysable as the cause of their much-deplored hold on the working class. In the midst of all the charges that may be levelled against the Communists, it has to be admitted that the calibre of their workers, their painstaking industry, their indifference to material comforts, their tenacity and powers of organisation are such as the Congress has long ceased to boast of in its ranks, and the present attempt of Congress administrators to make up with State aid for the patent shortcomings of their association with labour, is not likely to invest them with any added prestige.

Trend Towards Profiteering

TWO major achievements lie to the credit of the Omandur Ministry. It has reversed the textile policy of its predecessor and it has taken away from co-operative societies in a considerable area the right of procurement of paddy conferred on them but a few weeks ago. The remarkable thing to note is that the two decisions of the Prakasam Ministry now undone had been arrived at after due and proper discussion in the Congress Legislature Party. The Party which endorsed the lead of the ex-Premier has now chosen to support a diametrically opposite course, and it has done so not because of new factors influencing its judgement, but because of its lack of a mind of its own, its changeableness, its incapacity to arrive at decisions on public questions in a responsible way and sticking to them with steadfastness and honesty of purpose. A majority of the members of the Party are obviously undependable and have no sense of a duty to discharge in their role of legislators. The people who elected them are driven to look helplessly on while the legislators snap their fingers at their cherished wishes and desires and play ducks and drakes with impunity with the public interest. The unprincipled somersaults in pursuit of careerist politics of the generality of the legislators of the province emphasises the need for wobbler-proof devices in the constitution enabling the "people" who are supposed to be coming in for sovereign status to get rid of "representatives" that betray them just as they are empowered to elect them in the hope of valuable service at their hands.

The new Ministry has been making a great ado about promoting Khadi without sacrificing the spindles for the power mills. It wants to make the best of two irreconcilable worlds. The entire philosophy

of Khadi is opposed to the productive system represented by the mills. The objective of Khadi is to provide unlimited employment to millions of poverty-stricken people in a land of appalling unemployment and under-employment, and to do it with every vestige of organised employer-exploitation of the sort inseparable from centralised industry, completely eliminated; whereas the mills limit the scope of employment and tend to distribute wealth unequally, making a few enormously rich at the expense of vast multitudes depending on them for cloth supply. The zamindars in whose elimination the Congress Governments profess themselves to be strenuously interested are not the only exploiters in the land. The case for the removal of large industries from the control of private hands is even more urgent and imperative than the case for the abolition of the zemindaries. The Gandhian philosophy of Khadi seeks to eliminate industrial exploitation through decentralised and widely distributed mass self-help in respect of the most indispensable commodity next after food, and though it is built on an economic foundation its scope extends much farther. Cent per cent. expansion of Khadi will mean valuable lessons to the common people in the remotest villages in co-operative endeavour, self-government, middleman-elimination, stamping out of corruption and the like, and the extension of their beneficial influence to the political sphere may be depended upon to impart to public life and the administration a virility and constructive purpose on effective democratic lines now found to be sadly lacking in them.

It is open to the Omandur Ministry to doubt the potentiality of Khadi and to pin their faith on a programme of centralised industrialisation. The whole world moves in this direction, as it moves towards war rather than peace, and they

could have stepped into line, withdrawing from the unique scheme of Gandhian economics conceived in the interests of peace and all-round human welfare. What is reprehensible is the pious lip service which the Omandurites still insist on paying to the Gandhian constructive programme after having destroyed with their own hands every possibility for its effective success and progress through the attitude of resolute encouragement adopted by them towards the mill industry. They have not the courage to forswear Khadi as economically untenable, nor have they faith enough to devote their energies unreservedly to its spread. Ex-Premier Prakasam believed in Khadi and was prepared to pay any price for it. He won the respect of all (including those who lacked his faith) for his honesty of purpose. The attitude of the present Ministry to Khadi is one of opportunism—of disbelief accompanied by a desire for the political exploitation of a pose of belief. Expenditure over Khadi in such a situation is sheer waste of public money. The question of right or wrong in the exercise of choice as between contradictory policies may be left in doubt. But never the hypocrisy of pretending to favour one course while lending all effective support to its opposite.

Khadi will not make headway under the faint-hearted tutelage of the new Ministry with its pro-capitalist bent of mind. What is more likely is that, before long, under

the impetus of the expansion of the mills, the handloom weavers would be forced into extinction, leaving never more any chance for Khadi to rise. There would seem to be an integral philosophy, the worldly-wise one of favouring the rich at the expense of the poor, at the back of every deviation of the new Ministry from the policies of the old, and nowhere is it more glaringly illustrated than in its preference for millers over co-operative societies for procurement purposes. Co-operative effort is the modern civilized way of saving people from the unconscionable profiteering of powerful vested interests. If co-operative societies prove defective in efficiency, it is traceable to inexperience of which the effects ought to be worked off with a policy of sympathetic helpfulness on the part of the State. It is monstrous that any Government should gravely come to the conclusion that while the societies are good for Malabar they deserve to be done out of existence in the Circars. If democratic self-dependence associated with co-operative endeavour is to be deemed desirable in one area and undesirable in another, the bewildered public treated to such a phenomenon cannot very well help feeling that in the latter area the Ministers are interested in pampering profiteers whose acquisitive ambitions are impeded by the growth of the co-operative movement. The record of the Ministry in the first few weeks of its tenure in office has not helped to establish it in public esteem or confidence.

It is not good citizenship for a labor organisation to dictate the politics of its members.—*Christian Science Monitor.*

How can a man be content till he has arrived at complete concord with himself? As long as two voices speak within him, whatever pleases the one will dissatisfy the other and therefore one will always murmur. But has there ever been a man in complete accord with himself. Nay, is not the very thought a paradox?—*Schopenhauer.*

Sotto Voce

Flight From Reality



ONE MORE proof is forthcoming that India is rapidly catching up with the advanced nations. Last year recorded an increase in the strength of the mental hospitals of this Province. True, the increase was less than ten per cent and an allowance of 3000 patients for a population of over forty millions may not seem much to boast of. But then our statistics are notorious liars. The process of education in social detachment is a slow business; only recently, under the spur of enlightened example from the West and our own new-found consciousness of individual rights, has the practice of unloading mental cases on an institution been coming into vogue.

Hospitalisation like organised charity is an acquired taste. In spite of the many and obvious advantages of placing the afflicted under the care of highly qualified doctors in State institutions which in theory make no distinction between rich and poor, even the humblest feel an instinctive aversion to determining their responsibilities in this manner. Alien observers are apt to be self-righteous in discussing the bearing of the belief in Karma on the outlook of Indians. They fiercely denounce what seems to them callous indifference to other people's pain and suffering. They forget that it is the same belief in Karma that sustains life-long and unrewarding devotion on the part of the family to the unfortunate member in whom the light of reason is dimmed.

It is easy enough to say that this is false pity; that it benefits neither

the patient nor those who make themselves unnecessarily wretched on his account; that after all every man has his own life to live and if one has arranged to place an incurable case in an asylum where reasonable care will be taken, one has done one's duty. The impulse to immolate yourself on the altar of the loved one may be very unreasonable. But if love is sufficiently strong it will brush aside such questions as irrelevant impertinence. I would far rather be wrong with Charles Lamb than right with the breezy philosophers of enlightened self-interest.

As to the charge of sentimentalism, the boot is really on the other leg. The framers of the Hindu Code have provided that lunacy on the part of husband or wife shall be sufficient ground for divorce. The assumption underlying this is that if this misfortune should come upon one of the partners the other should be free to pursue his or her pleasure; as if the indecent pursuit of pleasure could bring happiness! We often mistake for humanity the selfish desire to avert one's gaze from pain and suffering and so to forget it. In the old days mad-houses were torture chambers; but the Samaritans who got rid of afflicted relatives by consigning them to these hells took good care not to come within earshot of them.

Of recent years medical opinion on the cause and cure of mental disease has undergone a revolutionary change. The alienist of today explains mental derangement as part of the universal neurosis which is the penalty we pay for our

hectic life; just as many other diseases are now known to be the result of chronic under-feeding or malnutrition. The problem is seen as one that calls for a positive policy of promoting public health by removing wide-spread social maladjustments. But abolishing hunger and want, which is difficult enough in all conscience, may be child's play compared to the task of evolving a harmonious and whole society out of the present chaos.

Confucius preached the golden mean as the key to the good life. Others have taught that he would save himself must be prepared to lose his life. But neither the wisdom of prudence nor the vision of a fine excess is vouchsafed to a generation atrophied at the core. Frustration dogs the footsteps of the city-dweller who moves like a marionette pulled by invisible strings and whose very thoughts are machine-made. And yet, the irresisti-

ble impulse of village folk is to run into the open jaws of Moloch. It is a marvel that more minds are not unhinged in this panicky flight from reality.

It is not for nothing that up to date mental sanatoria provide plenty of elbow-room for their patients and leave them to do pretty much as they like. Their physical needs are unobtrusively served; otherwise they are subject only to the kindly attentions of sun and air. Antaeus of Greek myth had his strength revived by the life-giving contact of mother-earth. And our own Sastras prescribe purificatory ceremonies for those who have failed for long to bathe in running water. Here is symbolic wisdom for a world full of worry. The healing touch of Nature for the over-wrought body and the coolth of solitude for the wilting spirit may be the best way of ministering to a mind diseased.

VIGHNESWARA.

T. T. K. IN THE AMERICAN PRESS

Our New York correspondent sends this interesting report from a leading American paper:

"T. T. Krishnamachari was born into a Brahmin family 47 years ago. Today he is an agnostic. But he also is a Congress party politician and he admires Mohandas K. Gandhi, the devout Hindu. His son is studying chemistry and physics and hopes to finish his education in a school in the United States. Mr. Krishnamachari is a product of this transitory period when India's intellectual leadership is probing for its values amid a profusion of old and new ideas. In Madras, the mixture is at its most confusing. This is the home of Hindu orthodoxy, caste system and all, at its most celebrated. It also is a nationalist stronghold and more lately a fertile field for Communist endeavors. I spent most of the morning with Mr. Krishnamachari in his library about the present situation in Madras, which at the moment seemed to be a passing parade of Marxist agitation, prohibition, homespun Gandhian economics and a breakdown of religious inhibitions. Mr. Krishnamachari believed it a mistake to apply Mr. Gandhi's social and economic ideas as they stood. He ridiculed the policy of the Congress Ministry here in attempting to halt further expansion of the textile industry so as to build up cottage weaving. You see, like all great teachers, Gandhi talks in absolute terms. Mr. Krishnamachari remarked. When a European judges the Mahatma's ideas in those absolute terms, they appear silly. An Indian who tries to apply Gandhi's idea as absolute find they will not work. His ideas must be judged on a relative basis. The main import of his teaching is that we should not imitate and that modern ideas are not wholly suitable to the time and place. We should also look at what he has done. He has made us think in terms of the masses and he has restored the mind and soul of the Indian. Where it will all end, very few profess to know."

SIDELIGHTS : :

Wisdom and honour dictated that everyone should imitate or take from others only that which was good and worthwhile.—MAHATMA GANDHI.

HE was glad that all differences in Madras had become things of the past, said C.R. at the reception to Mr. Omandur Ramaswami Reddiar given by the South India Club of New Delhi last week. This is an example of the influence of the publicity purveyed by newspapers on the veracity of politicians. When some 30 members of the C.R. group and 37 of the Andhra group of Kala and Gopala Reddi were offered two ministerships each when Prakasam was Premier, there was discontent and the resulting differences were such as could not be composed. But when 73 members owing allegiance to Sri. Prakasam and forming still the biggest section of the Congress Legislature Party are completely excluded from the Ministry, the nimble intellect of C. R. sees nothing in it to complain about, he is glad that all differences in Madras have become things of the past.

How are differences to be measured? In the days when C. R. had his differences with Kamaraj Nadar he evolved a technique of his own for assessing the measure of public support at his back as against that to the credit of his opponents. He held meetings innumerable and in the midst of his speeches there, he put challenging questions to the audience as to whether they wanted him or not. They were all meetings packed with thousands of eager listeners, and in answer to his enquiry all hands would go up in enthusiastic approbation of him and his leadership. Critics were not wanting who said that for entertaining people with masterly speech C.R. was hard to beat, and once given the chance to have his say he could talk any body of men into any view he liked, like Lloyd George of whom it used to be said that he

could talk a bird off a tree. Approval or disapproval, they said, did not come into play either in the numbers that gathered to hear C.R. or in the responses of his hearers to the lure and charm of so magical a master of words.

The discounting tactics of others interested in diluting the public importance of a great political figure can therefore scarcely claim C.R.'s sanction now, and sheer decency demands that the validity of his own methods of gauging public opinion should be respected by C.R. himself if none else. Sri Prakasam has little of the expertness associated with C.R. in the deft and consummate choice of speech. He takes a long time to get going. His speeches are punctured with long pauses. They call for a considerable measure of patience on the part of listeners. They have no entertainment value and they are devoid of the attractiveness of forensic brilliance. That, despite all this, huge crowds surpassing even those that greeted the Mahatma, should wait for hours for tendering him welcome, and without waiting to be asked, raise deafening cries of "Andhra Kesari Ki Jai" as has been happening of late whenever Prakasam went on a tour of Andhra, is an indication of his popularity and of his unparalleled hold on the mind of the masses, the more to be valued for his lack of the graces of speech making for the admiration of listeners so marked in C. R.'s case.

When he lost office, the ex-Premier won for himself a forum from which his supplanters were ousted over the whole of one linguistic area. Pityable is the plight of the Omandur Ministry, for all the blessings showered on it by C. R., in that none of the prominent ringleaders in it of the anti-Prakasam conspiracy dare pay a visit to their constituencies where black flags and the execration of excited mobs await

them. Adroit newspaper publicity purveyed from a far-away place about supposed unity and elimination of differences is no substitute for public opinion, and C.R.'s part in the bolstering up of the Ministry after having laboured so hard to bring it into being establishes him as one in whom the gusto of the propagandist overshadows the balance needed in an administrator. Between benefactor and beneficiary there would seem to have been an exchange of bargains by which public interest and the dignity of the administration have been allowed to go to pieces. This journal holds that the elevation of Omandur to the Premiership in replacement of

Prakasam is an outrage for which the guilty ones will some day be called to account at the bar of public opinion. As the price for his own contribution to the outrage, C.R. has been enabled to plant his own nominees in key positions in the Ministry, not to speak of having a submissive Premier openly flaunting his submission by saying that he "availed himself of Mr. Rajagopalachari's advice on almost all matters connected with the administration of Madras." Madras would like to have a Premier that can call his soul his own instead of taking abject delight over having mortgaged it elsewhere.—SAKA.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE—THE CRYING NEED

by HARE NAGG

Most parents do not devote as much time and attention as they should in guiding their children to choose their life's career. This is a dereliction of duty which results in avoidable human waste. We fear that they too are responsible for the many "square pegs in round holes" we find in every field of human activity.

It is yet to be conceded that the child's aptitudes are the raw material on which one has to work. The prevailing theory is that every child is potentially fitted for every job. The belief still prevails that the child's career should be in accordance with the parent's pet fancies. If the child does not succeed, the parent curses his stars and blames the boy's "poor brains." It does not strike him that one can study a particular subject for another's pleasure but one excels by one's ability alone. No wonder genius has become a rarity in India. Actually what little talents we see is a result of "taking a chance" or accidental self-discovery.

Many of us went to college, but I find few of them telling me today that they are not embittered, that they love the work they do.

Parents do not hesitate to forego their own comforts in order to make their children happy. They are very eager to give them every facility to make them worthy of the lineage to which they belong. Their wish is pious and happy; their action misguided and uninformed.

It may now be fairly clear why the child's abilities should be studied so that it may be afforded proper opportunities to become a successful, useful citizen.

The problem is something intensely personal, complex and vital. It is not as if it requires of you highly specialised knowledge. All that you are called upon to do is to take an active interest in the child's behaviour—social, mental, emotional and physical. It is naturally done over some years and even then one cannot be certain of one's conclusions. The personal equation will always be there. The observations cannot be perfect or foolproof. But there will be less chances of committing blunders.

The opportunities may be many; giving the child the best of it is the logical thing a well meaning parent can do.



DECLINE IN CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

by "A LOVER OF DEMOCRACY"

IN the issue of the *Swatantra* dated 27th April, Mr. K. S. Venkatramani analysed the issue before us and pleaded that leadership should pass into the hands of younger men and that Nehru and Jai Prakash and kindred spirits alone can see us to the goal of a free and powerful India. A keen student of our national affairs cannot but fall in line with Mr. Venkatramani's way of thinking. Congress leadership in the past fifteen years has bungled and bungled very badly at that. Congress leadership, as it is at present constituted, cannot take us beyond where we are. Perhaps, the only difference after June 1948 would be a change over from white to brown bureaucrats. The recent trends in the Indian National Congress leave us little doubt on this point. Freedom of thought which has been the jealously guarded privilege which the nationalist movement sought to achieve is being crushed under its very heel. The Old Guard of the Congress is so jealous of its pre-eminent position in the Congress that it would not tolerate any other way of thinking other than its own. It was to achieve this purpose of regimenting nationalistic opinion that it has sought to amend the constitution of the Congress allowing no place for those that differ from the official programme of the Congress as enunciated by the Rightists. Lovers of democracy cannot but resent such fascist tendencies in the Congress, of which the latest directive of the General Secretary of the Congress in regard to the attitude which the provincial organisations should adopt towards the Socialist Party is but an example.

Hitherto, the constructive programme of the Congress has restricted itself to reviving the old village economy which used to be the pride of the country. This by itself cannot lead us to the haven of

nationhood on a par with other countries, and bring us on a level with their standard of life. A rapid industrialisation of the country, greater and more efficient exploitation of its natural resources, a more equitable distribution of our national wealth and income, a literacy drive on an intensive scale to enable our masses to keep abreast of the times, abolition of all inequitable distinctions and age-old practices in the social sphere, these and similar factors must figure largely in our programme of national reconstruction. What has already been done in these directions is negligible. An intensification of this many-sided programme is what is necessary for our progress and this is what the Socialist Party has been clamouring for. But unfortunately the Socialists count for little in the deliberations of the Congress dominated by power-mad decrepit old men who have neither the zeal nor the vigour to pursue this programme to its logical conclusion. They seem to rest content with the Britisher quitting India and leaving things where they are. Nobody need deny the great part these leaders have played in our national struggle. All honour unto them for the great sacrifices they have made and for having brought us to the threshold of independence. But that is not enough. With the management of national affairs passing into our hands our aim must be to move along the road of civilization at a great speed and win our rightful place in the counsels of the world. That unfortunately is not to be. The Old Guard has already indicated its mind when it lent its support to reactionary capitalists who lead a tirade against the first Socialist budget presented by Liaquat Ali Khan. Their outlook needs change and unless this is done there is no salvation for us at their hands. One feels sorry that they have not brought to bear an enlightened out-

look in guiding our national affairs in the recent past. Their record during the past ten or fifteen years has been in some respects an ignoble one and no lover of democratic methods can shut his eyes to them and follow these leaders blindly. Many a noble son of India has been driven into political exile, for they dared to differ from these top-ranking leaders. Were not these leaders responsible for hounding the hero of modern India, Subhas Babu, out of his country? Was not the Sardar's attitude of brooking no opposition responsible for exiling the veterans Nariman and Khare from provincial politics where they had a right to say by virtue of their services to their respective provinces and their intellectual calibre? Was it not the Sardar again, aided by his understudies, who started the tirade against the Communists and driven them into a warring camp carrying ceaseless war against the Congress regime in the provinces? Was not the greatest debacle of Congress leadership witnessed in this province of ours not two months ago?

Under what ignoble circumstances has the Prakasam Ministry been ousted out of office and what worthy individuals have taken their place! No dispassionate observer of the agitation started against the last Ministry can fail to see the brains behind the movement. Started by power-mad office-bearers in the provincial organisations of the Congress, the agitation gained strength and was accorded undue publicity by opportunist newspapers which carried on their tirade against Prakasam and his men in season and out of season. No wonder a right thinking Press is still a great need of the country. All the opposition outside the Press has come from town and city-bred folk who have little or no love for the welfare of the masses of the province. Constituting but 10 per cent. of the population, these urban-minded critics have carried on a holy Jihad against the policies of the Prakasam Ministry which sought to benefit the ninety per cent. of the population which reside in our villages.

All talk of immediately raising the standard of life of the masses to the level obtaining in Western countries is futile because our political, economic and social set-up does not enable us to do so. What is immediately needed is to restore the self-sufficiency basis of the village of former days and build on that solid foundation slowly and steadily. But who cares for the rural masses? How could you expect the western-minded intelligentsia manning the leadership of the Congress to view the needs and welfare of the masses as more important than their own welfare? Should not the spoils of self-government be theirs by right of their leadership? Should not leaders who have gone to jail for a month or two be rewarded with ministerships?

Some of our national leaders even have been alleged to have lent their support to these unworthy individuals who have come into office. But who is there in this country who can question what they do, for do they not constitute the highest tribunal in this country in national affairs? One fails to see any justification the part played by Rajaji and his followers in the settlement of the crisis. How could men of the stamp of Vaidyanatha Iyer lend their support to such intrigues? They have misused the balancing position which they held in the Legislature Party. The verdict of history will be against them. How soon they have forgotten the reasons that led to the exile of their leader in far-away Delhi? If they have sought to wreck vengeance they have done it in a bad spirit, for who can worthily succeed Rajaji in the province other than Prakasam? No other leader can come anywhere in the vicinity of these two.

If Democracy has to have any meaning and a future in this country, there must be a change in outlook on the part of the present leadership of the Congress. Surely, as night follows day, leadership will pass into the hands of younger men like Jai Prakash who have convinced us of their qualifications to lead us.

HIGH COMMAND BLAMED FOR MADRAS CRISIS

PRAKASAM'S LETTER TO CONGRESS PRESIDENT

We give below the text of a letter written by Sri Prakasam on the 22nd March, 1947 to Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, for being placed before the Working Committee. No reply has been given to the letter up-to-date :

My Dear Kripalaniji,

WHEN you showed me the resolution of the Working Committee dated 6th March, I placed my resignation in your hands, because the resolution stated that "Sri. Prakasam should not continue as Leader of the Party." The reason given for the pronouncement was the assumption by the Committee that "a considerable majority of the members of the Party have expressed their lack of confidence in the Leader and Prime Minister Sri. Prakasam" and that in view of "this clearly-expressed lack of confidence by a majority of the Party" it was "improper and unconstitutional for the Leader to continue as such." Out of regard for the "dignity of the Congress" about which mention was made in the resolution, I complied with the direction given to me and faced all the consequences following from it. Now that the question of leadership is set at rest, I feel that I may with propriety raise the following points for the consideration of the Working Committee.

Even a criminal is entitled to the charges against him being made known and to the right of being heard in defence. Without any charges being made against me, and without such a right being respected in my case, the Working Committee pronounced judgment against me and came to the conclusion that I should not continue as Leader.

Their resolution states that "it has been the practice of the Working Committee and its Sub-Committee not to interfere with the working of Provincial Governments except when larger questions of Congress policy and Congress discipline arise. It is their intention to continue to adhere to this practice." But I must state that in actual practice, there has been intervention beyond the purport of this declaration, though nobody can possibly charge the Government of which I was the Premier with having been unfaithful to Congress policy in any particular. As for Con-

gress discipline, it has not been promoted by the attitude of the Working Committee as I will show presently.

When a political party assumes office, it cannot satisfy all its members, and there are bound to be some nursing grievances on the score of being left out of ministries and the like. If an atmosphere of finality is created about it the aggrieved will reconcile themselves to the Leader's decision and discipline will be maintained. But when they are encouraged from above to collect signatures from a majority of their numbers, presumably for unseating the Ministry, that very encouragement serves as a fillip to waverers and others aspiring for posts, to join in. I have it from Moulana Abul Kalam Azad that throughout last year people from Madras approached him and demanded intervention from the Parliamentary Committee, but he always resisted such pressure. While he resisted, others seem to have yielded. The very action of the Working Committee of deputing Sri. Shanker Rao Deo has been exploited to the hurt of the Ministry. It was freely given out here that he was coming to put an end to the Ministry and instal another in its place. The Party is not lacking in persons who cast their votes on the basis of their calculations as to which is likely to be the winning side. By the sympathy shown by them to the no-confidence move, the Working Committee gave to the move a stimulus which it would have otherwise lacked, and employed against the Ministry a weapon from which it was entitled to be spared, and against which it had no means of protecting itself.

At the meeting of the Party on 28th February, I had to give my ruling on the point of order that was raised. The point having been raised, I had to give my ruling in the light of the rules. I have made a very careful study of the rules and I have no doubt whatever that they do not contemplate the moving of a no-confidence motion in the Party against the Leader. Right or

wrong, the ruling of the Chair is entitled to unquestioning obedience and if this position is challenged there can be neither dignity nor orderliness in the conduct of any public business. Those who set at nought the ruling of the Chair were guilty of gross indiscipline, and the manner in which such indiscipline is to be dealt with is a matter that should cause grave concern to the Working Committee.

The Working Committee seem to have acted as though I could wish to continue as Leader or Premier even in case I should cease to have the confidence of the Party. Any such suggestion is unfair to one like me who had given his life's devotion to the Congress long before there was ever any question of office. The fact that I fixed a meeting of the Party for 30th March to elect a leader should have completely disposed of any such suggestion even if the Working Committee's regard for what was due to a Congress worker of my experience and standing did not do it. As I declared in the statement announcing the meeting, I would have wished to hold it earlier. Here too it was my concern for "propriety and for the dignity of the Congress" that impelled me to fix the meeting as I did for a date after the budget. For I had to act in a responsible way having regard to the good of the province, and I could not divest myself overnight of my administrative responsibility for the introduction of the budget for giving effect to policies already voted upon in the Party and for avoiding any possibility for the introduction of Section 93.

As the Working Committee have referred in their resolution to the lack of confidence in my leadership of a majority of the Party, let me state my experience about the actual content of this "no-confidence". In a statement published in the *Hindu* on March 1, Dr. Rajan said: "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." According to him, "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." Is anything more needed to reveal the actual basis of what subsequently took shape as the no-confidence motion? The legislators divided themselves into groups. They used their group formations as bargaining counters for extracting ministerial posts. Their demands for posts were unconnected with policy or administration. Nor had they

any relation with their respective numerical strengths. When the demands were in excess of what could be fairly conceded, the displeasure of the group leaders fructified as "no-confidence" thenceforward. I may add that the list of "no-confidence" signatories that formed the very basis of the Working Committee's resolution has been disproved by the result of the election on 21st March and that the list was not supplied to me until after Shri Shanker Rao Deo returned to Delhi from here. Prominent no-confidence signatories like Sri Annamalai Pillai and R. V. Swaminathan made themselves equally prominent subsequently in canvassing support for my leadership. Two members whose names are found in the list have given public statements denying having signed. And two others have given public statements explaining the methods by which signatures were extracted from them. The Working Committee there or you yourself here should, in view of my special requisition demanding an enquiry, have enquired into the circumstances governing the securing of the no-confidence signatures before passing the resolution.

The existence of these groups is disruptive of Party discipline. Loyalty to groups has led to indifference and at times to downright hostility to Party objectives. Some of the group leaders had been openly working to injure and discredit the Ministry long before there was any no-confidence move. The existence of groups is prohibited under the Party rules and I was interested in seeing to the ending of groups within the Party. With this end in view I had urged the convening of a special meeting of the Working Committee to consider the malpractices connected with the group system and their adverse effects on the morale of the Congress Legislature Party in Madras. But without considering my charges against the group leaders or convening a meeting as requested by me, and without even giving me a hearing, the Committee came to a decision against me which has gravely prejudiced my re-election as Leader and is likely to prejudice Congress work in the province still more in the future. It is worthy of note that one of the members of the Working Committee who passed the resolution was himself a leader of one of the groups as well as a member of the Interim Government.

In the election, 116 votes were cast against me. The question for you to consider is: What kind of votes are these? Are they genuine votes, or are

they votes vitiated by the group system? You can have no idea of the resentment in the mind of the people as a result of the manner in which the legislators have been playing with confidence and no-confidence to serve ends of their own.

This is not the way in which the Government of a major province ought to be dealt with when it is in the full swing of carrying out important pro-

grammes conceived for popular benefit. Even at this last stage, I demand an enquiry, not by an obviously prejudiced Committee but by a reputed judge of any High Court, of established probity. And I do so not by way of any fight for recovery of any office, but in order that the impaired prestige of the Congress and of the High Command in the province may be repaired.

Yours Sincerely,
T. PRAKASAM.

WHEN STATE MONOPOLISES NEWSPAPER TRADE

STRANGE HAPPENINGS IN ARGENTINE

What may be expected when members of Government take a hand in the running of newspapers is indicated by happenings in the Argentine where within the past three years, according to an American weekly, the country's newspaper map has been entirely changed. Starting with the purchase of the daily, *Democracia*, by a member of the presidential family, there has been set up a regular chain of newspapers under a central management, the whole of the network being closely related to the Propaganda Section of the Presidency with an annual budget this year of 7½ million dollars. The new centralisation gives President Peron a powerful bludgeon against opposition papers of modest means, and the plan is eventually to drive out of existence altogether all but those journals who are willing to purchase survival by backing the regime and personality of the President.

A thorn in the President's flesh is *La Prensa*, published by Alberto Gainza Paz, a powerful organ of the opposition which not all the brow-beatings of the Peronists have been able to subdue. Peron is a gifted rabble-rouser, and here is an account of how he sought to rid himself of the troublesome *La Prensa*:

As soon as Peron had finished one of his rabble-rousing speeches, groups of about 600 to 900 each formed into columns and headed in different directions, each on mischief bent.

At every news-stand they passed, they seized the stock of newspapers and each carried some, lighted as flaming torches.

The action began with a long-sustained whistling bee in front of *La Prensa*.

Next came a hail of stones against the lights outside the building and against those upstairs windows which were unshuttered. Curiously enough, on the very steps of the City Hall across the street, there was a sizable pile of rubbish and debris from demolition jobs a block down the street, from which the demonstrators took their stones.

They battered in the heavy glass squares set into the side-walk to provide light for the *Prensa* basement quarters. As soon as sufficient holes had been made flaming newspapers and rags, soaked in oil, were thrown into the gaping holes they had made. The fire inside assumed a serious aspect for a few moments, but those inside soon brought it under control.

One of the gates was finally broken into for the nationalist savages to throw in large quantities of newspapers, rags and pieces of chairs and these were set afire.

This was about an hour after the beginning of the attack. During all that time, no police were visible for a radius of 10 blocks around the paper's premises.

By the time the police arrived the front and rear of the *La Prensa* building was a veritable shambles of debris.



Extended Love

by S. Venugopalam

THOUGH I was born in South India, I had almost taken up to Bengali ways. Only a few years of association with those parts had made me a thoroughbred Bengali. As years passed on, I began to doubt whether for good or evil I continued to live there. Ugly and uncouth things began to sprout on the fair and dedicated soil of Bengal. Dangerous and mischievous elements deprived of the torch of humanism were bent upon introducing into my adopted soil a kingdom worse than that of Satan and a law more intolerable than that of the jungle. Yet I could not leave that place for fear of disturbances or death itself, even before they arrived.

Every day I had to traverse through a distance of about two miles before I reached my office at the Dalhousie Square. On my way a building used to attract my attention enormously and at the end almost endeared itself to me. The building itself held no special charm for me, but it was the person associated with it. My first impression was that the building was a place of worship to which people came to think about their Lord and spend some quiet and serene moments with Him. I saw everyday a girl of about eighteen years with divine brilliance enter the building with a punctuality that is characteristic only of astronomical bodies. More than anything else, more than even her beauty which was not inferior to the superior variety that greatly drew me towards her, was a mixture of asceticism and universal love that seemed to radiate from her eyes. She was an enigma to me, for I could never hope to find in any other girl of her age anything but physical beauty and not at all that mysterious ascetic look.

The first time I came very close to her was at the time of an accident. And that too happened because of her. She was walking fast along the road and was just about to enter that holy place of worship; for myself, forgetting

that there were other things beside her around me, with strange thoughts about her, I fixed my eyes in her direction.

I was on my bicycle; and in a moment I was knocked off by a military jeep and fell on the pavement of the shrine with a terrible shock. Though the shock was tremendous there were not many injuries. I was suddenly reduced to a half-conscious state. Yet I remember how she immediately ran to me and how with a mother's zeal and love, gave me first aid and removed me to a hospital nearby. I was laid up in the hospital for nearly four days and everyday she would come and enquire about my health. She would tell me how she was upset to see myself thrown away by the jeep and how she felt the wound as inflicted on herself. Suddenly she would begin to speak about the great mercy of the Lord in having saved me from death's door. During those days I could not understand why she should have showered such affection and kindness on me. Still she was inscrutable; yet one thing I realised, and that was, she was not the ordinary lover.

In spite of my fairly long and sometimes close acquaintance too with her, strangely enough I did not develop anything a youth of my age would have done with an ordinary girl of her growth. I often told her of the great debt of gratitude I owed her, but never spoke to her about the supreme thing which is Nature's strongest bond and which few could escape.

We derived no more occasion to talk with each other for some time after that occurrence, yet a gentle smile on her face I never could miss any day when I was on my way to my office.

Some months elapsed, and the passage of time not only drew me closer to her and made me somewhat disturbed, but added fuel to the inflammation of the communal politics of

Bengal. Political events moved with the quickness of lightning, and culminated in the hideous celebration of the Direct Action Day in Calcutta.

August 16th—Calcutta, the fair city of the East was on its way of transformation to the city of the Hell. Man had turned into beast, less than beast, worse than the fabulous giant.

On the morning of that fateful day, in order to enjoy the heavenly holiday declared on the dawn of a hellish era I walked quickly to the place dear to my heart. I expected hooliganism, yet I could not restrain myself, and deprive me of the soothing pleasure I gained by a look at her face, sweetened by a mysterious smile.

I was standing near that shrine, she was approaching it. What a transformation in her dress! Her attire clearly betrayed her religion, and with a touch of fanaticism too! I was looking at her with unwavering eyes. Not only she approached me but also a big mob shouting slogans that might well have shaken the earth and indulging in violent gesticulation, with the instruments of death in their hands. Soon I saw houses and shops



"She cried in a hideous voice to the goonda: 'Leave that wretch to me; I will make this sinner a prey to my knife'."

reduced to their elements, and fellow brethren tortured to death.

I could no more be a spectator. The next moment I was caught unawares by a goonda, and was about to be strangled. I was mistaken for a man belonging to the opposite faith, and was in the opinion of my victor to be sent to Heaven for the crime of being born in the particular religion on this earth.

Oh, then came the bewildering and unbelievable spectacle; the very same girl ran up to the scene of my strangulation with a face as cruel as that of the demon Goddess and with a knife in her hand. She cried in a hideous voice to the goonda: "Leave that wretch to me; I will make this sinner a prey to this blood-thirsty knife. It is a sacred act for me to kill him for all the injustices and insults he has done me and my father."

"Leave him at once" cried she again and pointing the dagger to my heart pulled me from the goonda's firm grip.

"I will sacrifice this unholy person at the altar of my holy Lord within the shrine" said she, and so saying, drew me fiercely into the temple and locked it inside.

You could not imagine the speed of thoughts that ran across my mind almost seeming to break my head; by no stretch of imagination could I understand her present cruelty in relation to her past extreme kindness. The girl in search of whose love I came was to be my goddess of death. "Was all this a dream?" I wondered.

The next moment, to my utter amazement, I saw her throwing the knife away, and speaking words infusing courage into my broken mind. Her Satanic look changed into one of peaceful divinity and that radiance which always shone on her face was increased in splendour. She began to congratulate herself on having so wonderfully saved my life, and again she prayed to her Lord for being privileged to save one life at least. I thought that she had understood better than anybody that to save a single life required greater sacrifice and courage than to kill a thousand.

Here was a girl to whom I did not know what to tell and to whom love, more than anything else meant sacrifice. I felt very humble before her

and would never dare to play the lover's part unless she took the initiative. For four days after this dangerous attack on me, I was protected by her and I could affirm she was to me more than even a mother or a lover.

Scarcely had two weeks passed after these infamous disturbances and human slaughter and butchery than a telegram came from my father in the South. It read as follows: "Start immediately procured job for you here—North unsafe."

I felt that I could leave the whole world, but not one thing—the fair girl of the temple, not for her external beauty, but for her real beauty that was sacrificial love. So far, I was thinking that the temple with the girl must be my eternal abode which I could never leave.

Not knowing what to do I took this telegram to my life-giver (and I wanted her to be the love-giver also) and asked her what to do.

She told me that I could as well go home for the same reasons that my father had given. I asked her disappointedly how I could manage to leave her. "Why", she replied, "wherever I am and wherever you are my love will be extended to you as to the other suffering brethren." "But", I said falteringly, "I think that I had been closer to you all these days than anybody else, and hope to be still closer in the future. Therefore I think I cannot go to the South without you."

The colour of her face suddenly changed when she said, throwing a mountain of shock and frustration on me, "all these days you watched me going to this temple. It is a Buddhist nunnery and I was going there all the time as preparatory to my new life—the dedicated life—the life of a nun. Therefore mine is an extended love and not the concentrated love. I wish you good and long married life."

No more could I remain before her and almost with tears in my eyes I bade her good-bye, and left Calcutta for the South by the next train. Now only I understand her ascetic look and radiant eyes and her greatness as a human being. As I was travelling in the train, my mouth involuntarily muttered "I wanted to be her complement in life; if she were wife, I should be her husband; but now she is a nun then why not myself a monk?"

Spotlight On The World

by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

THE real meaning of events occurring in the different parts of the world today can be best understood if they are looked at as related to the three kinds of struggle going on in it. There is a struggle for power to start with; there is next a struggle for freedom and finally there is a struggle for wealth. The struggle, for instance, between the United States and Soviet Russia is one for power. The struggle in colonial countries like Indonesia, Indo-China and Burma is one for freedom. The fight in which Britain is mainly interested is that of promoting her business and trade so that she might continue to be as wealthy in future as she was in the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century before the first world war. These struggles have both an external and internal aspect. They are not only concerned with the relations between one country and another but also between one section of people and another in the same country. The struggle between the Communist and the democratic parties, between capital and labour and between rival political groups within the same country belong to this category. It should not however be understood that these struggles are being carried on in isolation. As a matter of fact there is a large amount of inter-relationship between them. Power, wealth and freedom are partly ends in themselves. At the same time each serves as a means for securing the other two. This much however can be asserted that one or the other of these three is emphasized in each country according to the situation in which it is placed for the time being with reference to its own internal problems and to the international situation.

The special session of the Assembly convened at the request of the

British Government to consider the question of Palestine has now been sitting at New York for more than a week. It is well known that the technical reason why Britain felt it necessary to have this subject considered by the Assembly is that her title to rule over Palestine is based not on conquest as in the case of Burma or Ceylon but on the mandate conferred on her by the League of Nations of which the United Nations is the legal successor. Her rule over Palestine is based on conditions laid down in the mandate. Experience has however shown that these conditions are mutually conflicting and that it has become impossible for her to bring about any reconciliation between them. She has no legal power to alter these conditions. It can only be done by the United Nations. It is because of this that all the nations of the world have been called upon to express their views on the subject. But as usual in all these international bodies where people with different and conflicting views meet together disputes have already arisen regarding questions of procedure. A steering committee was appointed to fix up the agenda. The British wanted that the Assembly should at the present stage merely set up a fact-finding committee and await its report to decide on the substantial question of the future of Palestine. The Arabs on the other hand proposed that the Assembly should now discuss the subject of the termination of the British mandate and the establishment of Palestine as an independent State. The Arabs are particular about this as they feel that any postponement of this issue would only result in further immigration of the Jews into the country, to which they are firmly opposed. The Arab proposal however was defeated and it is now

certain that the British proposal alone would be discussed by the Assembly. Another point round which controversy has arisen is whether any of the Jewish organisations should be permitted to appear before the Assembly and put forward their case even though they are not members of the United Nations Organisation. It does not look as if they would get the permission. Whatever they may have to say they will have to say later on when the fact-finding committee visits Palestine. The whole subject bristles with difficulties. The problem is how to reconcile the real need of the Jews to have a free State of their own in their ancient homeland with the desire of the Arabs not to be dominated by outside Jews in a country where they have been living for nearly two thousand years and both these with the interests of Britain who has invested a great deal of money in Middle East oil for which Palestine is an outlet and also with the interests of the U.S.A. of a similar character. Power issues also are involved in the question. Another very important question is that raised by our delegate Mr. Asaf Ali as to how far Britain will abide by the decision of the U.N.O. and the reply given by the British delegate that a distinction must be drawn between Britain's willingness to abide by the decision and her ability to execute it. As he pointed out it may become necessary for the whole of the United Nations to assume the responsibility for executing the decision.

CHINA

Much was expected out of the broadening of the Chinese Cabinet by the admission of seven members not belonging to the Kuomintang Party. But it is now reported that the two "Young China" Party leaders have not yet taken office and that their party is discussing whether they should do so at all as they feel that the portfolio of economic affairs entrusted to one of them carries heavy responsibilities without real power. They do not have any control over organisations like the National Economic Council, the Bank of China and the National

Resources Commission which are the bodies really concerned with policy-making in economic matters. This issue has to be speedily settled because it will have to precede the grant to China of any loan by the United States. Without this loan China's economic recovery is impossible and China will have to give details in regard to the loan before the end of June 1947. The U.S.A. has already made it clear that unless China becomes really democratic and unless corruption is removed from the administration and unless an assurance is given that the loan would not be squandered on fratricidal strife no loan would be granted. There are also other reports of an alarming nature about the internal economy of China. Despotism, heavy taxation and conscription have created widespread dissatisfaction in the country. What the people want is more food, clothing, shelter and some conveniences which will make life tolerable. Phrases like national unity and Communist danger do not appeal to them now. Some of them are even prepared to revolt against the Kuomintang and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. There is a limit to the patience and loyalty of the masses and that limit has now been reached in China. She needs now a Government which directs its efforts mainly to economic reconstruction in the interests of the masses. We in India have a great deal to learn from this.

INDONESIA

The signing of the peace pact between the Indonesian Republic and the Dutch has not brought peace to Indonesia. The Dutch are determined on retaining their imperialistic hold. Only they now want to use other means and methods for the purpose. They are not for giving real freedom to the people there. They have not as yet raised their blockade against the Republic. They are also bringing additional reinforcements into the country. They are strengthening their hold over the East Indonesian Republic. More threatening than this is the encouragement they are giving to a "Pakistan" movement in Western

Java where Dr. Raden Koestomo who claims to represent the twelve million Sundanese people in Western Java wants to declare independence from the Indonesian Republic. He hopes to obtain the armed help and protection of the Dutch for this purpose. Until the Dutch disappear completely from South-East Asia there is no prospect of the people there enjoying complete freedom under a Government of their own. One of the items in the strategy of the imperialistic powers is to create a large number of small States even when there is the possibility of creating one big State. Small States with poor economic and military resources can be more easily persuaded—compelled—to enter into alliances with imperial powers and grant commercial and other concessions to them than one big State. This is what the Dutch are trying to do in Indonesia. And this is a part of the British policy in India. The French also are aiming at it in Indo-China. Latest reports show that they are planning to create what is called a new "associate State" for Indo-China. Under this plan there will not even be a federation of Indo-China. Each of the five units in it will have direct treaty relations with France. It looks as if the people in South East Asia will have to fight for long to get rid of Dutch and French imperial domination.

BURMA

There was this week a debate on Burma in the British House of Commons. The occasion for it was the official motion to prolong the present system of administration established in it in 1945 after the expulsion of the Japanese, an administration carried on by the Governor with the help of a nominated Legislative and Executive Council. This is a modified form of Section 93 rule which we now have in the Punjab and which it is proposed to set up in the N.-W. Frontier Province. The Executive Council of which Aung San is the Vice-President is a nominated body. The debate however is important because it indicates the general lines of future British policy towards Burma.

For the time being the British are agreeable to a union between frontier Burma and ministerial Burma and to the incorporation of the Karens in the future Burma State. If things proceed on this basis there will be a united Burma. As a prelude to this the frontier people are to get immediately a large number of seats in the nominated Legislative Council which will be in office till a new Government under the constitution to be framed by the Burma Constituent Assembly comes into existence. The frontier people are also to send representatives to this Constituent Assembly. Burma is given freedom to remain inside the British Commonwealth or go out of it. But in any case the British expect Burma to remain friendly towards them, depend upon them for military and financial help, and for the general economic development of the country. In all debates in the British Parliament and in the pronouncements of British authorities too much is made of this "new" phase in British policy under which countries like India and Burma are given the option to remain within or without the Commonwealth. In substance this policy does not amount to much. Imperialistic States can exercise real and effective domination even over countries not directly subject to their rule. British control over Egypt and Iraq is of this character. And the control which the United States will exercise over Greece and Turkey when economic aid is given to them is also of the same character. It is political and not legal control that matters. Apart from all this the problem with which Burma is faced today is internal. Dacoity is widespread. Communists continue to give serious trouble. The leader of the Do Bama Party is raising a revolutionary army of 100 000 men to fight British imperialism and its hirelings—the Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League of which Aung San is the head. How to consolidate the constructive forces in the country and utilise them to establish stable conditions under which the welfare of the masses can be promoted—this is the real problem of Burma as it is the problem of India.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

I DON'T KNOW how many people I have noticed it, but India's foreign policy as outlined by Nehru is just what Henry Wallace says American foreign policy ought to be. Of course, India is not in a position to make non-political loans to Russia, but she has given some small loans—quite non-political—to countries like Siam, and will probably be making other loans to neighbouring countries in a small way.

There were only three papers in India which have supported Henry Wallace on U. S. foreign policy. They are: *The National Herald* of Lucknow, *The Hindu* and *Swatantra*. This is a measure of the divorce that exists between the owners and the readers of newspapers. These same newspapers have not found it difficult to support Nehru's foreign policy. They dared not oppose Nehru's ideas about India's relations with the outside world because to oppose Nehru would be to invite suspicion on themselves. By their support of Nehru, proprietors of newspapers seek under false pretences to create in their readers a blind confidence in the rightness of the views expressed by their dailies. Issues raised by Henry Wallace are the same as those explained by Nehru for some years now. But the common man in this country does not know the background of Henry Wallace, and it is quite easy to mislead him when Wallace is the supposed target of newspapers. Actually all that is said in criticism of Wallace applies equally to Nehru, and is calculated to hinder the aims and ideals of the latter.

Mr. F. T. Robertson in a letter to the *Statesman* points out that the

Press attacks on Wallace—chiefly from the United States—describe him as "woolly idealist" and "traitor." Mr. Robertson recalls that during "the last Presidential elections, Mr. Wallace was for a time President Roosevelt's nominee for the Vice-Presidency. Only after pressure had been applied by Big Business groups did the President reluctantly withdraw his support and transfer it to Mr. Harry S. Truman, who, although undistinguished, was considered 'safe' by U. S. financial interests." The letter-writer goes on to say that "during the whole of the Roosevelt Administration, he was a close and trusted friend of the President, and not even the most ardent of Washington reactionaries are calling the late President names yet."

I have quoted this letter at length (and I am going to quote from it again) because it is a very good peg to hang our hat on. The American Press dare not call President Roosevelt names because he is far too much in the hearts of the American people. That is also the reason why the Indian Press dare not call Jawaharlal Nehru names. The Democratic Party in the first place did not know much about the social ideas of Roosevelt when they put him up as President in 1932. Roosevelt was Governor of New York, and the Governor of New York has a good chance of getting elected. It was only after becoming President that Roosevelt became known as a Red. When he came out with the New Deal, the Democratic Party machine was convinced that Roosevelt had sold them a pup. But they could never get rid of him until he died, hard as they tried for the second and third terms.

I know the same kind of thing is going on about Nehru's leadership. There are in the country financial interests and Big Business groups that would be glad to see Nehru go from the helm of affairs. But it is as difficult for them to secure that as it was for American Big Business to get rid of Roosevelt for the benefit of the American people.

It was only in Madras that Big Business had succeeded in replacing a Roosevelt by a Truman. Prakasam was attacked—and is still being attacked—by the Madras Press as Henry Wallace is by the American and the Indian Press. The opposition to Prakasam in the Madras Legislature was like that of the American Congress to Roosevelt. I heard that Nehru was among those who thought that Prakasam had lost the confidence of the people of Madras whereas in actual fact a majority of the members of the Legislature were being guided by leaders of groups, some of whom were wholly under the influence of Big Business. Prakasam was opposed by the very same people as

would be glad to see Nehru go. These are the Indian counterparts of the opponents of Roosevelt and Wallace and the supporters of Truman.

I quote again from Mr. Robertson's letter: "Now, if we are to believe newspaper reports, Mr. Wallace is hated and despised in his own country, and is an embarrassment elsewhere. Such a *volte face* of public opinion is hard to swallow. Perhaps the U. S. Press is not the voice of the American public, and the views contained therein are in fact only those of a minority, of the 'dollar imperialists' who are dictating the foreign policy that is leading America rapidly towards a third world conflict." (The writer seems to have a delightful taste for understatement, which is very Chinese in spirit).

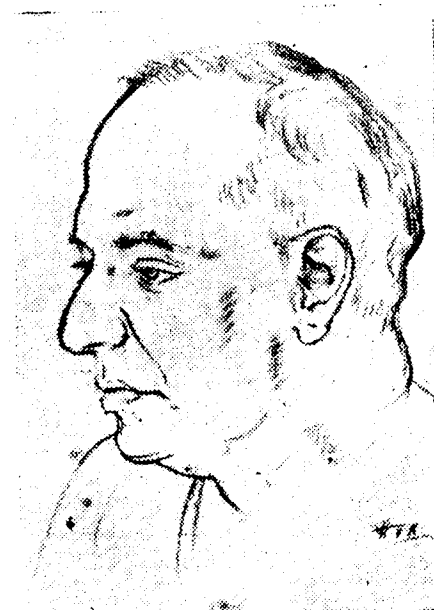
It is to be hoped that there will be a more general realisation that the views expressed in the Press anywhere in the world are, as in India, "in fact only those of a minority."

V. V. GIRI: AN INCURABLE OPTIMIST

by "D. V. R."

WITH the dramatic ringing of the curtain on the erstwhile Prakasam Ministry at least two top-ranking patriots and practical administrators have been suddenly removed from the arena of the country's public life. It is needless to mention that the one is the well known Andhra leader Prakasam and the other the no less well known labour leader V. V. Giri.

At a time when the country can ill afford to lose the services of trusted and tried veterans it is unfortunate that events should have been so allowed to develop as to deny to the country and its people the services and guidance of such as these. It is to be hoped that their absence from the Madras Ministry will not prove a bar to the contribution of their full share to the country's cause at a time when the very destinies of the nation are taking final shape.



V. V. Giri.

Born in a family known for its consistent loyalty to the Congress, Giri left India to continue his educational career in London and Dublin when he was hardly seventeen and had his first lessons in trade unionism in Ireland where he figured prominently in the Sinn Fein movement. His young mind was considerably influenced by the transport workers' strike during the Easter Rebellion of 1916 under the leadership of Thomas Connolly. No wonder Giri, although he has always been a loyal Congressman, felt ever since his return from Dublin, more at home among labour circles. He was hardly twenty-two by the time he returned to India and by the time he was twenty-five he not only rose to be a reputed barrister but had also become the President of the B.-N. Railway Union which has ever continued to be his first love.

He had his first jail experience in 1921 and he was for some time the

Secretary of the Andhra P. C. C. but the call of labour proved irresistible and he had to devote most of his time and attention to the cause of Indian labour.

The organization and development of the trade union movement in our country owes not a little to the services rendered by Giri during the past twenty-five years. No other trade union in the country, perhaps, has scored such fine victories as the B.-N. Railway Union under the guidance of Giri. One has to witness it to believe in what high esteem and spontaneous affection he is held all over the railways, and more particularly on the B.N.R. line and at Jamshedpur.

Long before Giri became a Minister in Madras in 1937 after a successful contest with the Rajah of Bobbili, he had established an international reputation as a labour leader and 'strike engineer.' He was

not only the General Secretary of the All India Railwaymen's Federation and President of the All India Trade Union Congress for some time but also attended the League of Nations Labour Conference at Geneva on behalf of Indian labour. He was invited, too, to attend the Round Table Conference in London to represent Indian labour. Giri, it is interesting to note, was also the first convener of the National Planning Committee.

Two things may be mentioned as having contributed to the continued success of his public career: his unblemished character and a sure and sound practical instinct which has always helped him in making correct judgments and arriving at quick but right decisions in the most complicated and worrying situations. There is another marked characteristic of Giri which no one who has come in contact with him would have failed to notice. In spite of his eventful career involving grave responsibilities he has never been known to be pessimistic. By temperament he is an incurable optimist never caring two hoots about the morrow with regard to himself or his family. This optimism seems to have been further strengthened by the uniformly successful results achieved in all his public activities. It is no exaggeration to say that it is impossible to be depressed in Giri's company and presence. His optimism is as much the result of his general detachment as the essentially good side of life which he always seems to dwell upon. He is an ardent believer in a co-operative commonwealth broadbased on democratic Socialism and has an instinctive horror for any doctrinaire "ism" that advocates means and methods involving sacrifice of ethical values.

Giri has been particularly fortunate with regard to his parents and other near relations. Guileless simplicity and innate incapacity to entertain rancour or spite against any have been his family traits. Giri's father, the late V. V. Jogiah Pantulu was not only one of the foremost lawyers of the Ganjam Bar but was also for some time a member of the

Central Assembly and then a member of the Madras Legislative Council. Giri owes as much to his simple, kind-hearted and guileless mother as to the massive figure and equally impressive character and courage of his genial and stout-hearted father. The editor of *Swatantra* ably summed up the happy relations between Giri and his father when he made the remark that it was difficult to know whether it was the son's affectionate regard for the father or that of the father's indulgent pride in the son that excelled the other. Among the members of his family and near relatives mention may be made of Srimati A. Lakshmi Bai, the present Deputy Speaker of the Orissa Assembly who is a sister of Giri while the veteran Andhra leader K. Venkatappayya Pantulu, the late D. Hanumantha Rao, founder of Pallipadu Ashram, D. V. Ramaswami and V. Raghaviah, the last two being present members of the Madras Assembly, may be counted among his close relations.

Giri is endowed with an excellent constitution and a refreshingly unfatigued mind which are partly inherited and partly maintained by his healthy, simple and energetic habits. Giri neither smokes nor chews pan and never plays cards; indeed, it is doubtful whether he knows a single game of cards. He has always been a vegetarian and teetotaler. He is not even fond of coffee or tea and prefers sweet puddings, fruit salads or tomato sandwiches thickly laid with butter.

Giri possesses a winning personal charm which possibly offers a clue to the secret of his success as a negotiator. Sir Frank Noyce, when Labour and Industries Member to the Government of India, during one of the intricate strike negotiations was reported to have remarked, 'Mr. Giri is an angel of propriety.' Nothing, perhaps, will reveal the human and virtuous side of Giri so much as his unbounded loyalty to Prakasam, his father's old friend and classmate.

Ever since the notable Congress Legislature Party meeting presided over by Giri last year when by his

rulings he vindicated the democratic right of the party to elect its own leader consistent with the high democratic principles and tradition of the Congress, he has stood loyally by Prakasam through thick and thin.

Soon after his resignation from his recently held ministerial post he was reported to have remarked to

a friend, 'Blessed are those that have no future!' The blessed may have no cause to worry about their future but surely the country has a right to expect the talents of its worthy sons to be utilised to its best advantage at this juncture when our future welfare and security depend so much on present policies and statesmanship.

LIVING ROOM SHOULD BE RATIONED

by D. RAMASWAMI

THERE are two things to-day in the city that even the most self-denying citizen cannot help envying others, a good house and a car. It is impossible to overemphasize the inconvenience and annoyance caused to the public by the scarcity of living houses and transport facilities. An intelligent school teacher would describe heaven to school-children as being full of good houses and cars. No wonder, then, there was such an unhappy scramble recently for ministerial honours, considering that a place in the Cabinet carried with it a nice house and a car!

People hardly realised the pleasure of sumptuous food until rationing forced them to a restricted diet. Houses did not 'matter' as long as one could get them for a song. But to-day things have changed. Scores of thousands of respectable employed people are ready to fulfil any condition just to get a portion in a house for fair rent ('fair rent' having a post-war connotation different from the old.)

The recent announcement of a Guest House for Madras statutorily recognises the seriousness of the housing crisis. No one would pretend that the house-hungry of the Madras public would be enthusiastic about the fulfilment of the announcement. There is every reason to predict that public opinion will be stoutly ranged against it.

Housing shortage is a universal problem and to realise its real nature one has to go to Europe. A tourist from Europe would be de-

lighted to see any of our cities, because he misses what confronts him everyday in his own cities, heaps after heaps of debris from demolished houses still uncleared. There are to-day streets in London whose war-devastated appearance is the strongest vindication of Wallace's present campaign. This vast destruction obviously should strain the housing situation enormously. With all that, housing shortage in Europe in terms of suffering caused to the houseless will not be very much more than what it is here. It sounds fantastic but that is not our only fantasy.

Our tourist, if he is somewhat enquiring and thoughtful, will discover in our cities something far more harmful in its effects than the destruction he has known. To our shame, we have been allowing caste and religion to "bomb" our cities and villages and to-day religion or caste establishes or disestablishes one's eligibility for tenancy of a house. An average lower middle class person could not hire a house or a portion of it in certain decent localities of the city, unless he declares himself to belong to a particular caste. Europe would tolerate its debris for long, but deliverance to us from the evil influence of caste and religion will not come soon.

The culture of the West has many fine things about it. One of them is a willingness on the part of individuals to share the good things of life with others and a readiness to adjust in the face of difficult

situations. To this social sense is due an excellent institution called "digs" in English. It works like this. In a house having a room to spare, and there are a number of such partly utilized houses, if the owner takes you much the same as a hotel takes its boarders and gives you all the essential services at a fixed charge, you are said to live in digs. The advantages of such an institution are legion. Thousands could add materially to their earnings while giving to as many the warmth of life in a family set-up. Adapted to our peculiar needs it is sure to do us a great deal of good. The problem of inter-caste, inter-religious and inter-provincial goodwill and understanding is best approached through the medium of the dinner-table and the common roof. And this is the only realistic and psychological approach to the problem. Pre-

judice cannot dodge the appeal made through the medium of the basic human needs. What could prevent a Hindustani school of culinary art evolving in no time out of its adoption?

Government schemes take their own time to materialize and we can't wander about in the streets of Mambalam or live in terribly overcrowded houses until Purasawalkam will see a thousand state-constructed houses. We could be a little sensible and prevent the waste that is being made of available room. There is no reason why certain big houses with names on the name-plates longer than could be pronounced at a breath should lie almost vacant throughout the year. There need not be a war on for a Government to ration living room as the British Government did during the war.

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A WAY SIDE POST OFFICE: AN APPRECIATION

by M. S. KALYANASUNDRAM

PEOPLE paying their first visit to Kodaikanal often ask me—"We have only two days to spare; what are the places most worth seeing?"

My usual reply is, "Well, 'Pillar Rocks' one has to do. The visiting day for the Observatory is Friday; and today is not Friday; you can have a look from a distance--go-pura-darshanam. Then there is the post office at Shembaganur."

"What? That pigmy affair down there? We looked at it from the bus on our way up. What's there to see in it?"

"Well, tastes differ; and there is no obligation."

With such indifference, one could not be a successful salesman. Very few gave a second thought to the matter. But an exceptional visitor who later confessed to me that he had a weakness for the least advertised wares or the least known

author, asked me to take him to that post office.

The place is three miles from Kodaikanal by the metalled motor-road, and some twenty minutes walk by the rough and rugged footpath. My friend preferred the latter. But we took more than 20 minutes, because the virile ferns that take an ell when offered an inch and peep lustily out of impossible nooks, and the tantalising cicadas that tune off their high-pitched love songs on human approach, distracted us from our main purpose. At last we reached the post office, reposefully nestled among the tall, straight, health-exhaling eucalyptus trees.

"Oh, yes, I remember seeing this place," exclaimed my friend; "the eye saw the legend POST OFFICE, but the mind read it as 'Garden Villa'. I wondered what discriminating aesthete had his happy home



An exterior view of the Post Office. The Postmaster and the postman are seen standing near the entrance.

here. The plants are out-of-the-ordinary too, not just dahlias and roses and chrysanthemums. And it is a good thing for an ignorant fellow like me that they are named."

He stood there rooted, letting the calm beauty of that casket-like building soak into him. I waited for a while, watching him with the happiness of a salesman who finds that his customer is more enthusiastic of the wares than he himself. Then we stepped into the verandah. I introduced him to the postmaster—Rev. Brother K. V. Peter of the Society of Jesus.

The postmaster enquired of my friend, "Are you a regular visitor to the Hills?"

"No. This is my first visit."

"I see. Been all over the place? You like the place?"

"I have not gone out much yet. I came here on Monday. I am expecting my brother tomorrow. He is more orthodox than I in these matters. He is sure to drag me about remorselessly to the conventional sights. In the meantime, my friend here,——"

"Oh, yes; he thinks well of this office, and me," he smiled.

"If you wish to produce the impression," I remonstrated, laughingly, "that my liking for you runs away with my discretion, just try and muck up this place for a day, or bawl at a man when he hustles you selfishly at mail-time; and see what opinion I have of you after that!"

"God forbid!" shivered Mr. Peter, and smiled a 'thanks'.

"Really, the office is very clean and tidy. I have never seen a post office like this—even in wishful moods.—Excuse me, if I am offensive, but today is not a special day, is it?" asked my friend.

The postmaster smiled in a quiet way. I gave my friend the necessary assurance. The postmaster explained, "Of course, I have heard such appreciative remarks many times; and, without getting vain, I am grateful. But it is nothing so wonderful as all that. A few minutes of

mine and my postman's time twice a day keeps the room spick-and-span. Moreover, you see, it saves



Rev. Brother K. V. Peter.

me a lot of time and bother in my actual work," he explained naively.

"But the public are usually undisciplined and inconsiderate, and leave ink-stains all over, or smear superfluous paste on the nearest wall or the counter. I find no such eyesore here. Do you get the stains removed everyday?"

"Oh, no. How is it possible? I suppose seeing the place so well-kept,——"

"Yes, with stains, as with other things," I commented, "One thing leads to another."

"It is exhilarating," began my friend; but became silent on seeing that the officer was engaged in some work. When that was finished, I asked him, "What was that piece of research work if I may ask you? You looked into many registers. Savings Bank Account, I think."

"Yes, it was indeed re-search work—though no one will give me a Ph.D. for it! That man has not transacted any business for the last three years, other than having the

interest entered. As you saw, he made a deposit today, and I had to go back many books before unearthing that last transaction. You know I have to enter today's date against that entry as a link."

But, my friend cut in with, "But, Mr. Peter, do you mean to say that all of these are old account books?"

"Of course. Why?"

"But they look brand new! Not at all blotched or dog-eared——"

"Why should they be?—Of course, I know what you will say about other offices——"

"Exactly. Perhaps, you alone have been handling them all these years——"

"That is not so. Other people, mostly of our Society, have been in my place during my absence——"

"It is most interesting. And I am glad to have this demonstration that it is physically possible to keep a post office in this good condition. Of course, it is possible for a casual observer to think that the volume of work is not much here—but it is not so. I have observed during these 20 minutes or so that you have a good deal of business to attend to."

The postmaster's eyes described an arc and rested on some charts on the wall.

I have been told by inspecting officers that the number of transactions in every branch of the work is nothing to be sneered at. I gave my friend some idea of the work.

"It is very gratifying," he observed, as he took leave of the postmaster, "I never thought of a post office as an emotionally stimulating place. I shall never forget this pleasant experience."

The Shembaganur Post Office, housed in the Jesuit Seminary near Kodaikanal, some 50 miles from Kodaikanal Road Station, S.I.Ry., and usually run by one of the Brothers, finished 50 years of its useful

existence recently. It is an extra-departmental sub-post office now. The altitude is about 6,000 feet. In the early days, runners used to bring the mails by the pony track from Periakulam. Many are the thrilling tales they could narrate of cheetahs, pythons and mountain streams in spate. Can the hoot of the mail-bus today ever make the heart go pit-a-pat as did the click-clack of the mail-runner's staff, with its loose rings, in the days of yore?

The public are agreed that the Office has been run on ideal lines all these years. I am sure that the inspecting officials have reported well of this office. I very much wish to reproduce some inspection notes as well as statistics about the progress of work to substantiate my statements; but, strangely enough, the Postmaster-General's Office has turned down my request for some extracts. Perhaps it does not wish to incur the displeasure of other small offices, which observe different working conditions!

A rhapsody over a small post office, perhaps, sounds strange. But, is it not more strange, and sad, that one who has lived for many years in various provinces, has not found one other post office to rhapsodise over? Is it not proper that I put in a good word on behalf of a gentleman who has shown that even humdrum work could be elevated to the rank of a Fine Art, and who does not deviate from his high, self-imposed standard however unreasonable the self-interested public sometimes be, and however unimaginative the management! And he is not just an enthusiastic young man of gushing, unproved idealism—he is past 60.

Though no Golden Jubilee was celebrated, this is the time to look back with gratitude, and look forward with prayerfulness. And my prayer is — "Let there be more and more post offices like the SHEMBAGANUR POST OFFICE."



LORD PETHICK LAWRENCE: A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

by M. S. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

AMONG the occupants of Whitehall, there have been all sorts, from rank idlers to rash idealists, from Lord Hartington to Lord Morley. Sir Henry Maine, during the stormy days of the Ilbert Bill, sent an important letter to Lord Hartington, the Secretary of State for India. The noble lord put it in his greatcoat pocket, went to Newmarket and forgot all about it. His sporting qualities thus saved him from interfering with a work of supererogation, "the superintendence, control and direction" of Indian affairs. Lord Morley knew that "it will mainly depend upon ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or for evil," but his limited idealistic fervour damped the enthusiasm of the Indian "extremists." But never has Indian destiny been entrusted to a Secretary of State who understood Indian politics through Indian imagination and philosophy more than Lord Pethick Lawrence. There might have been nobler intellects and greater administrators, and yet when the real events unfold themselves they would no doubt reveal that towards the supreme hour of 1948 no mean contribution has been made by this seasoned friend of India.

The pro-consuls of the East India Company and the Crown, Lords Dalhousie and Curzon, came to India, we are told, with thorough knowledge of Indian conditions and people. The India which they understood was, after all, the India of the Princes. From the days of leaving the Cambridge University, Mr. Pethick Lawrence was a frequent visitor to our country and studied the India of the Peasants with the unconventionality of a citizen of the world and the curiosity of a sympathetic traveller. Of her finances as invented by the British rulers he wrote: "When I came

to leave India and closed my account, I found that the rupees still outstanding were worth more pounds than when I had put them in. I remember puzzling my head at the time to discover at whose expense, if at anyone's, I had made this." Of her poverty he recorded that "the men were earning less than the biblical penny a day, and the whole family only two pence or two pence and a half." Of her ancient scriptures and philosophy, the Upanishads and the Bhagavat Gita, he had an intimate knowledge and responded instinctively to their central doctrines. Edwin Arnold's 'Light of Asia' was the fountain-head of his faith and inspiration. Of dynamic Indians like Gandhiji and Tagore, he had made friends, and the Poet's reference to the Taj Mahal as "a tear-drop on the cheek of Eternity" still lingered in his memory. Earl Cromer says: "It will probably never be possible to make a western silk purse out of an eastern sow's ear." If it is a proposition of economic exploitation, any purse made of any material now is of little use, for there is nothing left of the 'Wealth of Ind' to fill it; if it is a proposition of cultural appreciation, truly a western silk purse can be made of an eastern sow's ear, for the East and the West have met in Lord Pethick Lawrence.

In 'My Philosophy,' the most illuminating chapter in his autobiography 'FATE HAS BEEN KIND'—a book of lucid style, mainly dealing with the romance of the Suffragette movement—Lord Pethick Lawrence writes: "If I were asked to sum up in a single phrase the main objective of individual life, I would express it as the enlargement of personality . . . Each one of us is a composite fragment of the Great Life." "All life is part of the Great Life and that Life is the Life of God." Lord Pethick Lawrence's

ideal is what Mathew Arnold said of Sophocles, of "seeing life steadily and seeing it as a whole." He believes that joy and sorrow are our teachers, that out of right thought alone right action springs and that we must cultivate gentle equipoise of being, which we call happiness. His cosmopolitanism does not brook the barriers of race or colour or sex or religion. Here is the philosophy of a man stewed in the juice of Indian ethics and metaphysics, as he himself confesses. When Mr. Lawrence became Mr. Pethick Lawrence, the mere journalist was galvanized into the champion of the unprivileged; when Mr. Pethick Lawrence was drawn towards the eternal verities of Indian thought, the Englishman became a citizen of the world.

He understands by instinct what the Congress symbolises and aspires for, because he was a sufferer, an equal sufferer, at the hands of the nobility and vested interests of Great Britain. He fought alongside of the suffragettes led by the triumvirate, his wife and the Pankhursts. He says: "I do not suppose that I shall ever have become entangled with the suffragettes if it had not been for my wife." Nevertheless, he courted imprisonment and resorted to hunger-strike. He criticised the English penology and the treatment of political prisoners of his own country, and divined their "sub-human status." He discussed the fundamentals of non-resistance and experimented upon the efficacy of vegetarianism. His remarks about the hunger-strike have a Gandhian touch. "The first day I was all hot and bothered about it and got a headache and slept badly. The second day I took myself in hand and found out that what usually passes for hunger-strike is better described as the food habit, and that if not appeased it soon passes away." He knew what it was to be conscientious objector. In short, the calculus of his public life was like that of any Indian Congressman.

He believes that every human being is a flower that ought to grow of itself, "grow unconsciously, but eagerly anxious to open its soul to the air." He hates despotism and

tyranny wherever he finds them. As a boy at Eton, he found 'fagging' and the privileges of the senior boys revolting, and he is against "the mechanism of handwriting" and the torture of misfits in the English public schools. He sympathised with the Boers and took an active interest in India's struggle for freedom and independence.

He was a member of the Federal Structure Committee and records that the first Labour Government could not do much for India because it had no majority and that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald expressed to him his regret that his contribution could not be more appreciable and substantial. At the time of the first R.T.C. he stood for the 'via media' between immediate grant of self-government and doling it out in instalments. The marvellous awakening of the last decade and a half has definitely moved him to the left, with the result that in spite of his ripe age and physical unfitness he assumed the helm of affairs at Whitehall to see India through her last phase of political self-expression.

Born in a Unitarian family, Mr. Lawrence lost his father when he was a child and was therefore brought up by his mother and uncle. He had a brilliant academic career and studied at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He obtained first classes in two triposes, Mathematics and Natural Science. He was the President of the Cambridge Union and the influence of Alfred Marshall left its impress upon him. He was a Fellow and then the Dunkin Professor. Later he took to journalism and started the short-lived 'Echo' with Mr. Brailsford as its Editor (1902). He married Emeline Pethick, outgrew into Mr. Pethick Lawrence and engaged himself in the Suffragette movement. He managed the finances of the W.S.P.U. (Women's Social and Political Union, 1903), Manchester, "the copious fountain of mendacity" as Mr. Churchill called it, and was arrested for conspiracy. He and his wife broke with the Pankhursts. He entered Parliament as a Labour

candidate after defeating Mr. Churchill for Western Leicester, was Financial Secretary to the Treasury under the 'Iron Chancellor' Snowden in the first Labour Government, and even though uncere- moniously dismissed and deserted by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, returned to Parliament as an M.P. for Edin- burgh.

A western scholar by temperament and an eastern philosopher in out- look, his genius is not suited for the rough and tumble of English minis- terial life. He is the very antithesis of Mr. Churchill, whose mordant speeches, the "masterpiece of camou- flage," and theatrical simulations he had learnt to repel. His attitude to revolts, imperial and national, is in general based upon Gladstone's

superb remark: "If no considera- tions in a political crisis had been addressed to the people of this coun- try except to remember to hate vio- lence and love order and exercise patience the liberties of this coun- try would never have been ob- tained." His conception of world- brotherhood enlivened by his sense of the divine in man leads his ro- bust commonsense to the conclu- sion: "We are conscious of a gui- dance which shapes our ends and lights our path. One day a greater light will be given to us; and in anticipation of that day we trim the lamps of our hearts so that when it comes it may irradiate our lives." I salute the Englishman who sees in me the same composite fragment of a Great Life as in himself.



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A Pilgrimage to Tirupathi

by A. D. MANI

Editor, *Hitavada*.

I HAVE never been a profoundly re- ligious man at any time in the past but there are moments when a man, slipping into the gear of the 35-40 age period and finding his boyish en- thusiasms and adult optimisms wear- ing thin, feels intensely the call of re- ligion. It was in this spirit that I went to Tirupathi visiting the place after a lapse of thirty years. I was able to see the great pilgrimage cen- tre with eyes of greater discrimination than I did when I was a young boy, and my purpose in writing this article is to make constructive suggestions to the Tirupathi Devasthanam authorities and to comment generally on the un- spiritual manner in which some people approach the pilgrimage to Tirupathi.

I believe Tirupathi is, probably, the biggest pilgrimage centre in the coun- try. About two thousand persons from the far-off corners of India visit the centre, every day on an average. The other holy centres like Haridwar, Pan- dharpur and Muttra do not attract such a large number of devotees as Tirupathi. In view of the special importance which devout Hindus attach to the centre, it is the duty of the Tirupathi Devastha- nam authorities to make such arrange- ments as would provide the necessary convenience for visiting pilgrims.

The choultry accommodation at both Tirupathi East and up on the hills near the shrine is hopelessly inadequate. Un- less a person has some special pull with the authorities, he will not get accom- modation at the choultry which the authorities have erected near the rail- way station. The free choultry is a handsome edifice but it can accommo- date only a few hundred. Though the superintendent and his assistants have tried to make the choultry a comfor- table place of stay, it is not a place where women and children can be at ease. The difficulty of securing drinking water is acute and it is time the De- vasthanam authorities constructed a water tank where water can be stored and chlorinated and made available to

the pilgrims. There is another direction in which improvement is indicated and that is the lavatory. It is amazing how even educated people can be very lax in the use of the lavatories. The lava- tories were stinking, badly used and badly washed and no person accustomed to more sanitary surroundings could have the courage to use them. The Commissioner of the Devasthanam should personally inspect them and if he does so, the directions in which they can be improved will be easily discerni- ble to him.

I was sorry to see that inspite of much formal education, many of the so-called educated and highly placed pilgrims do not observe restraint at a place meant for the use of the public. There was so much of noise, bustle and disorder that one could hardly sleep. There was for example somebody quite high in the Government who had come from the deep south who insisted on making himself felt, an endeavour in which he was ably assisted by the lady of his mansion. When a number of people were fast asleep on the terrace, they trooped in and orders were issued to a perspiring servant to have the beds laid out for the whole family. The family consisted of "Balu, Kichu, Ramu, Swarna, etc" as the lady called them out by name and quite a cricket team made its appearance. There was a dis- cussion as to how the beds should be laid out, the lady insisting that the coverlets with the seams coming out should be spread with the seams up and not down, otherwise she explained, quite obviously, she would feel the strain of sleeping. I was half awake, or rather I woke up as a result of the noise they created. The gentleman was carrying an animated discussion with a friend about the ingratitude of some person who had run into luck and was unwilling to recognise past friendships and obligations. It seemed to me to be the most unsuitable atmosphere for making the journey to Tirupathi but there it was, the gentleman and his family had come on a holy errand.

Amazingly, the gentleman was very particular about his own comforts and not that of his family, and he was particularly hard on his young boy, a lad of ten who was preparing to go to bed. He told him with great disgust: "You have been sleeping all the afternoon on the train while I have not slept and you insist on sleeping again"! He was almost sorry that his boy should attempt to sleep at a most reasonable period, namely, after night-fall. It was all very amusing but also exceedingly disturbing because a number of us could not easily close our eyes in the midst of this highly exciting family discussion. I thought I had seen the last of the gentleman and that I would not see him early in the morning but I again stumbled into him when I was starting for the hills. He and his family were trooping downstairs, the wife carrying a heavy bedding, assisted by her children, who were carrying various articles of baggage, with the gentleman leading the party with a thermos flask in his hand.

There is a bus service connecting Tirupathi East with the place of the shrine some miles away. I did the return journey by bus, going up the hills by the old cobbled pathway which thrilled me deeply because every time I put my feet on the stones, I felt that I was walking on a pathway trodden and polished by the feet of thousands of pilgrims of centuries gone by. The bus service has made Tirupathi less of a centre calling for the expression of the things of the spirit and I wish that the authorities had not made a road for motor traffic. This has made the pilgrimage less arduous for black-marketers and corrupt Government officials anxious for securing the forgiveness of the Lord for their sins, and has resulted in making the Tirupathi pilgrimage more of a ritual than a march to a holy shrine undertaken in the spirit of the faith that moves mountains. Now that the road had been laid, it is well that the Devasthanam authorities paid attention to make the road more traffic-worthy. The Tirupathi road is a feat of engineering skill and I have never seen such precipitous bends, and suicide curves anywhere else except on the Manipur-Imphal road, laid under the stress of the Japanese War. At many places, the road is without a concrete bed and is just a heap of sand. I can quite imagine that during the rains, motor vehicles can skid on the roads leading to the destruction of human lives. The Public Works Department

should look into the matter immediately and see that the road is made safe for heavy vehicular traffic. There is no use relying on the superstition that nothing will happen to pilgrims on their way to and from Tirupathi and that it is well to leave the roads as they are. Accidents may happen any day, even in the most holy places, and it is well that suitable precautions are taken to make the road safe for the pilgrims. Further, if the bus service is to be fully purposeful, the Devasthanam authorities must increase the number of buses plying on the road. There are at present four buses plying on the route making as many as six trips. As I stated earlier, about two thousand pilgrims visit the centre and quite a number among them use the road and not the steps both ways. Tickets for going up and down to Tirumalai are difficult to obtain and there is almost a scrimmage at the booking office window for tickets. The hard-worked and puzzled superintendent has to answer demands for meeting which he has no resources.

I went up the hills on the road, walking all the way. It is here that I saw the spectacle of the deep faith that sustains men and women in the most difficult time. There were all kinds of men and women undertaking the arduous pilgrimage and some of them were least competent to go on the road. There was an old lady from distant Arrah, in the most delicate health, trudging and panting all the way and there was another man past his middle-age, lean and care worn, taking his child in his hands. I can never forget the sight of a young girl, unable to negotiate the steep climb to Kali Gopuram resting her tired and pale face on the stone of the parapet wall. I can never forget the lame and the blind, the sick and the dying ascending those steep steps with undying optimism in their eyes. The scene was highly biblical and had an atmosphere of authentic Bethlehem about it and it must be a great shrine indeed which could inspire such devotion. It is a great pity, however, that the Devasthanam authorities have made no adequate provision for such pilgrims. There are few "water-sheds", as they call it at Madras, where water can be made available for the thirsty. There were numerous cases of men, women and children crying out for water but there were few willing to help. There were numerous hotels on the way where coffee was available, an example of the commercialisation which is sweeping over the place but pilgrims who have decided to walk up naturally discard

such artificial aids for the fulfilment of a spiritual mission. It is these pilgrims who deserve the special attention of the Devasthanam authorities and who require all the physical aids for the fulfilment of their mission. At many places, water could not be had either for love or money and even the inducement of the price of a cup of coffee for a glass of water would not persuade hotel proprietors to relent. I feel that the Commissioner of the Devasthanam should examine the matter himself and provide this most necessary help for pilgrims going by the road.

It is not only in the absence of facilities for drinking water on the road to Tirupathi that I felt that the needs of the poor were not looked after as well as they should be. I felt, for example, that the tariff prescribed for the various *archanas* was most undemocratic and called for revision. I was told that the tariff has been in existence for over three hundred years, according to old records, and that there was actually a case for increase because seven rupees of three hundred years ago was worth five or six times the present inflationary rupee! Those who were in a position to pay were given special *darshans* and were quite conscious of the fact that they were apart from the crowd who could not afford to pay. I questioned the temple authorities about it and asked them whether it was not undemocratic and out of tune with the times. They explained that there were special *darshans* for the poor and that these *darshans* were the most well arranged of all. I witnessed the crowd at the dharma *darshans*. There were hundreds literally elbowing each other out of the way and one old man was actually pushed out. It is not possible to give an opportunity to everyone out of the hundreds who come there to have a *darshan* and I believe, though I could not ascertain the fact, that there is some amount of rationing in the *darshans* and some people have necessarily to be kept out. I see no justification for this gearing of the scales in favour of the rich. An official associated with the management of the temple told me that the shrine depended on public funds for its continuance and while the income of the temple was Rs. 40 lakhs per year, its expenditure was about Rs. 42 lakhs. "Necessarily", he said "the money will have to come from the rich." I agree that such temples can

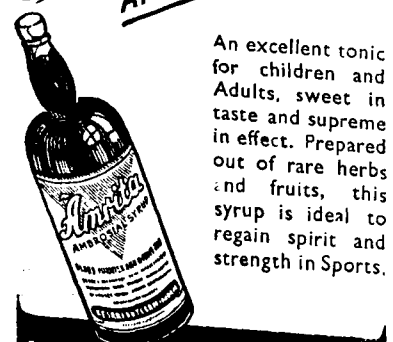
depend only on public benefactions but I do not think that the rich will refuse to pay because the tariff prescribed for *archanas* will be abolished. As long as the *hundi* is there where the rich can deposit a part of their wealth as a thanksgiving offering to the Lord, the temple will not suffer for want of funds. It is time that a more democratic procedure is prescribed for the *darshans*. The rates for *archanas* can be lowered considerably so that they may be within the reach of the poor or the whole rates system may be abolished and a queue system introduced for the *darshans* from morning to night so that those who come in a spirit of faith can have an opportunity of being in the presence of the Lord albeit for a brief moment. It will be extremely hard on the rich man who rolls up the hill in his motor car and wants to get back in time to catch the train to stand up in the queue but nothing will be lost if this kind of devotee does not come to the temple.

Quite a majority come to the holy shrine in a spirit of bargain, of offering something to the Lord in return for favours anticipated or favours received. I was sorry to see in South India that the pilgrimage has been reduced to a ritual and has lost much of its meaning. There is not for example, that fervour which one sees in the north at places like Hardwar. There is a distinctly worldly and personal approach at these places. I was with the Superintendent of the choultry in his office when somebody who called himself a Health Officer stepped in and asked for a ticket for the return journey. The really hard pressed Superintendent who tries his best to be impartial was unwilling to accommodate him when the Health Officer said to my astonishment: "You are my Venkatachalapathi. I have got to go back. You must give my ticket." The Superintendent was shocked at being described Venkatachalapathi. There was another man who came into the room and swore solemnly "upon my god" that he would never come back to Tirupathi as he was disgusted at the absence of accommodation and the difficulty of getting a return ticket. It is a good riddance if these persons do not come there. I said to myself when I witnessed these scenes: "The form is there but the spirit has left" and it is the spirit which has made the temple so rightly famous all over India for centuries.

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A LAHORE DIARY

by "BAROO"

ALREADY the temperature has reached a maximum of 103, and April is not yet over. I wonder what May and June will be like. 103 in the shade means a good deal more in the sun, and that is where the rub lies. There are few who can afford to remain indoors throughout the hotter parts of the day—the rest know from personal experience what it is to tread (or cycle for that matter) on metalled roads that have gone soft with the heat. A car taking a corner or pulling up suddenly will leave tidy little ruts where its tyres have dug into the semi-solid surface of tar and gravel. One of these days I am going to stick a thermometer into the road and discover for myself the melting point of tar.

This is the season here for a variety of cooling fruits and vegetables. Fortunately, the Punjabi has no inhibitions about taking refreshments by the roadside as he goes about his work. Just now, in Lahore, there is a mobile cane-crusher under every shady tree on its roads. A glass of juice, iced and flavoured with a pinch of salt and pepper, costs an anna and a half, and it is as popular a drink as coffee is in Madras. There is invariably a swarm of flies round the rollers and the crushed cane, but nobody seems to mind their presence. Then there are vendors of cucumbers, fine green specimens at an anna each, and served peeled and cut, with a sprinkling of salt and chilli powder. *Kakris*, (this is the Hindustani word—I do not know the English name—is it because I never saw them in the South?), foster-sisters of the cucumber, longer and greener and at half its price, are close runners for public favour. They, too, are served with a pink mixture of salt and chilli powder. There are other fruits on sale but they are not for the common man. Bananas at two annas each and oranges at double that price, are beyond the reach of most people.

They do not grow here, nor are they hawked around.

In another fortnight, peaches and plums from the orchards nearby will flood the market, and for a few days everybody can have his fill of them. Then will come melons and water-melons, and lastly, towards the end of June, mangoes; for the mango season in the North is a few weeks later than in the South. Just now, the fruit is as big as marbles and hard as a stone. It will need a lot more of the sun and at least a couple of good showers before it grows into sweet ripeness. Last year's yield, I am told, was poor, and therefore they expect a bumper this season. If there are no dust-storms that destroy the young fruit by the million, and no drought, we are likely to have a very good season, so that the price might come down to four or five annas a seer. Only then will the urban working classes have a chance of eating this, our principal fruit. That reminds me. There is such a lot of talk going on these days about starting large-scale fruit-canning and preserving industries in the country. But will not such industries deprive the poor of the only opportunity they have of tasting a bit of fruit? Canning will mean high prices for fresh fruit, and if it prevents wastage, does it not equally snatch food away from the lips of the poor? Canning will have the effect of widening the fruit market as far as territory is concerned, but of restricting it to a narrower social class of buyers.

A week ago the air was thick with rumours and counter-rumours of the impending formation of a Ministry. Special editions of vernacular papers sold like hot cakes every evening, if only they contained some wild "inside news" about what the Governor was about to do. But interest has a way of flagging, and to a certain extent people are getting a little bored with all this political talk, and impatient of the unsettled atmosphere.

BOOKS

The Mahatma And The World. By Krishnalal Shridharani (Thacker & Co., Ltd., Rampart Row, Bombay. Price, Rs. 15.)

A familiar story like that of Mahatma Gandhi's life has to be told very well indeed if it is to receive a fresh hearing. Mr. Shridharani's biography fulfils this first condition in abundant measure. It is written in a fluent but discriminating style that will hold the attention not only of Indian readers but of the American public in whose midst the author lived for many years and to whom, in particular, he addresses himself in this book. It is much more than a bare biography, the subject being a personality whose impress has been left on all aspects of life in India, and on current thought throughout the world. Apart from the very nature of the subject, Mr. Shridharani brings to bear upon it a mind that is familiar at once with the problems of the highly industrialised, competitive West, and with the philosophical and spiritual heritage that is unique to India. He therefore substantiates his tribute to the Mahatma's moral idealism with clear and acute reasoning on the possibilities of the practical or useful realisation of those ideal conceptions. So that the reader can form his own conclusions about the exact repercussions of Gandhi's teaching and practice on modern India, and indirectly on the modern world.

The earlier chapters of the book are full of incidents from Gandhi's life illustrating his early efforts to practise the traditional Indian code of virtues in an uncongenial environment. "In London, city of pubs, Gandhi came determined to spurn even the friendly glass of ale. From a people whose staple is boiled beef and mutton, Gandhi asked vegetables and fruit." Similarly in South Africa, Gandhi astonished his friends by acting as lawyer to *both* sides in the disputes which he handled, in accordance with his strange notion that "the true function of a lawyer is to unite parties riven asunder." This was a surprising position to take up for a man whose profession thrives on litigation. Gandhi's yet more astonishing

notion regarding the inherent rights and self-respect of the 'coolies' was, of course, the beginning of his political life and marked the birth of Satyagraha. Mr. Shridharani says of the Gandhian conception of Satyagraha: "A new weapon was born. It put power, as it were, in reverse. Power is created somewhere in between the one who imposes his will and the other who accepts it.... The tyrant has the power to impose only that which the victim lacks the strength to resist.... To discard our own weakness and wickedness is therefore half the battle and that is the way of suffering and self-purification. To refuse to strike back and, at the same time, to refuse to submit is the height of dignity."

It is in the later chapters dealing with Gandhi's leadership of the national movement in India that Mr. Shridharani widens the scope of the biography by adding necessarily brief but useful notes on the problems connected with education, village uplift, industrialisation, Hindu-Muslim conflict, etc. On the last problem, he says: "Hinduism is the most philosophic of religions, and Hindus have never taken exception to, let alone persecuted, any alien religion. Social behaviour is a different matter. The Hindu loses his mental flexibility when it comes to life in the community. The doctrine of caste is highlighted by the positive notion of exclusiveness.... The Muslim's case is diametrically different. Socially he is very democratic but religiously he is highly exclusive, holding little hope for the salvation of the non-Muslim unless he is converted to Islam." This exclusiveness should disappear, Mr. Shridharani holds. He also discusses Gandhi's ideas about art, sex morality, etc. "Artistic experience to him is an auxiliary to moral striving.... It seems that art to Gandhi was something to be used and not to be enjoyed, something ennobling, not simply joy-giving". In his talk with Margaret Sanger, Gandhi is reported to have said that all sexual acts save those for having children were immoral. The author remarks on this: "Mrs. Sanger had her

day, not with Gandhi, but with India. The time was ripe. The problem was there, the overpowering problem of a teeming population.... Artificial birth-control has come to stay in India, as in the West, in spite of Gandhi." Large-scale industrialisation of the country on Western lines is another process which Gandhi's campaign for the revival of the old village economy based on agriculture and handicrafts has not been able to check. After stating the Gandhian case, Mr. Shridharani says: "The economics of asceticism is the economics of scarcity. Although an energy system, it is a low energy system. It is adaptive, takes things as they are—nature as it is—and tries to make the best of it. In contrast, science represents a high energy system. It tries to master nature by discovering natural laws. It would refuse to gear Indian economy to the caprices of the monsoon; it would irrigate the land instead. Once they know it, most men would prefer a high energy system to a low energy system."

These will indicate Mr. Shridharani's approach to the effects of the Mahatma on the world. It is a sympathetic approach which nevertheless remains realistic. There is no mystic, unquestioning "faith" in everything suggested by Gandhi; but there is ample evidence of that reverence and respect which even the most modern mind cannot but pay to the greatest living conservator of the culture and social life of ancient India. Mr. Shridharani's study is a valuable contribution to the truly worthwhile literature on Mahatma Gandhi.

Farm Tenancy Under Ryotwari Holdings in Madras. By K. G. Sivaswamy.

1802 Rates Of Rent Or Ryotwari. By Sri A. S. Kuppuswamy and K. G. Sivaswamy.

Legislative Protection For The Cultivating Tenant And Labourer. Addresses.

Caste And Standard Of Living Versus Farms, Rents And Wages. By K. G. Sivaswamy.

These four booklets deal with the problem of land tenures and agrarian legislation in the Madras Presidency. The first three have been issued under the auspices of the South Indian Federation of Agricultural Workers' Unions and the last by the Servants of India Society, Madras. All of them bear the impress of Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy who has made a special study of the subject and has suggested a number of directions in which reform and reconstruction have to be undertaken.

The booklets have a special significance at present in as much as the subject of agrarian legislation is engaging the attention of the Ministry. There are three items in the Ministry's scheme of legislation. One is the abolition of zamindaris; the next is the passing of a uniform Land Revenue Act; and the third is the settlement of relations between landlords and tenants in ryotwari areas. All these items are discussed in elaborate detail in these booklets.

On the question of zamindaris the conclusion is arrived at that they should be abolished and that the outgoing zamindar should be given a fair and equitable compensation. There is an elaborate discussion of the recommendation made by the Prakasam Committee that the zamin ryots should in future pay the rents that they paid in 1802 or 1803 and it is pointed out that for a variety of reasons the recommendation ought not to be accepted. The difficulties as well as the absurdities involved in reverting to the rents of 1802-3 are exhaustively brought out and a good deal of historical information is incidentally given in this connection.

Two of the booklets deal with legislative protection for the cultivating tenant and labourer. Mr. Sivaswamy is rather hard on the landlords and is of the view that they are exercising a sort of tyranny over their tenants. He bases his conclusions mostly on what he has seen in the Tanjore and other districts where there is mirasi-tenure. But conditions in this respect vary so much from district to district and even from taluk to taluk in the same district that it is not possible to draw generalisations which will prove true of the whole presidency. In some areas the tenants dictate to the landlords who are utterly helpless. But the booklets are of value as they give an account of the different kinds of tenancy legislation prevailing in other parts of the country although before they could be properly understood a more detailed explanation than what the author has been able to furnish is necessary. His comments however on the fad of village self-sufficiency and village republics are highly refreshing. The booklet on caste and standard of living gives some graphic descriptions of several classes of cultivators—Paniyans, Kuruchis, Yenadis, Kammas, Reddies, etc., but they are not quite correct in all cases. All the same booklets deserve careful study as they throw much light on the nature of the issues involved in any scheme of agrarian legislation in the province.

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.

Democracy In Practice

Just now we had the unique opportunity of witnessing how parliamentary democracy is being worked in England. The Conscription Bill which Prime Minister Attlee introduced in Parliament and got passed, raised a first class party crisis in as much as nearly one-fourth of his own party members raised a storm of protest against it. The irony of it is that the Leader of the Opposition Mr. Winston Churchill and his party supported the Prime Minister, while his own followers rose against him. In all probability, if the rebels had joined hands with the Conservatives and others, they could have defeated the Government. But that did not happen because the Prime Minister in the party meeting explained everything to his followers and came to a reasonable compromise with them by reducing the period of service from 18 months to one year. Here it should also be remembered that this is a question of policy and not one of personalities and that the Britishers never acquiesced in conscription in peace time.

In Madras also we had a party crisis recently, not on questions of policy but over personalities. Even the vexed textile policy of Sri Prakasam did not make his erstwhile followers rebel against him openly, which should have led him to believe that everything was all right inside his party. In Madras, the Prakasamites and the anti-Prakasamites did not fall out, at any rate for all outward purposes, over any question of policy. They might have done so over the distribution of the loaves and fishes of office. Of course Sri Prakasam erred, and has paid dearly for his error, in not keeping close touch with the party members.

In England, when once the leader is elected, he is allowed to form his own Cabinet and to have a free hand for the full term of five years. It is only

in times of grave emergency that leadership is changed—as recently in the case of the late Neville Chamberlain who gave place to Mr. Winston Churchill. Here also, it would be better if the leader is not disturbed till his full term is over, so that he can have full scope and opportunity to carry out his policy. Let us grasp the spirit of democracy from a study of how it is being worked in the Mother of Parliaments and not attach undue importance to the letter of it and entangle ourselves in endless legal verbiage, leading us nowhere. It is as much the duty of the party members to keep their leader fully posted with public opinion, as it is the duty of the leader to take them into his confidence and work out his policies. Then alone democracy, based on the party system will be worked successfully in our country and make it great and prosperous.

Ambur,

P. T. K. IYENGAR.

Bewildering Politics

The average Indian is quite bewildered and embarrassed at the way in which our politics are taking shape. It is not long since our nationalist leaders indicted Communists for pleading the cause of separation; nor can we forget the scenes when C. R. was attacked by angry mobs soon after he came out with his famous Pakistan formula. Does it not look strange that our leaders should now accept the partition of India, much worse, should plead for the division of provinces on the basis of religion even if it is meant to be a counterblast to Jinnah's Pakistan? Will this not lead to a perpetual civil war and give a new lease of life to the dying imperialism?

Nellore.

G. PARTHASARATHY.

"Eye-Opener" To Kannadigas

The speech of Mr. Kelappan at the recent Aikya Kerala Convention should serve as an eye-opener to those who are

working for the unification of Karnataka. In his zeal for a bigger and stronger Kerala he envisages the future Malayalee province as including not only Malabar, Cochin and Travancore but Coorg, Nilgiris and South Kanara also. He might have as well added the districts of Coimbatore and Salem!

By no stretch of imagination can Coorg, South Kanara and Nilgiris be regarded as part of Kerala. Coorg is cent per cent Kannada territory. Excepting the taluk of Kasaragod which contains a large number of Malayalees, the rest of South Kanara is inhabited by Kannada-speaking population and in the future free India they will not allow themselves to be included in any other province except Karnataka. With Nilgiris, it is a different matter. Though originally the home of Kannadigas it is now almost a part of Tamil Nad and so neither Kerala nor Karnataka can have any claims over it.

Mr. Kelappan says that language is not the only criterion which should be taken into consideration in demarcating the boundaries of provinces. If that is so, why this vociferous cry for linguistic provinces? Why these conferences and conventions? Kannadigas cannot be taken in by such specious arguments.

K. A. ANANDATHEERTHAN.

Hinduism and Monogamy

Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyer seems to have ignored many points in his article on Hinduism and Monogamy published in *Svatantra* of the 26th April.

"Polygamy", he writes, "is the natural and only solution in a society in which the females exceed the males in number"; he might, with the same equanimity, concede polyandry when males exceed the females in number. But the problem of marriage is not a commercial one which could be solved on a mere supply-and-demand basis.

To a true Hindu who attaches some sanctity to marriage, monogamy is an ideal which has to be inculcated even with the aid of legislation, especially when it is felt that polygamy has done more harm than good. That other countries and other climes favour polygamy is no argument against it: one could also cite the whole animal world where polygamy is almost the rule.

Unfettered freedom in the choice and number of one's mates may be conducive to rapid increase in population but it is restraint, purposiveness and selective breeding that produce the best

race. It is doubtful, again whether the "explosive character of man's sexual instincts" would find the same accommodation when our women attain the level of man's social and economic freedom. As for the "pangs of jealousy that our half-educated girls suffer," it is partly this jealousy, Sir, that has all along put a check on the polygamous instincts of many a husband and trained him to a sense of devotion so necessary for married happiness.

"SHAREPOINT."

Hinduism and Monogamy

It is with great interest that I perused the views of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyer on Hinduism and Monogamy in your esteemed weekly. I congratulate the writer, but his advocacy applies only to a particular set of individuals. It is definitely not applicable to the educated middle class, as evident from the story *Garlands* that appeared in the same issue.

No religion makes polygamy a law since a real sweet home is impossible in a world of polygamy.

Polygamy is governed by various factors like the financial and physical soundness of the male-head of the family. What applies to rare individuals cannot hold good for the average man.

B. R. NATHAN SINGH.

Pernambut, N. A.

Madras Government And Aided Secondary Schools.

The present Minister for Education is never tired of repeating that aided secondary schools are far superior to Government schools; yet in the same breath he has been defending the payment of higher salaries to teachers in Government schools. His plea is that in aided schools the managements concerned should fix the scales, and Government can only aid them. Even if this plea be justifiable he should prove that the aid given is generous, at least not niggardly. But facts show that even the grants sanctionable under the Code are not generally given.

Take, for instance, the example of a school which spent in 1945-46 a sum of Rs. 85,880 on salaries and D.A. to establishment, Rs. 1,150 on rents and taxes, Rs. 1,120 on repairs, Rs. 820 on contingencies and Rs. 1,600 on Provident Fund. Even if other items of expenditure are not taken into consideration these bare necessities amount to Rs. 90,570.

The fee income at standard rates was Rs. 57,030, of which the management had to forego Rs. 10,050 from poor pupils of backward communities, Rs. 5,620 for concessions given to poor pupils after a competitive examination and Rs. 2,190 for free education to the children of soldiers.

According to the Grant-in-Aid Code the management was entitled to a grant of $90,570 - 57,030 + 10,050 + 5,620$

$+ 2,190$ i.e. Rs. 31,320. But the grant actually paid to the management was only Rs. 21,685. If the grant is cut down by one-third simply because the claim cannot be enforced through a court of law, how can any management come forward to give reasonable salaries to the staff as the Government may not, rather will not, bear its share of the burden?

S. MUKUNDA RAO.

A Great Hardship

Great hardship is experienced by teachers when they are posted as Assistant Superintendents during the S.S.L.C. examinations at the various centres in a district. At such times they are obliged to borrow the money necessary to defray the expenses they incur. The

high cost of living entails an expenditure of Rs. 5 a day and hence the present rate of Rs. 2-8 must in all fairness be raised to Rs. 5 a day if justice is really to be meted out to the teachers.

There is great delay on the part of the Government in sending the remuneration and the travelling allowance to the Superintendents. This is generally done after the lapse of eight months. We, teachers, look to the popular Government for sympathy and kind treatment and fervently hope that the daily remuneration of the Assistant Superintendents will be doubled and that the Government will take prompt steps to arrange for the payment of the sums due to the Assistant Superintendents at the enhanced rate at least within a month. In future the Government could send the money to the respective Chief Superintendents in advance so that they may pay the remuneration to the Assistant Superintendents at the end of every day or at least on the day of their relief. If implemented from next year, this arrangement will obviate the difficulties which the Assistant Superintendents at present suffer from.

Ch. V. G. KRISHNA RAO,
Assistant Superintendent.
Masulipatam.

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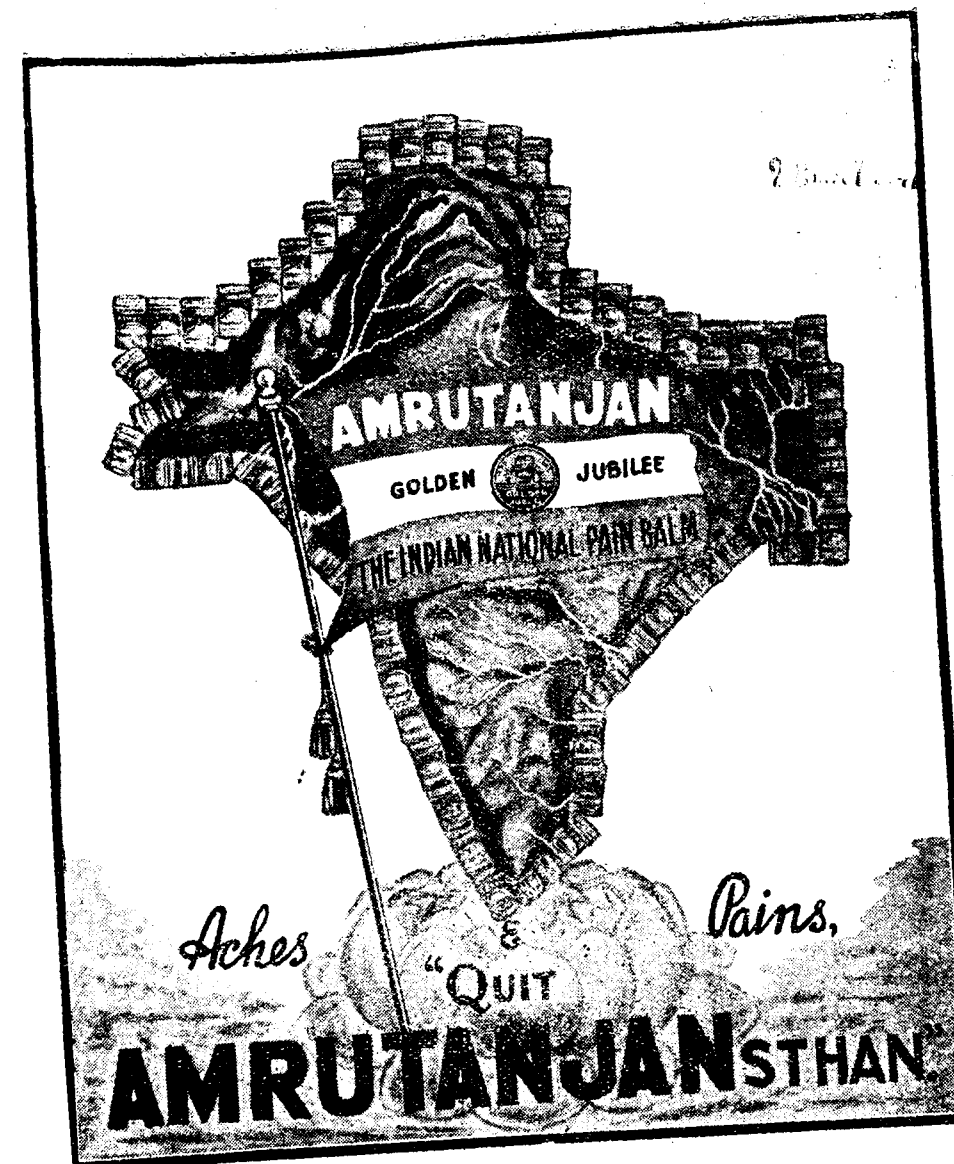
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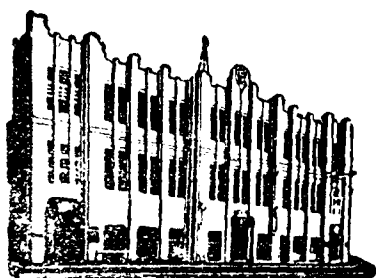
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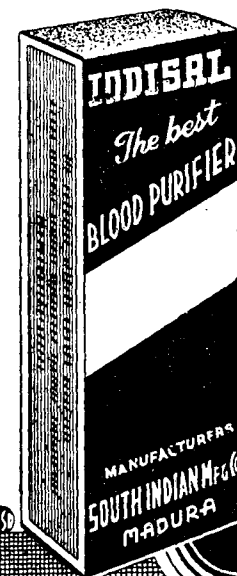
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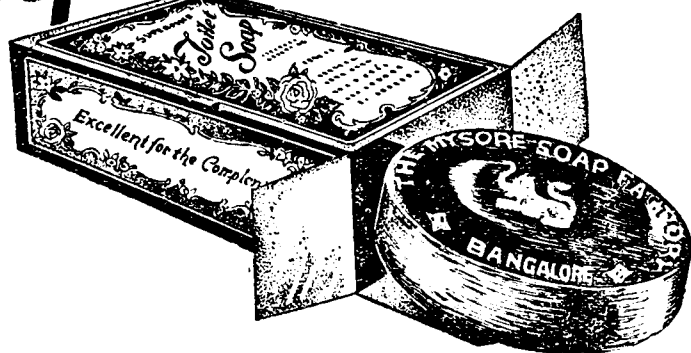
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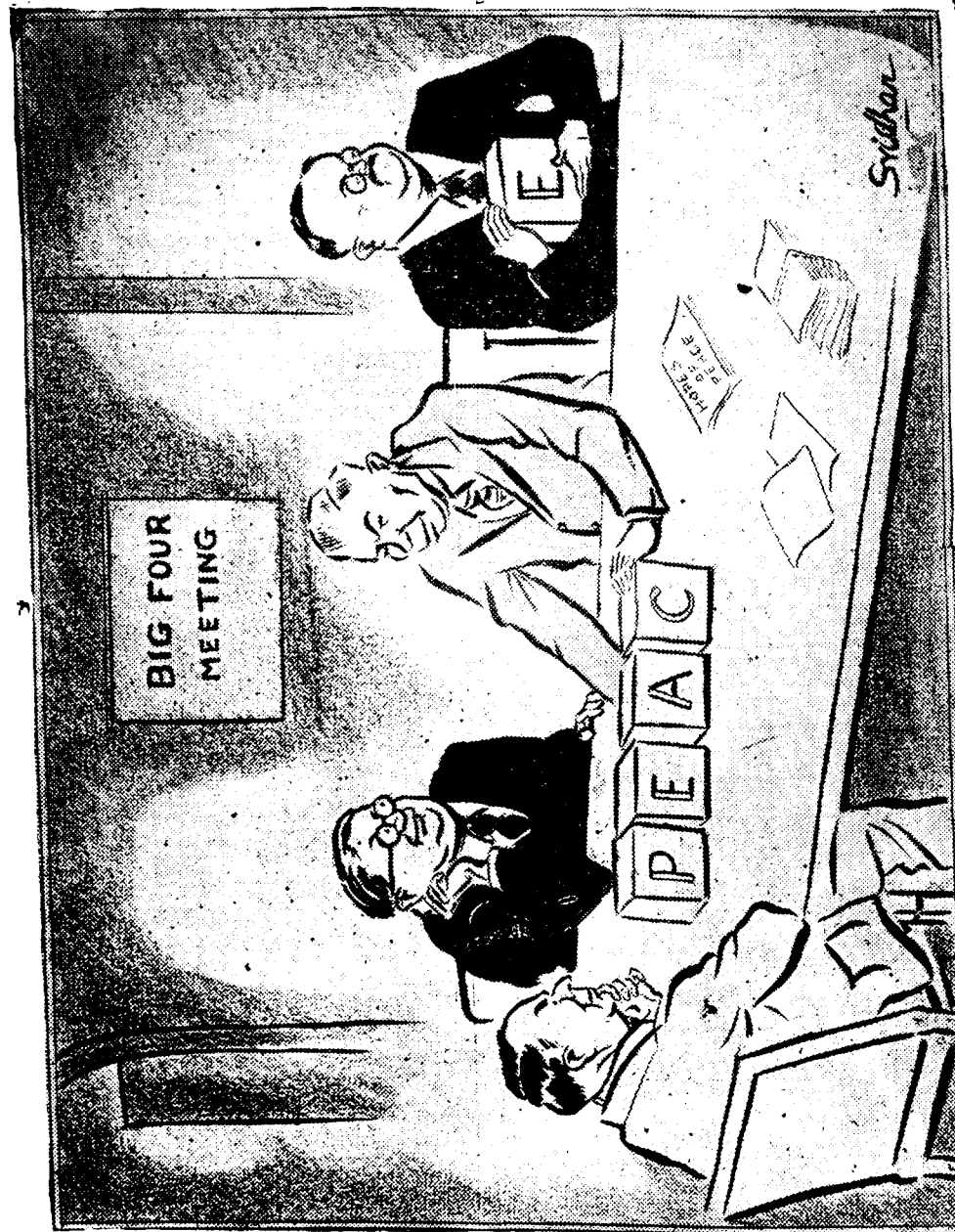
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PEACE IN PIECES?



SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 14

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

SABOTAGE FROM WITHIN

DR. Rajendra Prasad gave some valuable advice to the Conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies over which he presided on Monday. He asked them to look at co-operation more as a way of life than as a series of separate institutions for specific purposes. The value of the advice tendered by the Food Member is nowhere better illustrated than in the speeches of some of the so-called leaders of the co-operative movement in the province who aired their views on the platform of the same conference. Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, for instance, had some extremely harsh things to say on the working of the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies associated with the regime of ex-Premier Prakasam. These societies were by no means ideal institutions. Of the charges levelled against them two seem to be well founded. They were not so democratically conceived as they should have been. They were intended to save people from middleman depredations. But the very elements against whom they were to afford refuge and protection to the overfleece public, seem to have been allowed to get into them, and in some cases even to control them. The criticism that they were more in the nature of joint stock companies than of co-operative societies, that they were vitiated by the system of nominations that was favoured in preference to that of

elections, cannot be dismissed lightly. But with all their defects the societies represent a sound principle of social welfare—the principle of the substitution of profiteering in the sale of food by communal control and self-help. Each death in the Bengal famine has been computed as worth so much gain in money to some profiteer somewhere, and the ex-Premier was intuitively correct in feeling that the professional merchant class who have shown themselves merciless in their dealings with consumers, ought not to be allowed to go on playing ducks and drakes with the people's food. The broad purpose of the Prakasam scheme was unexceptionable. It was in the matter of working out the practical details connected with its implementation that he blundered. It would have served some useful purpose if persons like Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar, priding themselves on their expert status, had tendered out of the abundance of their experience while the scheme was on trial, constructive suggestions for its improvement and the rectification of its defects. Even if unheeded by Prakasam, it was open to them to compel consideration for their suggestions by getting public opinion to back them, provided of course the suggestions are such as could be made to win for themselves the endorsement of public opinion. Service of this nature is a necessary part of the duties of public men

with pretensions to public spirit in modern times when progress is measured in terms of the advancement of democratic methods in the ordering of governments. A few only can participate in the actual work of conducting the executive operations connected with the administration. But if others should feel themselves excluded, holding that they have no further responsibility, oligarchic trends are set up, to the hurt of the democratic spirit. The interplay of divergent opinions on mass consciousness for being focussed in the form of effective pressure on the actual wielders of administrative power for the time being, is the real essence of the democratic system of government. As between the rulers and the ruled, while the former run the machinery of the administration and exercise all the power pertaining to it, the latter represent an unlimited reservoir of incalculable potentialities held in leash. The unleashing of these potentialities skilfully to constructive ends makes up the art of influencing the Government without forming a part of it, and as the art develops and its practice extends, parties in opposition will take their rank with parties in power as joint participants in the common work of the State. A fearless critic is a friend. When the respect due to disinterested criticism replaces the profitableness of sycophancy in the ordering of our politics, the present unhealthy spirit of grab for office will cease, and both critics and supporters of the Government will step into a new harmony of equality and mutual regard, each contributing to the credit and efficiency of the other and seeking to discover with it interchangeable tasks in expanding loyalty to common aims.

The purposefulness of criticism is lost when it is used as a bludgeon for the defaming of a regime that has ceased to exist. It is a lapse into bad taste to start attacking a scheme when the point of relevancy

is over-reached by the scheme itself getting annulled and the author responsible for it dislodged from power. There is a world of difference between those to whom co-operation is a pastime for leisure hours in between periods of exacting pre-occupation with money-making, and full-time national workers of the calibre of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sri Prakasam whose lives have been given wholly to public causes in the highest spirit of co-operative endeavour. Not all the technical claptrap acquired by Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar in the course of his control of certain co-operative institutions, entitles him to put on the airs of an exclusive expert without whose permission no experiment in the co-operative sphere can be deemed worth undertaking, or refer in tones of lofty derision to ex-Premier Prakasam as though he were an ignoramus. Mr. Chettiar's reference to Mr. Kapur as "a young I.C.S. officer with more enthusiasm than experience," is apparently meant to convey a crushing indictment, but the Chinese phenomenon of respect for old age as such is not a workable asset for political controversialists in India where very few will in these days be disposed to sympathise with the ardours of an octogenarian that can no longer be young or support him in his attempt to penalise youth and its enthusiasm. Experience itself is the result of enthusiasm applied to work and should not be confounded with the duration of time that one has lived through. Mr. Kapur would appear to be an officer of a rare and unusual type, absolutely free from snobbery and stand-offishness; and he threw himself into the task allotted to him by the ex-Premier with an energy and devotion that did him high credit. That he should be stigmatised for youth and enthusiasm, supposed in some mysterious way to signify negation of 'experience', all in the name of right leadership under the auspices of a

conference of co-operators, illustrates a sad perversion of values offensive to the true spirit of the movement and injurious to the requirements of rapid and effective advancement of popular welfare under its impetus. If Prakasam's co-operative societies have not worked well, it is the function and duty of co-operators worth their salt to make them work well through necessary improvements, but not to sabotage the scheme itself with preferential favour for profiteering middlemen. That the authors of this sort of sabotage should be found entrenched in the citadels of co-operation assuming the title of being its friends and guides, pretending to serve it while actually guarding the gains of hostile vested interests, is the worst of the disabilities thwarting the development of co-operation as a way of life on the pattern recommended by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and it should be completely removed in whatever masked form it exists, if any further expenditure of labour and money is to be blessed with corresponding benefit to people.

Britain's Debt To India

IT is not without significance that the talks on our sterling balances are scheduled to be resumed at London in June just at a time when political passions are likely to run high in India over the British proposals for the transfer of political power. The coincidence may be accidental but it is difficult to believe that it is not part of British strategy. Suspicion is strengthened by the latest statement of the Socialist Chancellor of the British Exchequer. His characterisation of our sterling balances as an "unreal, unjust and insupportable burden" on Britain and his claim therefore to scale them down betray the poverty of the Socialism of the British Labour Party. He has not only outdone

Sir John Anderson, his predecessor in Churchill's Cabinet, but he has virtually repudiated the assurances given by Lord Keynes in the International Monetary Conference at Washington. Dr. Dalton's statement, it is hoped, will put the Indian delegation wise. They should not place implicit faith in the British sense of justice nor should they allow themselves to be exasperated by inspired statements in the British press. They should press firmly for an equitable settlement of India's just claims which would serve the interest of the common man in India as well as Britain.

Britain in her anxiety to protect her commonwealth and to increase her war efforts permitted the Government of India to adopt a financial technique which resulted in the Reserve Bank of India accumulating a huge sterling balance amounting to Rs. 1,600 crores. The war is over, now Britain tries to repudiate her debt in part if not wholly by all kinds of special pleadings. India in her turn seeks to ensure her sterling assets by securing their immediate international convertibility. Both claims are indefensible and impracticable. But given the necessary time and mutual goodwill it will not be difficult for Britain to honour her debt and for India to receive payment in full satisfaction of it.

Before stating the essence of an equitable scheme let us at the outset be clear on a few preliminary points. Claims between two countries can be settled either by arbitration or by war if they cannot compose their differences by negotiations. Arbitration lacks sanction; war seldom leads to a just and lasting settlement. If these two are to be ruled out, we have to rely only on negotiations and mutual consent. Negotiations will yield no results if each party advances all kinds of fantastic claims and counter-claims and reduces the negotia-

tions at the conference to a battle of wits. The first task of the British and the Indian delegations in making the ensuing London Conference a success is the demonstration of their bonafides, and their mutual confidence. Britain should unhesitatingly recognise her obligations to India as her creditor, and her willingness and readiness to honour them. She must also declare that if she fails to persuade America and other great powers to share her war burden with her she will not attempt to shift the burden to the shoulders of her colonial peoples who are economically poor and backward. In other words the British delegation should demonstrate that the war, far from debasing their people has brought about their moral regeneration. The British Labour Party is on its trial.

It is equally imperative that India should act with a sense of realism and reveal her magnanimity as a creditor. She should make every possible effort to appreciate the difficulties of Britain as a debtor and allay her legitimate fears. The continuance of the exchange controls and the delinking of the rupee from sterling, have been effected by the Government of India with this purpose. India may have to adopt other measures too which would prevent a flight from sterling, and the weakening of the sterling exchange with all its undesirable repercussions on the British economy. It is puerile to demand the immediate release of our sterling assets and their conversion into hard currencies or to demand payments in gold and surrender of the industrial assets of Britain. It must also be obvious to us that we, as creditors, cannot by any means prevent Britain from repudiating wholly or partially her debt, if she means to do so. It must be further obvious that in the absence of a legal sanction a creditor is at the mercy of his debtor and that the debt can be liquidated only at the pace and

in the manner that the debtor is able and willing to liquidate it and the creditor is willing and able to absorb its repayment. This is no less true of nations.

The hard fact has to be recognised that our sterling balances which have amounted to 1600 crores can be recovered only by expanding the economy of the two countries, and by the ability of Britain to export and the ability of India to absorb imports; that this liquidation of indebtedness will take time; that a plan acceptable to Britain and India has to be devised with a view to assisting not only the liquidation of the sterling balances but to making this liquidation an instrument in the building up of the Indian economy without imposing an intolerable strain on the British.

This implies that Britain will have to give up her policy of *laissez faire*, her traditional lines of trade and the outmoded schemes of Empire preference and the like, overhaul her economic system and productive machinery and turn it to the needs of her creditors and customers. She will have to appreciate the legitimate aspirations of India and the new economic and social outlook of her people and assist them in expanding their economy. In other words Britain must abandon her old economic and political imperialism. If she wants to survive as a great power and to preserve the standard of life of her people and yet to promote her exports for a speedy wiping out of her indebtedness, Britain must improve her productive efficiency and reorganise her economic and social system. This can be done only by a socialist Britain. A capitalist Britain will only think in terms of repudiation of her debts and strengthening her hold on colonial peoples. She must realise that her economic recovery and the liquidation of her indebtedness will not be a painless process but its strain and stress can be con-

siderably mitigated if Britain has the vision to see things clearly in their proper perspective.

The task of the Indian delegation at the London Conference is by no means simple. It is not enough that they propound these principles for Britain but they have to work out in detail a scheme for the realization of her sterling credits in the manner and at the pace India desires. The Indian delegation should not act as a panicky creditor trying to realise whatever can be realised from an insolvent debtor. The demand for the import of precious metals and the surrender to India of all foreign assets held by Britain represents political bankruptcy. The Indian delegation will have to go about with a set purpose. It is necessary that all vestiges of British political power will have to be liquidated. A part of our sterling balances can be used in acquiring the British Government's assets held in India and the industrial holdings of British nationals in India. This can be done, as it was done in America, South Africa, and in some South American countries, with the assistance of the British Government. The liquidation of the British civil and political services and the repatriation of the British holdings in India will absorb about Rs. 400 crores, leaving a balance of Rs. 1,200 crores. India will require 400 to 500 crores for meeting her current obligations. The liquidation of the balance of about 700 crores will require a long range plan. It is the task of the Indian delegation to prepare and submit a plan for the liquidation of this part of our sterling balances. This the delegation can do only if they have a plan of economic development of India, and gauge properly the tempo of the plan. It is unfortunate that the Indian delegation are not fully prepared for the task before them. They are at present divided, they represent Indian capitalists. No wonder there is a continuous frit-

tering away of our sterling balances in acquiring precious metals and second-hand British plant and equipment. There is a scramble among Indian capitalists for acquiring British concerns in India at fabulous prices. If the sterling assets are to be conserved as national assets and utilized productively in the interest of the national economy as a whole, it is imperative that the Interim Government should evolve a plan for economic development on a socialist basis. (Capitalist planning is a misnomer.) The British heavy industries, machine tool industries, etc., can then be invited to equip India's new enterprises. The assistance of British technical skill can be secured in the period of transition. Britain can also agree to afford adequate and real facilities for the training of Indians. All these can and should absorb a considerable part of our sterling balances over a period of 15 to 20 years. This period will depend on India's economic plan as well as on the elasticity of the British industrial system. It cannot be dogmatized that the period should be limited to 5 or 10 years or should extend over 100 years.

To the extent that British economy is not able to meet India's requirements directly, Britain must be prepared to release a part of the blocked sterling assets for conversion through multilateral trade. The extent of this release would depend on the tempo of British economic recovery and the expansion of Britain's export trade. The rapid liquidation of the abnormal balances without impairing the interests of the debtor country and to the advantage of the creditor country requires not merely co-operation and understanding between the creditor and debtor countries alone but also co-operation on the part of all nations of the world. (The task will be difficult and the process painful so long as the countries of the world act on the principle of competitive

profiteering.) The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have come into being with the ostensible purpose of facilitating international co-operation. Whether they will regenerate the nations and inspire them with a new spirit or succumb as instruments of greed and expansion for the great powers, future events alone can reveal. But it is certain that India and Britain can act in a co-operative spirit if the Labour Party in Britain and the National Congress in India work in good faith with goodwill towards all and malice towards none.

Sotto Voce

Poor Fish



I HAVE read with great satisfaction that the love songs of fish have been recorded on the phonograph. A poet may come in presently who will celebrate the discovery with the gusto which Maeterlink brought to the description of the nuptial dance of the white ant. The fish has lain too long under undeserved stigma in the West. 'Fishy,' 'poor fish,' 'drinks like a fish,' 'stinking fish'—so the slighting canticle runs through the whole gamut of opprobrium. It was high time the injustice to this harmless and necessary creature was redressed.

It is in no spirit of chauvinism that I claim that the Orient, on the contrary, respects fish; it does not share the Occident's traditional contempt for what it lives upon. Kama, the god of Amour, carries the picture of this aquatic vertebrate on his banner; the Mother of the Universe is praised as having eyes like fish; and the Matsya Avatara is Divinity Incarnate. But let it not be supposed, from these exalted associations, that we swung to the other extreme and treated fish as "too good" metaphorically speaking, for "human nature's daily food."

The sage Soubhari was won over to the cares and pleasures of family life on seeing a swarm of fish disporting at ease. Which would seem to point to the moral that men are just fish—buffeted by fate, licking their wounds and withal finding life good.

That is not perhaps a very uplifting conclusion. But scientists will quarrel with me on a somewhat different ground—that I have no right to moralise, and what is worse, to make them privy to the crime. Much which passes for natural history with the man in the street is, they would say, as wildly fantastic as Goldsmith's fairy tales. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard!" must be regarded as a hoary misdirection, because it has been found that the ant is no more consciously virtuous than the cuckoo, branded as the arch-interloper, is consciously wicked. It is all a question of instinctive behaviour.

But that is not the worst of the indictment. The facts with which science deals, says the case for the prosecution, are ends in themselves, not just pegs from which to suspend

a tattered old-world ethic. From the bewildering multiplicity of facts plausible support could be found for every conceivable moral thesis. The nineteenth century was up to the neck in this exciting game. "Nature red in tooth and claw" was held to justify the cult of the Superman. On the other hand the termite world seemed designed to serve as a model of the communist society then in the womb. And, contradicting both these conclusions, the later discovery of the gene demonstrated the precious uniqueness of the individual. Science was thus attempting to be all things to all men.

A Caesarean operation was in fact needed to redeem it from the maw of moral utility. It is in the thoroughness with which this separation has been effected that the triumph of twentieth century science lies, according to its votaries. The integrity of scientific truth has been restored—and its utter irrelevance to the human situation has been emphasised. Is it not therefore unpardonably naive of me, the scientist may ask, to try to drag science back to the service of the fabulist?

Having summarised the charge against me as fairly as I can, let me state the case for the defence briefly. If the facts of science are

of no use to me why should I bother about them? Disinterested curiosity is all right up to a point, but life is short. Nor is there any use asking me to hold my soul in patience, reflecting that every modern invention has been made possible by some accession of pure knowledge which when it was gained promised no practical benefit. Not all the gadgets that the Mechanical Revolution has showered on me have the power to bring a ray of light or a crumb of comfort to the essential me.

There is a homely saying that one cannot wait for a sea-bath till the waves subside. If knowledge is to subserve right living and bring freedom within our grasp we may not keep only one gateway open to the questing spirit. "What song the sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture," said Sir Thomas Browne. Most of the questions which science asks are of much less consequence than these; and the answer, if found, would be correspondingly worthless, whether arrived at by rigid scientific method or by the kind of speculation which old Browne favoured. The important thing is to ask the right question and know the right answer when it comes.

VIGHNESWARA.

The Koh-i-noor, (literally the "Mount of Light") is in the news again. It is, literally again, the "brightest jewel in the British crown". A diamond of unrivalled beauty and brilliance, it was taken away from the tottering hands of the Moghul Mohammad Shah by the Persian invader Nadir Shah two centuries ago. Raja Ranjit Singh recovered it from Shah Shuja in the beginning of the last century, and finally, the British took it off his successor when Duleep Singh was dethroned and the Punjab annexed in 1849. Now that the British are due to go, a demand has been made by the Sikhs that the diamond should be returned to them. If the Koh-i-noor is recovered in this way, it will certainly be enshrined in the Golden Temple at Amritsar, the Mecca of the Sikhs.—(Baroo)

SIDELIGHTS : :

The subordination of everything to the needs of circulation affects the truth and adequacy of the news that appears in our press.—THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

I HAVE received, in recent weeks, an enormous number of letters expressing wildly conflicting points of view. They deal mainly with the attitude of *Swatantra* in the turmoil that preceded and followed the ministerial crisis. Analysis of the contents of the letters in relation to the places of their origin provides valuable data for a political map of the province showing the allegiance of its various territorial units to the several leading figures concerned in the crisis. Not all the letters could be published. Those that repeated what had been said by their predecessors had to be excluded. Attacks were rarely ever shut out for the reason that they were attacks, whereas encomiums were as a rule shelved unless for other reasons they had to be accorded publicity. If what has been omitted is taken along with what has been ventilated, certain striking conclusions emerge about the political terrain and climate of the various linguistic areas in the province.

In the Andhra area, with the loss of the Premiership, Sri Prakasam has won vastly multiplied popularity. He was ever to Andhras the most revered and beloved of the Andhra leaders. To love and reverence has now been added an intense sympathy begotten of a sense of wrong having been done to him. Curiously, resentment over the wrong has not spread itself over the whole of the personnel of the supplanting Ministry. It has got concentrated on two Ministers in particular, and on one not a Minister but an aspirant, who just missed the winning post with the skin of his teeth. Shades of darkness are discernible in the black mood of the letters towards these three. The

palm for being the most intensely disliked man of the moment in his own district belongs undoubtedly to Pallam Raju, and the dislike seems to have gone up to a peak of frenzy with his election as Deputy Leader of the Congress Legislature Party. Fury blended with illwill is what most of the letter-writers cherish towards Sri Kala Venkat Rao. As for Minister Kurmiah, what they say of him is unprintable. There is precious little of reference to any of the other Andhra Ministers and none at all to Sri Chandramowli.

Correspondents from the Tamil area are neither proud nor happy over the choice of Sri Omandur as Premier. There is a general feeling of respect for him combined with an apprehension of inadequacy in him for the strenuous responsibilities of the high position that has devolved on him. There is no widespread anti-Prakasam sentiment in Tamil Nadu as there is an anti-C.R. sentiment in Andhra. Intense devotion to C.R. is the prevailing note of most of the letters from the Tamil districts, and their writers are resentful of criticisms in *Swatantra* attributing to C.R. a hand in the ousting of the ex-Premier, and they interpret the journal's support of Prakasam as an anti-C.R. *volte face* betraying unsteadiness and a transference of loyalty from one political camp to another. Dark hints also have been thrown of prospective adverse effects on circulation in the event of persistence in viewpoints unpalatable to the writers.

For the removal of misapprehensions, it has to be stated very clearly that it is no part of the conscious endeavour of the journalism of *Swatantra* to concentrate on what pleases everyone or offends none. It is neither *pro* this leader nor *anti* that leader. The attempt is not to allow personal loyalties to influence judgment on public and political questions. As leaders gather power

and get installed in the status of Governments, there is all too much of a tendency on the part of the press to avoid the risk of losses involved in a conflict with the powerful, and instead of educating the people, it tends to work as a tool of the installed Government in a process of voluntary or commandeered indoctrination. All loyalties merge for the true journa-

list in the supreme duty of being a fearless critic of all who invite criticism with their public roles, since his only way of repaying kindness is by avoidance of mental servility and tendering independent disinterested criticism, and wherever the duty leads he should go, taking all consequences that come as part of the tests of probity of the profession.—SAKA.

V. P. ROW : A TRIBUTE

by Dr. V. RAMA IYENGAR

THE late V. Panduranga Row was, to those who were privileged to move with him closely, a lovable



man, full of sympathy and kindness. He had a sharp intellect, quick wit and a tender heart. He was a man of moral integrity and believed in doing the right thing, without fear or favour. He always upheld the cause of truth and justice.

He shunned the public gaze. He preferred to look inwardly and get true comfort and inspiration. The *Bhagavad Gita* was his sole book of consultation and reference. He had a passion for right conduct and

wherever unhealthy conflicts and rivalries prevailed, he kept himself scrupulously aloof and when once he made up his mind on any matter, he was adamant and unshakeable in his resolves.

He loved to do charity unostentatiously and his left hand did not know what his right hand gave.

His piety and devotion were not of any spectacular or showy type. He was an acute and enthusiastic thinker, but not in the way of philosophers who do a lot of sterile intellectual thinking bereft of human goodness, sympathy and understanding. With advancing years, he became more and more soft, more and more unselfish and detached. He died worthily and he lived worthily, with peace of mind and God's name on his lips.

WHAT AMERICAN LABOUR WANTS

Not so long ago, organized Labour in America fought for free public schools. Reactionaries opposed them. Labour won. Now we know that what Labour fought for was good for America. Organized Labour fought to protect our children from child labour exploitation. The reactionaries opposed them. Labour won. Now we know that what Labour fought for was good for America. The instances can be multiplied. Now organized Labour fights against exorbitant profits because they are the obstacle to prosperity. Labour fights for higher basic wages and a greater purchasing power which would assure prosperity . . . For this Publications Director of the Congress of Industrial Organisations programme, Labour claims, is good for America.—Joseph Gaer.

A NOTE ON THE BRITISH BUDGET

(From Our Correspondent)

London: Mr. Dalton's budget received a very mixed reception in the House of Commons. The most unpleasant surprise was probably the steep increase in the tobacco tax. Prior to the budget, cigarettes cost one rupee nine annas for a packet of twenty, but the increase in taxation forced them up to two rupees four annas. The Chancellor made it quite clear that this unprecedented tax was levied primarily to reduce the wastage of American dollars. A better policy would have been, either to give a preferential duty on Empire tobacco, or, now that 75% of the adult population smoke, to organise a simple rationing system. The former schemes however would have been impossible as under the terms of the American loan Britain cannot adopt any method of tariff discrimination against the U.S.A.

Of lesser importance were a series of small income-tax concessions, for example, the proportion of earned income exempted from tax goes up from one-eighth to one-sixth. Profits tax on dividends distributed to shareholders is increased from 1/- in the £1 to 2/- in the £1, although profits 'ploughed' back into the business remain tax-free.

These were the high lights in a record speech only equalled in length by Mr. Lloyd George's famous budget speech in 1909.

Among the main items of expenditure was 550 crores of rupees for the cost of living subsidy. This enormous sum of money has been expended annually during the war as an anti-inflationary measure to

keep down the prices of basic foods, e.g. meat, wheat, milk, eggs, etc., while a small proportion of it goes to peg the prices of certain utility clothing. Mr. Dalton hinted that it may be necessary soon to reduce this figure, and let prices find their own level. The result of this would be to reduce the real value of wages and cause industrial unrest.

Military expenditure still remains at the remarkable figure of 1170 crores of rupees. This is the price that Britain has to pay for 'Bevinism', which is another name for Tory foreign policy.

'We have made history with our social services' said Mr. Dalton, 'by providing 573 crores of rupees for education, housing, health, and unemployment, which is 25% more than they cost last year.'

'The immediate danger' continued Mr. Dalton, 'was inflation breaking through the controls.' He then went on to explain that with a shortage of consumer goods and plenty of money in circulation it was a good year to plan a budget surplus. 'If in future years', he concluded, 'a depression were to start in some other part of the world, deflation may be the danger. In that case I should not hesitate to plan for a deficit, and if need be a large one.'

Apart from the tobacco tax this 1947/8 budget could be considered a step in the right direction, albeit a faltering and uncertain one. But this form of indirect taxation hits hardest the people who can least afford it, and is contrary to all the established principles of the Labour Party.

A man is sociable in the degree in which he is intellectually poor and generally vulgar.—ANONYMOUS GREEK AUTHOR.

REPORT ON NORTH MALABAR

WAYS OF THE SPECIAL POLICE

(Reports of the misdeeds of the Malabar Special Police have been reaching us for a considerable time. They have found little or no reflection in the columns of the daily press. To secure an authenticated first-hand account for the benefit of Swatantra readers, we deputed a member of the staff on a week's tour to make a study of conditions on the spot. This report is the result. It speaks for itself. The writer, G. N. Srinivasa Raghavan, is a brilliant Honours graduate just out of college. He has a fresh mind and is free from prejudices.—Ed. S.)

On May 7 at Cannanore what is known as the Kavumbai case was being heard in court. An account of the proceedings which I watched will be an appropriate beginning to this report on conditions in North Malabar, because it illustrates the manner in which 'law and order' have been maintained in that area with the aid of the Malabar Special Police (MSP) during the past half year.

There was a clash between the MSP and a group of peasants at the foot of a hill in Kavumbai (Chirakkal taluk) in December 1946. The MSP opened fire; two kisans died on the spot and another succumbed to bullet wounds later. After this incident, an MSP platoon came upon two peasants who were hiding for shelter near a dried up watercourse. According to the MSP version, one of the peasants had a crude country spear in his hand while the other was armed with a country gun. The latter is alleged by the MSP to have fired at them. The Jamedar who led the platoon fired four rounds and killed both the peasants. He made the following statements under cross-examination by the defence advocate:

He (the Jamedar) was accompanied by 26 M.S.P. men fully equipped with firearms. With the first shot, he had succeeded in hitting the peasant who is alleged to have been carrying a country gun. He and his 26 men made no attempt to seize and overpower either the injured man or the other person whose only weapon was a crude spear. On the contrary the Jamedar continued to fire and killed both the peasants. Asked by the defence advocate whether he felt sorry for the death of those two men at his hands, the M.S.P. Jamedar declared that he had no regrets.

This is the sort of men who have been let loose on North Malabar. It is



G. N. Srinivasa Raghavan.

legitimate to ask whether this Jamedar and his like are at all fitted to be entrusted, by a popular Government, with the task of maintaining law and order. It is no wonder that Jai Prakash Narain in a recent speech at Cannanore demanded not merely the withdrawal of the M.S.P. but the disbandment of this notoriously cruel instrument of oppression.

Other aspects of the Kavumbai case are also of interest:



A young victim of police violence.

**The first accused in this case is one K. Kunhambu, a mere lad of about 18. From January he is supposed to have been receiving treatment for a wound in his leg. Only some days earlier the medical authorities discovered that there was a bullet lodged inside. It was removed from his leg on May 6 and there he was in court the next day, having been discharged in the morning from hospital. The magistrate was so kind as to permit his lying down on the bare cement floor.

**While the M.S.P. Jamedar was describing the dried up watercourse near which they encountered the two peasants who were later killed, the prosecutor supplemented the description by saying that it was "something like a trench". It was this kind of "something like a trench" which inspired ex-Premier Prakasam to conjure up visions of "trench warfare conducted by Communists" which he related as facts to the provincial legislature.

**The number of accused in the Kavumbai case is about 180—an extraordinarily large number for a criminal case. The first information report of the police officer to the magistrate in these cases mentions only five specific names and the word "others" is added. This comprehensive title is later made

to include as many as it pleases the police to book. The number of accused grows like a snowball until the case comes up for hearing. These accused are often "recognised" and arrested by the police as having taken part in a particular rioting or unlawful assembly several days, sometimes several weeks, after the event. Some of them are collected from places as far as 25 miles from the scene of the incident.

This is a glimpse into just one of the various cases in which Communists and kisans are being tried in court on specific charges. It is, however, the rude interference by the police in the lives of ordinary kisans in areas under Communist influence, which forms the most serious aspect of the present situation in North Malabar. The idea seems to be to strike terror into the inhabitants of these Communist "strongholds" and to cripple their kisan organisation. Local incidents organised by Communists or provoked by the police—breaking of Section 144, stoppage of jemmi's paddy during transit, cultivation of Government wasteland without permission—these have been made the starting points for a campaign of ruthless repression, sometimes accompanied by wanton cruelty, by the local and the special police. Why the Communists should involve themselves in violation



Another case of deep head wound.

of law is a question which has to be studied against the background of the food situation in Malabar.

North Malabar as compared with South Malabar is a much poorer land, with low productivity. It has always been a deficit area, whose rice requirements were being met by imports from Burma and Coorg. But the supply from Burma stopped during the war and the general food scarcity in the country hit North Malabar very hard. Rationing was introduced in the towns during 1944 and, after the outbreak of cholera due to almost exclusive reliance on tapioca by the peasants, rationing was extended to rural areas during 1945. Under the present scheme, the tenant cultivator has to pay his rent to the jemmi (landlord) in kind. In the feudal conditions of land tenure which prevail, the peasant has to part with anything from a half upto even three-fourth of his produce as the jemmi's *varam* (share). What remains after the payment of this share in kind has to be handed over by the peasant to the Government depots. He has therefore to give away paddy of good quality at a certain rate, and has to buy rice of much inferior quality from the ration shop, often at a higher rate than that at which the rent was calculated. The peasants have been demanding, through their kisan sanghams, that they should be allowed to retain the quantity of paddy required for their own consumption and to meet the expenses of cultivation, and should be allowed to pay the rent in cash. They want to hand over the remaining stock of paddy not to the jemmi, but directly to the depots, so as to prevent misuse of the stocks by the jemmies who frequently hold back the stocks in order to make larger profits in the blackmarket. This brings up the question of profiteering by the bigger jemmies. No one doubts that blackmarketing exists. There is difference of opinion only with regard to its extent. Many Congressmen whom I met admitted that there certainly have been instances of blackmarketing by jemmies, but said that the number of such cases has been highly exaggerated by the kisan agitators and Communists. The peasants themselves, on the other hand, point out that due to the close alliance of interest between the village authorities and the jemmies and due to the unfailing aid given by the police and higher officialdom generally to these jemmies who are socially "important" men, it is impossible to ensure honest practice on the part of the jemmies after they receive large quanti-

ties of paddy as rent. Village affairs are conducted by the *adhi-karis* (headmen) who are drawn from the richest and most aristocratic section of the population. It is the *adhi-kari* and the *menon* who serves under him, who make the estimates of the jemmi's personal requirements and issue permits for the transport of his paddy. The kisans complain that these estimates are often greatly in excess of the actual needs of the jemmi, that paddy is transported without permits, that the same permit is used for more than one transportation, and that ante-dated permits are issued to the jemmi's agents when they happen to be caught in the act of illicit transport. The kisan sanghams also allege that the police and public officials are often cajoled or bribed by the jemmies into acquiescence in these anti-social acts. In the absence of actual enforcement of the laws which exist on paper, if the peasants intervene on their own initiative to stop illegal or excessive removals of paddy from deficit areas, they are rewarded for their pains with imprisonment on the charge of "theft" or lathi blows and bullets on the charge of "rioting and looting".

It was one such attempt to stop the removal of paddy that resulted in the police opening fire on a crowd of kisans in Karivallur. "Chirakkal Raja" who is one of the biggest jemmies in North Malabar, was sending about 10,000 seers of paddy covered by a permit, for use in connection with some temple festivals—if God is fed at this rate, there will be little left for God's children. Karivallur being a deficit area, the local peasants decided that they would try to stop the transport of this large quantity of paddy and keep it for local use. They gathered near the police who were protecting the paddy and are reported to have attacked them. The police opened fire as a result of which four were killed, including a boy of 14. The number of accused in this case is 196. It is interesting to note that everybody whom I met agreed in saying that of these 196, there are many who were in no way really involved in the incident. Mr. T. Balakrishna Nair, son of Chirakkal Raja, himself told me that out of the total, only less than 70 were actually involved and that the rest were innocent.

Efforts by the peasants to bring wasteland under cultivation have also led to serious consequences. Seven years ago, the Kuthali estate (in

Kurumbranad taluk) covering several thousand acres of wasteland, was acquired by the Government through escheat (Kuthali Nair, the local chieftain who owned the land, having died without leaving an heir). The peasants of the area have in recent years been asking the Government for permission to start *punam* (fugitive) cultivation in some parts of the estate. Paddy and other food crops could have been raised if they had been allowed to do so. But the Government, in spite of their "grow more food" campaign which was and is being so piously conducted through the columns of city newspapers, refused to give the necessary permission. Repeated requests, memoranda and deputations failing to produce any effect, the kisans decided to move in and start work without permission. On February 22 this year, they held a meeting for this purpose in defiance of Section 144. The M.S.P. had been brought to the spot earlier—and are still there. After that meeting there has been no cultivation, no production of more food (Babu Rajendra Prasad's appeals notwithstanding) but only arrests, beatings and destruction of property by the police. In the same manner the tiny experiment in collective farming that was actually worked for two months by agricultural labourers over a portion of the vast area of wasteland in Mangattu Paramba had to be abandoned because of police intervention brought about at the instance of local Congressmen.

The kisans of Communist persuasion have thus brought down the wrath of the police on themselves by trying to stop blackmarketing and transport of

paddy from deficit areas, and by attempting to bring more land under cultivation in spite of Government's obstinate non-co-operation. Most people will and do agree that these are commendable aims. But the methods adopted by the Communists have been criticised by some who have every sympathy for the general aims of the kisan movement. Such criticism has come mainly from Congressmen who say that the initial acts of violence by Communists rendered police intervention necessary, or at least "inevitable". Two revenue officials are reported to have been beaten in a kisan's house at Eramam. Other charges of violence against jenmi's agents have also been levelled against the kisans and Communists. These charges need proper investigation, even as the charges regarding excesses committed by the M.S.P. and local police have to be investigated, by a non-official enquiry committee. But whatever might be the findings of such an enquiry with reference to the acts of violence which have been alleged against the Communists and kisans, there can be no doubt that the violence and disorder for which the police have been responsible during the last six months have been very far in excess of the steps required for the maintenance of law and order. The irony of the situation is that it is not Communists alone who have suffered as a result of police activity; indiscriminate arrests and beatings by the police and M.S.P. have affected many Congressmen, as well as very large numbers of men, women and children who have no connection with politics or the kisan organisation.

(To be continued.)

RACE PREJUDICE

Many Americans believe that the subject of race discrimination has been overstressed, but in recent months we have seen Negro veterans stoned in Chicago when they tried to move into a housing project, and a determined attempt out west to segregate Mexican children in the schools. Scientists have long realized the dangers of the racial myth. In the 19th century a French anthropologist prophesied that within a hundred years after his death millions of people would kill each other because their head shapes differed by a few index units. Adolph Hitler did his best to prove the Frenchman a true prophet.—Ralph Bass.

THE MILITARY IN AMERICAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

General Marshall is Secretary of State, General Smith is the American Ambassador in Moscow. General MacArthur is running things in Japan. Major-General Hildring is Assistant Secretary of State in charge of German affairs. Admiral Leahy is a key factor in all White House affairs.—Reader's Scope.

AN EDUCATIONAL EVENT

by Dr. JAMES H. COUSINS

THE announcement that Dr. Maria Montessori, with her son, Signor Mario Montessori, accompanied by experts in the Montessori system of child education, will return to India in June to begin the work of the Arundale Montessori Training Centre at Adyar, Madras, is an event which, when "the tumult and the shouting dies," and India attains her true life, will go into history as one of the most significant contributions to the education of her future citizens and leaders. The event, though without drums and trumpets, is one of those subtle operations in human evolution comparable to the sapping and mining in inhuman warfare that works unseen for the overthrow of the enemy. Underneath the appalling state of mind of Central Europe was the "education" of youth in the enemy attitude. In Italy, on Sundays, little boy toddlers were marched out in black shirts with wooden guns to get them accustomed to their future. The fundamental need over the world is the re-education of incalculable millions with mutual appreciation as its technique and peace as its certain end. Foremost in this re-education should be the Montessori system.

Behind this assertion lies the record of a life specially related to the small band of reformers whose names are immortal in educational history, and with a vision which none of them possessed of the real quality and potentiality of the child. A brief glance at Maria Montessori's early life (she is now on the way towards eighty) will indicate this.

When Maria was ten she contracted a serious illness. On seeing her mother's anxiety she said, "Do not worry, mother. I cannot die. I have too much to do." When she came to considering a career, she thought of studying mathematics, as one of the subjects that the con-

vention of the time regarded as proper to girls. But the sight of a mother with a sick child turned her towards medicine. In this she was met by the then prevailing prejudice against women doctors. Yet she obtained entrance to the University of Rome, broke down the unfriendliness of male fellow-students; and, when her turn came to give a lecture on a technical medical subject to the students, won them over to enthusiastic admiration.

Doctor Montessori's practice as a physician and surgeon was duly recognised as of front rank quality. But in a couple of years she turned her attention specially to mentally defective children. In 1906 the renovation of the slums of Rome brought out the question as to what could be done with not defective but normal children under six, who had no sense of responsibility, and who ruined attempts to beautify the new homes of the poor. Such children were officially gathered into a room and superintended by an ignorant and incompetent woman. When Dr. Montessori heard of this, she got leave to give attention to them. She had some of the beginnings of her now world-famous "didactic material" supplied to them. The effect on the release of the inherent intelligence of childhood proved to be more remarkable in the case of normal children than in that of defectives. Two years later a children's home was opened at Milan with forty-six children under six, as a sequel to public lectures by Dr. Montessori on the potentialities of the child, and a special talk, in the tenement where the home was to be, that aroused the interest of the working-class.

Thus the Montessori method began to spread; and its most keen and questioning student was Dr. Maria Montessori. Her intuition as a girl had foreseen the amount of work she was born to do. Her intuition as a woman saw that she:

had come upon a fundamental and revolutionary idea in child education. The remainder of her long life of devotion to the liberation of the heretofore suppressed mind and capacity of the child into happy and beneficent activity has been one long confirmation of original principles, and a gradual application of these to the further phases of education.

In this development, and in its official and general recognition of the essential truth of the Montessori method of what may be called auto-education, a large literature has been created. Dr. Montessori's own books have been translated from the Italian in which they were written into eighteen languages. Recognition has been given by educational authorities in a number of countries; and in twenty countries, societies have been formed for the promotion of the method. A statement of the English Montessori Society, London, adds two important details: "Governments and municipalities have founded training colleges...and constructed Montessori schools in which everything is specially proportioned to suit the size of the child." Further, "the Montessori method saves the child in the elementary period alone two full years; and schools built in the Montessori manner are twenty per cent cheaper."

In a recent Monthly Letter of the International Montessori Association, Dr. Montessori emphasises the social, as distinct from the individual nature of humanity. The social instinct has been observed by her in many manifestations in very young children. Education, she holds, should provide for this. A mere regimentation of children in classes will not do so; neither can the ordinary circumstances of home life. "Creative Schools" or "Children's Houses" are needed for very young children. Further, the children in a "house" must be of different ages; "one will never obtain a normal social life, and therefore a quiet disciplined community, with children of only one age. Children of three successive ages in a class of forty makes a general rule that ap-

plies to the natural needs of association, and forms a primitive social movement." Education on these lines, Madame Montessori says, provides the only basis on which "a social organisation will establish itself." Those who have observed the happiness, freedom, and enthusiasm of the children in the Montessori department of the Besant School at Adyar, have realised that Dr. Montessori's statement is not just theoretical, but confirmed in practice.

Madame and Signor Montessori first came to India at the invitation of Dr. G. S. Arundale in 1939. Three courses were given at Adyar between 1940 and 1942. In the summers of 1942 and 1943 courses were given in Kodaikanal; and another in Ceylon in 1944. An advanced course was given in Ahmedabad early in 1945; and in the summer of the same year a course was given in Kashmir. This was followed by an All-India Montessori Conference at Pilani in Jaipur State. In 1948 a course was given in Karachi. In the same year an international course was given in London; and the Honorary Membership of the Edinburgh Institute was conferred on Dr. Montessori. In the London course students attended from America, Austria, Australia, Eire, France India, Sweden, and all parts of Britain. Plans were laid for starting a State-aided Montessori College in London.

The foregoing short recital will, it is hoped, carry justification of the enthusiasm and anticipations now animating those concerned with the creation of the Arundale Montessori Training Centre at Adyar. Accommodation is being arranged at Olcott Gardens, on the edge of the Bay of Bengal by permission of the President of the Theosophical Society. Courses are in preparation in which Dr. Montessori, Signor Montessori, and experts will lead in child psychology, the principles of the Montessori method, the use of the special Montessori apparatus. Courses from the Montessori point of view are being prepared in Language and Literature, Mathematics, Natural and General Science, History and Geography.

Arts and Crafts. Lectures will be mainly in English; but lecturers in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Hindi will make adaptations into these languages, and supervise practical work. The latter will be carried on in the neighbouring Besant School. The Arts and Crafts department will be associated with the Kalakshetra near by which has earned all-India fame for the Bharata Natya (Indian dance) under the superb artiste, Srimati Rukmini Devi, who is also Director of the institution.

The year's work will begin with a preliminary course from July 1,

common to both elementary and advanced courses. But the full courses will assume their special activities, under the world's recognised first educationist, Dr. Maria Montessori, as part of the Besant Centenary Celebrations from October 1, the hundredth year from the birthday of that international worker for the helping of humanity. As part of these celebrations an International Culture Centre is being founded in the name of Annie Besant; the nucleus of this future great Centre is the Arundale Montessori Training College. Its foundation is an event of world importance.



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Spotlight On The World

by Prof. M. VENKATARAMAIA, M.A.

THE text of Generalissimo Stalin's talk with Mr. Harold Strassen, American Republican leader, has been published. Stalin has in this interview reiterated his anxiety to maintain friendly relations with the capitalistic powers. He also declared that international control and inspection of atomic energy would be established and its use in war would be prohibited. As usual he expressed the opinion that two countries need not have the same and identical economic systems for being on terms of friendship with each other and that what was required was the desire to co-operate. He emphasized that it is best for the world to recognise that there are two economic systems to-day and that there would be no use in the advocates of one system decrying the other or trying to destroy it. All these are pious sentiments. In the diplomatic world this interview has not evoked any enthusiasm, which shows how prominent circles have grown sceptical about the importance of Stalin's views as expressed in interviews. What he stated about atomic energy is hardly consistent with the opposition put up by Soviet delegates in the Security Council to all schemes for the international control of atomic energy. It is also felt that in general the views expressed have little effect on Russia's foreign policy. This kind of scepticism has become all the stronger in view of the deadlock that has been created in the United Nations Military Staff Committee owing, it is said, to Soviet opposition.

WORLD MILITARY FORCE

At the last meeting of the United Nations General Assembly a resolution recommending a reduction of armaments was passed. But every one was aware that no State would

reduce its armaments unless there was a guarantee that the United Nations as a whole would come to its rescue whenever it was attacked. This naturally depends on the United Nations having a military force of its own. The U. N. Charter contemplates the establishment of such a force. For months the Military Staff Committee of the U. N. O. has been working on this subject and it has this week published its report. Unfortunately on several major points like the amount of contributions in respect of army, navy and airplanes and the use of bases, acute differences of opinion have arisen between Russia on the one side and the other big powers on the other. The Committee's report is not therefore unanimous. The report itself will be shortly discussed by the Security Council but it is doubtful if any reconciliation can be brought about between the rival views. The drift is in general towards two worlds even though interviews and talks are all in favour of one world. The gulf between what is desirable and what is actually desired is widening from day to day.

HIGH PRICES

One feature that is common to the economy of almost all countries to-day is the high level of prices. This is at the root of unrest in countries like France, Germany, India and China. This is also responsible for most of the labour troubles. Prominent attention was drawn to this by President Truman in one of his recent addresses to the American people. He referred to the sharp and rapid rise in prices as the one cloud "shadowing our economic future. Price increases have been felt by every American family." The cost of living has increased. Even more dangerous than the rise in retail prices is the sharp rise in

wholesale prices since 1945. Excessive wholesale prices are hitting at the foundations of our prosperity. This is sure to cause depression ultimately. If high prices are found to produce such disastrous effects even in a country like the United States which suffered least in consequence of the war it is no wonder that they are undermining the very foundations of economy in countries which suffered a great deal as a result of war. Increased productivity is the only effective remedy for this. To raise wages in response to every rise in prices is sure to lead to inflation which will make conditions continuously worse. Statesmen in every country will now have to direct their efforts to bring about increased production.

CRISIS IN FRANCE

There is an intimate connection between high prices and the recent ministerial crisis in France. The labourers in one of the leading motor works in Paris went on strike with a view to get higher wages. Their demands could not be met as they came into conflict with the Premier's wage and price cutting policy. The Premier has for a long time been telling the public that further increases in wages would lead to inflation and seriously endanger the external value of French currency and with it the country's economy as a whole. The Communist members of the Cabinet opposed the Premier's policy. They had to do this because they did not want to alienate the labourers organised in trade unions. At the same time they did not want to resign from the Cabinet. The Premier was not prepared to let the Communists have it both ways by opposing the Government's policy on a particular issue and yet at the same time remain inside the Government. This was opposed to the principle of collective responsibility. The whole question came before the French National Assembly which voted complete confidence in the Premier and his policy. Even then the Communist members would not resign from the Cabinet. They were therefore removed from office and new ministers from the Socialist

and other non-Communist parties were appointed in their place. Paul Ramadier's Ministry thus continues to remain in office. But how long it will be able to hold its own is a matter for doubt. The Communists form the largest single party in the Assembly. Moreover they represent 40 per cent. of the electorate. In addition to this there is the "Rally of the People" now being organised by General de Gaulle. Of course it is not represented in Parliament and it has not yet become a regular political party. But his movement is gaining ground. He has been permitted to make use of the public hall in Bourdeaux to make a speech—a permission refused up till now. He is for an entire change in the constitution of France and for the establishment of a strong executive. In fact he is being accused by some of aiming at dictatorship. The conditions in France to-day, with the Communists in opposition, are being compared to those in Spain on the eve of the civil war which led to the establishment of the Franco regime. The country is being divided into two rigid blocs of Communists and non-Communists. Truman is expected to take advantage of this situation in France and extend to the anti-Communist sections the same kind of aid which he is extending to Greece and Turkey. As Henry Wallace says France holds the key to Europe and is still the classical centre of internationalism and democracy. American intervention in that country is sure to provoke a general European crisis. A disturbed France means in the present atmosphere a disturbed Europe and a disturbed world. We should not forget that French politics were responsible for the First as well as the Second World War.

MADAGASCAR

It is to be regretted that in spite of these disturbed conditions at home the French Government have not yet thought fit to abandon their imperialism abroad and reconcile themselves to the idea of granting freedom to Cochinchina or Madagascar. In Madagascar the revolt of the people has been going on for six weeks. This island in the Indian Ocean, off the coast of Africa, is one of the largest

islands in the world with an area of 223,000 square miles and a population of 3½ millions sharing a number of characteristics with the people of the Indian and the Pacific archipelago in the Far East. The tribes here have distinct customs of their own though there is a small Arab and Negro element. There is a unity of language which is the basic unity among all the tribes. Agriculture is the chief employment of the people. Both men and women are highly skilled in a number of crafts and they have displayed considerable inventive power. They are also exceedingly quick in adopting new ideas from the Europeans. Women occupy a high status in society and from 1828 to 1897 there were only female sovereigns. Due to superiority in modern methods of warfare the French brought the island under their control in 1896. They have however not done much to improve the economic prosperity of the people or promote education, health and other elements of social welfare. Anti-French feeling has been steadily growing and the present revolt is its culmination. The French are rushing more forces but it will take a long time for them to suppress the rebellion. What the rebels want is self-government within the French Union.

BRITAIN

Last week has been an important one in Britain. The bill to nationalise Britain's inland transport—railways, road haulage and water-ways—which has been considered to be the most controversial piece of legislation yet brought before the present Parliament was passed in the House of Commons. It proposes to transfer to public ownership by January 1 next year 68 railway undertakings, 52,000 miles of track, 1,250,000 wagons, 45,000 passenger coaches, 20,000 locomotives, and some 24,000 commercial lorries. The Tory opposition to the bill was resolute and they have even threatened to return the whole industry to private enterprise if they were returned to power at the next election. The fate of the bill in the House of Lords is rather uncertain. If the Lords refuse to pass it the expectation is that the Labour Cabinet may create enough

Labour peers to secure a majority for it and even undertake other legislative measures to completely destroy the power of the Upper House. There was also a long debate on the National Service Bill—another highly controversial measure which proposes to introduce conscription in time of peace beginning with the year 1948. Due to opposition from Labour back benches the period of service was reduced to twelve months from eighteen months. Mr. Churchill severely attacked the Government for having surrendered itself in this way to a few among its followers. The Labour rebels tried to introduce other amendments but all these were resisted. The new law is to remain in force for a period of five years to start with. It is expected that in the coming two or three years the British will withdraw their armies from Egypt, India, Burma and Palestine, that they will modify their foreign policy and that their military commitments will then become fewer making it possible to withdraw conscription. Another important event in Britain last week was the introduction of a five-day week for labourers in coal mines. This has created surprise in many circles because the feeling everywhere is that in England where there is acute coal shortage there is need for more work in mines. But the five-day week was introduced deliberately and that with a view to increasing the output. The decision itself was arrived at not in consequence of any agitation from the miners but on the initiative of the new Coal Board. The idea is that work in the mines would become more attractive in consequence of this reform, that more men would be drawn into the industry and that miners would work with greater zeal. It is also expected that there would be fewer absentees. This is therefore a move in the right direction as it indicates that under favourable conditions labourers will work better and produce a larger amount of output. This is a continuation of the policy initiated a short time ago under which workers in mines are given larger rations and additional comforts.

It is now clear that conditions in the British zone in Germany are becoming more and more critical. This is attributed to the failure of the Moscow Conference and to the growing food shortage. Some weeks ago there were food riots and this week a general strike has taken place. A revision in British policy is needed and the British minister in charge of German affairs visited the country to obtain firsthand information. The failure in the proper distribution of food is attributed to the inefficiency of the German officials who were entrusted with the task. These and other problems are to be discussed at a conference of the German prime ministers of the several provinces to be held in Munich within a few days. Some differences have also

arisen between the British and the Americans. The British are advocating a semi-federal Government with a planned system of economy and something like nationalisation of the coal, steel and other industries. The Americans, on the other hand, want a completely decentralised system under which the provinces would be practically sovereign. They also want free economy, the idea being that the question of nationalisation should be decided later on by the Germans themselves. Behind all this there is the question as to how long the British and the Americans should go on taxing themselves to feed the German population. The situation therefore is on the whole critical and the next few weeks will see a revision of the British and American policies.

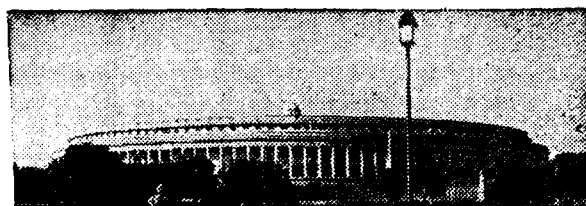



COUGHS and COLDs

SIROLIN
'ROCHE'

USED ALL OVER THE WORLD

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

I CANNOT welcome the formation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress. And I am afraid there are many others who feel the same way about it. These include some members of the Congress Working Committee.

The best spokesman the Congress ever had—I naturally do not wish to reveal his name—is a former member of the Congress Working Committee. He told me: "Sardar Patel is constitutionally incapable of understanding labour problems." Readers of *Swatantra* need not be told this because they have already seen how the Sardar conducted himself on the question of teachers' salaries. The letters published in *Swatantra* on the subject of the Sardar's strictures on teachers' salaries are perhaps the first piece of published criticism from the public of this great leader.

We are now past the stage when we are expected to accord unstinted approval of the deeds of our great leaders. Recently we had some discussion on this point among Press Correspondents. There was agreement on all sides that there should be healthy criticism of the Interim Government and its members. Durga Das of the *Hindustan Times* and P. D. Sharma of the *Goenka Chain* had only one difference between them. The first maintained that the *Hindustan Times* was already criticising the Interim Government whenever criticism is called for, while P. D. Sharma argued that they ought to criticise but were not doing so. Durga Das said they were criticising the Government and were not mere Yes-men. P. D. asked D. D.: "Where did you criticise?" Durga Das referred us to the files of the *Hindustan Times*.

An examination of the files showed that the paper contained some criticism of a personal nature on Pandit Nehru. One charge levelled against him was that "he is not particularly original." (Firstly, we may not agree: secondly, it is not on record that it was ever claimed on behalf of Pandit Nehru that he is particularly original—even Bernard Shaw never claimed to be original).

To speak more seriously: an international observer of world politics had no hesitation in agreeing with us that the National Trade Union Congress would create a very unfavourable impression in foreign countries. The organisation which is in control of the Government is trying to launch a workers' Congress, which unfortunately smacks of the Hitlerite Labour Front under Dr. Ley. The Press in this country will sustain the new National T. U. C. because it has been cornered—in the sphere of daily journalism—by patriotic men who have been consistent supporters of the Congress. Whether the public and workers in the trade union movement will extend the same support is a more doubtful proposition. A competent commentator gave two years as the period by which the new T. U. C. will be finished. He said—and he possesses some inside knowledge of things—that certain forces seeking to get control of the Congress Party machine are active in the National T. U. C. Sardar Patel himself has declared that the Congress will be dissolved soon after the achievement of independence. Under these circumstances, we are to take it that he personally is not interested in this game of power politics. But I am afraid that is not the impression which he is likely to

create. I am sure he will not be understood in this way. People will perhaps suspect that the Sardar is interested in getting into control after June 1948. It is for Sardar Patel to dispel this notion. The starting of this new Trade Union Congress on the eve of the dissolution of the Congress itself is therefore a rather unwise step to take. It requires courage of Gandhian proportion to reverse a decision once it is proved to be in error. Lenin had such courage. It is to be hoped the Sardar will also rise to these heights and prevent the mischief that will otherwise be done. Speaking in praise of Sardar Patel nearly two years ago, Prof. Ranga said: "He is himself a peasant. He therefore readily understands the difficulties and problems of peasants. When I tell him something, he looks at it from the peasant's point of view. Giri and N. M. Joshi look at things from the point of view of the industrial labourer. That is the difference." Prof. Ranga, I must make it very clear, was at that time only emphasising Sardar's sympathies for the peasant.

There was no question of any T.U.C. then. What the Professor said two years back is very true. Prof. Ranga probably does not agree with the best spokesman of the Congress who said: "The Sardar is constitutionally incapable of understanding labour problems."

Shri N. M. Joshi has done well by issuing a long statement explaining his point of view. His points went home so well that it has created impotent rage in certain quarters. Typical is the comment of the *Hindustan Times* under the caption "Labour Leadership." I quote at some length.

The *Hindustan Times* began by saying that it is not clear in what capacity Mr. Joshi had made the statement. (Shades of Mr. Jinnah!) If it is as General Secretary of T.U.C., then things are very clear to the *Hindustan Times*. As the T.U.C. is dominated by Communists he must of necessity refute the charges.

If Joshi has argued the case on his own, the paper says, he has confirmed its suspicions. For fears were raised in its mind by his performance in the Central Assembly on the Trades Disputes Bill. He was in that case no longer the liberal and sagacious labour leader, and he was helplessly drifting today. The *Hindustan Times* is not pleased that Joshi should have given a democratic complexion to the present set-up of the A-I.T.U.C. The paper finds fault with him for suggesting that the Congress could obtain a majority in the T.U.C. over the Communists on the ground that "this argument goes ill with the plea that the A-I.T.U.C. is a non-political organisation." "Does Mr. Joshi think that the political issues between the Congress and the Communists should be fought out on the platform of his organisation?" (It is surprising that a helplessly drifting individual should be credited with owning this organisation!) The paper goes on: "Mr. Joshi has refuted the charge that his organisation is opposed to arbitration and that its policy is to hamper production. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The ugly record of the past two years bears ample testimony to this charge." The question that immediately occurs to us is: "Whose record?" The *Hindustan Times* and the class to which its owners belong—though not Congressmen and the country in general—ought to be grateful to the Communists because they did not create trouble for them while the war was on in view of the People's War concept. If Congressmen were in control of the T.U.C. at that time, they would have brought production to a standstill and immediately secured independence for the country. That would have meant the elimination—though not liquidation—of those who now seek to control the National T.U.C., namely, the employers. As a matter of actual fact, the Congress Trade Union leaders were among the first to be arrested after the "Quit India" resolution was passed by the A.I.C.C. in August 1942.

WHY BRITISH TROOPS ARE STAYING IN EGYPT

by ALLAN WILLIAMS

ELEVEN months of negotiations for the revision of Britain's 1936 Treaty with Egypt ended last month. Egypt decided to appeal to the United Nations, while Mr. Bevin decided that British troops were to remain in occupation. What Mr. Churchill demanded Britain should do last May—'Stay in Egypt by all means,' has become the declared policy of the Labour Government.

Although Mr. Attlee made his famous pledge of 'free and unconditional' evacuation twelve months ago, what is left of that promise now? Official statements made since by both Attlee and Bevin have made it quite clear that evacuation will be neither free nor unconditional. There will be no new treaty nor evacuation unless

- (a) Egypt accepts Britain's right to reoccupy its present bases in the event of the 'menace of war' (note not *actual* war) in the neighbouring countries.
- (b) The authority of the Joint Defence Council proposed by Britain is recognised.
- (c) Egypt agrees to the Sudan remaining an imperialist base for an indefinite period.

The Egyptian Government and the people have rejected this offer, so that a grave crisis faces the British Government's policy there.

Bevin suggests that the blame for the breakdown of negotiations was the fault of an unrepresentative Government in Egypt. He has taken his cue from previous British statesmen who used to make similar jeers (and in fact still do) in respect of the Indian National Congress.

Actually two Egyptian Cabinets have participated in the negotiations. First the Cabinet headed by Sidky Pasha, Chairman of the Egyptian Federation of Industries, and chief representative of British monopolist interests in Egypt, and

since December the Cabinet headed by the right-wing Saadist leader Nokrashy Pasha. Both Cabinets have had the full support of the King, and of the two right-wing majority parties in the Lower House, the Saadists and the 'Liberal' Constitutionalists.

But all this time the Wafd, the traditional mass party of the independence movement inspired most of the opposition to the British proposals. Tension was so high that neither Cabinet dared sign against the wishes of the masses. More than anything else, it was the question of the Sudan which hardened popular opinion against signing. Bevin's ridiculous pose as the defender of the Sudanese against the imperialist ambitions of the Egyptians fooled no one. It was clear that the Sudan, which controls the waters of the Upper Nile, and whose importance for Egypt every fellah understood full well, was to be turned into a British protectorate and base, dominating the entire Nile Valley.

Left to themselves, the Egyptian and Sudanese peoples speaking the same language, and sharing a common history of exploitation, could easily reach an agreement on their future relations.

Dealing with Iran a year ago. Mr. Bevin told a session of the U.N. that 'it is an integral part of my policy that one cannot negotiate with a country whilst one's troops are in occupation of that country.' How shameful have been the negotiations with Egypt, occupied by tens of thousands of British troops, in the light of this excellent principle. It is in the true interest of the British people to keep their promise and evacuate Egypt freely and unconditionally. The only alternative is the perpetuation of Egypt's enslavement to imperialism and its war preparations in this most vital strategic area.

DAWN AFTER THE STORM

by SILAN

THE artist came out of the temple and turned back, looking at it lovingly. It was being decorated. It was evening and the next morning was the consecration. He inspected the festoons, satisfied and proud. The busy labourers paused in their work and turned towards him, their eyes full of admiration and worship. The king's minister bowed low to him as he left the place. He was a hero, a god.

Tomorrow morning . . . he abruptly winced and gasped as a sudden fit of pain in his chest overcame his smile and made it wry. Ah, he told himself, overwork strains even young men like himself. Such fits were rather frequent, but he had not minded, he had so much to do. Only till tomorrow, and then he was free to go and rest. Thinking whether he had not better go now to the beach and rest, he took a step towards the sea.

That was the last step he ever took.

The pain became excruciating and he had to sit down. He was immediately surrounded by an anxious group of friends. What was the matter, everybody asked. The minister came running, and sent at once for the State physician and a chariot. What was the pain like? Could he stand up? Did he wish to recline?

He did not hear the solicitude of his friends. His mind was working at a feverish rate, and weird thoughts rose and repeated themselves like eerie designs on some night-mare-wall-paper in his mind. Oh God, he thought, was he going to die just then! How much would he give to live till tomorrow!

"Oh, God", he prayed. "May I never leave this place till I derive the full satisfaction of having made this temple."

A voice—he heard it—boomed deep and low, "Be it so". Was it his fancy, or had he mistaken the roar of the sea or the rustle of the wind through the festoons? But he had had his answer. Be it so. Somebody it seemed had laughed, be it so.

The pain became worse. He felt a thirst, a terrible thirst, and gasped out for water. Before they could bring him some, he told the minister, "Don't postpone the consecration even if I die". The minister nodded yes, but after all it was just a light fit; it would pass away.

Before the State physician arrived, before they had brought him some water, he curled up in the street, and died.

Soon the king came; the whole city came.

As the artist's body was consumed in leaping flames, the minister told the king of his last wish.

"Ah", said the king in a meaning, hushed voice, "he will not go Home till the consecration is over".

The consecration was to take place when the sun, to whom the temple was dedicated, rose fresh from the eastern sea. The whole temple was hewn out of a single piece of live rock that had lain like a gigantic turtle on the beach. It was in the form of a closed chariot with eight wheels, drawn by seven horses, each four times life-size. In the centre stood the statue of the Sun at Dawn, a figure of beauty and energy. The charioteer had fourteen reins in his hands, and men pointed out how each one was a wonder of the world, that could never be reproduced. For each was a chain of stone, twenty feet long, worked up cunningly from the rock. And then the seven horses, in seven different attitudes, each champing the bits and chafing to be away, were horses fit only for the gods. They conveyed in seven distinct ways, the Spirit of Dawn,—grace and energy, freshness and alertness, beauty, knowledge and an urge to achieve. People took visitors around to see the delicate and detailed relief work on the walls, and marvelled at the clever workmanship which made the car seem off the ground, standing on its wheels only. They said that each horse was a glorious performance in itself, and each column a universe of delight.



"And then the seven horses, in seven different attitudes . . . were horses fit only for the gods."

But to see the whole as it was originally conceived by the artist, one had to look at it early in the morning when the sun rose from the sea behind the temple. One saw the sea; and saw the chariot of the sun which had just emerged from it. A red glow suffused through the bodies of the horses, and life seemed to radiate from the deity,

inside. One expected dust to rise from the wheels soon and the horses to snort before they broke into a gallop. Behind the horses, standing, alert, was the Sun,—or was Sun the red disc just rising behind it? One did not know.

You did not know. You were not sure. But then, you had realised the dream of the artist, and seen what he had wanted you to see.

It was the artist who had thought it all out, complete to the last panel. The king—who gave enormous amounts of money,—the labourers and the minor artists, they had played only a small part in that divine enterprise executed with breath-taking perfection. How could anybody sufficiently repay such a person, especially when he was no more? You could not even gauge the extent of the work, nor the depth of imagination that had produced this treasure . . . then how could you honour the artist adequately?

The people were almost moved to tears by the king's speech. The king's face spoke of deep sorrow. The consecration had been a great success, and if the artist had been present, he would have gone away contented. So said the people.

The king whispered to his minister, as he climbed into his chariot, "He will go Home now".

* * *

He did not go Home: he was not satisfied. He felt that most of the eulogy had risen out of personal friendship. It had been just a lot of friends pushing up the claims of a dead friend. They had known him well. They had planned with him, laughed with him, and quarrelled with him sometimes over a delicate point in the theory of Art. They had seen him work himself to death, and had seen him die under poignantly tragic circumstances.

But what would those who did not know him, and judged the temple for just what it was, say about it? How would Future like it?

So he stayed.

Centuries passed slowly by.

Men came from countries far off just to see the temple of the Sun. Artists came to sketch and paint it so that

those at home might see at least a picture of it. Poets sang of it. Travellers came to the beach early in the morning and saw the temple for the first time . . . and stood and gazed. They stood on the golden beach looking into the emerald sea, through the temple. The gasps of surprise were unmistakable. They stood speechless. . . .

But somehow he was not satisfied. He felt that it was due to age old custom that his monument was visited or, oh horror, was it a mere curiosity? And so he stayed on.

He did not know the time that had passed. But it was sufficient to destroy the civilization that had produced him. Barbarians from out of a far off desert had come, and their hordes had taken the city, looted, and razed it to the ground. They removed all the jewels and trinkets that had vulgarized the serene purity of his dream. But they could do no harm to what was made of solid stone, or perhaps had not cared to damage what was to them absolutely nothing. This pleased the artist and he continued to wait.

There was a flood; and a river changed its course.

Soon the temple was in the midst of luxuriant forest getting more and more impenetrable day by day. Explorers came through the forest for sometime to see the wonder of the world, but slowly it was forgotten. The temple became a myth, mentioned only in fables and songs. And that was all. Men had got new artists, new art, new views, new wonders, and new troubles.

Creepers choked the wheels and strangled the horses; the stone was cracking from prolonged exposure to extremes of temperature. Monkeys and bats, birds and jackals used the place freely.

As the artist saw the decay, he grew more and more desperate. The only satisfaction was that the temple still managed to exist. But was it for this he had toiled ceaselessly for ten years? Was this all the reward he could get?

Changes in spirit when not actuated by the restlessness of living flesh take ages to occur.

So he did not go away.

* * *

A pirate ship came to the coast, and cast anchor. The men rowed ashore and seemed to be looking for some place, for rest or for use as a hide

out. They discovered the temple and were pleased. And pleased, the artist saw them clear the forest near the temple and cut away the brushwood and creepers.

Then they rolled out from the ship barrels of gunpowder and other explosives and stored them in the temple, high and dry. What could not be stored inside was carefully buried around the temple which was conveniently hidden for them.

He had no voice, or else he would have shrieked with agony. Horror stricken, he wandered about the forest in despair and anguish. Darkness fell. It was a night of night-mares for him. An ominous cloud threatening a thunderstorm was rising in the west. The sky growled and thunder rolled. Soon the cloud was overhead. The night was illuminated by intermittent flashes of lightning, and these became more and more frequent. Peal upon peal of thunder crashed and reverberated throughout the forest, and when it was just about to rain, an explosion louder than any thunder-clap shook the forest.



"People marvelled at the clever workmanship . . ."

The artist, wild with his guesses, ran at once to the temple—to the spot where the temple had been. A lightning stroke had set off the explosives.

In voiceless grief, he sat down in the gaping crater and wept. Was this what he had waited for?

It was raining heavily. Muddy water was pouring down into the crater, dirty brown and heavy.

The material existence of the temple had hidden from all the pleasures purely of the soul. Now in his bitter grief, he suddenly realised what a fool he had been. The evening he saw the tortoise-like rock, the moonlit night when he sat on it and dreamt of the temple, that very night he had his reward. Each minute he had sat there the temple had got a little farther from the earth and a little nearer the heaven. Now sitting at the bottom of the crater, he knew that even if the bountiful king had not given him all his money, and even if good artists and labourers had never made his dream a solid fact, he would have had the fullest satisfaction out of the temple. And he had gone beyond that. He had built it. Yet he had been waiting for appreciation coming from others to give him satisfaction. What a fool he has been! How could any one have appreciated it for just what it was worth, as he had appreciated it when it overcame him that night? When the temple had been constructed in his mind, he wandered about the temple throughout the moonlit night and at dawn, he saw it as the Spirit of Morning. He had been fascinated by the idea and had dwelt with loving care over each piece of work. That it had been given to him recognise it as good . . . there must have been joy unalloyed in that or he would not have persisted. Was not that pleasure in planning that temple the best reward he could ever get? The beauty of the yet unpainted picture, the enchantment of the unsung song, and the thrill of the unexecuted dance, the virgin pleasure of these he now understood. Why should he have waited for anybody . . . he was appalled at his own stupidity . . . Why? . . . Why? . . .

That such a thing of beauty had burst into flower in his mind—was not that enough? Was not that enough? Changes in spirit when unaided by the feeble flesh take ages to happen.



Dr. Lo Ch'a Lung, Chinese Ambassador to India, is no career diplomat and left to himself, he might have continued as President of the Central National University, Nanking. In 1945, Dr. Lo accepted the post of Chinese Supervisory Commissioner in Sinkiang. His standing in the political life of China is evident from the fact that he is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

Educated in the United States, Britain and Germany, Dr. Lo is the author of many well-known works, the most popular of which is his 'NEW OUTLOOK ON LIFE'.

But they do occur.

He went Home.

The pirate ship came back due to the threatening storm. At night they heard the explosion and were anxious. At dawn, when the sky was clear they rowed ashore and hurried to the spot. When they came to the clearing they had made in the forest, they stood petrified.

Where the temple had been, was a small lovely pool. The muddy water had settled overnight, and the water was cool, clear and mirror like.

THE ART OF SALESMANSHIP

by "P. M."

WHEN Napoleon stigmatized the British as a nation of shop-keepers, the remark was taken as an expression of malicious detraction or impotent jealousy. In point of fact, however, it was a grudging acknowledgement of Britain's capacity for infinite higgling, and for making a bargain even out of the most unpromising deal. It is, in other words, the art of salesmanship. Now, the essence of salesmanship is to make your customer purchase something which he does not want, at a price which he cannot afford, in a strong but temporary conviction that he has at last obtained what he had been longing for all his life. When he is overtaken by disillusionment, personal discomfiture is more acute than righteous indignation, with the result that the shop-keeper finds it possible to consolidate his position by playing in addition the part of Job's comforter to his victim.

Ever since the British Government announced its intention of quitting India by June 1948, Indian national opinion has had to go into a sort of voluntary liquidation, for its most extreme demand had been conceded with a simple directness which took the breath of the whole world away. But gradually, it is becoming apparent that the parting guest is in no hurry to part; indeed, he is making elaborate arrangements to stay on under a series of *aliases*. Our most alert leaders as well as the rank and file of our fighters have been engaged in entrenching the foreign power more firmly than ever in our midst. In proof of which, let us consider the following portents.

It was expected that the Secretary of State's services would be wound up, and all those who might be unwilling to serve the new, successor Government would be eligible for compensation according to a fixed schedule—and quit, preliminary to Britain quitting India. But now

comes the news, thrice confirmed by a trinity of authoritative voices—by the Premier of Britain, the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy—that the members of the superior services would be requested to stay on, and that they would not only be guaranteed all their perquisites but also given a new compensation for continuing to serve an Indian Government. This invitation to a substantial number of civilians of the old order to serve the new Government implies either that they will change their skins or outlook, or that the Government of India of the future will be far from a national Government. The ostensible excuse that experienced men of the services cannot be replaced by Indians is a gratuitous libel on our own countrymen by our own leaders. Sardar Patel's vogue as the strong silent man of the Congress is debunked by this concession to the foreign element. How the new wine can be poured into the old bottles, and safely preserved, remains to be seen. This is the more unconscionable, as it is notorious that even in the most specialist departments of the Government there are to be found Indian understudies for European bosses who know all the ropes, who are the eyes, the ears and the brains of the European officers, and but for whom the myth of European superiority would long ago have been exposed. In short, we hold that this fascination for a moiety of 'foreign officers' to run the administration of our country under our own control augurs ill for the smoothness and success of our unaided experiment. In South Africa as well as in Eire, the foreign element was bundled out overnight by the self-governing units with a minimum of formality and publicity. For the untoward development which has just taken place in our country, we have to thank our leaders, particularly our Home Member. Thus the British

Government have sold us without putting itself in the wrong. We do not yet know who is to pay these paragons of the public services the new scales of compensation in addition to existing salaries. We shouldn't be surprised if the Sardar has agreed to foot the bill. Only then would the bargain be perfect from the British point of view!

Now that the Congress has plumped for the principle of Pakistan, there is infinite scope for Britain to play the part of honest broker in determining the boundaries, etc., of Pakistan and Hindustan. Mr. Jinnah's cry was: 'Divide and Quit India.' Ours was: 'Quit India unconditionally.' What looks like maturing before our eyes is that Britain will divide India with our enthusiastic concurrence, and not quit thereafter! For in the numerous pockets that will infallibly emerge from 'Operation Pakistan,' there are bound to be some if not many which might offer an asylum for the British power to stay on.

It has also been announced that a large number of military personnel will be available for service under the successor Government during the transition period. If there are two or more Governments to be established in India, there would be as many pacts with Britain which would only strengthen the position of Britain in the country.

A recently issued Press note states that it has been proposed to make a lump-sum allotment on a five-year plan for the requirements of the Indian Army. This makes it clear that though Pakistan is to be conceded on the political plane, the Indian Army will be a single and singular entity acting as hitherto without reference to the ideology of a free, independent national Government. He who controls that

army controls India; while we who clamour for Pakistans will be weakened and dismembered to that extent. It does not require much reflection to show how such an arrangement will benefit the third party alone.

In drawing the boundaries of Pakistan within Hindustan, and of Hindustan and Sikhistan within Pakistan, it goes without saying that no sort of arrangement will satisfy all the parties at once. That means that there will be chronic instability as the normal feature of life in the whole country, which would provide the best excuse for the exercise of the supreme power by a disinterested third party as arbitrator. Who else can this be but Britain?

Under the shadow of this insoluble political problem, the provinces are indulging either in Communist-baiting to oblige Capitalism in jitters or in communal-baiting to gratify and inflame popular frenzy. Bengal and Sind are insolvent; the Frontier uses the bribes received from the Centre to wipe out the minorities. In the Congress provinces, those who feathered their nests in the war are still feathering their nests in a peace which spells slow death to the masses at large.

In all this gloomy picture, you will look in vain for Britain as the villain of the piece. Less than a year ago, she seemed to totter towards her inescapable doom, the entire administration paralysed by strikes in civil departments and mutinies in the fighting forces. She then stooped, only to conquer as she has done to-day. No, No. Depend upon it—Britain is not quitting us in a hurry, she intends not to quit at all. We cannot make her quit, so long as we accept her gifts after the manner of children beguiled with toys.

If one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavours to live the life he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours.—Henry David Thoreau.

ONE INDIA IN ONE WORLD

by K. S. VENKATARAMANI

THE LATEST NEWS is disquieting. Lord Mountbatten favours a Pakistan zone and Congress is getting reconciled to the division of India especially if East Punjab and West Bengal could be partitioned and saved from Pakistan. If the British Cabinet accepts this recommendation, as well it might for imperial reasons of its own, the defeat of the Congress is complete on all major issues, especially its glorious ideal of a unified India. This is a tragedy full of fatal consequences both to the Muslim and to the Hindu in the long run. This division of India into conflicting sovereignties will smash her peace for at least another 30 years and with it imperil the peace of Asia and Europe and bring India as a whole eventually under the vassalage of the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R.—Britain complicating the issues by her own imperial adroitness and selfish aims.

Mr. Truman's offer of financial and military help to Greece and Turkey has clarified and quickened the issues. It compels socialistic Britain to define her place in the next World War. Though she fought World War II with utmost personal economy, the giant effort and sacrifice required have relegated her to a subordinate but still influential position in world politics. She must regain her original position to keep at the same standard and comfort her 44 millions, too numerous for such a small island as Britain. Therefore, at least for 15 years more, she requires the vast man-power and industrial and military potential of India for these two immediate objectives as for her own domestic reconstruction.

Britain could no more exploit India for obvious reasons on the old basis of political domination. Though a 'strong' man like Churchill would still try it, the British Labour Cabinet is too well informed

about India and sensitive to world opinion to think of it. Hence the "Quit India" decision in specific terms on Feb. 20, after a great deal of mature deliberation in the Cabinet. Great Britain would gain both her objectives far better with a unified India which she could still enforce if she wishes to. But it requires great statesmanship and vision on the part of the British Cabinet and the Congress Working Committee.

The American likes the Chinese instinctively. Similarly the British like instinctively the Muslim. This psychological bias has been fully utilised by Mr. Jinnah, a master tactician and astute politician, the ablest India has produced in recent times. There is none to equal him in Congress and non-Muslim politics, though Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and Rajaji are the nearest approach. But Sir C. P. is obliged to play a marginal game at remote Travancore and even he is becoming more insular like its own lagoons in the growing complexities of Indian politics. And Rajaji lacks the milieu for the display of his special talents.

Pakistan, in the very nature of things, needs British help and Mr. Jinnah to secure it has offered in return boldly all help to Britain. Pakistan is bound to accept Dominion Status. The Congress, in the interest of one India and common welfare, should outmanoeuvre this cruel partition by offering to Britain the best possible trade and military alliances, at least for the next 15 years. There is nothing which you cannot secure for a proper price from Great Britain if only you know how to do the job with her in a skilled and business-like way. She dreads like malarial mosquitoes your sub-tropical sentimental bleedings unrelated to the real Song of Life.

Let us complete the real picture. Pakistan will automatically secure British help. Pakistan holds the strategic key positions on the frontiers—it is a matter of geography unamendable by resolutions, prayers and wishes—and Hindustan is helpless for all its numbers. Hyderabad (Deccan) suspected to be the main inspiration of Pakistan, is thinking of applying for membership of the U.N.O. It will gladly seek for and accept Dominion Status which fits in with the scheme, of course after annexing Berar and gaining on 'lease' an Islamic corridor to Masulipatam. Mr. Jinnah sees it all with astuteness and vision and plays the game with skill and uncompromising vigour. I see none to equal him among our leaders in the chess-play of politics. The Con-

gress Working Committee has kept the ring for 30 years a close preserve and has so far scored no victory which I can honestly record. It is about to lose the one vital object of its ideals—unified India, by many wrong moves in the past from the days of Lord Minto and acute vacillation in the present. A new leadership should emerge, daring and prompt in action and organisation, before the British Cabinet finalises the Mountbatten decision and disrupts the country.

India is one and indivisible. This is implicit in the geography and history of India from the days of Asoka. Time spirit sanctifies this One India in One World. Man's mischief and folly may seemingly delay the dawn but never defeat the glory of the sun.

THE INDIAN JUDICIARY

by S. RAJAGOPALAN

THE legal conventions which have built up the British Judiciary may with considerable advantage be established in this country also. The Lord Chancellor, the pivot of the English judicial system, is responsible for the administration of justice, and appoints High Court judges, County Court judges and their staff. The Prime Minister has to appoint the Law Lords, the Lord Justices of Appeal and the Lord Chief Justice, and this he generally does in consultation with the Lord Chancellor; Stanley Baldwin, it is gathered, did it invariably.

Judges are selected solely on the basis of merit, professional eminence and standing; age is about the last thing that is considered. Generally speaking the ages of the appointees in normal times have averaged between 50 and 60 if not more. Appointments of persons below 50 have been the exception rather than the rule. There is again no retiring age limit; and judges can hold on, until physically incapacitated, even if they should happen to touch the psalmist's limit of four score and ten. Even after retirement, a judge is liable to be recalled to clear off arrears in the King's Bench Division or to sit in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The pension awardable to a judge is equated with his salary and is not a fraction of it, as obtains in India; and a judge is entitled to his pension automatically on appointment, whatever his length of service. Appointments of acting, temporary and additional judges for a fixed term, which are becoming so normal a feature in India, are never made. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature is the complete absence of freedom on the part of practising barristers to decline the offer of a judgeship. It would be an unconscionable breach of etiquette for a lawyer to refuse judgeship on the ground that doing so might involve heavy pecuniary sacrifice or the blasting of political ambitions. All the judges are recruited from the

bar, and very few indeed of the County Court judges have been promoted to the High Court. The Lord Chancellor whatever his political or party affiliation, as a rule, does not make any appointment contrary to the standards set by the professional public opinion, which, unlike as in this country, is ever alert and vocal. Professional eminence alone did not always count; a Lord Chancellor (Lord Cave) has revealed that it had been his practice, before making an appointment, first to see whether the appointee was a *gentleman* and then if he happened to know a little law, all the better. It is not surprising that in that atmosphere canvassing for and on behalf of particular communities or individuals would be well nigh impossible.

In India, the constitution of the judiciary, is mainly governed and regulated by statute; and this has certainly proved to be a handicap. There is room for considerable improvement even though the existing system has remained the one branch of public administration wherein communalism, corruption and other post-war evils prevail not, as Sir Lionel Leach claimed with pardonable pride the other day. Certain grave anomalies, however, need immediate removal. The most outstanding is the scrapping of the age limit for recruitment and retirement of High Court judges. Sixty is too low an age limit for retirement, and is indefensible, when one realised how the rule has deprived the higher judiciary of very many men who could be appointed or continued as judges,—a circumstance which neighbouring Indian States have not been slow to take advantage of. The matter has become further complicated in Madras where, in recent times, an upper age limit of 53 has been fixed for recruitment, the reason being that the appointee should put in a service of 7 years to earn his pension. This system will tend, in course of time, to restrict the choice to but a

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few individuals to the exclusion of many deserving cases. The age limit set both for recruitment and retirement both for High Court judges and Federal judges, deserves to be scrapped immediately; and it should be provided that irrespective of his tenure, a judge would be entitled to his pension which should be a decent portion of his salary. As in England, retired judges may be requisitioned to clear off accumulation of arrears, if necessary.

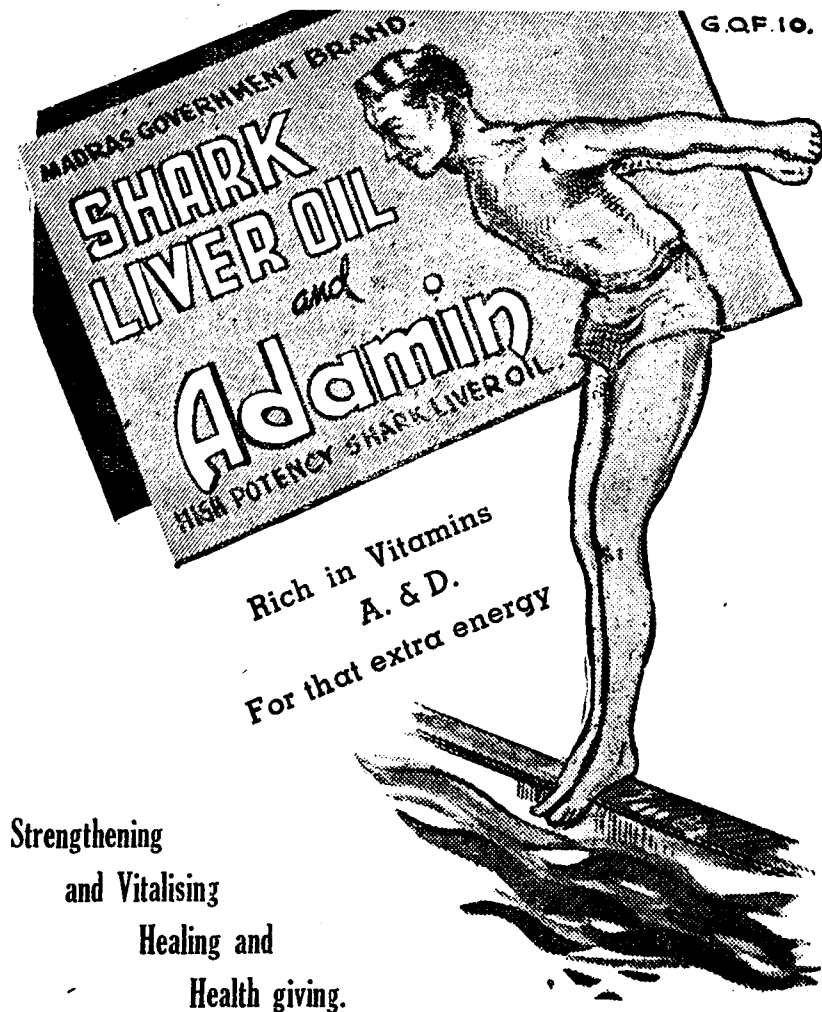
Subject to the approval of His Majesty and the Secretary of State, appointment of High Court judges is invested, as a matter of practice, in the hands of the Chief Justice, the Governor and the Governor-General. The Law Minister or Member is generally out of the picture and is rightly so. The right of the Ministers to be consulted beforehand appears to have been raised by C. R., when Premier of Madras, in 1939 when two top-ranking leaders of the Madras Bar were drafted to the Bench presumably by the Chief Justice and the Governor holding consultation between themselves. The matter, as one gathers from the reminiscences of an ex-Minister in a Tamil journal, had to be and was referred to the Secretary of State; and the resignation of the Cabinet *en bloc* was also imminent over the issue. But the firm (and also the correct) stand by the Secretary of State gave the quietus to the controversy. The Chief Justice and the Governor are above party politics and communal bickerings, and under their auspices the best material has always been selected. Nothing would be more disastrous than to make over these appointments to the Premier and his Cabinet, who, as recent political history in Madras has shown, cannot with-

stand the onslaughts of powerful communal groups or spheres of influence. The problem may assume complexity since, with the framing of the new constitution, the Governor drops out, and the Union Centre may not possess the same powers as the present Government of India possesses over the provinces in regard to the administration of High Courts. One hopes however that this question will be settled in a way which will make the judiciary independent not merely of the executive but of the legislature and of the political parties therein and that appointments to the judiciary will be made by proper persons in a proper manner. Since the time when the High Courts were established in India and our countrymen came to attain matchless eminence in the legal field, the practice had become almost universal of the topmen in the profession invariably refusing offers of judgeships, and preferring as one of them bluntly put it 'to talk nonsense a few hours each day rather than hear it all day long.' In this respect they have chosen not to follow the very wholesome English convention. But certain circumstances could not be ignored. India has all along been a subject country and all the mighty intellects in the land had to assist her to gain her freedom; and it would have been unwise to confine within the four walls of a court of law voices which could make themselves felt in the council halls and international gatherings. To us in Madras, had the mighty brain which conceived the Mettur Project and the Pykara system been buried in the depths of law reports, the advantage which the judiciary would have obtained would have been infinitesimal compared with what the country at large has got.

A husband is what's left of the sweetheart after the nerve has been removed.

A wife is someone who stands by her husband through all troubles which he wouldn't have had if he hadn't married her.

My life is a bitter-sweet draught; my whole being is a constant gleaning of knowledge regarding this world and my relation to it. The result is sad and depressing; but this gain of insight, this penetration of truth, is thoroughly pleasurable, and mixes sweet with bitter.—Schopenhauer.



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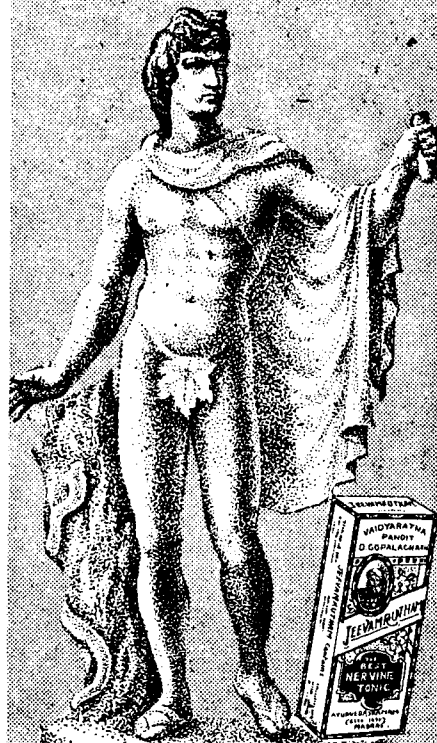
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BOOKS

Economics Of Khaddar. By Richard B. Gregg. (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2.)

"The result or end of economic activity is wealth production for consumption by the producers. Wealth is usually produced by the intelligent use of the means of production and the application or employment of human talent or power. Planning in the first instance, consists in the rational co-ordination of these three factors. We may express this mathematically thus:

$$W = E + M$$

Here W stands for wealth, E for employment of human talent, and M for means in the shape of tools, equipment or capital. In this equation, keeping W constant, if M is large, E will have to be small, and vice versa, that is E and M vary inversely. Therefore, in planning, our first step will have to be the ascertaining of the availability of E and M.

"In Great Britain, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, when Capitalism was 'planned' without a fanfare of trumpets, there was a glut of M due to fortuitous circumstances such as the loot from India. Therefore, the system evolved used more capital and less labour.

"In the New World, on the other hand, there was a scarcity of E as the people were few, so they had to increase the only factor capable of increase, (i.e.) M, by borrowing capital.

"So we see that in the cases of both Great Britain and the United States of America the unconscious planning resulted in Capitalism, in the former case due to capital being large, and in the latter case to labour being scarce."

Thus wrote Prof. J. C. Kumarappa years ago. Unfortunately for India, the system of education prevalent in this country taught our youngmen only those laws and principles of economics that were deduced from the prevailing structure in the said two countries, ignoring the accidental factors that were responsible for the particular

structure and the text-books that were written constituted an attempt to explain, justify and even glorify that capitalistic pattern of economic structure which is money-mad and profit-motivated. Consequently our educated economists and industrialists began to swear by the doctrines of the capitalistic economics and they are not able to believe that there can be an economic structure based on human values. To such men this book of Mr. Gregg is at once an appeal and a challenge.

Written first in 1927, Mr. Gregg revised it in 1931 after having spent 2 years in the United States where he carefully studied the recent economic developments in the West and tried to relate them to the economic problem of India as discussed in his book. The present volume is the revised second edition of the book.

In his book Mr. Gregg builds up an unanswerable case for a Khadi-centred economy which will take into account both the needs and the capacities of all men alike. Dealing with the subject scientifically and objectively, he discusses all the possible objections that can be and are likely to be raised against such an economic order and comes to the logical and inescapable conclusion, after elaborately arguing with a wealth of facts and figures, that a Khadi-centred economy alone will really efficiently utilise all the natural powers and serve all the people of the country and all the world, not merely a small group of owners and financiers. Judging by the criterion 'that those efforts will be wisest which tend gradually to allocate industries not so as to make immediately the most money for some one, but so as to keep all groups employed all the time all over the world,' he confidently asserts that the Gandhian economic order alone is capable of producing the maximum good consistent with the needs and status of man as the supreme and ultimate unit of the universe. Mr. Gregg finds no difficulty whatever in successfully meeting the objections raised against Khadi on the score of its being more expensive

than mill-cloth, its alleged tendency to put the clock of progress back and its refusal to utilise the benefits of scientific research. Comparing the costs of mill-production and hand-production not in terms of the price which an individual pays but in terms of the various factors that constitute and facilitate production, taking into account the cost of unemployment, Mr. Gregg proves that Khadi is really cheaper than mill-cloth, though the purchaser of the latter does not feel these intangible costs directly. With an unemployment problem of staggering proportions and millions of people living on the verge of starvation for which there is no parallel anywhere in the world, the introduction of mechanisation which is intended to save labour, will be suicidal. It will aggravate the enormity of the unemployment problem and achieve the very reverse of solving it. Hence the observation of Mr. Gregg, "There is a surplus of 'man-hours' already in India. Let her therefore save something else of which she has less surplus and for which she has need." After dealing with the troubles that are inherent in the machine arising out of the inevitable periods of glut or scarcity and price variations because of the producer being far from the consumer and because of the control of machine industry by financiers, Mr. Gregg says, "The charkha tends to eliminate both these difficulties. It puts the producer in the same house with or next door to the consumer. It needs no support from bankers. This cannot be said of any of the Western forms of relief." As cotton is grown in all provinces of the country and spinners and weavers are to be found in every village, by judiciously co-ordinating and co-operating, the entire process of the production of cloth starting with the cultivation of cotton and leading to the final weaving of cloth can be completed in the village itself at a very small cost utilising the natural skill of the people and the enforced idleness of the farmers. Referring to these Mr. Gregg remarks: "These savings are really the same as are secured by the American 'trusts' or big companies which own and operate their sources of raw materials as well as the factories. Their gigantic efforts to control the sources of their raw materials is only a re-discovery and imitation of the economic position of the simple peasant artisan who cultivates for himself the cotton which later he weaves into Khaddar." As Gandhiji himself says, "production becomes almost simultaneous with consumption and distribution" and the vicious circle of money-economy completely disap-

pears in an economic order based on the balance of industry and agriculture and the self-sufficiency of the village.

The Charka is the symbol of decentralisation and integration of processes while the mill is the embodiment of centralisation and the division of processes. Apart from the evils of mechanisation in killing the initiative, individuality and the skill of the labourer, decentralisation has its own virtues and benefits in making every area self-reliant and in preventing a total paralysis and collapse in case of a minor breakdown somewhere in the structure. Further, the element of decentralisation in the economic order of society has a decisive voice in the political pattern of the country in so far as nationalisation is the order of the day. Nationalisation of centralised industries places enormous power in the hands of the State over the life of the people and thereby facilitates the growth and strengthening of autocracy and dictatorship. On the other hand, small scale industries producing the essential requirements of the people can be owned by the people themselves in each village or group of villages, avoiding thereby the need for nationalisation and the consequential ills. Gandhian economics does not mean the complete elimination of machinery; what it means is only a limitation placed on machinery consistent with the needs and good of the people. As Shrimati Lila Ray says, "Gandhi's procedure is to put into the hands of man instruments of production that are small, light, cheap and as efficient as modern technical knowledge can keep them, which they can both operate and own, thus transforming mass production into production by the masses, the proletarian into the independent producer, incidentally abolishing the labour market." It also enables the State to shrink from its pathological swelling to its natural size.

After examining and discussing the question from all possible angles Mr. Gregg comes to the conclusion "that the economic strength and efficiency of small-scale, decentralised, intensive industry, such as Mr. Gandhi advocates, has in its low fixed charges, low power costs, low expenses for repair, maintenance obsolescence and depreciation, low inventory charges, rapid turnover of material and product, little or no storage and transportation costs, security of employment, psychological and physiological healthiness and adaptation to man's nature, its moral and aesthetic possibilities, its freedom and

room for sound individual development" and each of these grounds is elaborately substantiated by the author with reliable facts and authentic observations by eminent thinkers. Finally Mr. Gregg concludes, "I consider the Khaddar movement as only one part of a world-wide change affecting the methods, organisation and purposes of industrialism. It is not a fantastic aberration of an Indian dreamer, nor an attempted reversion to obsolete and wasteful economic processes, nor a revengeful economic attack upon the West, nor any less 'realistic' than other economic movements now in progress in Russia, Japan, Turkey, China, Afghanistan and other parts of Asia." Mr. Gregg's book is a scientific thesis vigorously and logically argued on the subject and is bound to prove a sure corrective to these that are sincerely prejudiced and a source of light to those that are simply ignorant.

—("Mimi").

Expansion Of World Trade And Employment. By N. A. Sarma. (Published by "Commerce", Bombay. Price, Rs. 2-8.)

This is an age of internationalism and the tendency is to examine every question from the point of view of the extent to which it promotes world peace, security and order. It is from this standpoint that the subject of world trade is critically studied in this monograph. Every one is vitally interested in the expansion of world trade. It is an elementary truth that countries stand to gain by mutual exchange of commodities. It is also clear that barriers in the way of trade between country and country as well as artificial methods adopted to foster the industries of a country without caring for the effects which these produce on the economy of other countries have been responsible for international rivalry ultimately leading to war. No elaborate argument is required to demonstrate how a just regulation of international trade by a representative world authority will promote the cause of peace. The question however is the nature of the broad lines on which such an authority should carry on its work and the aims which it should pursue. Here there is room for much difference of opinion and for a conflict of interests between country and country. Some countries are agricultural; they produce only raw materials; they are not highly

industrialised. Unemployment and poverty are chronic in them. India, China and many of the other countries of Asia are in this category. There are other countries like U.S.A. and Britain which are highly industrialised and whose inhabitants enjoy a high standard of living. Complete freedom of trade between these groups have in the past proved detrimental to the interests of the backward areas. If these conflicts are to be reconciled the International Trade Organisation which the United Nations want to set up should regulate world trade in such a manner that all countries are equally benefited by it. The problems therefore are highly complicated; and there is not one solution for all of them.

All these questions are skilfully handled by Mr. Sarma in this monograph. He has made a systematic study of the subject as a whole and he has brought together within a brief compass all the relevant issues. His book is a brilliant and stimulating piece of work. The value of the book is enhanced by the large number of tables included in it.—M. Venkatarangaiya.



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LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR

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

Why?

Why should the Madras Government require English qualification for the poor underpaid pundits and munshis, when the same is not required even for the premiership of the province?

B. RANGANATHAM.

Boomerang

Congressmen are in a fury over the happenings in the Frontier Province. They are representing Sir Olaf Caroe as a dehumanised being who has no respect for constitutional and moral principles. It is almost ironical for Congressmen, especially Gandhites, to say so. What is it that Sir Olaf is doing which they themselves haven't done? In fact, they have recognised the Governor's right to ignore the Ministry. When, for instance, C. R. invited the Madras Governor to ignore the then Madras Premier Prakasam in the S. I. Railway strike, Gandhi cannot escape responsibility for the part played by C. R. since the latter is still his conscience keeper. And now they cannot find fault with Sir Olaf if he assumes the role which C. R. wanted Sir Archibald Nye to take. I had never any doubt that the British will not quit India. In fact, they are strengthening their rule here. That is the only construction one can place on Sikhs and others saying they prefer British to Muslim rule. Today Dr. S. P. Mukherjee and other Bengal Hindus will only be too glad to sing the praises of British Raj, if only our rulers dismiss the League Ministry.

B. SIVAKOTA REDDI.
Buchireddipalem.

Wrong Choice

With the elevation of Mr. Pallamraju to the status of Deputy Leader of the Legislature Party, the fair name of the Congress in South India has gone down

still lower. Those who cast their votes in favour of Mr. Pallamraju did not serve the cause of the Congress. Imagine what respect a party can command when it confers leadership on a person who is roughly handled wherever he goes.

K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM.
Rajahmundry.

Congress And Elections

Elections for the local boards are announced to take place in the near future. The intervention of political parties mars the very spirit of Local Self-Government and so it should be put an end to. People should be given full freedom to choose their own representatives. If this policy had been followed our towns and villages would have been undoubtedly better under capable and efficient administrators.

The recent happenings in the Madras Congress Legislature Party have opened the eyes of the masses against blindly following any political party and at this stage it is not advisable that the Congress should interfere in the ensuing municipal and local board elections.

Kalahasti. P. DHARMA RAO.

"Common Man Puzzled"

You deserve to be congratulated on the bold stand you took by the Prakasam Ministry while your contemporaries took an indifferent attitude in the matter, to say the least. The gratitude of the less vociferous section of the public is due to you for discharging the chief function of the Press, which is the expression of independent opinion.

The common man is puzzled at the fall of the Prakasam Ministry which swore by the Congress programme and had a remarkable achievement to its credit within a short space of 10 months. When one considers the record of Sri.

Prakasam, his unfailing loyalty to the Congress creed, his self-effacement, his utter disregard of vested interests and his unswerving faith in the Gandhian programme, one is taken aback by the sudden fall of his Ministry due to the machinations of a "clique." The unequivocal declaration of faith in the Prakasam Ministry voiced in several public meetings throughout the province reflect the correct view of the public. It is an inherent right in democracy to remove a leader and elect a new man in his place on a mandate from the voters, but in the case of Sri. Prakasam's Ministry there was no such direction from the electors.

The desire of the common people to give the Prakasam Ministry sufficient time and facilities to successfully carry out the Congress Election Manifesto has received a rude shock and their grief is all the greater on account of the fact that they stand now on the threshold of freedom and the occasion calls for the greatest unity and sacrifice of personal ambitions and even individual opinions for the common good.

In the new Ministry there is not a single outstanding personality comparable to C. R. or Prakasam in force of character, sacrifice, intellect or ability. Labour troubles all over the province require careful handling and the new Ministry does not contain a person of the ability of Sri. Giri. Let us hope that the doings of the Madras Congress Party will open the eyes of all to the dangers of the existing linguistic groups in the party functioning in personal and narrow grooves to the detriment of the interests of the province as a whole.

Pudukkottai. T. V. S. SASTRI.

Useless To Bemoan Communalism

In your editorial dated May 3 under the heading "Congress Communalism" you deplored in strong language the sad plight of Congress compromising its high ideals under the influence of rank communalism. While doing so, you made some sweeping and highly controversial statements which cannot go unchallenged. No one can dispute the fact that the Congress served as the biggest organisation to fight British imperialism and when the fight reached the final stages as in recent years all the communal organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Justice Party, etc., receded to the background, the only exception being the Muslim League. It is often forgotten that the men who fought for self-government are not necessarily the men striving for good

government. Knowing this singular truth, great leaders of the Congress time and again declared that as soon as the freedom of the country is achieved there will be no Congress Party as such. It is useless therefore to bemoan the disintegration of the Congress and the rise of the communal spirit in this land of age-long communal injustices. It is quite in the order of nature and it is not strange that in the present set-up of the so-called Congress administration in Madras, the Leader of the Lower House, the Industries Minister, the Minister for Housing and the Speaker were all once prominent leaders of the Justice Party. Men in other parties by joining the Congress have made it impossible for some men to play large-scale fraud on the people under the smoke-screen of nationalism with the weapon of past sacrifices.

As to Mr. Jinnah's triumph it is not so quick a process as appears at first sight from the recent events. The Congress which with one voice used to demand a united India with a strong Centre would not fight with the same zeal the communal electorate. This clearly shows that there was some necessity for the communal electorate and the Congress could have easily got over the difficulty by a sort of federation; but it took such a long time to realise it that by that time Mr. Jinnah went over to an extreme position. Mr. Jinnah's strength and triumph lie in the unity among Muslims whereas Dr. Ambedkar's followers were not strong due to the age-long oppression that had broken their backbone of resistance and revolutionary spirit. I have to suggest to you to concentrate your attention on wholesale condemnation of the giant intellects in our land who yesterday were prepared to give up their lives for getting rid of the foreigner, but today, on the threshold of freedom, are not prepared to shed their petty prejudices, leave alone their condemning and actively fighting the inequalities between man and man, socially, politically and economically.

D. V. S. THIRUPATI RAO.
Madras.

Procurement Anomalies

As a shareholder of the Ellore P.C.C. Society I can testify, from personal knowledge, to the very efficient way in which that society was working from its infancy. For about three weeks procurement was slow due to want of credit facilities; but afterwards procurement was smooth and payments were prompt. The recent decision of the Government

to pay a bonus of 8 annas per bag besides carting charges to the producer excludes those producers who promptly sold their paddy to the societies at the request of the Government. Besides this iniquitous policy, they are unmindful of the interests of the shareholders. The societies have no business to transact and yet costly staff employed in them has not been discharged. This waste of public funds involves huge losses to the societies.

The funniest part of the whole affair is the appointment of a special officer of the rank of a senior civilian to investigate and report on the work of these baby organisations the oldest of which have not been in existence for more than a couple of months.

Why this disingenuous method of 'giving the dog a bad name and hang it?' If they have the moral courage they can as well straightway abolish the societies at one stroke.

The fact seems to be that the present regime succumbed to the influence of capitalists and vested interests.

— VERITAS.

(ii)
The licence given to the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies (in the Andhra districts) for the procurement of rice has been cancelled by the Omandur Ministry and it has been bestowed upon millers on the pretext that procurement of rice by the societies has not been effective. The failure of the societies to procure the necessary quantity of rice has been due to the change of personnel in the Ministry and corruption among officers connected with the societies and not due to the inherent defect of the societies.

These societies achieved cent per cent success in Malabar and in most Andhra districts. It would be interesting to know why they failed in Guntur while they succeeded elsewhere.

K. S. SUBRAMANYAM.
Amalapuram.

Ration Out Agricultural Farms

The only method of ensuring agrarian peace in the country is to see that every landless agricultural labourer gets enough agricultural land to keep him busy. For this purpose, the acquisition of the zamindaries and the estates will not be enough. The Government must be bold enough to extend the principle of compulsory acquisition to private landowners as well. All agricultural farms which are in excess of any landowner's capacity to cultivate personally,

must also be compulsorily acquired by payment of compensation and these lands must be leased out to the agricultural labourers with security of tenure. This will for ever put an end to all kisan trouble and food production will cease to be a problem in the country.

M. S. V. CHARI.

Newspaper Chains

Birlas and Dalmias are fast buying dailies one after another in all important cities and fresh purchases are under way. This is a grim portent.

Six months ago the British House of Commons adopted a proposal to set up a Royal Commission to enquire into this vexed question of newspaper finance, control, management and ownership. It was the outcome of a persistent agitation carried on by the British journalists.

It is high time that in India too a similar enquiry is conducted by the Government of India. A *prima facie* case exists against these newspaper monopolies. The public also should be roused from its habitual stupor and made alive to the alarming nature of this problem by means of a vigorous campaign through the columns of the independent Press.

VADARI VENKATARAMANA.

Nellore.

New Trade Union Congress

I do not think that the organisers of the Indian National Trade Union Congress would achieve the object in view if they stick to orthodox methods of guiding trade unionism. The only proper remedy is to make the worker a co-sharer in the profits of the industry in which he is employed either under a co-operative system or through nationalisation of all the major industries in the country.

K. VARADACHARI, M.L.A.

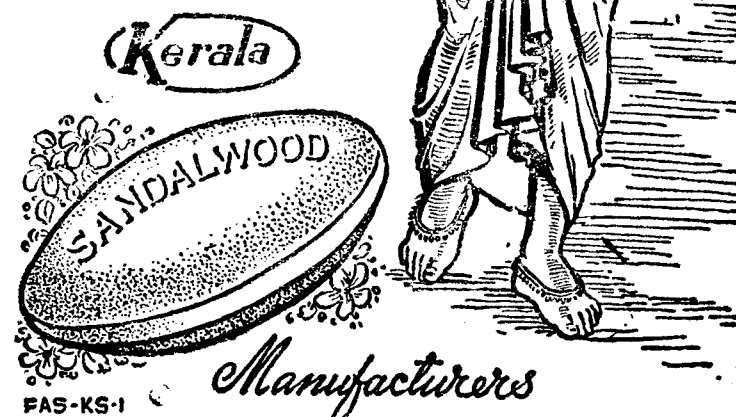
Overcrowding In Trains

It was held in a recent case that pulling an alarm chain in a railway train when a carriage is overcrowded is justifiable. Our Provincial Governments have a duty to perform in this matter as sanitation and public health are provincial subjects. Legislation fixing the number of passengers per seat in a carriage must be enforced forthwith.

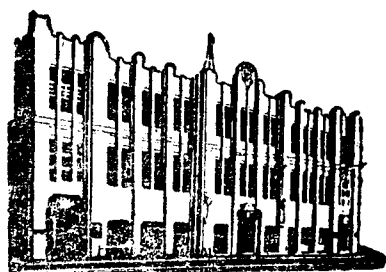
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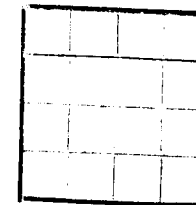
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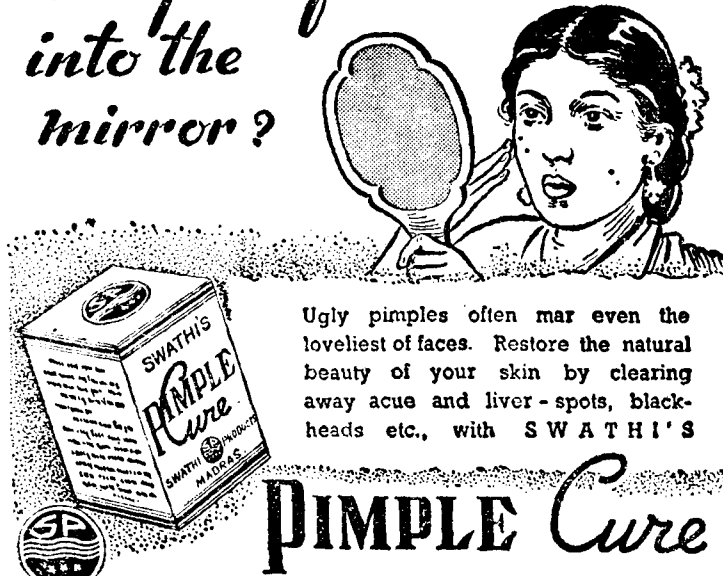
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Vol. II, No. 15.

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1947.

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The economic merger of the British and the American zones, which excited the wrath of M. Molotov at Moscow recently, has become consolidated with the announcement by General Robertson of the three points of agreement between London and Washington over the united administration. Understandably enough, Mr. Bevin wants to recover the treasure spent in the British zone. The reproaches of Mr. Churchill have been too bitter and pointed to be neglected. Mr. Bevin fails to see why his zone should not share in the profusion which the United States, in pursuance of the "Truman doctrine," is showering on a dazed Europe. M. Molotov, who has strong objections to the dollar whether it be in Greece, Turkey, or elsewhere, continues to glower at Europe.

An astonishing symptom of his displeasure was the recent allegation in a German paper, which is patronised by the Russian authorities, that the British and the American Press in Berlin had been required to conduct a campaign of vilification and vituperation against Russia. This grave accusation has been heatedly rebutted by the British authorities. But the denial is not likely to appease the aggrieved party.

A not very favourable aspect of foreign rule in Germany was exhibited recently when elections were held in the three States of the French zone. It was stated that an infinitesimal proportion of the electorate went to the polls, because they were too hungry to take any interest in politics. In the circumstances, the validity of the success of the Christian Democratic Party is open to doubt, though indeed the efficacy of all these arrangements is vitiated by the fact that they are for a doubtful and interim period.

Russia continues to wage a diplomatic war with her late allies in the United Nations Organisation

over Palestine but that labyrinth need not be explored in this survey of purely European affairs. In the neighbouring countries of Turkey and Greece, the contest is more palpable. Central Europe had really to be re-built as a result of the war, declared Mr. Bevin in the Commons. It is one of those statements which are more easily said than done. Greece and Yugoslavia have to be primed with gold to maintain a factitious controversy. Athens publicly rejoices that a shower of gold has descended on her as it did on Danae, while Belgrade laments that even vital food is denied her by the distributor of largesse to her neighbour.

The United States dealt a fatal blow to the League of Nations by refusing to ratify President Wilson's labours. It looks like repeating the performance to the United Nations Organisation by deciding to send aid to Greece and Turkey over its head. This contemptuous neglect of the supposed sole repository of authority which, more than two years after its inauguration cannot boast of a single soldier or a policeman, has been defended on the score that at Bretton Woods and San Francisco Russia really wanted a military treaty among the big powers, and not an international organisation, and that, at any rate, the grant of veto has already vitiated the U.N.O. But it seems inconceivable that one wrong, if wrong it was, should be justified by the perpetration of another. For, the lame provision that the U.N.O. should have the authority to call a halt to the flow of U.S. aid to Greece and Turkey is only a salve to a disturbed conscience. The "Truman doctrine" appears to have gone to the head of the United States.

The possibilities of its application to Italy have by no means been diminished by the announcement that Sgr. Nitti, a Liberal statesman, is to form a coalition Cabinet of all

parties, except the extreme right-wing one of "common man." For, in this country also, the contours of dispute are the same, that between the rightists and the leftists. While the Communists in France appear to be quiescent after their recent expulsion from power, those in Italy have it in their power to dictate the course of events. A speech two months ago by Sgr. Togliatti, their leader, surprised everyone by its moderation. But it was universally believed to be a subtle move in the eternal game of seizing power. Certainly, there are no indications that the Nitti Ministry, if there should be one at all, will prove to possess more longevity than its predecessor, that of Sgr. de Gasperi, which existed no more than three months.

It is in the midst of this unexampled imbroglio that Mr. Churchill has chosen to launch a campaign for a United States of Europe. Some Frenchmen find it difficult to keep their temper at General de Gaulle's proposal to abolish parties and establish a rally of the French people. But it was a Frenchman, Aristide Briand, who first dreamt of a United States of Europe.

Not A "Popular" Ministry

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S endeavour in the south to canvass support to the Omandur Ministry culminated in a disturbance at one of the biggest gatherings ever witnessed in the capital of the province, to the like of which no Minister has to our recollection ever been treated since Ministers came into being. The remarkable fact about this disturbance was that it should have occurred while Dr. Rajendra Prasad was due to address the meeting. Dr. Rajendra Prasad is among the most honoured of Congress leaders. As a guest he was entitled to the city's hospitality. C. R. himself is a speaker

of scintillating brilliance and people know that it is ever a treat to listen to him. His appearance on the platform is therefore as a rule greeted with respect and joyful expectancy. That, notwithstanding all these inducements to good behaviour, the meeting should have proved uncontrollable and the organisers should have been driven helplessly to dissolve it, is a phenomenon of which the significance should not be lost on the sponsors of the present Ministry if worse disasters are not to occur in future.

The local daily Press which does a lot of managing these days, has taken very kindly to the new Ministry and has been at prodigious pains to create for it a helpful atmosphere. In their descriptions of the Beach meeting, city newspapers have made it appear that the disturbance was the work of a small section of discontented strikers from the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. Neither discontent nor the status of being a mill worker or even a striker, can minimise the value of a demonstration as an expression of public opinion. Workers are as much citizens as members of classes deemed in the highest degree "respectable," and with adult suffrage in the offing, the political importance of workers is not a thing to be despised. With much of the manner in which the disturbers of the meeting expressed their dissatisfaction, lovers of civilised public life will of course emphatically disagree. We feel that there is room for the expression of the strongest disapprobation in the most effective way on the most controversial question without throwing sand or hurling shoes at the leaders gracing a platform. Collective political self-expression is quite possible with dignity and must be redeemed from rowdiness. But then there is a sense in which rowdiness is itself an effect of despair on frustrated people when they are denied proper scope for the ventilation of

their free opinions. Since the new Ministry came into being there has been a considerable diminution in the facilities open to the public for the free expression of their attitude to it. Leading members of the Ministry like Dr. Rajan, Dr. Subbarayan, Gopala Reddi and Kala Venkata Rao have been greeted with black flags and hostile demonstrations in their visits to mofussil stations, but barring a stray honourable exception, not a word of it finds its way in the daily Press. The fact of the matter is that there is now a definite cleavage between the bulk of the electors and their elected representatives and while the latter have elected Omandur, the former have no opinion of him and do not want him. The cleavage between the people and the legislators represents roughly a cleavage between vested interests and exploited elements just as the difference between the old and the new Ministries is a difference between a popular Ministry and an imposed Ministry. The daily Press being all on the side of the Ministry, the people feel muzzled, and violence of demonstration in discontent of the sort that occurred in the Beach, must be attributed to the struggles of a suppressed public for self-expression through the stone wall of newspaper misrepresentation and unscrupulousness.

C. R. is an adept in the skilful organisation of publicity for the strengthening of the administration, but no amount of skill or efficiency can create public support for a Ministry that does not command public respect. Sri Omandur does not inspire confidence in his leadership in the minds of the general public to the vast bulk of whom he is a figure of no consequence at all, and he is an obvious impossibility for the role of premiership. C. R.'s nominees cannot be equated with C. R. himself in the disposal of the party leadership, and critics who construe our aversion to the absentee political landlordism that

has fastened itself on the Madras Ministry as a sign of anti-C. R. mentality, ignore that confidence must spring from honest judgment and is not a transferable asset. We are interested in having a popular Ministry and feel that the present Ministry cannot claim that character so long as leading members of it have to go about with police protection. It is because we realise that an administration unharnessed to public support can do little good and cannot but do immense harm that we have come to feel that public welfare is bound up with the termination of the present ministerial arrangements. Through technical jugglery no Government can win popular favour. The public will not accept C. R.'s favourites in his stead as rulers and his failure to comprehend the difference between himself and them has already cost him dear in public prestige and esteem.

Competition For Kisan Leadership

THE INVESTIGATION of conditions in North Malabar by our staff correspondent has brought to light a situation which is serious in itself and very disturbing in its implications. After the harvesting of paddy in the closing months of 1946, there have been frequent clashes in North Malabar between the kisans on the one side and the landlords' men protected by the police on the other. Hoarding and blackmarketing of paddy by the bigger landlords in defiance of procurement regulations were at the root of these disturbances. It would appear that the village functionaries, far from acting effectively to enforce procurement, often winked at and abetted these anti-social acts. The requests of the tenant cultivators for reduced rents and for facilities to retain paddy for their requirements were ignored by the Government, while the landlords were allowed to continue to

act as intermediaries between the cultivators and the procurement agency for the delivery of surplus paddy. Revolt of the kisans against these conditions has led to the stationing of special police forces who have behaved like a miniature occupation army, indulging in loot and destruction of the peasants' homes and property and brutal treatment of large numbers of innocent men and women.

We have always condemned manifestations of an aggressive and violent spirit on the part of Communists. They will gain nothing, and lose much public sympathy, by initiating acts of violence against the police or against the representatives of the vested interests which they wish to eliminate. Suffering undergone in the course of peaceful but determined pursuit of their policy will bring the Communists many friends; provocative and unilateral employment of force against officials and others will only alienate the rest of the public from them. The enthusiasm generated by the projects of the Communists for the promotion of public well-being and the suppression of profit-mad speculators will only be damped by every hasty act of violence. But a clear distinction has to be made by the Government between the steps necessary for maintaining order whenever there is real danger of peace being disturbed, and the letting loose of a reign of terror on entire populations of villages. Wanton cruelty and destruction are not part of the duty of the police. The M.S.P. in North Malabar has been guilty of overstepping the limits of

its function. Its conduct calls for immediate enquiry and necessary chastisement.

That the Congress Ministry and many local Congress leaders should have allowed and later justified the high-handed conduct and excesses of the police raises an important question connected with the leadership of the organised kisans and workers. Coercion by the police in North Malabar has been particularly harsh in those areas which are under strong Communist influence, like Chirakkal taluk. Many Congressmen have drawn satisfaction from the fact that Communists and their followers here have been taught the lesson of their lives. It will, however, be a bad day for the Congress when it comes to rely on the coercive machinery of the State for suppressing its political rivals by force, instead of winning the support of the people through positive and hard work among them for their benefit. It was nothing but the utter indifference of local Congressmen to the miserable conditions of the kisans of North Malabar which led to the growth of Communist influence there. If this position is sought to be reversed by deploying the police to scare the peasants away from the Communists, the Congress Ministry will be guilty of practising unfair competition of the worst type. It was through service and sacrifice that the Congress acquired its unique hold over the Indian masses. This priceless tradition is too valuable to be thrown away for the sake of a short-sighted policy of attempting a short-cut to political influence with the aid of police terrorism.

The eldest member of the family has in China the right to use an ancient family stick by way of punishment whenever necessary. Once the venerable family head, who was one hundred years old, chastised his oldest son by striking him on his back. Tears ran down the withered cheeks of the son, who was seventy-five years old. The father had never seen him cry on the many similar occasions when the stick had been used. He inquired after the reason for his shedding tears. The son replied, "Father, your stick has lost its original force. Your feebleness hurts me. Hence the tears."—Dr. Wellington Koo.

Sotto Voce

Sunbeams From Cucumber



A MERICAN scientists think that enough oil to work the world's machines and furnaces for another 500 years can be found if a practicable method of extracting the reserves in the earth's underseas slopes can be devised. Apart from the snag in that 'if', the announcement may come as something of an anticlimax to those who are eagerly reaching out for the atomic golden age. But prudence suggests that this submarine wealth is not to be sniffed at. For the extravagant liberality with which the world lives upon the dividends of to-morrow may land us in universal insolvency long before atomic energy has been tamed to do janitor's work. And on the whole it seems safer to tap the earth than to break the unruly atom to our service; for the disintegrating atom may have consequences.

Oil is only one of the things promised us in abundance by the afore-said Americans. The other items are however unspecified—which to me at any rate is no loss. For my imagination can play unhampered on the endless possibilities. As an infant at school I was brought up on 'Readers' which by to-day's standards would be intolerably stodgy—poor paper, bad printing, few or no illustrations and chockful of moral maxims. But there was one lesson which across a gulf of half a century remains as fascinatingly vivid as on the day I happened upon it.

It described pearl fishing in our southern seas with a wealth of detail which has escaped me. But I was so entranced with the prospect

that this exciting profession seemed to open that I already considered myself sole heir to the riches of Varuna. For hours together I worked out, in neat rows of figures on the page margins of that dog's-eared book, the quantities of pearl I would lift every year, the money (in terms of millions of rupees) they would fetch in the world's markets and the extent of land I would acquire with the proceeds. I have a vague recollection that I calculated that I could buy up all India in this way within a few years—and then my father would have no more worry about finding a purchaser for the next parcel of ancestral land which was to finance another daughter's marriage.

It was a child's Alnaschar dream. And the great entrepreneur is a child in this respect all his life. He reverses the role of the traditional hero whom poets pictured as having his feet planted firmly on earth while his head was crowned with the stars. Our modern man of enterprise has an army of accountants and auditors figuring out meticulously to a fraction of a pie the profits that *must* be made on his scheme to extract the rainbow from cucumber. He has no patience with such silly questions as whether it would not be better to put the cucumber to the humble use for which Providence designed it—that of bringing a grateful coolness to the parched palate of the wayfarer. Not to be able to prefer the synthetic rainbow to the by-product of the sun's caprice with the water-laden cloud is to brand yourself as a primitive.

Western man's endless struggle for mastery over Nature reminds me of the Tamils' favourite nursery rhyme about the greenhorn who exchanged his cow's tail for a sword and beat the big drum to proclaim his good fortune. It all proceeds on the assumption that unearned increment is a law of life. The profit motive, in a static society, was kept within reasonable limits because the buyer and seller constantly exchanged roles and the community, still a live organism, imposed its own mores on both. And they dealt with the earth, the source of all real wealth, in the same spirit of sane moderation. "What you make on ginger you lose on turmeric" is the kind of folk-wisdom that has saved man for millennia from suicidal greed.

You meddle with the balance of Nature at your peril. That is a

conviction with the countryman rooted in his bones. The rice crop in our southern districts has for the past two or three years been terribly ravaged by rats; and the villager attributes this to the destruction, for the sake of their skins, of thousands of harmless field snakes which are the rat's natural foe. So, when you tell him that there is infinite treasure in the bowels of the earth to be had by burrowing, he will remember the impious audacity of Hiranyaksha and the doom that befell him. Our nuclear scientists who know that it is easy enough to wipe out any number of Hiroshimas with a stick of atom bombs are in no mood to crow about it, but are gravely uneasy thinking of the untold havoc the consequent release of radioactive forces may work. It is best to let sleeping dogs lie.

VIGNESWARA.

ITALY'S NEW CONSTITUTION

After years of Fascist tyranny, Italy is now emerging as a free nation determined to restore the democratic way of life and reclaim her ancient and proud tradition as one of the leading European States. This change is embodied in the new Italian constitution.

In Article 4 of the constitution Italy renounces war as an instrument of conquest and of offence to the liberty of other peoples.

Revival of Fascism is guarded against by the statutory outlawry of the Fascist organisation. Properties belonging to the Royal Savoy family are seized by the Italian Republic.

Workers have reconquered the right of strike.

Both sexes have access to public employment on equal conditions, and have the right to vote.

The State and the Catholic Church are declared sovereign and independent, each in its own sphere.

Free and compulsory education will be provided to every child for eight years.

The new Parliament will consist of two Chambers, the first consisting of Deputies and the second of Senators; they will meet jointly on special occasions. Deputies will be directly elected, on the basis of one Deputy for every 80,000 inhabitants. Italy has been divided into 22 autonomous regions and the regional councils will elect one-third of the Senators, while the remaining two-thirds will be directly elected, franchise in this case being limited to those over 25. The two Chambers will be in power for periods of five years.

The Republic will recognize and encourage local, decentralized administrations. Among the regions which will have a special status are the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, and the boundary provinces of Trentino, Alto Adige and Valle d'Aosta. In this way new Italy wants to demonstrate her liberal approach and goodwill towards populations who live in special conditions, or in close touch with neighbouring States. This, it is hoped, will be of real service to the cause of peace in Europe.

SIDELIGHTS :

Why all this toil for the triumphs of an hour?—YOUNG.

DR. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has issued a lengthy statement on Madras ministerial affairs and invited the public to study it. In response to his invitation, I have studied it, most carefully, twice. Clarification is called for from the doctor in respect of some of the positions upheld by him in the course of the statement: The doctor wants us to believe that he was not in the least interested in securing for himself the Premiership, on the contrary he had an instinctive antipathy to office acceptance, but that certain friends approached him with a suggestion to allow his name to be put up. His reply to them was: "Unless I had positive instructions from Mahatmaji . . . I would not agree to my name being put up for leadership." Dr. Pattabhi has been at pains to show that his antipathy to office is a reasoned one. It would appear that it is based on three main objections: (1) to the oath of allegiance, (2) to the limitations on the powers of the Ministers and (3) the concurrent jurisdiction of the Central C.I.D. These objections do Dr. Pattabhi great credit. They show what a spirited sort of politician he is. But objections, to command respect, must come out of conviction. They must be believed in also in addition to being talked about. How can a move from the Mahatma approving Dr. Pattabhi as leader dispose of the objections alleged by himself as responsible for his aversion to office? Does an oath of allegiance cease to be an oath of allegiance from the magic moment of Dr. Pattabhi coming to be installed as Premier with the Mahatma's blessing?

Or is it that the struggle in the conscientious breast of the nimble-witted doctor is between the objections named and the respect and obedience due to the wishes of the great father of the nation? Unluckily for Dr. Pattabhi, his own

statement negatives any such thesis as this. Not all the repeated importunities of Dr. Pattabhi's supporters ever succeeded in moving the Mahatma to enthusiasm in the matter of blessing the doctor for the Premiership. On the other hand Gandhiji wished that Dr. Pattabhi should "leave the province to take its own course." To anyone to whom the wishes of the Mahatma counted, there could be no doubt at all as to whom he wished to see as Premier. The whole world knows that Gandhiji wanted C. R. to be the Premier of Madras. Dr. Pattabhi attached enough weight to his own premiership to allow it to overcome all his declared objections to office acceptance, he wished to have Gandhiji's blessing thrown into the counter to serve as justification for it, but he was not willing to transfer his loyalty to any Premier other than himself blessed by the Mahatma, and yet he wants people to believe that he never aspired for office, that ambition was lacking in him, and that his "attitude was one of passive acquiescence in any decision that might be taken," unlike others "who were seeking it (the leadership) in competition with each other!"

Having planned to make political capital of the name of the Mahatma for his own elevation as Premier, forswearing his vocal declarations of antipathy to office, and failed signally, Dr. Pattabhi now comes on the scene trying to use the name of the Mahatma once again, this time as a bludgeon to crush Prakasam politically for ever. It is evident that Dr. Pattabhi has put himself to a lot of research and industry to collect the private letters that passed between other parties, and his statement itself contains evidence to show that in the case of at least one of the letters (written by Gandhiji to Prakasam) he has dragged to publicity contents which the writer's own good sense prompted him deliber-

ately to withhold from publication. The unauthorised publication of private letters without due authorisation by the parties concerned is a sort of purloining feat, and it is for the proper custodians of Congress morality to determine if anyone with a high public position in the Congress organisation should be allowed to indulge in it for the ventilation of a private hatred.

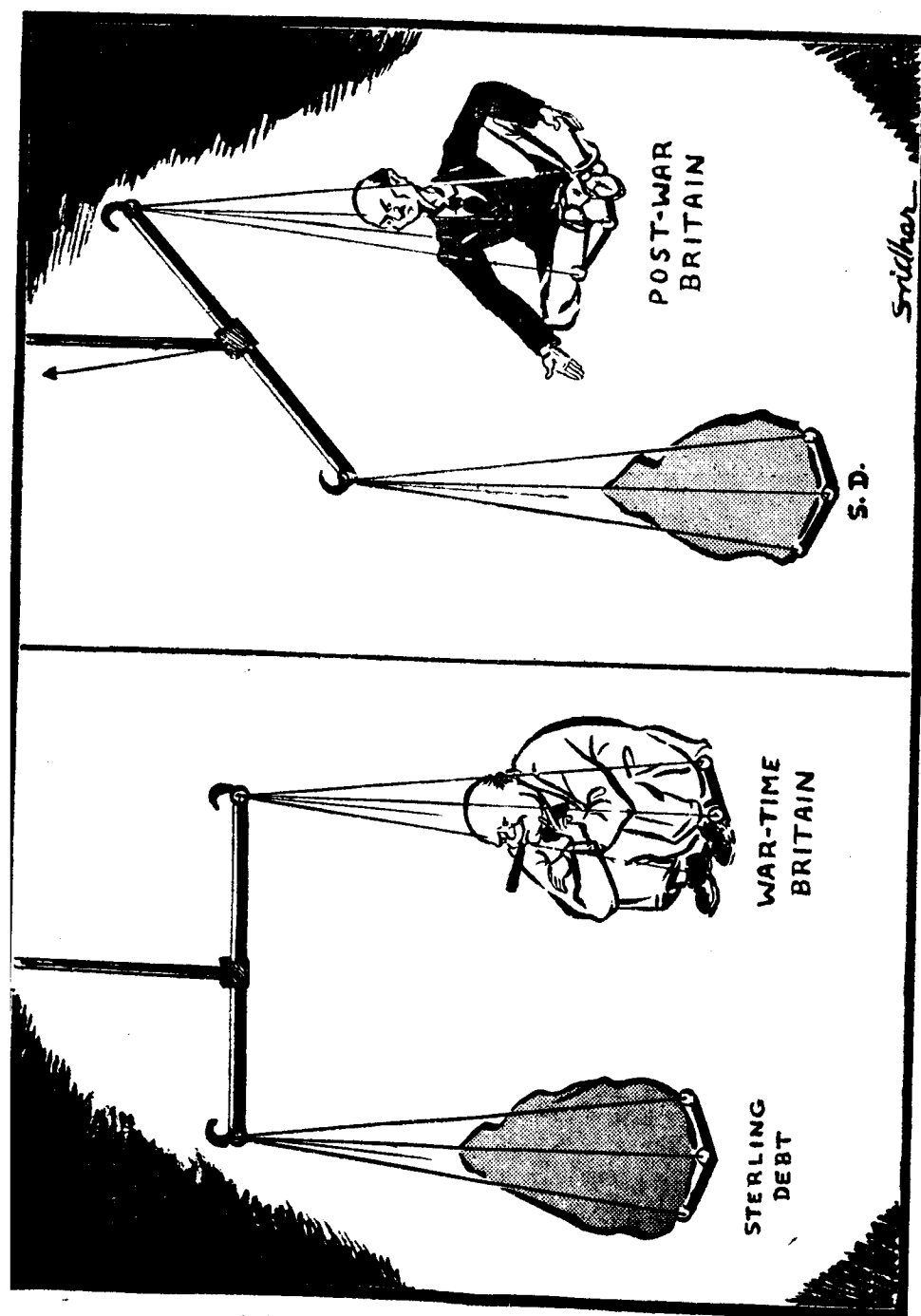
In one of the letters now published by Dr. Pattabhi, Kala Venkat Rao comes out as having told Gandhiji that Prakasam was not carrying on any practice, nor conducting a newspaper, but was "living on purses presented to him by the public"—Kala "added that he could see nothing wrong in it"—just the sort of poisonous propaganda that is more deadly on account of its appearance of sympathetic approval. Gandhiji formed his political estimate of Prakasam from his objection to the acceptance of purses for private use by public men, but the philosophy he has evolved out of it is completely unrelated to the realities of Congress politics. When the Mahatma initiated the non-cooperation movement, the stature and service of participants was measured with sacrifice, and many jumped in to give effect to the items of his programme without thought of the morrow. For years now not a few Congress leaders have been living devoting all their energies to public work in complete abandonment of professional work of any kind bringing income. They could not have lived on air. Kind friends

have been looking to their needs, and even some of the top-most Congress leaders have not been exempt from obligations to rich men. In the case of Prakasam, support has come from a vast multitude of subscribing public mostly composed of the poor instead of from one or two wealthy commercial magnates, and it has been rendered with proud affection in public instead of by private arrangement. Do gifts permissible privily from a small number become reprehensible if conferred openly in a mood of honour by large gatherings?

The saint at large is revealed in the Gandhian philosophy in respect of money. Not one living politician can stand the test of absolute *Aparigraha*. Nor can friendship, which is in essence a matter of give and take, withstand it. In our world of acquisitive men, the whole life and career of Sri Prakasam who is a propertyless proletarian if ever there is any, provides a living demonstration of the spirit of renunciation and of reckless indifference to the cares of the morrow. He lives as the birds of the air do without knowing where the next day's needs will come from. Nobody can prevent the people who love him and count him as flesh of their flesh from looking after him in their own spontaneous way. Nor can cheap maligners with their voucher honesty and rich bank balances be allowed to take shelter under Gandhi to throw stones at him.—SAKA.



London banks and British bondholders hold 400 million dollars worth of Greek bonds and, out of the 250 million dollars which President Truman has asked for Greece, they expect to receive interest payments on their bonds of 32,760,000 dollars. This huge debt, which was floated in London between 1823 and 1898, when Greece faced economic ruin after wars with the Turks, has borne an average annual interest of 8.19 per cent continuously from 1898 to 1942, when the Nazis occupied Greece. In those 44 years, the British bankers have drained Greece of 1,441,440,000 dollars in interest payments alone. The principal has never been reduced. It is this staggering debt and the usurious interest rate which is largely responsible for Greece's impoverishment, and also explains, in some measure, Britain's stake in that country.



STERLING BALANCES MUST NOT BE SCALED DOWN

by Prof. T. K. DURAISWAMI AIYAR

DURING the last few weeks public attention has been concentrated on the question of the sterling balances. The dice was never loaded so heavily against the negotiators on the Indian side as during the last fortnight. British Tories and Labourites have combined together in making a dead set against the palpably just claims of India. Mr. Churchill and Dr. Dalton vie with each other in painting the claims of India in the most unfavourable light. One cannot, however, withhold one's admiration for the clever way in which the British have worked up their obviously weak case. Members of the Government and the opposition in England as well as the Press have for the last two years shown considerable dexterity in placing before the whole world the real difficulties relating to the British balance of payments. Having created by sustained effort a very favourable atmosphere in favour of England while Indian publicists were mainly relying on the justice of their cause, a few months before the zero hour of July 15, 1947 was to approach when sterling obligations arising from current obligations would become multilaterally convertible, a surprise was sprung on the all too credulous Indian public that the sterling balances of India were similar to the obligations arising from lease lend transactions and suggestions to the effect that the sterling dues should be drastically scaled down have come to be made by His Majesty's Government while some responsible British papers have gone so far as to threaten even open repudiation. While it may be admitted that the Indian public and the Press have behaved with remarkable dignity in their treatment of this problem it cannot be denied that Indian publicists, financiers and journalists have not been devoting to this question the continuous attention that its importance deserves.

Let us proceed to examine the efforts made to assimilate the sterling balances to the lease lend claims. The lease lend device was designed by the genius of the United States of America with a view to placing at the disposal of countries the defence of which was vital to her own safety, resources in food, raw materials, munitions, shipping, etc. One can understand the United States being prepared after the termination of the war to cancel the lease lend claims which amounted to a colossal sum. In this connection it should be remembered that the lease lend arrangements led in the short run to the strengthening of her economy by calling for intensified production of food and raw materials and expansion in manufacturing capacity. The United States of America which has cancelled the lease lend claims commands more than half the productive capacity of the whole world, finds the volume of her industrial production increased 70% above the 1935-39 average and the physical volume of her agricultural production increased by nearly 33 1/3%. Besides, the standard of life of her population is higher than ever in its history. It is moreover the only important creditor country in the world. It requires great hardihood to assimilate the lease lend claims to the sterling balances of India and to call for similar treatment. The sterling balances, it cannot be sufficiently emphasised, far from being an index of the strength of the Indian economy, constitute a measure of the tremendous strain to which it has been subjected.

British statesmen have very often in referring to the sterling balances played with the term 'commercial debts.' It has been represented that the sterling balances have arisen out of the needs of defence of civilisation and cannot therefore be treated like commercial debts. It is very difficult in the context of the conditions in India that led to the

accumulation to be patient with this argument. As a matter of fact commercial debts are usually owed for any length of time only by financially weak countries to financially strong ones. It is quite intelligible that financially weak countries owing commercial debts find themselves in certain conditions unable to repay them. The sterling balances of India belong to a class which is more sacred or binding than commercial debts. The subject matter of commercial debts is goods and services. The subject matter of the sterling balances is also goods and services. The sterling balances are nothing but an arithmetical expression of vast quantities of wheat, rice, dhal, milk, coffee, tea, vegetables, cattle, shoes, blankets, cloth, cement, wood, steel, manganese, the labour of millions of Indians, etc., of which the hardpressed economy of India deprived itself on behalf of the Allies while India had to incur in addition a very heavy expenditure on defence on her own account. The magnitude of the strain will be apparent when it is realised that these debts have arisen not out of the surplus of a rich country but out of the very limited resources of a rather primitive eco-

nomy. A disastrous inflation which threw the entire Indian economy out of gear and subjected the population to great distress was the means by which these resources were made available to the war machine. It is quite true therefore that these balances are not commercial debts since no country in the position of India, having regard to its permanent interests, would ever treat it at all as a commercial proposition to accumulate heavy credits in its favour by depriving itself even of the necessities for existence. In the light of what has been said it will be self-evident that these sterling balances, in so far as India is concerned, constitute an obligation which is much more binding than commercial debts. Great Britain is in honour bound to fulfil its obligations to India by repaying her debts to her so that in some measure the damage done to Indian economy may be made good. The honourable acceptance of these obligations by the United Kingdom does not, however, preclude the necessity for devising suitable arrangements so that the liquidation of the balances may be effected without undue strain being placed on the British economy while Indian economy is being placed on its feet.



Raja Mahendra Pratap is out on a mission to secure Hindu-Muslim Unity. Picture shows Congress leaders receiving him at station on his arrival at Karachi.

POLICE RAJ IN NORTH MALABAR

by G. N. SRINIVASA RAGHAVAN

(G. N. Srinivasa Raghavan continues this week his report on North Malabar, of which the first part appeared in Swatantra dated May 17. He made a special tour of the district to study conditions on the spot.—Ed. S.)

The following extracts from my diary will afford a glimpse into the situation created in large areas of North Malabar by the Special Police who have been stationed there. The instances are merely illustrative, not exhaustive:

Inside Chirakkal Taluk

KANDAKKAI is typical of the villages that have received the attention of the MSP. Large-scale attachments of property not belonging exclusively or at all to 'wanted' men and therefore affecting the life of entire families; destruction of the pitifully little property in the kisans' homes which were searched; numerous arrests on the most trivial charges and indiscriminate beatings—this is the pattern of things there.

I visited a family of thirteen (9 of them adults) who have all been put to hardship by police action, because one member of the family called Krishna Nambiar, an aided school teacher, is a Communist. This man had fled in fear of rough handling when the MSP was stationed near the village. He was later 'wanted' by the police in connection with three cases. During their initial visit to the house, the MSP destroyed most of the utensils, kicking them about with their boots. On March 8 they came again and attached the house, prohibiting entry by means of a notice pasted on the door. They are said to have removed 90 seers of seed paddy, 4 eating plates, 2 paddy containers and 13 empty sacks from the house. There was nothing left except for the bedding which the MSP placed outside and went away. The house and property do not belong to the accused Communist exclusively but is the joint property of this large family. Since March 8, the men, women and children of the family have had to bathe, cook, eat and sleep outside the house—even during the heavy rains a fortnight back. Two days ago, after an appeal, the sub-inspector was graciously pleased to allow them to sleep (but not cook) inside. I asked the old mother of the family how she managed to prepare

food when all the vessels had been either removed or destroyed. She explained that her boys had hidden the four brass vessels which I saw there, and that this accounted for the survival of these vessels. I wondered if this would constitute another 'offence.'

Vandalism

Kandakkai has, or more correctly, had a reading room which in addition to the newspapers was stocked with about fifty books, puranic and political. A room next to the reading hall was being used as the firka office of the kisan sabha and the Communist Party. In December last year, the MSP came and reduced the small building to shambles. I saw broken Mangalore tiles lying about on the ground, the almirah smashed, benches wrenched into pieces, the table broken. I could gaze at the sky through what had once been the roof. These village reading rooms, I was to find out later during the tour, are a favourite target for the MSP.

The *tarwadu* (joint) property of P. K. Kamara Nambiar's family was similarly attached. His sister and his mother were living in the house with him. From the latter the MSP snatched away Rs. 25, unhinged several doors and broke up a fine old cot. As a parting gesture they looted all the tender coconuts that they could find in the compound. Even the belongings of Nambiar's brother, who had just come on release leave from the army and who has no connection with politics, were attached and have not yet been released.

In the same village I saw the mother of Kunhikkanna (an under-trial). She was among a group of women who went to the *adhikari* of the village in order to show him the remains of the broken pots and pans and get him to do something to check the MSP. An interesting sequel to this women's deputation was the arrest of one woman and over a dozen men. This lady has two other sons. One of them was told by the police that he was wanted in a case,

beaten severely, and let off after two days. These people are too poor and too ill-informed to seek redress for such unjustified assaults by the police.

I was told that in Kandakkai alone, some 6,000 seers of paddy and 300 seers of blackgram were eaten up by cattle since the crops belonging to absconding kisans were not allowed to be harvested.

Walking on to the next village, I came across a house that was very neat, thoroughly empty and—without any doors! I found on enquiry that the house belonged to one Chandukutti Nambiar who has not been on good terms with the *adhiyari*. Chandukutti Nambiar is no Communist or kisan agitator; he has suffered merely because the *adhiyari* persuaded the police to take action against this private enemy of his, and the police rarely fail to oblige when such requests are made by the village headmen. The eight empty doorways which I passed through naturally render the house uninhabitable for Nambiar's wife who has had to throw herself on the support of friends.

It was in this locality that a case of rape was also reported. An enquiry is understood to have been conducted by a superior officer though his findings have not been made public.

In Velam I saw another reading room that had been pulled down, and the charred remnants of its windows and chairs. Books and papers were utilized by the police to start a bonfire—presumably as a relaxation from more onerous duties.

Kuttiappan Nair is the Secretary of the village Communist Committee. I saw the charred remains of some clothes which had been burnt by the police in his house. They also dumped two sacks of the chilly which Nair had raised, and some utensils and boxes into the well; the water is now unfit for consumption. I met a number of men who had been beaten, and was told of a house from which the ration card was removed as a piece of 'movable' property—the police obviously have a strictly literal conception of the term.

ELLARINCHI is one of the main trouble spots in Chirakkal taluk. It is in this area that the Kavumbai firing took place. I found it very hard to get a local peasant to take me round to the affected houses and villages because the few men that I met (the bulk of the male adult population is either in jail or is engaged in *punam* cultivation) were



Ramankutti Nair (aged 92) of Velam. Most of his property has been either attached or destroyed.

mortally afraid of the MSP men who are stationed in the village. Not only here, but in several villages that I visited, people were afraid to be seen talking to me and told me that, in all probability, they would be beaten or otherwise harassed for having given information about MSP activities to me. After a lot of trouble, I obtained the help of a kisan who told me: "I am used to getting beaten. So it doesn't matter—I will come along". The first thing that I saw was again a reading room in ruins. Pieces of tables, benches and chairs were strewn all over the place. And within a few yards of the reading room, I saw a monument which had been destroyed. It had been erected by local kisans in memory of Kotta Krishna their leader, who had died a few months ago. This piece of vandalism drew just a smile of 'knowing' cynicism from a police officer to whom I related what I had seen. The same officer admitted to me that the police, during many of the cases in which they opened fire, had not really observed the 'formalities' which should precede the act, like the declaration of the assembly as unlawful, warning before opening fire, etc.

The MSP men, who are here in particularly large numbers, are comfortably accommodated in the bungalows of Ellarinchi Nayanar, a jenmi who owns lands which are big enough to be called a little kingdom. This Ellarinchi Nayanar rules his area like a feudal chieftain

and keeps his tenants in conditions of miserable poverty and backwardness. His MSP 'guests' could always be depended upon to stand by his agents in collecting exactions from the kisans and in putting down the troublesome elements among the tenants. This was the most glaring instance that I came across of the close ties between the police and the landlords.

In Kavumbai itself I saw what remained of a large house (consisting of two adjacent dwellings) belonging to a father and son who were both 'wanted' by the police. About a month back the MSP men set fire to the house—the thatched roof of one of the dwellings has completely disappeared, while the tiled roof of the other has lost many of the rafters. Broken tiles and charred bamboo poles lie all around the blackened walls.

There was a teashop owned by a man friendly with the Communists which had been looted and destroyed by the police. Broken jars, glasses and pots are still lying scattered about. A remarkable feature of this area was the extent of the looting of plantains, jackfruit, etc. that was reported to me by family after family. Most of the men, young

and old, whom I talked to had been in hiding for several weeks in sheer panic at the acts of the MSP, and they came back only after conditions became less abnormal. I cannot forget an old lady with tears streaming down her cheeks who told me of her helpless condition and said: "Please get my two sons released", fondly hoping that the visitor might be of help. Her sons, I was told by many, were not really in the crowd of peasants who were fired upon at Kavumbai and were booked by the police only at the instance of the *karyasthan* (agent) of the jenmi who was hostile to them.

KANGOL is a village near the scene of the Karivallur incident. V. Narayanan Nambiar is an accused in a case in this village. I met his aunt who was beaten by the local police and her son, a boy of 14, who was beaten by the MSP. This is just one example out of several of physical violence offered to the relatives of men who are wanted or who might be under arrest. There was one Kannan, who had been beaten by the MSP two weeks ago, on the ground that he had been collecting money for the legal defence of some of the accused. He told



After a house search by the Police—a common scene.

me he had actually made no such collection. In the same village the school headmaster Mr. P. V. Ananiban Nambiar (President of the Payyanur Firka Congress Committee) was beaten by the sub-inspector who later explained that he had mistaken the headmaster for another teacher whom he wanted to arrest. Several other Congressmen have been beaten by the police in this area. K. Kunhirama Nair, a Congress worker, told me that of the 196 arrested in the Karivallur case, only 30 or 35 really participated in the attempt to stop the transit of paddy. The rest are all innocent. MSP men, he told me, entered his own house one night at 12-30 and threatened the womenfolk.

A IV Form student who was, and had been properly marked, present in class at the Payyanur Board High School on the day of the Karivallur incident, is among those who are undergoing trial. He was the only accused to obtain bail, and this was at the request of the teachers. Almost all the witnesses in the present trials of Communists and kisans are Congressmen. But in Payyanur many Congressmen are prepared to give evidence against the police version that a procession had been led from Payyanur to Karivallur.

Incidents similar to those described above have occurred in Blathur, Malappattam, Eramam, Korur, Payyavur and other villages in Chirakkal taluk. This is known as a 'Red taluk'; hence the widespread and ruthless MSP activity. But excesses have been committed by the MSP in other taluks too. Mokeri and Perambra in Kurumbranad taluk are two typical villages which have suffered at the hands of the police.

In Mokeri, property including seed paddy was removed from the house of K. P. Kannan who is 'wanted'. Actually the property belongs to his three sisters. Lack of seed paddy has rendered cultivation impossible for this year on their lands. They have been prohibited from plucking the coconuts within their own compound. Their house is being searched by the MSP almost every night.

In and around Mokeri nearly 50 copies of *Deshabhimani* the Malayalam Communist daily were being sold. Now, after intimidation by the MSP, there is hardly a single copy being sold. Several of the richer families here are said to have paid 'protection money' to the police. Manni, the wife of a 'wanted' man, was beaten with a lathi, as also her two sons. In the bazaar of Mokeri I saw a tiny shop run by K. K. Krishnan, in which all the goods were completely destroyed. Broken bits of glasses and bangles are all that is left of the shop.

There was another shop similarly damaged belonging to Moldoo; all his brothers were beaten.

In Muiyipoth village near Perambra, the medicines stocked by Kelappan Vaidyar were destroyed by the police. In the same locality I saw many men who still bear marks of lathi blows on their backs and heads. Many peasants have been threatened here at the point of the rifle in the middle of the night to make them disclose information which they never possessed regarding the whereabouts of 'wanted' men.

Leaders and the people

The attitude of local Congress leaders to these events differs from one to another. The sharp contrast between the views of the Congress M.L.A. elected from Chirakkal constituency and those of the President of the Chirakkal Taluk Congress Committee, will indicate the lack of a clear stand on the part of the Congress on the question of MSP misdeeds.

I met Mr. M. Kumaran, M.L.A., at Cannanore. He told me that there were no two opinions about the imperative need for the continued presence of the MSP, at least for some time to come. He explained the police excesses by saying that the MSP men were 'new to the locality' and could not always lay their hands on the real men wanted by them. Further, he said, "We know how the police act. Such things are inevitable." He complained that the kisans behaved as though they overlooked the fact of there being a popular Government in power now, but Mr. Kumaran did not add that the police were behaving as though they equally overlooked the same fact. Unless the Communists cease to carry on violent agitation, Mr. Kumaran said, there could be no withdrawal of the police.

When I met Mr. Balakrishna Nair, President of the Chirakkal Taluk Congress Committee, I discovered that, contrary to Mr. Kumaran's assurance, there were two opinions about the MSP. Mr. Nair told me in a dispirited tone when I put my usual question about his opinion regarding the withdrawal of the MSP: "Certainly I want them withdrawn. We have been requesting, complaining, moaning . . . all to no purpose." He is disgusted at the apathy and indifference of the Congress Ministry (both under Prakasam and the new Premier) towards all representations made by him and other Congressmen regarding this question. "I have seen the Ministers half a dozen times and also put the facts before Mr. Prakasam

when he was here in January . . . but nothing happened. If the Ministry is indifferent, the police officials are arrogant. Every authenticated complaint which I take to them is dismissed as a false allegation." Mr. Balakrishna Nair showed me a stack of letters, which contained complaints regarding harassment by the police sent by villagers to him in his capacity as a taluk Congress leader. One of the complaints was from Karameli village, in which a toddy shop keeper was also an agent of the police. When one of his customers failed to turn up one evening at his shop, this man fined him Rs. 2 and threatened him with police action if he should stop patronising the shop! All these complaints bore signatures of one or two witnesses. Mr. Balakrishna Nair charged the Communists with acts of violence but he dissociated himself from the views of Congress leaders like Mr. Kumaran and Mr. Kelappan by insisting that the MSP should be withdrawn at once and that an enquiry should be conducted into the recent disturbances in North Malabar.

Another talk on the subject I had was with the *adhi-kari* of Karivallur village. He denied all reports about looting of coconuts and cucumber by the MSP, denied that there had been indiscriminate beatings or arrests and asserted that, on the contrary, "the MSP men here are courteous and polite." He added: "95 per cent of the people here are Communists. They are quiet now because of the MSP. If they are withdrawn, there will be trouble again." The *adhi-kari* also told me that bridges and roads were necessary to facilitate quick movement of the police to catch the absconders. (I must add that Mr. Kumaran, M.L.A., also made the same point.)

I met some Muslim Leaguers also. Mr. K. Koya, Secretary of the Chirakkal Taluk Muslim League, was in full agreement with the demand for the withdrawal of the MSP, though, as he said, some Muslims with vested interests

would like the police to stay on. "The general policy of the Government seems to be not to antagonize the Muslims, but we have been hearing of Muslims also being beaten, especially in Irikkur town. Police have been consistently intervening in order to help the jemmies. The clashes are not due to Communist provocation," Mr. Koya said. In Irikkur itself, I met the local League office-bearers. The President and Secretary of the firka committee protested against the dismissal of popular men from the food committees and their replacement by nominees of the jemmies and of the sub-collector. They charged the police with trying to create bad feeling between Hindus and Muslims and instanced the case of the MSP entering the garden of a Muslim and creating trouble, accompanied by the Hindu agent of a jenni. "But so far there has been no communal tension, and we are going to do everything to avoid it," they said.

The most interesting of my talks was with Mr. Pampan Madhavan, who is the correspondent of *Mathrubhumi* (Malayalam Congress daily) and the *Indian Express* of Madras. He is the President of the Kerala Labour Congress (an organisation set up in opposition to the Trade Union Congress), and is in charge of the labour wing of the Malabar District Congress. This gentleman told me: "The MSP should not be withdrawn until the Communist Party gives an assurance that it will not adopt violent methods." He said there were only a few cases of police excesses and "of course" he condemned them. He went on to say: "I have been asking from public platforms that full powers should be given to the police to deal with the situation. The Communists have been taught a good lesson." Mr. Pampan Madhavan then told me he was a Socialist!

From this cross-section of local opinion readers will be able to draw their own conclusions about the ways of the special police in North Malabar.

Taxed with idleness for not studying new parts and adding them to his repertoire, Joseph Jefferson said: "What is the value of a long bill of fare if the stuff is badly cooked? You change your hat, and fancy you are playing another character. Believe me, it requires more skill to act one part fifty different ways than to act fifty parts all the same way." (*Autobiography*)



The mistaken belief that matter is the cause of disease and also the restorer of health is almost universal, but there are proofs of the overcoming of disease and the restoration of health through regeneration and spiritualisation of the human mind.—*Christian Science Monitor*.

Spotlight On The World

by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

THE special session of the United Nations General Assembly which was convened to consider the question of Palestine referred to it by Britain as mandatory power carried on a debate for seventeen days and finally appointed an eleven-nation committee of enquiry to study the whole problem and report back to the Assembly in September next. The points to be noted in connection with this committee are that it is a committee from which the five big powers are excluded and the eleven States represented on it are mostly neutral and they are distributed geographically over all parts of the globe. It is gratifying to note that India which was ably represented in the special session by Mr. Asaf Ali finds a place on the Committee. Another point to be noted is that the terms of reference on which the Committee has to report are very comprehensive. It is true that the question of the independence of Palestine which Mr. Asaf Ali and the Arab delegates wanted to be included specifically in the terms of reference is not so included. But this does not preclude the Committee from considering this question also. The main problems which the Committee would consider are: (1) Would it be possible to devise a bi-national State in which Arabs and Jews would have equal rights? It may be noted in this connection that the Soviet Union which was the only major power to state its views openly on the future status of Palestine declared that it favoured an independent bi-national State and this is regarded as the most significant feature of the whole meeting. The Soviet also declared that should the bi-national State prove impossible then it would favour partition. (2) If partition is the only solution what proportion of Palestine's area should go to the

Jews? (3) Could Palestine absorb more Jews from Europe and in what numbers? (4) How could British economic and strategic interests be safeguarded in future Palestine? It is quite possible that if the Committee finds that a bi-national State as well as partition are not practicable it may propose United Nations trusteeship over Palestine for a number of years. The Arabs in the whole Middle East are however so determined on securing an independent Palestine with an Arab majority in it that if any other recommendation is made by the Committee and accepted by the General Assembly it might provoke a general war in the whole of the Middle East. The Palestine problem gains special significance because of this.

BEVIN ON MOSCOW CONFERENCE

There was a two-day debate in the British House of Commons on Foreign Affairs inaugurated by Mr. Bevin. It was in the main a review of the work of the Moscow Conference but there were also numerous references in it to the Far East. Although there was much in common between Mr. Bevin's statement on the Moscow Conference and Mr. Marshall's broadcast to the American nation on the same subject it is worthy of note that Mr. Bevin was on the whole less dogmatic than Mr. Marshall. Mr. Bevin was anxious to convey the impression that although there were fundamental differences between Soviet Russia on the one side and the western democracies on the other it was possible to ultimately reconcile them. He did not rule out the payment of reparations from current production which was claimed by Russia but said that this should await the settlement of issues like the economic unity of Germany. On

the question of the Polish-German frontier also he was not dogmatic. He declared that the Government had not yet come to any final opinion on it and that more facts should be collected before a decision could be given. Similar was his view regarding the prospects of a revised Anglo-Soviet treaty. All this is in contrast with Mr. Marshall's review wherein he was emphatic in stating that there should be no compromise on great principles in order to achieve agreement for agreement's sake. This difference is due to the fact that the United States feels strong enough to adopt an anti-Soviet attitude while Mr. Bevin thinks it necessary and desirable that Britain should appear to follow a more moderate course, especially in view of the strong criticism directed against an anti-Soviet policy by labour backbenchers.

THE FAR EAST

Among those that took part in the debate there was a strong anti-American attitude, especially in matters relating to China and Japan. This was most prominent among the labour critics of Mr. Bevin's foreign policy. It was pointed out by them that the British Foreign Office had got into a defeatist attitude of mind in regard to the Far East, that there had been a tendency to accept American dominance in the Pacific and that America was trying to establish her sole authority over Japan without asking for the co-operation of the other powers. So bitter was one labour member against the United States that he declared that "Americans had acted to some extent as receivers of stolen goods in Japan. There were large quantities of goods—tin, rubber, lead and the like—taken from British possessions. They were taken to Japan by the Japanese. Those goods had never been handed back; no compensation had been made and it was known that they were taken to America." It was also pointed out that British neglect of China and her surrender to America was driving the peoples of the Far East to look to the U.S.S.R. for leadership. All this

indicates that the phase of foreign policy through which Britain is passing to-day under its Socialist Government is rather confused and that it has not yielded satisfaction to the more radical and progressive elements in the country. The suspicion that the Government is ranging itself on the side of the United States and antagonising Russia is still there.

A UNITED EUROPE

It is this division of the world into two hostile camps that threatens the future of peace. And there are leaders who are devoting their energies to intensify this division. Great prominence has been given this week to a speech delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill while launching a campaign for a united Europe, a campaign organised by the United European Committee formed in Britain in January last. In this speech Mr. Churchill declared that Britain and France should join together to create a United Europe and bring Germany in a friendly way back into the circle of nations. The Committee is representative of all political parties in England and some of the left-wingers like Victor Gollancz—a passionately convinced Socialist—joined Mr. Churchill in this campaign. The danger however in it lies in an attempt which Mr. Churchill has been steadily pursuing to exclude the Soviet Union and the States in alliance with that Union from membership in the proposed United Europe. The present movement is exactly similar to a movement started by the French statesman Aristide Briand in 1929 to create a European Federal Union directed for all practical purposes against the Soviet. The only difference is that while he wanted the Union to be under French leadership, Mr. Churchill to-day wants it to be under British leadership. Hitler too spoke of a "European Order" from which Russia was to be excluded. Mr. Churchill has been pursuing this theme for the last two years. Strongest objection has been taken to this scheme by Soviet observers. They see in it not a movement for uniting Europe but for splitting it

into two camps. They also feel that such a movement is quite unnecessary as there is the United Nations Organisation to look to the common interests of all mankind. The scheme is subjected to a critical examination by Alexander Gavin, a well-known Soviet writer on international affairs and Professor of History in Moscow in the April issue of the American journal *Foreign Affairs*.

MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN

ITALY

Instability is the characteristic of present day society in most countries in the world. It is the outcome in the main of the conditions created by war. Italy is one of the countries that suffered most from war and she is still a country from which the allied armies have not been completely withdrawn. There is scarcity of food and other essentials of life. Prices are high. There is much unemployment. There have been riots in a number of places. Without financial help from the United States reconstruction has become an impossibility. One defect with her political system—and this is a defect which she shares with many other countries in Europe—is the existence of numerous parties, the Communists, the Socialists and the Christian Democrats being the more influential of these parties. De Gasperi, the leader of the Christian Democrats and Prime Minister of a Coalition Cabinet, resigned his office because of differences with the left-wing Socialists. He has been Prime Minister thrice and he has also become popular owing to his successful negotiation in the United States as a consequence of which Italy was able to get substantial financial assistance. In spite of this he has not found it possible to form a fourth Coalition Cabinet. The President of the Republic has therefore called on Signor Francisco Nitti, the

78-year-old Italian liberal, to form the Cabinet. Though it is expected that all the important political groups from the Communists to the Christian Democrats will be included in the new Ministry there is no prospect of any Government being stable unless the economic conditions are appreciably improved.

INDONESIA

Differences between the Indonesian Republic and the Dutch authorities are growing more acute. The Republican Government is not in favour of joint control of trade, foreign exchange and customs proposed by the Dutch. This proposal has been made in the name of co-operation but as observed by Mr. A. K. Gani, Republican Economic Affairs Minister, "Co-operation does not mean that the interests of one party have to be made subordinate to those of other parties, which is apparently what the Dutch want. The Republic is always prepared to co-operate on the basis of equality." The Dutch have not also abandoned their policy of Divide and Rule. They have recognised a republic of West Borneo and another republic of East Borneo. General Van Mook has assured the Sudanese Separatist Party that his Government would protect it from all intimidation and terrorism although the Republican Government is against the creation of a separate Sudanese State in Java. There is much truth in the following observation of the *New York Herald Tribune*: "These (Dutch) officials who refuse to face new facts are increasing the obstacles facing wiser men who are striving for peace. The power of desire for political freedom almost everywhere in Asia is so strong that Imperialists will be forced to retreat before it. The white man is no longer the demi-God in Asia. He is now merely a man." This is why the Republican spokesmen think that a clash with the Dutch is inevitable.

Less than six years after Pearl Harbour, American observers, troubled by strong Soviet influence in Inter-Asian Conference at New Delhi, pressed MacArthur to send Japanese delegates "to combat growing Asiatic antipathy to USA."—Tom Driberg.



IT IS the moth-hour of eve as the poet would love to call and darkness is gathering all round. He has alighted from a local train at the Kodambakkam station. It is part of the scheme of his present life to get down from the train every evening at Kodambakkam.

Ramakrishna is his name and he works in one of the myriad offices in the city. If further clarification is necessary and innocent questions like 'which office' and 'what work' should arise—

Well, his married life is two-year old to-day and he has been a citizen of the great city since then. Parenthood has not descended on him yet. Living in a luminous apartment in one of those lovely slums, he pays a house-rent of rupees fifteen a month, and during nights his chandeliers burn merrily on kerosene oil.

He came out of the station and crossed the overbridge; dark and strange thoughts goaded him on and for a second, he was seized by a desire to quicken his pace. The next moment he laughed at himself. Why should he quicken his pace? What are the sweet surprises awaiting him at home? What unexpected dream-fulfillments? So to-day, as on every day, he sauntered homeward leisurely; so leisurely that he legally ran the risk of being caught by any public-spirited policeman for jay-walking. On the way he bought a packet of cheap and foul-smelling cigarettes from a roadside tobacconist and lighted one. In one hand he carried the morning newspaper still unread and an empty thermos flask which caused him great bother to-day and every day.

His pace was becoming extra slow. Why should he reach home early? His reserve of small change ran short and he had nothing left to buy some flowers with for his wife. His daily ration of small change would always run short by the evening and he put it down as a piece of manipulation by

some wicked fate. As he walked on, he gradually worked himself up into a reverie and staged a mental rehearsal of his arrival at home and the subsequent scenes.

He arrives home and bangs the door. Nothing happens. He gives forth a shout, 'Sita, open the door.' Still nothing happens. He shouts at the peak of his bass voice and shakes the door furiously. At last Sita opens the door, muttering with a frown on her face, 'Why do you exhaust your fury on the door? Where is the hurry? Surely you can wait a minute or two without making a fool of yourself at the doorstep.' The same frown every day and the same chastisement.

He enters the room and wearily flings his chappals to the farthest corner. The coat he hangs on the nail. Reclining on his favourite (there is no other) easy chair, he unfolds the newspaper and starts reading. Registered number, the familiar advertisement on the right-hand panel, the city news, foreign news, late news, matrimonial columns, these and a thousand other items try to enter his comprehension and they vaguely play in the regions of his consciousness, moving up and down like tortoises in a deep well. Presently his wife shouts from the kitchen, 'Meal is ready, you can have your bath.' He gets up and after making a frantic search for the dear, dear red-bordered towel, he finds it at last, dashes into the backyard and takes a refreshing bath by the well. (This cake of soap will last four more days at least.) And next, a laborious process of eating the meal.

Ramakrishna knows only too well that to-day as on every day, the same routine stares at him and so why should he reach home early? To-day as on every day, the next-door neighbour Mr. Iyer will come and ask, 'Hullo Ramakrishna, what's all the news?' "Everything as usual," he will reply, "prices

are ever on the increase, so are communal riots, leaders are giving thunderous lectures and pious bits of advice, newspapers are carrying long and vague-as-a-cloud editorials, everything is the same, my dear Iyer. The world is going on as a merry-go-round." Mr. Iyer will agree with every word and in his turn add, "Very bad times. I do not know what they are all up to, but I tell you, Ramakrishna, times are very bad."

Why should Ramakrishna go home early? What unknown harvest of delights awaits him there, what enchanting symphony of life?

After the meal, he will pick up the newspaper again and vainly try to wade through the columns and columns of printed wisdom. Endless lectures, speeches, discourses, statements, counter-statements. One wonders whether the whole world is dividing itself into two camps, the listening one and the lecturing one. . . . Presently it will be eight o'clock then and time for going to Sharma's house for a game of chess.

"I am going out, close the door," Ramakrishna will say to his wife.

"Where do you want to go, in this unholy hour? Please stay away for this night," his wife will implore.

"Oh dash it, I am only going to Sharma's house for a game of chess."

It would be eleven o'clock when he returns; every limb of his body groans with exhaustion and he goes to sleep.

Ramakrishna's pace has become slower still. Why should he go home early?

During the scarlet hours of the night, when darkness impends and the turbulence of the overhanging silence is audible to our inner hearing, maidens weep. And when their coral-coloured lips quiver with emotion, even heaven should tremble. If the Goddess of Love, Rati Devi, is elected the supreme law-giver, Cupid should stand condemned before her judgment-bar, pleading guilty, saying, "I haven't forgotten my responsibilities but when thrice-dead fossils come across my path, it is not in me to breathe life into them."

When Ramakrishna reached home, he saw the spectacle of three rabbits swallowing four elephants. His house was locked.

Between Ramakrishna and Ramakrishna, there stood a massive, cruel limitless wall. Ramakrishna stood on

his wit's end. He took a short brisk walk and came back again, after five minutes. He angrily hurled a stone at a passing dog which at that precise moment appeared greenish to him.

Then he had an inspiration. He banged the door. He yelled at the top of his voice, "Sita, Sita, open the door."

A six-year old brat of a boy from the next door came running towards him, and handing over a key, said: "Look here, my sweetest of uncles, my pet dog is sleeping and don't you shout like that—like a mad man. Aunt has gone away somewhere. She asked me to hand over this key to you."

To Ramakrishna's helpless question 'but you fool, where has she gone' the boy turned a deaf ear and darted back to his darling pet dog.

The lamp was faintly burning in the room. Ramakrishna was seized with strange fears. Where had his wife gone? To her mother's house? But the suit-case was there at the corner, the sarees were hanging by the cloth-rack. To the cinema? Possibly not. She could not have gone to the cinema without a guide. During their two years' stay in the city they had gone to the picture-house only thrice.

But where had she gone? Where could she go? Suddenly some dark, sinister, imaginative imp in him cruelly suggested: who knows, she might have eloped!

Ramakrishna's heart burst like a cannon ball, he fell down from the tower of Pisa, he was run over by a train, he was sinking down to the bottom of a hot black sea he—

Nonsense, nonsense. Such things happen only in cheap two-penny-and-a-half yellow journals. Sita must have gone to some neighbour's house. Or to her mother's house. Her brother must have come and taken her away. Her mother's paralysis might have become acute. But why had his brother-in-law not met him, if at all he came? There might be some unavoidable reasons. A letter would come, explaining all. . . . yes, Sita must have gone to her mother's house.

In his matrimonial life so far, Ramakrishna was not separated from his wife even for a single day. To-day after these two years, which were distinct by their changeless yet comfortable monotony, he was face to face with an immense and sudden change. A new development. It pained him.

He surveyed the room with a glance. The lamp was burning feebly. Things lay in the room helter-skelter. Sita's

blouse and skirt were lying on the easy chair. The room was presenting the same old familiar look. Yet in a strange remote way, it was no longer the same dear old room. An endearing something, an indefinable charm, had taken leave of the room. It lay like a soulless, lifeless body.

Ramakrishna lighted a cigarette and began tidying the room. When he picked up the blouse from the easy chair, he felt a lightning sensation in the spine, as though some giant force gave him a violent kick on the back. . . .

Never before he was forced to picture his home without Sita in it: he came to accept her as a matter of course, and never consciously felt her need, like the air he breathed. Now? She had gone

and God knows if for ever. His matrimonial life vanished like a dream, and there lay before him the prospect of a drab endless stretch of existence.

He stood by the window and gazed at the darkness without. Here and there, against the horizon, a street lamp flickered, feeble and pathetic like the hopes of the downtrodden in life. In the house opposite his lived a film actress and peals of laughter of happy abandonment came floating in the air from the house. Ramakrishna's thoughts started straying. For the rest of the night he was as free as the song of the phobae bird. He could go to Sharma's house and play chess till the grey dawn and he could float about the city streets all the night; by the by,



"When he picked up the blouse from the easy chair, he felt a lightning sensation . . ."

where did that girl working in his office live? What a pity, not to know her address all these days!

Ramakrishna never practised any self-analysis seriously but at that precise moment, standing by the window, a great truth dawned on him: he discovered the life-spring of his entire joy and happiness—his wife Sita. He suddenly felt like Buddha the Awakened.

The humdrum of daily routine overpowered him, it numbed his finer perceptions and made him blind to the realisation that his wife was an integral part of him, that she acted as his guide and friend in life. His heart writhed with pain. He called himself a damned fool. "Think of it Ramakrishna, it is two full years since she shared her life with you. What have you given her in return? All through the day you rot in the office and in the evening you pass through the horrible clockwise routine of washing, eating and playing chess till you fall down dead with exhaustion. . . . learn to love her more, love her better. Try to give her some joy and colour in life." He admonished himself.

Around him lay the vast city, immense, impending, with its multitudinous children huddled together, caught in the futile cobwebs of broken dreams, thwarted ambitions and dried-up tears.

How he wished his wife came back! How he pined for her companionship now!

There was a knock at the door. He opened it and there stood his wife, feebly smiling, half-afraid.

Her sudden appearance at the doorstep caught him unawares and the situation pitchforked him into a confluence of contradictory emotions.

"Where have you been to?" he thundered.

Sita trembled like a leaf. She feebly tried to explain, "Our neighbour Mr. Mudaliar's wife was going to Parthasarathy's temple in their car and she invited me. For me it is an opportunity once in a blue moon and so I accompanied her. You are so busy generally that very rarely it becomes possible for us to go out together. All the day I rot in the kitchen and just for a change



Hakim Mahomed Aslam, the newly elected Mayor of Karachi.

I have been to the temple this evening But have you taken your meal? I have arranged everything in the kitchen handy for you."

As an answer to all her pleading, he let out the monosyllable 'no' with a whimper.

Ramakrishna started munching his food. He was sullen, vexed and he was not aware why. He was vexed with everything, including the Big Four, Henry Wallace, Harry Truman, riots in India, Sardar Patel, Parthasarathy temple, and most of all, his wife.

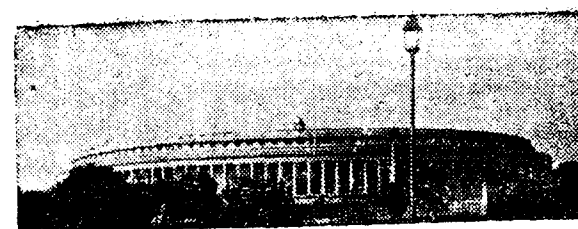
He washed his hands and came into the room. Mr. Iyer, the next-door neighbour was there. "What's the news, Mr. Ramakrishna? How does everything go?"

"Everything as usual" muttered Ramakrishna and looked at his watch. It showed a quarter to nine. He shouted at his wife across the room, "You close the door, I am going out."

"Where do you want to go, in this unholy hour? Please stay away for this night" she implored.

"Oh dash it, I am only going to Sharma's house for a game of chess."

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

"I PERSONALLY admit the point you make, but two wrongs do not make one right," says Mahatma Gandhi in a charming little note addressed to this diarist, in reply to a question on pressmen, politicians and the public. He added a postscript in Hindusthani in his famously bad handwriting: "*Ap hindusthani nahin jante hain?*" (Don't you know Hindusthani?)

The question submitted to the Mahatma was really an essay in two pages. No Parliament in the world would tolerate such a question. Mr. Speaker will rule, after a couple of sentences: "The honourable member is not putting a question. He is arguing." But such questions would be almost welcomed in the Parliament of Man and the Question-Box of *Harijan*. Now for the question itself (which is reproduced with trepidation and apologies):

"In Aurobindo's Ashram, every room is said to have been given an appropriate name. The room in which newspapers are kept bears the eloquent inscription, 'Falsehood.' (I hope *Harijan* is not kept in that room). Unfortunately Aurobindo's nomenclature is very accurate. But I would like to bring to your notice that the falsehood which appears in newspapers is only a reflection of the falsehood which originates initially from the politicians of the day. Journalists with a mission are a rare species. The majority, being average human beings, do not care even to probe into the motives of those politicians and employers who are interested in the circulation of news with a twist. For if they get an inkling into the motives, it would be difficult for them not to be troubled by their

conscience. They would far rather not have conscience take the upper hand.

"During the past few months, you were constrained to pull up your erring colleagues in journalism on three occasions. Some months ago you condemned a mischievous report which appeared in the *National Call*. A few weeks ago the *Times of India* came in for your criticism and only a few days back the *Hindustan Times*. But I am afraid the poor newspaper correspondents are not wholly to blame. At least an equal sense of responsibility is to be expected of those who dole out these stories to them with a definite propaganda angle. It is quite probable that all the three stories that you had mentioned on these different occasions may be traceable directly to one or other of the members of the Congress Working Committee.

"To keep the Press properly informed of the trends of events is the responsibility of those who are in a position to do so. This may not be for publication but for guidance. It is said that every editor in England knows what happens at meetings of the British Cabinet, but nothing is ever published. A similar experiment was tried only once in this country, and the results were quite good. That was an 'off the record' Press Conference which was addressed by Sardar Vallabhai Patel last year in Delhi at Birla House. It proved to be of immense use to the Press because it was given a frank appraisal of the position of the Congress at that time. Since everyone was in possession of the same information, there was no question of scoops. Not a word of what Sardar Patel said at that time appeared in print. But when one gets the



impression that he alone is in possession of certain information, and that if he does not publish it to-day, somebody else might get to know about it to-morrow and print it in his paper, then there is a scramble for news. Bits collected from here and there consequently appear in banner headlines betraying a tremendous lack of a sense of proportion.

"Speaking as a Pressman, I know that as long as we are inclined to push the blame on to politicians there is no scope of improvement in Pressmen themselves. But as you have knowledge both of pressmen and of politicians, you will be able to suggest the right remedy for both. Spokesmen of political parties are no less to blame for the stories that appear in the newspapers of to-day than the correspondents who are supposed to be their authors. Usually it is not out of nothing that such stuff is fabricated.

"Has your attention been drawn to this point of view?"

I had good reason not to write to the Mahatma in Hindusthani, or at least, so I thought. Now I agree that two wrongs do not make one right. When I was privileged to steal a few minutes of his time last summer—Shri Sabavala was my fellow accomplice, or perhaps I was his—the Mahatma spoke to me throughout in English although I was speaking in Hindusthani all the time. Both Sabavala and I were surprised. But Gandhiji spoke in English probably because my Hindusthani was pretty bad. He found upon enquiry which part of the country I came from, and probably assumed—and rightly too—that we people are more familiar with English than with Hindusthani. Probably because of this limitation, I misread the Mahatma's note in Hindusthani thus: "*Ap englishman nahin, jante hain?*" (You are not an Englishman, do you know that?)

Since the greatest importance rightly attaches to every syllable that the Mahatma utters, I am noting down in this diary what I

wrote last year for the American Press, but which never saw the light of day:

I am one of the two journalists, Indian or foreign, who had an interview with Gandhi in recent weeks. I saw Gandhi on the night of April 11 soon after he had a talk with Sir Stafford Cripps, who has paid him several visits. Gandhi was very pleased with the way in which talks with the Cabinet Mission were proceeding, and talked with great enthusiasm.

Gandhi had definitely told the Press that he would not answer any questions on the topic of the day, since Gandhi is advising both the Cabinet Mission and the Congress on the negotiations which are proceeding. There was therefore no question of our getting anything from the Mahatma by way of scoops. Nevertheless, our interview with Gandhi aroused a good deal of curiosity, since he is known to have been keeping all pressmen at a mile's length. Gandhi's son, Devadas, who is the Editor of the *Hindustan Times* was at the gate of his father's hut when we came out, and he was the first to ask us what Gandhi had given us. We assured him we did not get anything in particular except the impression that he was quite pleased with the turn of things.

Having got an opportunity to speak to Gandhi, I placed before the great little man a request from some foreign correspondents that they would like to see him. He said he was very busy, but "if they want to know what kind of an animal I am, they are welcome to see me at the prayer meeting." He mischievously added: "They can even have the privilege of shaking hands with me." Having failed in championing their cause, I feebly suggested that he might hold a Press Conference. Gandhi retorted: "No, no. I will not hold any Press Conference. Because if I do, you will cut me to pieces." Gandhi said that as soon as there was a settlement, he wanted to disappear.

WHAT LABOUR EXPECTS FROM A POPULAR GOVERNMENT

by S. VISWANATHAN

THERE can be no internal peace without social justice. It is inconceivable that services should be rendered or extracted without a remuneration sufficient to meet the most urgent needs such as shelter, food and clothing. It is one of the primary duties of the Legislature and the Executive Government to provide for the enforcement of a basic minimum wage in every industrial undertaking in the land. The object of fixing a statutory national minimum wage is to prevent 'sweating,' i.e., the payment of starvation wages.

No undertaking or industrial establishment which finds it economically impossible to pay the national minimum wage is entitled to survive. An employer who fails to meet his elementary obligations to his wage-earning and salaried employees must disappear if unfair competition is to be prevented.

Peace cannot be enforced by statute. Any machinery devised to settle trade disputes without providing simultaneously for the removal of the underlying causes leading to disputes, is bound to suffer ludicrous failure. The Government must therefore first declare its object and policy of labour welfare, on the following broad lines:

Attainment of a higher standard of living.

Increased production.

Equitable distribution of purchasing power.

Assured employment and security of service in industry.

Social insurance and benefit schemes.

Right of representation for workers' organisations on the Government, local bodies and municipalities.

A Government office exclusively devoted to the supervision and general control of the working of

the various industries, to examine and enforce the rigid observance of the policies aforementioned, generally to eliminate the possibilities of false and wrong accounting and to prevent the earning of secret profits by managing agents as a class—in short to supervise the working of industries and to recommend to the Government the taking over of those industries where the management commits breach in the observation of the rules.

Constitution of a tribunal to settle trade disputes.

Unless the Government declares its policy on the lines aforesaid, it will not have a planned production and what is more, it will not prevent disputes in industry. Adoption of such a policy, on the other hand, will eliminate trade disputes, create a powerful incentive, hitherto absent, in the mind of the working class for maximum production.

Once this is assured, trade disputes can possibly arise only over the implementing of the policies prescribed by the Government in the Industries concerned. Such disputes can then be resolved by arbitration to the satisfaction of all parties to the dispute. What is more, the arbitrator will have a principle to enforce, something to guide him in deciding the disputes. To-day the tribunal which has to decide labour disputes has no principles to follow or policies for guidance: it functions just like a panchayat court, hears the contentions of both sides, attempts to discover a compromise or a "golden mean" that will not displease either side as far as possible and then comes out with an award. This is not going to remove the cause for discontent.

In no country in the world has the Government come forward with a policy to settle trade disputes before enforcing a law for (a) minimum wage, (b) conditions of service and (c) bonus. Any other

course, such as the present attempt by the Madras Government, is really putting the cart before the horse. It is indeed a very sad reflection on the popular Government that it should betray such deplorable lack of imagination and study.

Any decent social order must be founded on the resolute enforcement of a national minimum wage in every industrial enterprise. To leave the determination of wages to the unfettered operation of individual bargaining and higgling in the labour market between individual employers and individual wage-earners will create 'sweating,' which is to be ruthlessly put down. 'Sweating' was defined by the House of Lords Committee as early as 1890 as "earning barely sufficient to sustain existence: hours of labour such as to make the lives of the workers periods of almost ceaseless toil, hard and unlovely to the last degree; sanitary conditions injurious to the health of the persons employed and dangerous to the public."

The national minimum wage is the basic minimum wage below which it is nationally inexpedient and cruel to allow any human being to descend. It is that wage which is calculated to restore the physical health and the industrial efficiency of the worker after the day's work. It has nothing to do with the proper or desirable remuneration for labour or with the share of the national income to which any or all of the sections of the wage-earning population may reasonably aspire. It does not include extra payment for skill and proficiency of any kind beyond that which is common to all human beings.

The minimum wage therefore is a mere subsistence wage which shall include food, clothing and shelter. To fix the minimum wage and to enforce it on the industrialists is the primary duty of the Legislature and the Government.

Present Indifference Should End

It took nearly three years of insistent agitation to persuade our provincial Government to gather the facts for itself regarding the

wage level in the textile industry. It is still gathering facts. The workers in the transport industry have copied the agitation of the textile workers with the result that an enquiry is now being made in that industry also. And these two industries have unquestionably made fabulous profits during the war years.

What can be said of a Government which requires nearly three years of agitation in order to be persuaded to hold a court of enquiry to ascertain the wage level in two of the foremost industries that have made profits several times their paid-up capital during the bumper war period! Further, the importance the Government attaches to the question of wages in industry is demonstrated by the fact that the court of enquiry so constituted consists of only one overworked individual and he is the same court of enquiry for both the industries. This harassed official is also the industrial tribunal to decide the disputes in all industries by adjudication and they are a legion. The Government apparently has no concern immediately with regard to the wage conditions of labour in general. If it has, none is aware of it.

It is imperative that the Government should constitute a wage board under an Act to examine the wage conditions in all industries in the province and also to determine the national minimum wage for a worker irrespective of the nature of the industries. The constitution, powers and duties of the wage boards are to be found in similar Acts that have been passed by almost all the Governments in the American States and by some Governments in the Continent, apart from the Wage Boards Act in England. Once the minimum wage is fixed by the wage board, the Government should declare that those industries and establishments that plead inability to meet this primary obligation to their workers shall not survive. Either the Government will take them over and work them or they may be converted into co-operative societies consisting of the

labour force therein and the management, where production will not be for profit.

The principle of fixing the national minimum wage must therefore be accepted. Once it is done, the adjustment of money wage to the cost of living becomes necessary. It will vary according to the cost of living index. It may however be added here that an increase in the cost of living does not affect the higher and lower paid employees in the same proportion. It is obvious the lowest paid employee suffers most, and the most highly paid employee suffers the least due to the rise in the cost of living. Hence a maximum limit can be fixed for the increase in money wage to meet the rise in the cost of living. This should be done by the wage board.

The minimum wage referred to above took into consideration the basic minimum needs of the worker considered as an individual. In our country, however, a worker aged over twenty years seldom remains single. He has a family dependent on him by the time he is 20 or 21. Hence we will have to determine

his wages so as to enable him to meet his family obligations. The rates of wages now obtaining in the industries are demonstrably insufficient to maintain a wife and two children, even at the lowest possible level of subsistence.

Once the minimum wage is thus determined, the wage board should determine the wages for different occupational grades in each industry. The aim of the board and the Government should doubtless be for fixing a standard rate for the same kind of work in all similar industries. How much in excess of the national minimum the occupational rate should be, would, of course, depend on the circumstances and requirements of each occupation. A margin of difference in the standard rate can be permitted only on the basis of difference in the cost of living in the localities where the respective industries are located.

Once the standard conditions of employment are determined as aforesaid, efficiency in industry and the volume of production will increase enormously.

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PAKISTAN AND PARTITION

by K. S. VENKATARAMANI

THERE is a pathetic confusion of thought in current discussions of Pakistan and Partition. Division may be for two purposes. One may be for regrouping areas into one sovereign State and the other for creating a homogeneous provincial unit based on a common factor. The latter is a process of integration at a higher level. The former is a process of disruption for a narrow but definite end.

No. 1 is Pakistan. No. 2 is Partition such as we contemplate for East Punjab and West Bengal—I was one of the earliest to advocate this through *Swatantra* as a movement of mutual liberation. It is frankly communal in principle but the ultimate object is to destroy communalism in politics as the partitioned area is subjected to the discipline and harmonising influence of a Union centre. Even so the splitting and regrouping of old provincial boundaries leads to integration at a higher level and is really not an act of mere disruption and isolation. Pakistan avowedly disrupts the unity of India for special purposes of its own. Partition for provincial consolidation on some common ground aims at the unity of India at a high level as it accepts loyal subordination to a federal or Union centre in matters of defence, foreign policy, etc. But Pakistan claims complete sovereign rights which includes the right to declare war and invade, if necessary, Hindustan.

If Pakistan accepts a Union or federal centre for India in all common matters, Pakistan is more cordially welcome as an asset to the unity and progress of India. I am not at all against territorial readjustment of provincial India on a frankly communal basis if necessary. Pakistan being what it is, a claim for complete sovereignty,—when Congress declares for the partition of East Punjab and West Bengal, it can never mean a recognition but implies the denial of the prin-

ciple on which Pakistan is based. Pakistan and Partition differ like chalk and cheese.

What is communal politics? Loose thinking is disaster in politics and is paid for only in blood, sweat and tears, toll and suffering. Communal politics does not simply arise merely by grouping into one unit areas which are largely inhabited by people belonging to one race, religion or community.

Communal politics arises out of the spirit, the way and the mode of administration of the laws of the land and appointment to the high offices. Factors other than merit rule the game. The test of communal politics is that it violates almost always one or more of the universally recognised fundamental rights and injures cruelly the sense of social justice.

Cultural affinity, a good basis for a provincial unit, is largely derived from one's own religion, religious outlook and tradition. There is nothing fundamentally repugnant in making it. The basis of a province as the way of life really springs from the subsoil of one's own religion. Human nature for complete self-expression and growth requires a familiar, racy and homogeneous environment, a oneness in the modes of approach and daily habits of life.

If Pakistan is a claim to create and delimit a new province on this basis subject to a federal centre none welcomes it more than myself. It would enrich the unity and strength and patterned variety of India. If by Pakistan the Muslim League wishes to have a complete sovereign State within India, tragedy is implicit in this arrangement and division. It would mean no peace or progress for India for another thirty years but mutual suspicion and distrust. It would lead to the mutual destruction of the Hindus and Muslims and the complete loss of freedom for India in a few years in the present tangle of world politics. In any event it

would end in the complete destruction of all the salient features of Indian civilisation and culture—a special type which by conjoint labour and co-operation we have built up down the ages and preserved by a mutual catholicity of outlook and forbearance shown by the history of no other country in the world.

It will not die—I firmly hope. He who seeks to destroy this ancient synthesis will himself be destroyed. The flower caught in the eddy may seem to smile just for a moment as if riding in triumph the eddy. I have faith in the imperishability of Indian culture and its anointed role in world-regeneration.

But we must shake off our decadence in these stirring days, espe-

cially the Hindus whom British imperialism has energised but corrupted a great deal more. We must develop more fully all the nascent qualities of a new citizenship, courage, faith and endurance, discipline, team work and co-operation, work for its own sake. We should do once again our daily work in the way of life that is supremely India's own, shrinking from no risk or sacrifice, following universal *dharma* as the highest impersonal code of action which benefits both individual and national life. The future of politics and our human race lies not in the evolution of parties and groups but in the evolution of this universal code of action or *dharma* which shall regulate even Kings and Parliaments.



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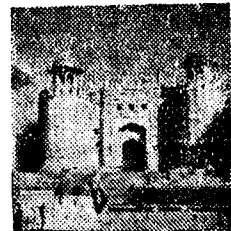
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A Lahore Diary



by BAROO

ON top of the Hindu demand that the Punjab should be partitioned, has come one of those developments that sometimes fail to make news, but are of the utmost significance. The Punjab National Bank, the premier banking institution in the province, has held an extraordinary meeting of its shareholders and has decided to shift its head office from Lahore to Delhi. Seven other banking and insurance concerns, controlling, between them almost all the liquid capital in the province, are following suit with identically-worded resolutions. "We will leave the Punjab an economic desert" said a prominent banker the other day in the course of a private conversation with a Hindu leader. Between now and September, very nearly three hundred crores of rupees will have migrated eastwards, if the present tendencies continue.

There are plenty of indications that Pakistan is losing some of its charms in the eyes even of its most fervent admirers. Mr. Feroze Khan Noon declared the other day in a fit of amazing frankness that Pakistan would not be worth having if Bengal and the Punjab were partitioned; while Mr. Jinnah's statement that the demand for partition was based on "bitterness and spite" must surely be ranked as a classical example of political *naivete*. The fact is, that the League has quite lost its head over the novel situation created by its own arguments being applied against it. The mill of fate, said Churchill in one of his memorable speeches, grinds slowly, but it grinds exceedingly small. The wheel has turned full circle, and the chickens (to use a hackneyed phrase) have come home to roost.

The chances to-day are that even if the League, by some miracle of a face-saving act, decides to give up its insistence on a sovereign State, the Hindus, in any case of Bengal and the Punjab, will prefer a separation if that is at all possible. That goes for the Sikhs, too, of course.

The provincial Muslim League would seem to be under the delusion that it is still possible to play the Hindu against the Sikh. Day after day the *Pakistan Times* woos and coaxes the Panth in a ridiculous effort to detach it from the Congress—a clumsy performance that reminds one of the amusing attempt Master Tara Singh himself was making till not so very long ago to hold the "balance of power" between the Congress and the League—an ambitious attempt that has had not a little to do with the recent sad happenings. Unlike other converts from Hinduism, the Sikhs did not originate from the lower down-trodden castes that needed a new religion to uplift them economically and morally, but came from the very flower of Hindu manhood—the few who spurned worldly gain and risked all by openly taking up arms against religious persecution and oppression. In those dark days of medieval fanaticism, the Khalsa were the spearhead of the forces of freedom, and their traditional role of saviours of the Hindu way of life (which, of course, is also their own way of life) has never since left them.

Many intelligent Sikhs see, in the recent sufferings and tribulations of their community, a blessing in disguise. Two and a half centuries ago the Sikhs were a community of crusaders, with a faith in the righteousness of their actions and in their

destiny as strong as that of the Israelites of old. Their long hair and their beards (no less than the other four "kakkas"—every Sikh is enjoined to revere long hair, a comb, a Kirpan, an under-pant, and a steel ring at the wrist—five Punjabi nouns each beginning with a "K") were to them emblems of a mission, and objects of pride very much as his uniform and badges and medals are to a modern soldier. Of late, however, the average town-bred, and especially the westernised Sikh, has shown tendencies quite alien to the spirit of the Khalsa. Recent events have given a severe setback to this "degeneracy," and once again given a certain pride to the Sikhs as the only people permitted

to freely carry arms among disarmed Hindus and Muslims. Some of their martial spirit has returned to them. But the true Sikh leader, concerned as he must be with developments in the more remote future, must seriously ponder the problem of restoring to the Khalsa its sense of pride and exclusiveness without insisting on the retention of old forms that must needs disappear with the passage of time. The return to the past is all very well for a limited period of crisis, but it is well-nigh impossible as a long-range policy. On the successful solution of this question hinges the future of the Sikhs as a separate entity.

THE BRITISH JUDICIARY

by A DISTINGUISHED LAWYER

It is incorrect to say as Mr. S. Rajagopalan has said in his article on "The Indian Judiciary" which appeared in *Swatantra* of the 17th instant, that in England "judges are selected solely on the basis of merit" and that "the Lord Chancellor, whatever his political or party affiliation, does not make any appointment contrary to the standards set by the professional opinion." For instance, there was much criticism of the appointment of Darling, a fellow partyman, by the Conservative Lord Halsbury when he was Lord Chancellor. He also appointed Grantham who was certainly not in front ranks of the profession. In 1909, the appointment of Sir George Slesser as Lord Justice by MacDonald's Labour Government provoked considerable criticism. Even recently, sons of Lords Chancellors, Prime Ministers and other persons holding high office, have got into important judicial offices though they are not the very best available men from the profession.

With regard to retirement, I must point out that an age limit has recently been fixed. Retired judges are under no compulsive obligation

to sit in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. A retired judge need come only if he is willing. As for a judge's pension, it is not "equated with his salary," it is only a part of the salary. And a judge does not become entitled to his pension "whatever his length of service." A minimum period of service has to be completed. The life of Viscount Reading, written by his son, describes the hesitation of Reading regarding acceptance of the Viceroyalty of India which was offered to him at the close of 1920, for the reason that as a judge he had put in only 6 or 7 years of service and was not, therefore, entitled to a pension.

Lastly, there is no "complete absence of freedom on the part of practising barristers to decline the offer of a judgeship." There have been a number of people who have declined such offers. It is only necessary to recall Sir John Simon's refusal of the Lord Chancellorship offered by Asquith. Darling, commenting on this, called Sir John "the maddest barrister going about the streets of London."



I HAVE A HEAD with bushy hair shooting out like a dried cauliflower and I go about without caring to groove them. I have a face which, should it be the property of a school master, would help him to illustrate to his students the vegetation of the globe. Once a month or twice, when I can afford a shave, it looks like the polar region. A day after it looks like a desert and then by a fortnight or so it has the appearance of the equatorial forest.

I can knock about the city with a crumpled jibba. I don't mind even my cousins laughing at my creaseless pyjamas. My soles are so hardened by constant walking that they stand the heat of the hot tarred roads just as good as any good tyre. Though my thirst for tea is great I can do without the pick-me-up like a camel without water for days. And that only when my purse is empty. I do chain smoking and my nostrils exhale smoke like a pair of chimneys. Even when my wife tells me something about my mother I give ear only to the printable portions of the narration. By virtue of these I am a journalist and a reporter at that.

Variety is the spice of life, some big bug hath said and I think there is sense in it. So I thought of becoming a sub-editor though it is my bent to be floating in the sea of mankind. Besides, my heels needed cooling but my pocket could not stand me a holiday.

So I nosed my way to the office of the editor of a weekly. The man

was big and he was busy. He passed me on to the second-in-command.

The lieutenant was a stout little man looking like the middle piece of a banana. He had a caterpillar-like moustache which he gave a good rub or two and he gazed at me as if I were a little gorilla which had freed itself from the local zoo. His hair too needed a cut and appeared like a prairie. With some effort he asked me to sit down and then he read the chit his Chief had given me.

He plunged into a big heap of papers and periodicals. I was getting impatient and was about to walk away when he brought out a pair of scissors. "Can you use the scissors?" he questioned me. The prairie on his head made me think that he had mistaken me for a barber.

He chilk-chilked the scissors before I could think of an answer. "I have come for the post of a sub-editor," I told him. He laughed as a school master would when a student tells him that the name of his father is 'papa.' "Yes I know that," he said, "that's why I am asking whether you can use the scissors."

And when he found surprise writ on my ugly face he brought out a periodical. He opened the wrapper. All I could see was square and oblong gaps in the pages. He must be having a mischievous child who had cut pieces out of his valuable magazine and he was going to tell me a story about the naughty child,

I thought. He took out some more papers which looked like tattered tents. The work of rats, I presumed. "These I have done," he said jabbing himself with the scissors. "We have to cut out all the important news from these, especially the sensational ones for our use."

Slowly I was coming to sense. He was talking about the cut-and-paste journalism. He showed me a table which was littered with papers and magazines of all kind and he asked me to get on with my work. He also gave me a bottle of gly.

I sat down. I was a bit tipsy. I fished out a cigarette from my pocket, lighted it and sat thinking.

I was thinking about the mighty scissors. The tailors need them. The barbers cannot do without them. The surgeons must have them to open the bellies of patients. And now sub-editors too find them essential. Oh, mighty scissors, mightier than the mighty atom!

Now to cut out the papers and periodicals. There was a bit of news which a war correspondent had

flashed to his paper. And what a life the war correspondent must be having, living in the land of terror and death. And there was an article by a poor author who might have received a paltry sum as honorarium. And all that I had to do was to cut them out, paste them and give them wigs. I might acknowledge the source of information but that only if I thought fit.

So I was there to abet in the criminal act of robbing a poor war correspondent. I was to steal a bit out of the article of that poor author who must even be starving. I was there to rob the poor journalists who are not adequately paid. Oh God! how could I do that? I would rather burst a bank than be a helping hand in such a crime.

"No! you should not do that," a voice within me cried. I looked around. The second-in-command had gone to the make-up stone or for a cup of tea somewhere. I got up from my seat and ran out of the building. And I must say I did the quitting faster than the retreat of the English troops from Dunkirk.



M. S. BALASUBRAHMANYAM—HE PLANNED SOCIAL WELFARE

(From A Correspondent)

News is to hand of the demise of M. S. Balasubrahmanyam, of Vegavati Ashram, near Andipatti, Madura district. He was an invalid for more than two decades, being bedridden most of the time. His bodily suffering was great. But he initiated many schemes of social welfare for the villages around, and got them executed through his wife, Venkalakshamma. She has great talent for such work. She was his antennae and physical outpost. We do not think that condolence meetings will be held to sing his praise; and they are not necessary. They will be mostly conventional and sophisticated. The remarks of the illiterate Kallars are

more illuminating: "We, hefty warriors of old, had become like worms; he put stamina in us. We now talk to officials face to face; and wonder why we feared them before." . . . "I was a clod-hopper. He started the co-operative society; and I now have . . . sheep and goats, and so many acres of land." . . . "The village will thrive and deal fair, if it ignores the fact of his death, if it keeps on believing that he is still lying on his bed." Different people have uttered these remarks again and again independently.

Would that we had more such souls to leaven our rural life?



Iqbal: The Poet and his Message. By Lt. Col. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 8.)

This is a most elaborate, heavily documented and justly balanced thesis not only on Iqbal, the poet and thinker, but on the whole vexed problem of Hindu-Muslim relations in India to-day. Dr. Sinha has not only the mental attitude but also the thoroughness and technical ability of an excellent judge. The book is a judgment, though in the nature of the case the author acknowledges that it can only be an interim judgment, on the issues raised. All the available evidence is brought together and cogently arranged and all the arguments for and against Iqbal's greatness advanced by previous writers are quoted fully and commented upon with judicial fairness and frankness. The writing is diffuse and repetitive, but all the more easily readable for that.

Was Iqbal a poet or philosopher? Was he a poet of India, a bard of Islam or a world poet? Did he choose wisely in preferring Persian to Urdu and both to Punjabi, his mother-tongue? What was wrong with his Urdu style? Was Iqbal a true interpreter of the religion of Islam? Is he an isolated figure of restricted and transient influence or one of the permanent stars? How does he compare with Dante, Milton, Goethe, Shelley, Browning, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Kalidas, Tagore, Jalaluddin Rumi, Ghalib and Hali? Why is he the object of indiscriminating laudation on the part of some Indo-Muslim hero-worshippers? Why is he not read by non-Indian Muslims and why is he not liked by non-Muslim Indians?

Such are the questions clearly raised and fearlessly answered in the course of this admirable work. While strongly recommending a careful study of this book to all persons interested in literary criticism and sociology, we should like for our part to draw a parallel between the position of Iqbal and that of our own Bharati Dasan. One notes in both these poets the same ebullient energy, the same passionate hankering after the

"pristine purity" of a dead but unburied past, the same angry impatience with mysticism and the same eager faith in activism; both command the same intense, almost delirious, popularity from a certain class of readers and neither makes much appeal to the rest of humanity. What Bharati Dasan is to the Dravidian cult, that Dr. Iqbal is to the Pakistan cult. The deep and ancient wisdom of the Hindu should understand and tolerate all things, including the harsh, exclusive intolerance of the rebels and crusaders against itself; and should recognise and appreciate the timely poetry of negation and protest as well as the timeless poetry of acceptance and affirmation. We are afraid that Dr. Sinha, like the detractors of Bharati Dasan, falls somewhat short of this *Kshama*; he fails to concede the need or the value of the poetry inspired by indignation and hatred, the poetry which, though not immortal art, is still an effective means of doing some of the destructive work that has, from time to time, to be done in the world. Dr. Sinha is candid enough to state, but he does not enthusiastically admire, this special pragmatic (as distinct from the aesthetic) function of Dr. Iqbal. Dr. Sinha says that Iqbal "saw only one side of the thing, but he declared and emphasized that one particular side so vigorously and assertively, to the exclusion of the others, that all those interested in that specific aspect, were not only attracted to it but even fascinated by it . . . He was undoubtedly great as a thinker of the activist type." With Iqbal, as with Dryden in *Absalom and Achitophel*, propaganda became poetry. We shall do justice to Iqbal when we look upon him, not as an artist who descended to propaganda, a poet who gave to a party what was meant for mankind, but as a propagandist who by the sheer irrepressible power of his artistic gifts raised propaganda to the level of poetry. Dr. Sinha's learning is wide, his memory ready, and his quotations always apt and arresting, so that this book can be used by Hindus and Muslims alike as a comprehensive anthology of

true and universally acceptable maxims from the saints and poets of all ages and all countries. The critical appreciations of the book by Mirza Samiullah Beg (Nawab Yar Jung Bahadur), Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Amaranatha Jha, and Dr. Sir Ahmed Husain, Nawab Amin Jung Bahadur, which are found printed at the beginning and at the end of the volume, add greatly to its value. —(K. S.).

The Textile Policy Of Madras Government. By A. S. Banavalkar. (Published by Mrs. Kamala Banavalkar, Officers' Quarters, Rohtak Road, Delhi. Price, Rs. 2-8-0)

The textile policy of the Prakesam ministry for long held the headlines and aroused much heated controversy. The decision of Sri Prakesam to relinquish the spindage that had been allocated to Madras Presidency by the Central Government, and statutorily prevent the further expansion of the textile industry within the territorial jurisdiction of the Madras Government, came during a period of acute cloth shortage and created in a section of the public a feeling of intense hostility. Almost all the literature that has come up till now bears the mark of prejudice and partisanship. At such a time a book of this type written by an outsider who has made a detailed study of the question, and having as data facts the reliability of which no one can dispute, is very welcome.

The writer approaches the problem from various angles—the effect of the Khadi scheme on the unemployment and underemployment rampant in the countryside which is a major problem of Indian economy; on the potential wage bill, and on the price-cost-wage structure. As a result of the analysis, the writer comes to the conclusion that "in view of the very large numbers of persons that are awaiting absorption in industry from agriculture, we have probably no other option but to choose unrationalsed methods of production. Such unrationalsed methods presuppose that the processes of work which are likely to lead to abnormally depressed rates of wages if done by hand, alone will be mechanised, as in the case of hand spinning. Where the disparities in the output by hand and machine and consequently the differential wage rates are not so great, it will be to our advantage to carry on the remaining processes of production by hand, as in the case of handloom weaving.

The book has some defects. The author gives only a brief space to an explanation of the textile policy as enunciated by the ex-Premier of Mad-

ras. It seems as though he presupposes a knowledge of it on the part of the reader. Further, he ignores the consumers' point of view and does not at all discuss the variations in the costs of production of mill cloth, handloom cloth and handspun and handwoven cloth, and their consequent repercussions on the consumers. A big gap is thus left in the analysis of the problem.

Asia In The Modern World. By H. Venkatasubbiah. (Price, Rs. 5.)
Asia, A Souvenir Book. (Price Rs. 3.)
Books On Asia.

These three books have been issued by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Their preparation was inspired by the recent Inter-Asian Relations Conference. The last of them is a bibliography, listing the more important books on the history and current problems of the countries of Asia. The Souvenir Book is an attractive volume, giving thumb-nail sketches of each Asian nation. There are brief, factual accounts of the geographical position, national characteristics and political history of each country. There is a profusion of photographs and sketches, mostly in illustration of the arts and architecture of each country. Mr. Venkatasubbiah's book is more strictly academic. He begins with a survey of the place, past and present, of Asia in the world and goes on to give a brief summary of each country's constitutional structure. Rigid adherence to a consideration of the constitutional arrangements alone has unfortunately rendered the treatment inadequate, since the significant internal developments and conflicts—not necessarily reflected in the written constitution—have been ignored. This inadequacy is most clearly seen in the author's note on China. The closing chapters of the book are full of useful statistical information on the economic resources and present conditions of agriculture and industry in Asia.

Though the books could have been fuller in treatment, the Indian Council of World Affairs is to be congratulated on the initiative which it has displayed in the present attempt to collect and present facts about Asia's past history and present needs. Knowledge of these on the part of the Indian public has until recently been practically nil. The first step was taken at the Delhi Conference towards removing this state of ignorance regarding our neighbours. A lot of ground has yet to be covered, and the Council could usefully continue and extend the work which it has begun.

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It is high time that it is brought home to all anti-social elements that a popular Congress Government is in power and that it will not hesitate to adopt stern measures in the interests of the people at large.

V. SUBRAMANIA IYER, B.A., B.L.,
President, Town Congress Committee, Palamcottah and six others, advocates.

Bus Transport Scandal

Bus service in the northern districts has become a public scandal. There is no system of fixed rates for specified distances. The rates change from hour to hour, from man to man and from bus to bus; it is just a licensed highway robbery. These evils raised their head during war time and have taken deep root. People hoped that these will be suppressed by the Congress Ministers and M.L.As. but the same old exploitation continues. Even law courts did not take a serious view of the illegal methods practised by the bus owners. Not a single license has been cancelled by the Government when a law court found a bus owner guilty of breach of Traffic rules.

From the time of the first Congress ministry the proposal of nationalising the bus transport is said to have been under contemplation. The management of the buses should at once be transferred to the newly formed producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies which mean the villages of this country. This will put an end to the exploitation of the people by a few capitalists and endow the villages with initiative to work and improve their own transport.

K. K. VISWANATHAM, B.A., LL.B.
Tanuku.

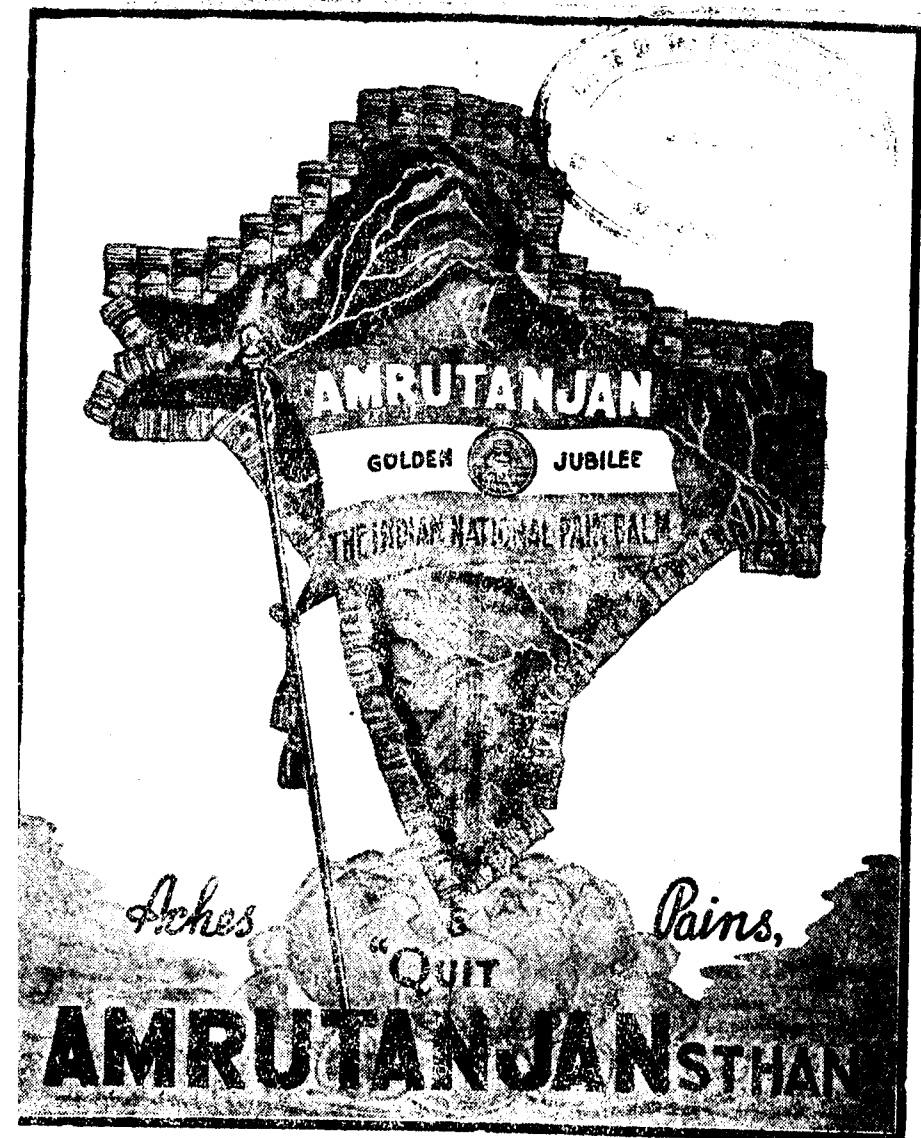
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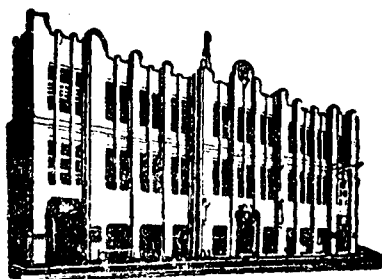
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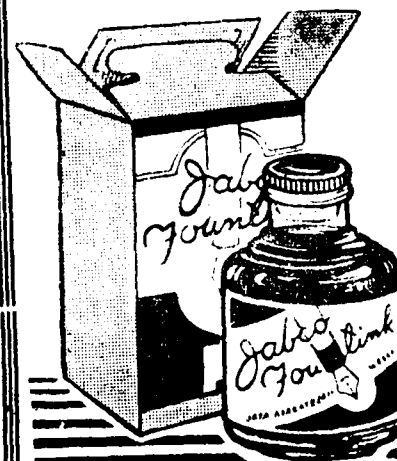
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SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 16.

SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1947.

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GOPINATH IN A DANCE POSE

—Drawn by Ram Gopal

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 16

SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

COUNTER - COMMUNALISM

THE most significant fact brought to light by the present conflicts is the complete breakdown of Congress ideology. There is no longer any antagonism, for practical purposes, between the Congress and the Muslim League, over the most momentous of the issues that seemed at one time to separate them, the issue as to whether the country should remain united or be divided. With the exception of the Mahatma, Congress leaders have not merely reconciled themselves to division, they have elevated it to the dignity of a principle worthy of being applied with thoroughness and without reservation. It is Mr. Jinnah that is found reluctant to carry the principle of division as far as they insist that he should. The moral victory can be claimed by Mr. Jinnah of having subdued the Congress leaders to a point of view for which they have been professing unequivocal condemnation all these years. But in the moment of victory Mr. Jinnah is seen to abandon the whole basic theory of the Pakistan demand. If Hindus and Muslims are two nations, and on that ground Muslims are entitled to a separate State, the natural wish of the believers of the theory should be to reduce to a minimum the contamination of unwanted non-Muslim people within the boundaries of the Muslim State to be set up. But the League leaders themselves are clamouring for the inclusion of large sections of non-Muslims in the Pakistan area. That means that the integrity of the two-nations theory is destroyed by the very people that have set it up as a basic creed to

emphasise the necessity of division. Apparently the two-nations theory boils down to an arrangement by which as many Hindus as possible should be brought under subjection to Muslim rule, while the impossibility of Muslims as a nation accepting a minority status under Hindu majority rule, is simultaneously recognised. Under the two-nations theory, the League has no objection to rule Hindus. But it does not want Hindus to rule Muslims. The germs of incipient imperialism are thus found already embedded in the Pakistan of Mr. Jinnah's conception.

Whatever may be the actual line of demarcation between Pakistan and Hindustan, each will contain millions of subjects with loyalties fixed beyond its boundaries, looked upon by its ruling majority with suspicion, hostility and potential dread. The Hindu and the Muslim minorities in the respective States to which they would belong bid fair to fall into the position of the Sudetan Germans in the pre-war Czechoslovakia, with the same fatal facility for provoking aggression and intervention from across the borders. Far from being eliminated or minimised, the Hindu-Muslim problem would stand aggravated, with its mischief and intensity gravely multiplied, as a result of any division of territory as now envisaged.

If peace is to prevail, the enthronement of a non-communal outlook in all matters pertaining to the common life of all communities, is a necessary preliminary. The Muslim League, pledged avowedly

to communalism as a political creed, could never have been expected to promote such an outlook. It was for the Congress to create it in the face of every obstacle placed in the way by dissenters and hostile parties. Unfortunately the Congress has failed to rise to this level, and its failure has become progressively marked in proportion to its assumption of power consequent on the fruition of its anti-imperialist objective. The occasion of trial comes when cherished creeds are subjected to seemingly overwhelming attack, and for any effective progress to be made along the path of nationalism in India, an almost indomitable power of will for withstanding un-nerved any horror engineered by hostile elements was called for on the part of the leaders of the Congress, as the one supreme institution that has been claiming as its special glory complete immunity from the thralldom of any sectional or communal bias. It is a tragic fact that no such quality of will has of late been brought to the service of the Congress by any of its effective guides, notwithstanding all the exemplariness pertaining to the heroism of Gandhiji in everyone of the ordeals undertaken by him to emphasise a point of principle. When the Mahatma ceased to be a four-anna member, the restraints and standards of Gandhism also ceased to be effective in Congress practice, and relieved from the pressure of the exacting discipline that had gone before, the leaders of the institution came down to the level of other parties, exchanging the spirit of sacrifice for easy-going quest of the good things of life. That career of decline still goes on.

Instead of refusing to be browbeaten by the bullying communalism of the League, top-rank Congress leaders have latterly abandoned the stalwart nationalism of early Gandhian days, and evolved a sort of

counter-communalism as the dearest of the weapons in their armoury. In Assam where land is plentiful and labour alone is needed to put it to the plough and extract food and wealth from it, there should have been cordial welcome to all willing to work, but the Congress Ministry of the province could not rise to the occasion, because the bulk of immigrants from the neighbourhood were Muslims, and the Ministry could not feel that Muslims were Indians too. It wanted to preserve the integrity of Assam as a Hindu province. Perfect indifference to separate characterisation as Hindu or Muslim is the true mark of the nationalist, but it must be confessed that to most Congress leaders, what they flaunt as nationalism is a diplomatic substitute for genuine, non-communal outlook. It stands deprived of that broad concern for human good which alone can invest it with vitality. Congress nationalism has become a weak and anæmic thing devitalised by the infection of devious association with capitalist interests, and we have a sad illustration of it in the blessings given to the Madras Ministry (after he had been socially honoured by so less a personage than Dr. Rajendra Prasad) by Sir Alagappa Chetti over the sabotage of the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies. This wealthy magnate apparently thinks that producers and consumers exist only to make fortunes for middlemen and he is shocked at the idea of their being enabled to divert to their own advantage profits made out of their exertion by others. While the spectacle of capitalists in ecstasy over reactionary ministerial policies continues to obtrude on public attention, the strength derivable from mass support will be denied to the Congress, and what with the attendant phenomenon of Ministers going about under police protection, the lack of democratic stamina of the Congress stands glaringly exposed

for the League to take full advantage of. The Congress is in dire need of an enormous impetus of socialisation if it is to decommunalise itself, overthrow the hold on it of capitalist masters and acquire sufficient strength to deal successfully with the violence and sabotage let loose to embarrass and suppress it, by anti-social or communal forces.

NEWSPAPER MORALS

THE United Press of India learns that a new Charter for the Press is under the consideration of the French Government, which, if it becomes law, would make it illegal for a newspaper owner to operate more than two dailies. There is need for some similar Charter in the case of the Indian Press where the advent of commercial adventurers has led to the scandal of chain newspapers which are fast making of journalism a stereotyped, mechanical thing. A marked loss of journalistic self-respect has followed the coming in of chain newspapers. Ordinarily the owners of this type of newspapers are men who have made their pile in trade, business or industry, or may be in the black market or through gambling in the stock exchange. Their main interest does not lie in the study of public questions but in profiteering and in the exploitation of the influence pertaining to newspapers to personal ends. It is sometimes an end in itself to them to utilise the papers in their control for the gratification of sheer personal vanity. Being in a position to pay well, they are able to attract to their service the pick of the talent in the profession and convert them into hacks congenial to their designs. The consequence of this sort of demoralisation has been a great loss of influence for the newspapers grouped in chains, side by side with huge profits and immense commercial gains. As some of the proprietors have no scruples to twist news to suit their wishes, a diminishing

number of people now believe the news as given to them, and editorial prestige has turned to dust and ashes in the case of the generality of daily newspapers. To take a fresh example, the whole of Andhra has been agog with excitement over the recent ministerial tours. In trams, trains, buses, in the market place and wherever people congregate, the talk has been of the rough handling meted out to the Ministers by indignant crowds, of the sandals and black flags that greeted them and of the enormity of so-called popular representatives finding themselves forced to go about under police protection. Yet if anyone formed his impressions from a study of the newspapers alone, he would be impelled to think that a smiling countryside waited ecstatically with gorgeous bouquets and rose garlands to honour its idolised leaders in lieu of their elevation to office. It was given only to *The Mail* to retain a measure of objectivity in the presentation of news connected with the tours of the Ministers to the Andhra districts. We need a much better and more trustworthy press than we now possess if only because free, true and dependable newspapers are the most vital medium of free expression which is the most important attribute of democracy. It is reported that under Hitler, every morning at ten the editors of Berlin were called to the office of the Ministry of Propaganda and told what to print and what not to print, and which story to feature in bold type and which to give little play, and every newspaper was deliberately converted into a design for lying. It is the distinction of democracy that it can function as such only so far as it can maintain untampered a "channel through which can flow constantly, from centre to the border, a stream of objective information, and from the border to the centre, a stream of analysis, of criticism, of praise, and

if necessary, of condemnation." A free press is a necessary institution in any effective scheme of responsible government, and it is a necessary condition of freedom for the press that the formidable play of overmuch concentration of capital should be eliminated in order to pave the way for a healthy variety of independent enterprises. In multiplicity of newspapers freed from group controls lies the real safeguard for the public against conspiratorial black-outs and misrepresentations, and a wise Government would do well not only to check the growth of monopolist trends in the press, but also to bestow serious thought on Spender's dictum that a limit should be set to the maximum circulation that any newspaper should be allowed to have.

EUTHANASIA

AN agitation for the legalisation of euthanasia has come to the fore in London in the wake of the admission by a doctor that he had killed a man to save him from pain. A similar effort is now being made in New York State. Euthanasia, known popularly as "mercy killing," is forced on the conscience of the world by the terrible pain and suffering caused by dread diseases like cancer, for which medical science has found as yet no cure. Incurable and inoperable cancer leaves nothing for the patient except waiting for the last breath to fail, passing through a hell on earth meanwhile, draining the last bitter drop of the cup of pain. The hardest part of the work of a doctor is to deny release from intolerable pain to a suffering patient after every vestige of any hope of recovery is gone. The kindlier ones among the members of the medical profession have perhaps not the hearts to deny this form of relief. Or else, instead of a doctor, some compassionate relative or friend acts as the agent of mercy. Whoever dares to do so risks his

own life under existing law, since the law makes no distinction between murder and mercy-killing; and if apprehended, they have no refuge from being placed on trial for murder except in suicide. Treatment with drugs like morphine is one way of relieving pain without killing, but the effect of such drugs tends to decline with use, so that increased doses are called for and even they afford no more than a very brief respite from recurring pain. Impelled by pity for the tortured victims of malignant diseases, decent and progressive people all the world over are at last realising that the legalisation of voluntary euthanasia is not, after all, incompatible with moral or religious principles. The case against euthanasia is one of panic over its hypothetical possibilities. Supposing to-day a cancer patient is put out of pain through "mercy-killing" and tomorrow a wonder drug is discovered that removes cancer from the list of incurable diseases, how disquieting, we are asked, would it be to think of the person helped to die on the very threshold of cure, as it were? The most characteristic of the voices of dissent against euthanasia is that of Dr. Hawthorne in England. At the inauguration of the Euthanasia Legislation Society he put his misgivings, fearfully, thus: "Once asserted, the principle of voluntary euthanasia is likely to have extensions. It has already been hinted that pain would not be a necessary condition, uselessness would equally serve." From a study of the pros and cons of the question, it would appear that the advocates of euthanasia are concerned with an actual reality of pain challenging the attention of the humane, while the dissenters are mentally harassed over a contingency of the future of a merely speculative character as yet. Reality should take precedence over academic possibility in formulations of change and reform for law.

Sotto Voce

Hog's Paradise



A DELHI newspaper published a photograph the other day snappily captioned "Union Centre Sadhus." And it carried the following breezy explanation: "Over 25 'sadhus' from all parts of India are performing penance on the banks of the Jumna in Delhi so that India might not be divided. Picture shows a group of them before a kund. All sorts and conditions of sadhus have gathered and they are a healthy crowd. Concentration on the 'yagna' does not preclude the holy men from attention to the camera." Let me hasten to add that the paper is owned and edited by Hindus who in other contexts have not conducted themselves as if they were ashamed of the fact.

The sadhus in the photograph do not appear to me to be particularly muscular. For that matter, not all politicians who belong to the cult of the loin cloth are worn thin with austerities. And I have a suspicion that what fascinated the ascetics was the cameraman and not his camera; not being habitués of the night club and the race course, they may have been wondering why an adult should be wasting his time playing with such a toy. And was it not thoughtless of the news editor to suggest that there was something unbecoming about the desire to be photographed? Whatever his other shortcomings, no accepted leader is camera-shy; and newspapers thrive on this knowledge.

Sadhus and yagnas are stale ale; there is hardly more kick left in news of such than in the inept jokes

about pot-bellied Brahmins which were once a sure draw with the patrons of peripatetic cinemas. The one piece of first class news in which sadhus have figured in recent months passed almost unnoticed in our nationalist press; the newshounds seemed singularly unwilling to follow the scent. I refer to the arrest of large batches of orthodox Hindus who demonstrated against the Constituent Assembly (and the secular legislatures it is to set up) laying light hands on the traditions, beliefs and socio-religious practices that together constitute Hinduism. The first Indian 'national' Government has the distinction of jailing some of India's foremost spiritual leaders. Swami Karpatriji among them.

Karpatri Maharaj (Sri Swami Hariharananda Saraswathi as he is known to the world of scholarship and sanctity) is a name to conjure with wherever Hindi is spoken. One of the greatest of living Sanskritists and a wizard of the spoken word, to hear him expound the Bhagavata Purana is an unforgettable experience. Ever immersed in "the rain-cloud of divine happiness," Sri Krishna, he interprets, with the authority of one who has re-lived it, the ineffable experience of "the most wise and subtle of divine sages, Lord Suka." He threads with equal ease the mysterious mazes of the Mantra Sastra and the profound symbolism of the Veda. In him the cosmic consciousness of the *yogi* and the serenity of the *sthitha prajna* are wedded to the sweetness of a saint and the innocence of a child. By his

genius for organisation and power of personality he holds the tallest in the land in loving thrall.

That such a man should have felt compelled to lead a political demonstration and underlings should have been allowed to lay their obscene paw upon him without a protest argues how far gone we are in the facile descent to Avernus. The insolence of authority is well matched by the poltroonery of a moron press. As for "the great public," it seems to be nowhere in the picture. Even if it were made aware of this outrage to Hindu sentiment it can perhaps do little more than wring its hands in maudlin helplessness like the chorus of Attic tragedy.

The Pharisees will ask, "Why did these good people meddle in matters which should have been left to those who know the world? If you touch pitch you must expect to be

defiled." But neither their claim to worldly wisdom nor their mock-humility can obscure the ghastly failure of their own class. If *sannyasis* have been compelled to mix with the throng in the market place and raise their voices in alarm, it is because the money-changers making their pile and the sophists gulling the crowd have alike been too busy to see the hot ashes of scepticism and the molten lava of materialism racing down to our destruction.

The so-called Fundamental Rights drawn up by the Constituent Assembly are a scream. How could it be otherwise, with the Solons whom we summoned to the task? And it is eminently fitting that, when the shape of things to come is being fashioned from all over Bharatavarsha, men like Karpatriji and Satyavrata Brahmachari should be in the dock. It is the perfect hog's paradise.

VIGNESWARA.

CONSCRIPTION FOR FIGHTING ILLITERACY

by ALLADI RAMACHANDRAN

'Adult suffrage' has been included in the Fundamental Rights list submitted by the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee in the Constituent Assembly. While it is essential for the growth of full-fledged democratic government, it is to be feared that it may be taken advantage of by evil forces, considering the conditions obtaining at present in the country. The power to vote, coupled with sound judgment of the election manifestos and discreet choice of the political party which will work in the interests of the people if put in power, will alone make adult suffrage a success. The prime need of the hour is arming the people with sound discretion and clear understanding of the political affairs of the country. This cannot be done unless the light of education is brought to the masses. If the people are not educated as quickly as possible, mob orators with an appealing and powerful tongue working for perverse political ends can easily sway the masses who have no independent judgment of their own as things stand at present, and may eventually succeed in capturing the Government machinery.

Any move to introduce 'adult suffrage' must be simultaneously accompanied by an intensive drive to remove illiteracy. This must be achieved within the shortest time possible. May I draw attention to a measure already suggested in the press sometime back, the conscription of college students. Every college student at the end of his collegiate studies must be made compulsorily to go to the rural areas and serve as a teacher there for a period of one or two years as may be fixed by the authorities concerned. But then there would arise other problems which cannot be easily ignored. The majority of the students come from middle class families and the parents of the students find themselves in highly strained conditions financially by the time their children complete their college education. Naturally they will be very eager to see their boys enter some job or other. So the immediate reaction of any proposal for conscription will certainly be unfavourable but the opposition can be appeased by paying stipends and subsidies to the families of those students who are conscripted during the period of their service.

SIDELIGHTS :

Almost all men are born with every passion to some extent, but there is hardly a man who has not a dominant passion to which the others are subordinate. Discover this governing passion in every individual; and when you have found the master passion of a man, remember never to trust to him where that passion is concerned.—CHESTERFIELD.

THACKERAY described the world as a looking glass in which each man saw reflected the character of his own ego. Smile at it, and it will smile at you. Frown at it, and it will frown at you. A whole universe of behaviour is compressed in each individual inhabiting the world, and there is no world apart from the people we come in contact with, while living in it. We give away a part of our own character in the manner of our judging others. Three eminent persons had occasion last week to pay in New Delhi glowing tributes to the late S. Srinivasa Iyengar. Dr. Rajendra Prasad spoke of the privilege he had enjoyed of possessing the confidence and affection of the departed leader who (he felt) "had overestimated his influence in squaring up the differences in the Congress camp." Dr. Prasad pictured himself in his tribute and we are left with the agreeable impression of an indefatigable striver for harmony in the Congress camp who often failed in his endeavour to square up differences but never failed, perhaps because of just that endeavour, in winning the esteem, confidence and affection of all. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu described Srinivasa Iyengar as a "wonderful person . . . who also possessed greatness of heart"—a description that admirably fits its author who for years has been striding the stage of our politics as a sort of Alice with overflowing heart seeing wonder everywhere. And then came C. R.: "Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that it was wrong to think that the late Srinivasa Iyengar and himself had quarrelled. . . It was true that Srinivasa Iyengar and himself differed on things which were not of common interest to

them . . . He appealed to the audience to overlook certain weaknesses to which man is always subject and imbibe the great qualities of Srinivasa Iyengar."

In the atmosphere of political rivalry it evidently needs the death of a man to have those "weaknesses" overlooked in his case. While Srinivasa Iyengar lived, there was not much love lost between him and C. R. At that time the "great qualities of Srinivasa Iyengar" did not produce a happy effect on C. R. who assessed them in the scale of ambition and decided that the Congress should do without them. Each of these two leaders stood in the way of the other in the struggle for political mastery, and both angled for Prakasam's support. Again and again Srinivasa Iyengar used to say, "What is there we could not do in South India if only Prakasam would throw in his weight with me?" Srinivasa Iyengar, Satyamurthi and Prakasam were all competitors for the same political supremacy on which C. R. too had set his own heart, but in strategy none of them was the equal of C. R., and so they were all treated by him with relentless tenacity to an elbowing process in the course of which Gandhism, the Gita and proclamations of renunciatory retirement were all thrown in as strategic aids for the most amazing feat of power-grabbing witnessed in our time. The pattern of the destiny of Madras as envisioned by C. R. has now taken definite shape. The beauty of it is illustrated in the titular dignity of primacy conferred on Omandur. A native inconsequence saves Omandur from the perils of victory in the struggle for political leadership, and to C. R. it is the charm of the Omandur regime that as a device for putting his own tried lieutenants into power, lieutenants who could not be there otherwise, it can scarcely be improved upon. Every boost by C. R. to bolster up Omandur only makes more patent his

lack of self-sufficient strength, emphasises his dependent condition and removability, and paves the way for the direct stepping in of C. R. himself into the actual saddle of power at will. The more generous the boost, the firmer becomes the consolidation of the influence of the giver for conversion into effective hold on the machinery of the administration, it simply comes back with compound interest and not a particle of it is lost. It was the disadvantage of Srinivasa Iyengar and Satyamurthi that they lacked the inconsequence of Omandur and could not be supported while alive without being strengthened, to the hurt proportionately of competitive aspirants to leadership. They stand redeemed from that disadvantage in death, while Prakasam still suffers from it, being alive.

This journal was a strong advocate in favour of C. R. for the premiership. Its editor spent hours with Sri Prakasam trying to persuade him to step aside and himself propose C. R. for the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party. This effort continued right up to the time of the election. While others congratulated Sri Prakasam, he refrained, and struck a note of warning, saying that the plight of one installed in power through the operations of the Nadarite clique was not a thing for joy but for dread. It was and it is his belief that no Ministry can be considered "popular" unless it is formed by leaders of the people known to them and trusted by them, and that in the composite province of Madras, the only ones befitting the rank and title of popular leaders were C. R. and Prakasam. Any Ministry formed without C. R. or without Prakasam would lack equilibrium, and even after the formation of the Prakasam Ministry, he adhered to the view that nothing could make up for the absence of C. R. from the Cabinet. At this stage Sri Vaidyanatha Iyer one day literally em-

braced him and declared with joy that even if it did nothing else thereafter *Swatantra* had more than justified its existence by the work it had done till then. It was only when C. R. was elevated to the Centre that *Swatantra* got reconciled to his elimination from the Madras Ministry, for what had been lost was thereby reconverted by it into an opportunity of even greater scope for public service.

The wrong turn was taken by C. R. when he concerned himself in the promotion of the no-confidence motion against Prakasam. This is not a mere sweeping statement. I am well fortified with data for making it. C. R. wrote himself down when he used his public position to indulge in a personal grouse against Prakasam, and the same can be said of even the Mahatma himself. Great leaders elevated to mighty positions of power have need of exemplary self-restraint and should overcome the pursuit of enmities, otherwise they lose their greatness and cause harm instead of conferring benefit. The pursuit of his vendetta against Prakasam by C. R. has landed Madras unenviably in the plight of being completely divested of every vestige of a 'popular' character in the Government running it. Nowhere in India do Ministers go about with police protection as they now do here. Nor have they stones and sandals hurled at them in their own constituencies. These indignities are the emblems of a complete divorce between public goodwill and the Ministers for the time being, which no amount of exploitation of the technical proprieties of the constitution can cover up. The conscientious journalist has to call attention to them, incurring all risks and making sacrifice of all attachments for the sake of averting a whole series of inevitable after-effects that can only end in the rule of violence.—SAKA.



TRIED CONGRESS WORKERS THROWN OUT CALLOUSLY

VINAYAKAM PILLAI'S PROTEST

[Consequent on the dismissal of some 30 firka cottage industries officers (appointed by the Prakasam Ministry) by the present Premier, Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddier, Mr. R. Vinayakam Pillai, Assistant Development Commissioner for Khadi, Southern Range, decided to resign. We give below the text of his letter to the Premier announcing the reasons for his decision, as it is of considerable public interest.—Ed. S.]

Sir,

In a day or two I intend to submit my resignation of the post of Assistant Development Commissioner, Southern Range. A sense of moral obligation impels me to inform you of this beforehand.

On 13th May, 1947 I had written a letter to you marked "confidential and urgent." I do not know whether it had been possible for you to notice it in the midst of your varied and arduous tasks. It was with reference to the abolition of the posts of firka cottage industries officers.

My decision to resign is consequent on your statement on the above question in *The Hindu* dated 15th May.

I had requested you in my letter of the 13th instant to retain these posts or the workers; in any case to allow me to meet you and discuss it with you before issuing orders. The Assistant Development Commissioners were appointed, presumably, as specially fitted to help in planning and executing schemes of rural development on new ideologies. As such, I expected to be consulted at all stages, particularly in regard to creation or abolition of important posts in the scheme. My expectation has proved groundless.

Retrenchment in regard to this scheme is different from retrenchment in the general services. In the latter there is very little personal suffering, as the incumbents whose posts are abolished, revert to their old places. But in this scheme experienced and tried workers are selected, they resign their previous jobs, burn their boats and enter this

service in a desire to help in the success of a new and difficult scheme. The Government with a stroke of the pen abolish the posts and leave them to stew in their own juice. All of them are national workers who have suffered and sacrificed a good deal in an honest attempt to serve the country. As if that is not sufficient, the present decision of Government entails more suffering and sacrifice which is not only unnecessary but injurious to the scheme in my humble opinion.

It is injurious because the scheme is a new and difficult one, depending for its success on the maximum goodwill and sympathy on the part of the Government and public. On the other hand, creation of some posts, appointment of good and tried workers and then abolition of the posts within a month or two after the appointments, resulting in the dismissal of the workers leaving them to shift as they could, is calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the *bona fides* of the Government in working the scheme. The scheme being confined to small areas, and the workers invariably belonging to these areas, one practical result would be the development of friction spots in the very areas where we require maximum moral support.

In my opinion the scheme which has already become difficult and vexing owing to indifference and delay, is now being made far more difficult and vexing.

In your statement, you say that the existence of two sets of officers in each firka under the scheme is

a duplication, thereby implying that there is no work for the second set. There is no second set as such, since there is only one firka cottage industries officer for each firka. But apart from that and coming to the question of sufficiency of work, allow me to say that good and very useful work could be taken from them under a properly devised scheme. The absence of sufficient work at present is no fault of the workers who joined the scheme in all good faith and for whose competence I can vouch, having been personally responsible for their selection. I am of the opinion that development of Khadi (not to speak of other cottage industries) on self-sufficiency lines amidst an average population of 75,000 is more than a man's work; as such therefore one man could be fully employed in the same. The present firka cottage industries officers, moreover, were chosen with due regard to their training and experience in Khadi and cottage industries work for which the firka development officers may not be equally efficient.

For me the over-riding consideration is the disregard of personal values and feelings which is the outcome of this abolition of posts. I had thought that a popular Ministry claiming to follow Gandhiji's ideology would have paid due regard to this aspect. I know that some of the workers who are thrown out by this decision are more earnest and capable than myself in working the scheme to success; and I therefore cannot see what place there can be for me in a scheme which has no use for them.

I joined the scheme on the persistent invitation of Sri G. Sitarama Sastri and on the advice of most of my friends and co-workers. I thought a great day had come for the principles of Khadi and self-

sufficiency and by joining Government service (with all its restrictions and its moral bondage, galling to the conscience of a worker bred in an atmosphere of freedom and initiative) might help in effective implementing of the scheme bases on those principles dear to my heart. But I have only been a helpless witness to a slow, halting, indifferent and unsympathetic working of a good scheme. The public was expecting me to do all kinds of big things, while the Government afforded me very little facilities to satisfy that expectation.

You will agree that this is not a very happy position and I was naturally a little unhappy. It was at this time that the new Ministry assumed responsibility and you yourself took up this scheme under your portfolio. I took the earliest opportunity, available to a humble worker and subordinate Government servant like myself, to meet you and explain my difficulties. You thereupon asked me to put my proposals in writing and bring them to you. I was therefore hoping that the scheme would be soon rationalised and I may be able to contribute my little mite towards the success of this scheme, though the reversal by this Ministry of the policy of the previous one regarding surrender of spindles was unwelcome to Khadi workers like myself.

But this decision of Government has shaken me badly and I feel there is no longer any place for me in the scheme.

I shall therefore go back to my own private constructive work and do as much as I could therein with your blessing and good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

R. VINAYAKAM.

Fort St. George,
15th May, 1947.



If you flatter a little, listen to what people have to say, and trade on their small weaknesses, you will be considered generous-hearted, noble-minded, and acutely penetrating.—Hugh Walpole.

GANDHI AND PRAKASAM

by B. SIVAKOTA REDDI

THE recent Madras ministerial crisis might have been due to personal bickerings. There is nothing wrong in that so long as the competitors don't give up their cherished convictions. As the ex-Premier said in his speech in the Legislative Assembly, after he was forced to give up office, the office of premier is a coveted post and it is natural that there should be much competition—perhaps unhealthy also!—for it. As the great Ruskin said, striving for advancement in life, in terms of bid for posts, is a common human failing. At any rate Mr. Prakasam and his followers are living in glass houses in this respect, and they cannot throw stones at others. Is Mr. Prakasam's frantic attempt to become and afterwards to retain the premiership due to the feeling that, without him at the helm, the ship of State will flounder? Some of his acts as Premier show that he has in him all the makings of an autocrat greedy for limitless power. His textile policy, especially the way in which he tried to enforce it by using Gandhi's name to stifle opposition in the party was, to say the least, not commendable. If there was any merit in that policy, he could have appealed to the reason of the legislators rather than use the name of the very man whom he defied. He thereby thought perhaps that he was using a *mantram* to purchase Gandhiji.

Again by creating a number of fat and superfluous jobs for members of a particular community he showed that if he was allowed to have his way, he would have spent the whole reserve fund to feed a number of Gotuparas on a much bigger scale perhaps than in Travancore. No wonder that, by this policy, he roused the apprehensions of the non-Brahmin intellectuals and thereby brought about his downfall.

But, having said this, it must be realised that in his relationship with Gandhiji, he has been more sinned against than sinning. Gandhi's intense prejudice against him dates back much earlier than the time of ministry-making in 1946. It started right at the commencement of N.C.O. Gandhi felt that C. R. and not T. P. was the vehicle for the propagation of his ideas. From that time onwards he began to pave the way for C. R.'s ascendancy, at any rate in this presidency. He began to boast in Andhra Desa one who was considered a 'bogus patriot' in that

province as a balancing factor against Prakasam. To this must also be attributed his dislike of *Swarajya*. When Prakasam asked him for a message to the Andhras in 1921, he is reported to have told Prakasam "Stop *Swarajya* for Heaven's sake." If *Swarajya* had continued it would have become a force and Prakasam's influence would have been thereby rendered unshakable in the Presidency.

Gandhi's actions in the present crisis have also been far from saintly. Netaji—who let us hope will soon come back to the motherland and draw us out of the murky situation in which we are—used to say in private and also in public, though not in so many words, that he had scarcely seen another so given to putting down his opponents ruthlessly as the Mahatma. He used to say that Gandhi generally keeps himself in the background, gives instructions to his chelas like Vallabhai, C. R. and Rajen Babu to crush the opponents, and that if the aggrieved party approaches him for redress, he says that he is not even a four anna member if it suits him to say so. If the chelas cannot by themselves succeed, then he comes out himself saying that he is using his moral authority with the Congress and that he will be doing a disservice to the country by remaining silent.

How else can his attitude in the present crisis be explained? I have it on the authority of one of the present Ministers occupying a key position in the Madras Cabinet, that even in August 1946 Gandhi was pressing C. R. to proceed ahead with his plans to bring about the downfall of the Ministry. C. R. was waiting patiently—from his point of view he waited with all the intuition and patience of a real statesman—knowing perhaps that Nadar and others would come on bended knees to him and that would be the proper moment to unfold his plan. While C. R. was thus biding his time, this friend tells me that Gandhi was impatient.

Paying tributes to the ex-Premier week after week in *Hartian* for carrying out the Congress policy in letter and spirit and at the same time trying to bring about his ruin perhaps justifies the remark on Macaulay about Oriental despots. Or is one to take Gandhi's intense dislike for Prakasam as similar to the example of Sri Krishna testing his Bhaktas?

NEW INCENTIVES NEEDED FOR INCREASED PRODUCTION

by S. VISWANATHAN

THE greatest problem facing our country today is how to increase production of commodities in all industries to their maximum output. This anxiety is shared alike by the consumer and the Government. But production cannot be maintained at the optimum level unless there is willing co-operation between the management and labour in every industry. Co-operation on the part of labour will be forthcoming only if its present fears are removed and a proper incentive is held out.

It is both the belief and fear of the worker that unless he restricts the output his tenure of service as well as that of his fellow workers will not hold out for long. He believes from bitter experience that extra efficiency shown in production will eliminate the number of existing jobs in a given department thereby directly leading to the dismissal of superfluous workers in the department. He further knows that when business is slack or when the management has carried out all their existing orders and do not expect large orders any more, he is tossed into the street. Hence he feels as a measure of security for himself and as a service to his comrades that it is a part of his duty to go slow in production.

Who can blame the worker for this persecution complex? Who can deny that there is no guarantee of service for any worker in any industry? The courts of law and the Government are always confronted with the seemingly irresistible argument that a master has the right to dismiss his servant whenever he pleases. The master's argument seems to be unanswerable when he says he has no need for more employees than will suffice for executing his orders or when he proves that by increased efficiency less number of men can do a given job during the same time. His only legal obligation is to give a month's notice at best to monthly paid workers.

In this atmosphere, unless the persecution complex and the insecurity of service of the worker is removed, willing co-operation from labour cannot be expected.

The Government can now legitimately step in and assure the workers that by their social policy they will provide for insurance against temporary phases of

unemployment in industry. They can correspondingly call upon the management to increase their target of production to the capacity of the plant so as to prevent retrenchment. If the production level has reached the plant capacity, the Government should come out with an assurance that either they will call upon the industries concerned to instal bigger plants or they will themselves start a like industry to absorb all the workers thrown out. For indeed our country can put up with any amount of production. This policy alone will remove the fear in the mind of labour regarding unemployment.

Controls Must Remain

The Government may assume that labour today realises that by putting forth their maximum efficiency and thus increasing the production to an optimum level, they can considerably reduce the cost of production. After all they must realise that the labour class forms the larger part of the consumer class. It is to the worker's own advantage to reduce the cost of production so as thereby increase correspondingly his own purchasing power. But he also knows that efficiency in a single concern will not reduce the selling price in the market. The Government must be aware of the spirit of camaraderie and concern shown by one capitalist to another in the matter of fixation of the selling price. The capitalist who gets the maximum efficiency in his concern will not reduce the selling price of his commodity so as to underbid his fellow-capitalist who has unfortunately not been able to introduce the same amount of efficiency in his industry. This restraint is a matter of business etiquette for them. Of course this etiquette might enable the former capitalist to swell his profits and bank balance; he will tell us that the increased fortune is a by-product of etiquette, a reward for his virtue in not underbidding his capitalist comrade!

Now this sort of conspiracy tends to keep the price level at the same rate until all the owners producing similar commodities agree to a decrease in the price level. Until then the poor worker who expects a reward for his efficiency in reducing the sale price is just taught a lesson in economics.

The Government, if aware of this as they ought to be, should come out with

a policy for controlling prices and discountenance the agitation for removing controls by the various chambers of commerce. "Control has come to stay" must be the policy of the Government. They must insist on the same ratio between the sale price and the cost of production, and if the cost of production is reduced in a single concern the price level in that industry must be reduced, throwing the etiquette of the capitalists to the winds. Allowing for a reasonable time-lag for other industries to fall in line with the same degree of efficiency, the Government must fix the lower price level reached as the ceiling price. Nothing will make labour willing to put forward its best, unless it is insured against unemployment, unless it is enabled to reap the advantages of a consumer by virtue of increase in its purchasing power.

Unless the Government come out with a dual policy of social insurance and control of prices, the cry for increased production will be destined to be a cry in the wilderness.

Equitable Distribution

The worker knows the plant or machine he is operating. He can restrict the output to any desired point without even the boss being aware of it until he examines the statistics of production; he can tinker with the machinery he is handling. It does not mean that the worker is wicked and will do havoc as aforesaid but the point is he can and will resort to it if he suffers unfair treatment. On the other hand if his attitude changes in favour of increased production, his knowledge of the very machine and tools will be a great asset for production. The worker has limitless latent abilities which under proper conditions can develop enormously. More often the worker knows more about the machine and tools with which he is daily engaged than the engineer who has all the academic qualifications with little experience. Many discoveries during the recent war have come out as suggestions from the labour class. A new approach therefore should be made to the workers so as to create in them a corresponding change of attitude to industry and production. This should be reflected in the attitude of the management and the Government to the representative organisations of the workers, viz., their trade unions.

If the workers should share the benefit of their labour, the incentive is inevitably to be found in the share the workers get in the profit of their operation. **If profit is the result of the labour of those participating in produc-**

tion, it should be shared only by the workers, the salaried employees, the technicians and the management. There is seldom any evidence of the shareholders contributing anything to the success of the daily activity in industry. If, therefore, each party to the industrial activity is to be rewarded in accordance with his contribution to the success of the activity, the shareholder has a place only outside the door. Except for a fixed return on the share capital fixed on the basis of say 5 or 6 per cent, the shareholder deserves no higher share in the profits. If investments in land or in immovable property should yield in our country today not more than 5 or 6 per cent return, there is no reason why a shareholder in an industry should expect an increasing share in the profits to the making of which he contributes precious little. Incidentally it is the fluctuation of this literally unearned income that has given rise to that respectable gambling den, the stock exchange, as a product of capitalist civilization. One can imagine the feeling that will be created at present in a worker when he finds that, as a result of his increased efficiency and loyalty to the industry that employs him, the share value in that industry is quoted at a high premium in the share market!

The Government must therefore come out with a policy of equitable distribution of profit among those who contribute to create it. They should restrict the dividend on share capital. After deducting the payment of dividends from out of the profits, the rest must be distributed by way of bonus to the workers, technicians, clerical employees and the management after, of course, providing for a reserve fund.

The directors of a company assume a very virtuous attitude and an air of self-satisfaction when they declare a bonus consisting of one or two months' basic wage after declaring a fat dividend on share capital. The theory that bonus is an *ex gratia* payment has long since been exploded, thanks to Mr. Justice Chagla's award in Bombay, the Cochin award by Mr. Justice Krishnasami Aiyangar and, nearer home, by Sir N. Gopalaswami Aiyangar's in the case of Mettur Chemicals.

The crux of the whole labour problem really lies in the demonstrably unequal distribution of the profits of industry. Once an equitable proportion is determined and enforced by statute or otherwise as a policy of the Government, the worker will learn to regard the industry as his own. Not until then.

REVISED SCALES OF PAY FOR TEACHERS

by Ch. V. G. KRISHNA RAO

IT is common knowledge that a teacher is put in the grade attached to his cadre and retires drawing increments in the same grade. The assumption that a man in one grade can elevate himself to the grade above by improving his qualifications is erroneous, for it never happens in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. Hence the need for fixing decent grades for the B.Ed., the secondary grade teacher and for the higher grade teacher. The members of the teaching profession cannot but note with feelings of frustration and humiliation the new scales fixed by the Madras Government. The Salaries Commission, while publishing their communique specifying the scales, prefaced it with the canons that were kept in view in evolving them. Two criteria among others that guided them were the typical family budgets, the respectability and status of teachers, and the service rendered by them. If so it passes one's comprehension why a B.Ed. is given a meagre starting salary of Rs. 70 per mensem. The initial pay had previously been Rs. 65. The difference is paltry and negligible. The annual increment for a double graduate (a B.A., B.Ed.) is Rs. 5 and the maximum is Rs. 140.

A B.A., B.Ed., must be granted the scale of Rs. 100—10—250. Commercial Instructors with a B.A. degree must be classified with these. This is just and fair, considered from any point of view. A M.A., B.Ed., must be started at Rs. 120 in the same scale.

The new secondary grade scale of Rs. 40—3—70 is ridiculous in that it is less than that granted to the junior clerks in offices, (Rs. 45 to 90). This anomaly is unaccountable. One fails to understand whether a clerk's services are superior or a teacher's. The more regrettable part of it is that a school final man will suffice for a clerk's place while

an S.S.L.C. candidate is to undergo two years' training to become qualified for the teaching profession. Perhaps he is to be penalised for choosing the calling of a teacher. Justice demands that the secondary grade post must carry with it a scale of Rs. 70—5—120. Drawing and manual instructors must be placed in this category.

The scale fixed for the higher grade elementary teachers is horribly low. If they are to pass for respectable persons doing useful work they should be granted a scale of Rs. 40—5—80.

The headmaster of a high school has onerous and heavy duties to perform and being the head of a school he must be granted the grade of Rs. 250—20—500. The middle school headmasters must be granted at least an allowance of Rs. 35. The pandits must be given due incentive and proper salaries, especially in view of the fact that the regional language is assuming paramount importance. The scale for them must be Rs. 70—5—120 in the middle schools and a salary of Rs. 85—8—150 for vidwans with S.S.L.C. qualification. Nowadays the importance and utility of physical education are being more and more recognised but the Y.M.C.A. candidates who undergo the special training and possess the requisite professional qualification are not given the necessary fillip for work. They must be sanctioned a scale of Rs. 85—8—150. All these scales must be enforced without drawing invidious distinction between Government and non-Government schools. It will be no wonder, if all the teachers of all cadres working under all kinds of managements, Government, district boards, municipalities or private managements, muster strong for a concerted and drastic action from June next as all their efforts to get their grievances redressed have been unavailing. The

teachers are proverbially patient beings but their forbearance has been tried beyond endurance and now they will most reluctantly be obliged to resort to direct action owing to the utter apathy of the Government. It is becoming evident

that in June, when all the schools re-open after the summer recess, there will be a province-wide teachers' strike which might lead to catastrophic consequences. I hope the Government will wake up and avert such a disastrous move.



THE LENIN STATE PUBLIC LIBRARY

by M. I. YAKOVLEV

A book is perhaps the most complex and greatest miracle of all miracles wrought by man on the road to happiness and a mighty future.—MAXIM GORKY.

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The Lenin Library occupies a special place among Soviet libraries. The State Public Library named in honour of Lenin is one of the world's greatest treasure houses of culture. Containing over 10 million books, magazines and files of newspapers, it ranks among the largest libraries of the world.

As far back as 1913 Lenin said that the pride and glory of a public library lie not in the number of rare books it contains, but in how widely its books are circulated among the people, how many new readers it attracts and how promptly it satisfies the demands for books.

At the Lenin Library books and manuscripts are in constant circulation, its halls are always crowded. In number of visitors and books issued to readers, it has exceeded all the libraries in the world.

The library receives about 1,000 books daily from all parts of the U.S.S.R. and the world. By 1950 the library will supersede all libraries in the world for its book collection. It will have by that time from 13.5 to 14 million books, or 3.5 to 4 million more than at present. A system of 370 catalogues and 18

million index cards help readers to find the literature they require.

The Lenin Library has a special inter-library exchange department through which libraries in all cities of the U.S.S.R. may obtain any book their readers may ask for. This service is of particular benefit to research institutes, higher schools and local branch libraries.

Thus persons living in the most remote corners of the Soviet Union are able to get books from Moscow through their regional or district libraries. Among the subscribers to this service are the library at the Lapland State Preserve located at the distant station of Apatity and the libraries of Turkmenia.

There is also a children's department at the Lenin Library. A museum Russian literature which will make rare books accessible to the public is to be opened in the near future.

In preparation for the 800th anniversary of Moscow the personnel of the Lenin Library compiled bibliographical material on "Moscow, the Heart of the U.S.S.R."

In 1950, when the new building now under construction is completed, the seating accommodations of the Lenin Library will be increased to 2,500.

By that year the Lenin Library will be catering to 2.5 million readers and issuing 10,000,000 books annually.

During the War the Library did not interrupt its work for a single day. It was open to the public daily, even when the enemy stood at the gates of the capital.

THE RICKSHAW-PULLER

BY D.P. ROY CHOUDHURY

DINNER was served rather late. We had not the faintest idea that time had rolled on towards midnight. We were in the midst of an unholy discussion. It was about art, and eventually it pitched on to the altitude of high philosophy and landed us in troubles.

We had to tackle such intricate problems as ego, illusion, cosmos, the infinite and ultimately Nirvana. None of us seemed to be knowledgeable enough to deal with the matter scientifically, and come to a decisive conclusion.

It was Ramesh who introduced the subject with the avowed intention of establishing his claim to superiority in the cultural sphere. We were obliged to enter into the conversation for no other reason than to uphold the dignity of our good manners. Indifference would have been taken into account, and the poor host would have been dragged to an embarrassing situation.

Ramesh had an extraordinary gift. He could talk on any subject to any length and press his points home at any impossible cost. It was due to the fact that his conviction often superseded his knowledge which he thought was beyond question.

Ramesh soon got entangled into self-created complication and lost his balance completely. The confusion made him wise enough to come to a quick conclusion. It was to the effect that every one of us were groping in the dark; therefore it would serve no purpose to pursue the talk further.

It was a grand conclusion.

One of us happened to be a daring opportunist. He promptly took up the thread and said, "That was exactly what I was considering; it is time that we had dinner."

The suggestion was most welcome and we resolved at once to accept it without any reservation.

We had a hearty dinner, and a hearty Indian meal meant an extra heavy load. The consequences that followed were not quite pleasant to me. I had to reach home and it was six miles away.

No conveyance was available at this unearthly hour. Still I hoped against hope and managed to come to the famous crossing where stray taxi cabs waited for notorious night roamers. I had come to a desperate mood which made me shout at the top of my voice—I meant to be heard. The echo of my own voice in the ghostly silence was all the response I got. I did not know what to do next. At this moment I heard the bell of a rickshaw ringing at a distance. I waited impatiently to see what was in my luck. It was good. The rickshaw was empty. Apparently, my loud voice must have caught the ears of the puller. It was a lonely vehicle approaching towards me with an unusual speed, hardly justifiable in the absence of competition.

The faint hope that gave the relief, disappeared no sooner than it came. The man who was pulling the rik was a tiny little creature, easily half my size. I was reluctant to take the risk of violating the law of gravitation. But he was a shrewd business man, he knew how to persuade. I was overwhelmed by his art. Confidence being restored, I settled down on my perch. I was seated on the soft cushioned seat provided for respectable persons. It afforded all the comforts that could be had of a worn-out rolling parambulator. Everything being properly adjusted, I lighted a new cigar. I needed it very badly after the strain I was subjected to. Strangely enough, the rickshaw-puller did not attempt a bargain for a double fare, which was most moderate at this hour. Probably it was a wrong calculation due to an over-dose of toddy, or might be, his heart melted at seeing my pitiable condition. However, I was rescued from being stranded.

We started on our journey. It was not long after the wheels began to roll that the rickshaw puller began to curse the level of the tarred road at regular intervals. A little attention revealed that the cursing he indulged in was an elementary expression of the source of energy which kept him going. It had little to do with the road.

The pleasant breeze and the sound of the bell in that peculiar environment had a lulling effect on me. I was engulfed in drowsiness, and while I was in this stage, we arrived at the foot of a bridge. We had covered a pretty good distance. I then felt the rickshaw was not moving. I sat up and discovered that I was not dreaming either. The rickshaw-puller was leaning against the parallel rods of his vehicle. Chanting of his favourite hymns has stopped. I was under the impression that he was going to have a good pull on my thrown away cigar. Nothing doing. He was just leaning. An enquiry was found necessary. When questioned, he answered in a feeble voice that we were very near our destination. I looked round and found that was not true. Taking rest

by dodging the truth was most annoying at this late hour. I registered my strong displeasure.

A strong man's displeasure had the desired effect on the weak. He was frightened and was ready to start again. He gave several jerks, the parambulator rolled a little and then stopped again. His movements made me suspicious. I noticed his steps were not steady. It did not indicate that he was tight. On the contrary he was more sober than I was. The condition I had been placed in gave sufficient room to apprehend danger. I expressed my desire to get down. I believed in the theory of safety first. My objective was conveyed with sympathy charged with the dignified air of the pay master. But he would not allow me to get down. I wanted to



"The rickshaw-puller now got his vehicle free of the load he was expected to carry"

know why he begged of me to stay where I was. The reply came, "Once I take rest, I would be done for the day." I had to give in.

He was now ready. He pulled his vehicle with all the strength he had at his disposal. For all his exertion, the parambulator refused to move upward. While the effort went on to drag the vehicle up, I had to keep myself engaged in maintaining my own balance. My heart began to palpitate. There was every possibility of the vehicle turning upside down. I had never practised such a balancing feat in my life. To keep alert for an indefinite period of time became an irritable job. I was compelled to make him understand that I was not used to being disobeyed, and if he did not listen to what I said, he would have no fare whatsoever, and I would walk the distance left.

My will power expressed with emphasis was a vital blow on his senses. The vehicle was lowered, and I got down as quickly as I could.

The rickshaw puller now got his vehicle free of the load he was expected to carry, but the change did not make any appreciable difference. The slope of the bridge was the scene of a regular tug of war between manpower and the law of gravitation. The struggle continued for some time. I looked at my watch. It was 1 o'clock. The time was fleeting fast towards morning.

My patience was taxed, which made me offer my assistance. To my misfortune, the offer was readily accepted and I had to keep up to the word of a gentleman. I harnessed myself to the task I was pledged to. I started pushing from behind. Our joint efforts proved to be successful and we managed to pull the vehicle up to the top of the bridge. Fatigued as I was, I could not follow it down slope, because the wheels began to develop speed. They were left to accumulate automatic power until the motion was exhausted and the vehicle came to a standstill. The rickshaw-puller waited for me where the vehicle stopped.

On my approach, I found he was trying to play another game. He started coughing incessantly and occasionally dragging long breath from the bottom of his heart, as if he had exhausted all his wind. I knew it was a plan to enhance the fare.

One can never tell how these professional cheats induce their innocent victims to pay extra by extracting pity, if coercion failed.

I had not the shadow of a doubt that the present case was designed for a mischievous end. I went near him quite prepared to teach a lesson, but closer scrutiny revealed a different thing altogether. I noticed he was wiping his mouth by the towel he carried on his shoulder. Good Heavens! He was actually removing clots of blood. I felt sorry for the poor man and asked why he had not told me that he was ill. The rickshaw-puller made an effort to smile. A stream of tears seemed to flow. He paused for a while and said with great exertion, "If I told you, Sir, you would not have engaged me. My hungry children are waiting for me and I have to give them food. They need it very badly." I could well imagine he had a long tale to tell, but he could not continue further. His voice was getting choked. I could see his agony. His legs were trembling, his hold on the rickshaw was getting slackened, and he was on the point of swooning. He would have dropped unconscious on the road had not my ready support been available. I allowed him to sit down on the road slowly while I held the rickshaw by my hand. I was lost in bewilderment and sought help but none was to be had in the lonely path, whereas the man was in immediate need of medical attendance.

I knew one doctor who lived in the locality. His residence was quite near. I could not recollect on what occasion we met. I hesitated to call on him at midnight. But a sense of duty taught me that this was not the time for hesitation when a question of life and death of a human being was involved, and gave me the strength to proceed.

I made up my mind to take the rickshaw-puller in his own vehicle to the doctor. The resolution was strong, but to put it into action was not very easy. More than quarter of an hour passed before I could finally decide to take the place of the rickshaw-puller and drag his vehicle through the public road. I never knew that vanity had such a tremendous hold on my personal movements. For the first time I realised that I was nothing better than a slave manufactured by my society. I had no freedom to do what pleased me, and false ideas of respectability crippled my emotions. I lived to submit. Deeper insight into the illusion of vanity made me eventually bold enough to act as I had resolved.

The rickshaw-puller was placed in his own vehicle and I yoked myself to my responsible duty. I did not, I have to confess, fare well. Exhaustion began to creep over my nerves within the space of a few yards. I stuck on, only to realise

that I had plunged into an impossible feat. I was on the point of giving up my solemn resolution, but an unaccountable force pulled me up and helped me to draw the vehicle until I reached the doctor's house.

Heavy knocks at the door produced no better result than crying in the wilderness. The gentleman in me had already shoved off his vanity; so there was no hesitation now to violate the laws of good manners. I called the doctor almost in a commanding tone. The voice had the sharpness which could disturb even a doctor's sleep.

My determination worked well. The doctor was really disturbed. Enquiry came as to who the caller was. Presence of mind made me cautious not to tell what the case was like. I was quite certain that a rickshaw-puller would not make an attractive patient. The only course left to get the doctor downstairs was to subdue the tone of my voice to beseech mercy. I appealed again and again that the doctor should come down immediately to see a patient who was hanging in the balance of life and death.

My repeated appeal after all was heard. The doctor came down and presented himself with a bored face. It was expected. There was not a second to waste. I told him the condition of the patient and how he had to be brought in his own rik pulled by me.

I had half finished the narration, when to my astonishment I noticed the rick-

shaw puller was struggling to sit up, all the time trying to attract my attention by signs.

I came near the rik. The puller seemed to be talking to himself, but his voice was too feeble, I could not hear him from where I was standing. I had to come closer still. I was very near his mouth. I got to a foul smell, could it be of blood? An uncanny feeling passed over me. I could not tell why. The rickshaw-puller looked vacantly at me for some time. I could see he had something very important to tell, he was gasping for breath. With great difficulty he could utter a few words—master, pay my fare to my children, they must be very hungry. The lips moved for some time but there was no speech. Suddenly the hoarse voice also failed and he collapsed.

I turned back to the doctor for help. The doctor apparently took us to be jolly revellers who were out for fun. Our movements and the midnight call obviously went to substantiate his conclusion.

His suppressed annoyance was in urgent need of a release to confirm what he thought of us. He regretted his inability to attend to the case, because his considered opinion was that public nuisance was better treated by the police than by doctors. This message delivered, he banged the door on my face. The rickshaw-puller was now a corpse.

I stood there wondering whom to pay the fare to.



All things have been grist that came to the mill of George Bernard Shaw. Consider how knowledge acquired by this remarkable man during his early years as a music critic helped him to effect a delightful escape from a trying dilemma.

Once G. B. S. was in Milan with a party of English friends, dining at a railway restaurant. Their waiter spoke no language other than his own. When the moment came to pay and rush for their train the Englishmen were unable to make him understand that they wanted not one bill, but twenty-four separate ones.

Shaw's friends insisted that he must know Italian. Vainly he searched his memory for a suitable phrase. Suddenly, when all seemed lost, a line from the opera, "The Huguenots," flashed to him.

"Ognuno per se: per tutti il ciel (every man for himself and heaven for all)" he declaimed.

"The army of waiters roared with laughter," Shaw related later, "and my fame as an Italian scholar has been on the increase ever since."



Spotlight On The World

by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

HUNGER is at the bottom of much of the unrest that prevails in the world to-day. It is the case in Asiatic countries like India and China and also in almost all the European countries. It is acute in Germany, France and Italy. In the British and American zones of Germany which have a population of nearly forty millions there is acute food shortage. Local production is not adequate. Food imports from America have not been arriving regularly owing, to some extent, to transport difficulties. As the burden of supplying food to these zones has at present to be borne by the British and American taxpayers and as there is a limit to their willingness and capacity to bear this burden food shortage has become inevitable. In two respects the German situation to-day is different from what it was before the war. Many Germans who were previously living in other countries had to be repatriated and this has appreciably added to the number of persons to be fed in Germany. In the second place a large area of Eastern Germany which is agricultural has now been incorporated in Poland. Both these factors have added to the acuteness of the food situation. Labourers are refusing to work. The 800 to 1000 calories of food that is supplied to them is no inducement for them to work. It is however the children and the growing youth that are suffering most. Everything is ripe for bread riots on a large scale. The situation in Australia is equally desperate. There will be no more U.N.R.R.A. supplies after June. There are hunger demonstrations and strikes everywhere. Starving labourers cannot be expected to work hard and produce increased output. Conditions in Italy are worse, it is said. There is bread available only for a fortnight even at the present low weekly ration of 3½ lbs. per head. Much of it is maize and not wheat. The harvest is due only at the end of five weeks more. There is therefore a drastic cut in the rations. There are four meatless days in a week. The coming harvest is considered to be below normal. The long-term outlook is not bright. Imports have to come from abroad and Government has no funds to get them. The failure of Nitti and Orlando to form a ministry is due to these difficulties. For nearly two weeks Italy has been without a Government. Everyone is afraid of facing the food situation. The events in France also tell the same tale. The winter frost of last year damaged the crops. There is a breakdown of price control machinery. Farmers have been refusing to part with their stocks of grain and their cattle. Everywhere the 'black-market' is thriving. As a matter of fact the whole of Europe is now one 'blackmarket.' The United States Department of Agriculture has recently reported that food conditions were unlikely to improve much for another year and that transport difficulties might even be worse in future. The Rice Study Group which met last week in Travancore is investigating one important aspect of the food problem. It is because of the seriousness of this problem as it is affecting the whole world that Sir John Boyd Orr, Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation, predicts a third world war unless a world food plan is immediately established. There is much force in his observation: "Food means peace. It is the only formula for peace—not politics or boundaries." He was perfectly justified in criticising the "Big Three" for spending a third of their national income preparing for the "next war," while they should be realising that that money should be

spent to produce food and satisfy the people. In his opinion the food crisis can be ended next year if the Governments were willing to exert some "intensity" as they did in fighting the war.

POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

It is in the light of this that the significance of a new move in the policy of the United States towards other countries to which reference was made this week by some of her prominent spokesmen has to be estimated. The bill for giving aid to Greece and Turkey was signed by President Truman but from the voting in Congress it was clear that there were many who were against the granting of any such aid. It was their contention that granting aid for military purposes is sure to endanger peace and if American aid is to be granted at all it must be for economic purposes, for the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation and for raising the standard of living of the masses. Politicians have now recognised the force of this contention. In his last week's press conference Secretary of State George Marshall stated that he did not anticipate in the immediate future any further proposals for U. S. aid appropriations similar to the 400 million dollar aid to Greece and Turkey and that the whole matter of future aid was under study by the State Department's newly organised policy planning committee which is making an exhaustive survey of the whole economic and political situation in Europe, the Far East, the Middle East and Latin America. The shift of emphasis to economic instead of military aid is found in the speech of the Under-Secretary of State Dean Acheson, in which he pressed for the continuance of U. S. help through loans and grants to all countries of Europe and Asia if economic collapse is to be prevented in the near future. This is also the keynote to the ten-year aid plan proposed by Mr. Harold Stassen, the Republican candidate for the U. S. Presidency. Similar is the view of Mr. Clayton the Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs who

represented U. S. at the Geneva International Trade Conference and who recently made it clear to the U. S. Government that financial loans, credits and grants should be forthcoming if many areas of the world are not to suffer a severe shortage of dollars and of those supplies and materials that only the United States can at present provide. The upshot of all this is that the economic influence of the United States will within the next few years be extended over all the globe outside the Soviet area. It will become the dominant feature of the new age in the history of the world. Economics and politics are intimately interconnected and the spread of economic influence will result in the spread of political influence also. The epoch of the anglicisation of the world has come to an end and that of Americanisation has commenced. Its only rival is Sovietisation.

BRITISH POLICY

That the British are reconciling themselves to this new set-up of the world and to the impossibility of their occupying any longer a dominant position in world politics has been made clear by the pamphlet which was issued last week from the Labour Party's headquarters on the subject of foreign policy. It accuses Soviet Russia of opening since 1945 a sustained and violent offensive against Britain in spite of every desire on the part of the British Socialist Government to come to a closer understanding with that country. The pamphlet defends Anglo-American co-operation not merely because it serves to prevent an American-Soviet war by deterring Russia from aggressive action she might otherwise undertake, but also because it has given great relief to the British as the Americans have at last been persuaded to take full responsibility for opposing Russian expansionism, a responsibility which has all along been borne by the British. The pamphlet is thus a defence of the pro-American and anti-Soviet foreign policy pursued by Mr. Bevin. The outcome of this policy is the reported handing over by Britain to the United States of all her military responsibilities in

the Mediterranean and the Middle East and the withdrawal of the Empire defences to East Africa. The defence of the Suez Canal will naturally become the responsibility of the United States. This is why in the opinion of the noted Russian historian Dr. Lenin the "furore" raised in the American press over the Soviet threat to the British Empire is only a smoke screen to cover the general economic offensive by America's expansionist forces.

JAPAN

From General Mac Arthur's headquarters comes the news that conditions in Japan are not as rosy as they were hitherto depicted to be. They are steadily and gradually deteriorating. There is a talk that the general prefers that the responsibility for the administration of Japan should be transferred to all the great powers. This may be a mere diplomatic move as it is sure to lead to greater complexities—complexities which are being faced in Germany and Austria. The difficulty seems to be that though the new constitution has provided for a democratic framework it will take a long time before democracy becomes a workable system and the people require a certain amount of guidance meanwhile. The fascist mentality is not yet completely eradicated. The attempt to exercise minute control over economic matters, over prices and wages has not been a success. The use of the Japanese personnel and administrative machinery for carrying out the allied policies has not yielded the expected results. Uncontrolled inflation has added to the complexity. A serious economic collapse is

facing the country. The Japanese are even thinking of passive resistance and non-co-operation. Mac Arthur's reputation is at stake. What shape the events will take remains problematic.

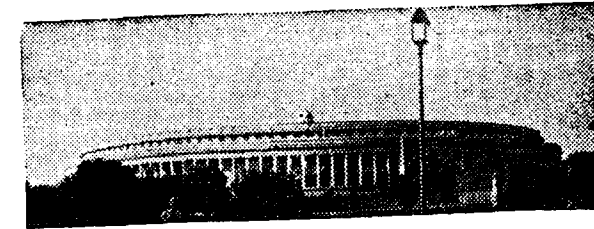
CHINA

The civil war in China is going on with greater momentum. Though the Government has between two and three million forces at its disposal it has not been able to obtain an effective victory against the Communists who have only about eight hundred thousand forces under them. During the last few days the Communists were able to obtain some victories in Manchuria and elsewhere. The majority of people have become tired of the civil war and are anxious to see that it speedily comes to an end. This feeling received its strongest expression this week in the ranks of the students of Universities and colleges in several cities. The student population has generally been in favour of Chiang and his party. But that they should now have risen in revolt against him shows how much his administration is disliked. It is now the cry of the students that the war should be brought to an end. So indignant are they towards the Government that they appealed to the United States Congress to withhold further loans while the civil war is raging. But without American aid Chiang will be compelled to give up his campaign. The reshuffling of the cabinet which he undertook a few weeks back has not yet resulted in more efficient or less corrupt administration.



The consumers' co-operatives in the U.S.S.R. have 35 million members to date, with 28,000 village societies and over 140,000 shops and booths in the villages. The co-operatives have opened 5,830 new shops and booths and 1,524 cafes and other communal feeding centres in towns and workers' settlements since November.—Globe.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

PROFESSOR Harold Laski wrote the other day: "Everywhere the forces of the Right are trying to drive a wedge between the continued collaboration—which does not mean organic unity—of Social Democratic Parties with Communist Parties, in order, by isolating the latter, to split the working class movement and thus render more easy the prospect of a reactionary policy both internally and externally." This analysis of the trends in Europe deserves to be commended to progressive forces in this country—where the situation is not altogether different.

The formation of the National T.U.C. has to be viewed from this point of view. The question that has to be gone into is: Who has inspired the movement? If it is the Rightists then there is little likelihood of the Socialists getting a majority in it. There is more likelihood of their obtaining a majority in the Trade Union Congress itself, where they are not very much less than half in numbers. It is a wise decision of the Socialists not to join the National T.U.C. The temptation to join hands against Communists is, I know, very great indeed: but those who are thinking in terms of "finishing the Communists" are no less active in working for the liquidation of the Socialist elements. This has been the tragedy of Leftist politics both in Europe and elsewhere in this world of ours. The Communist contribution to this state of affairs is no less than that of Socialists. To this is added their allegiance to Moscow, real or imaginary. From the Socialist point of view, this is a very desirable state of affairs, because it is the only thing that is preventing the Communists becoming popular in countries all over the world.

Indian Communists in particular have failed to show to Indian Governments in the Provinces and at the Centre the indulgence they showed to the British foreign power while the war lasted. M. N. Roy told some of us the other day that the Radical Democratic Party is of opinion that they should give a couple of years to the Congress Governments so that they may have a trial. People could not be condemned without being given a chance to prove themselves. Any criticism should be constructive, and not calculated to overthrow them right away. To think in terms of overthrowing these Governments is to betray a lack of appreciation of the real strength of the Congress as compared to that of parties like the Communists or the Radical Democrats. M. N. Roy spoke like a man who had no sense of frustration, although a man of his tremendous energy and sharp intellect must perforce appear to us like a Napoleon who has been biding his time of unforced banishment in Dehra Dun. Roy was frequently stopped in the course of his forensic torrent on account of a speech-defect which he has. A member of the Radical Democratic Party told me that this defect was glaringly noticeable ten years back, but he had by persistence slowly overcome it. There are few things which could not be possible for this man who rose to be the President of one of the Soviet Republics soon after the Russian Revolution. It is a favourite hunch of mine that he should rejoin the Congress which will not be the poorer for his counsel. But one wonders whether this will come about, with prospects of the dissolution of the Congress next year.

The Communists have done well by coming out of the Congress because that was an honest course to follow. This would of course result in a diminution of their influence among the masses because they would no longer be associated with the magic name of the Congress. But Communists should seek to enlist the support of the people by their own services. That is exactly what they are doing now. Whether they succeed or not is a different matter. They cannot now be accused of false pretences. Failure is to be preferred to sailing under false colours. It is to be hoped that this means an end of their infiltration tactics.

There will be some who say that to expect principles from Communists is to live in a fool's paradise. But there is no such thing as a fool's paradise. To expect of others the same honesty which we want others to expect of us is, even from the point of view of pure pragmatism, good policy. It is moreover a truism to say that people are constantly trying to live up to other people's expectations. It is partly due to the low opinion of Communists which is encouraged by propaganda all

over the world that the Communists are forced to resort to methods which are as bad as those of their opponents. Whoever dreamed that the Moslem Leaguers, who always used to scoff at the Congress principle of non-violence, would today officially adopt methods of civil disobedience in the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Province? This shows that there is a partial realisation of the futility of violence. (Even among Congressmen this realisation is only partial). Thou hast partially conquered, O Mahatma! (With partial apologies to Pothan Joseph).

But in the field of Trade Unionism, which is rather non-political, and where co-operation between Communists and Socialists is very much easier, there should be no need for deviations. Experience in Britain and other countries has shown that Communists make very good Secretaries even of non-Communist dominated Unions. Communist baiting and anti-Communism are hardly the antidote to Communism. Henry Wallace knows that, but Louis Fischer does not seem to.



ROME TO MOSCOW AND BACK AGAIN



Louis Budenz

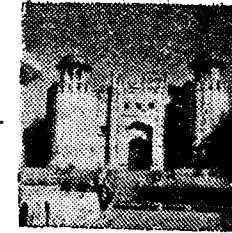
The ideological road from Rome to Moscow is long and hard. Louis Francis Budenz is one of the few to have made the journey on a return ticket. Brought up a Roman Catholic, Budenz joined the Communist Party in 1935 and became managing editor of America's *Daily Worker*. His record as a militant organiser of labour included 21 arrests. His allegiance to Rome ended when he was excommunicated for marrying a divorcee. After ten years as a Communist Budenz took the road back to Rome. Readmitted to the Catholic fold in 1945, he also had his wife and three children baptised and confirmed.—*News Review*.

In Britain there is a town whose main street sinks seven inches every year. The town is Northwich, centre of the salt towns of the county of Cheshire. And it is salt which is the cause of all the trouble.

Nothing remains level in Northwich for long—the salt sees to that, eating away ground beneath roads and buildings until they subside. For this reason houses are built in steel frames to prevent them collapsing and, frequently, whole buildings have to be moved on rollers to safer foundations.—*Globe*.

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



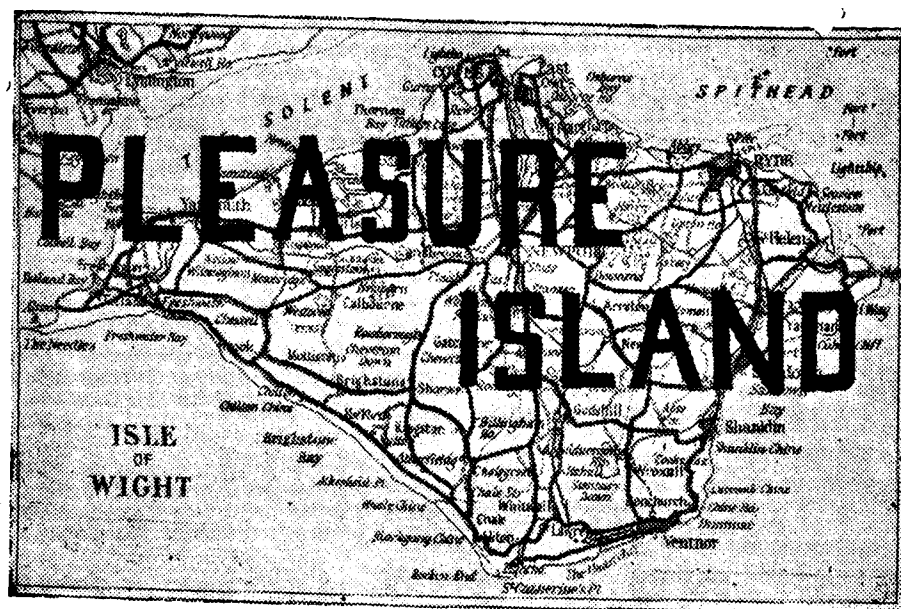
“ANY ordinary city is in fact two cities, one the city of the poor, the other of the rich.” Thus Plato, writing twenty-three hundred years ago. The Master is right; there is a Lahore of the poor, and a Lahore of the rich. There is the Walled City of slums and dung-heaps, and there are the Civil Lines and the suburbs of bungalows and garden-villas. And whenever trouble breaks out, it is always in the City, never in the Civil Lines. All the stabbings, and the shootings, and the throwing of stones and soda-water bottles, take place in the narrow, winding streets and alleys of what is properly Old Lahore. And it is there that life is most seriously disturbed whenever rioting occurs; a twenty-four hour curfew has to be experienced to be appreciated. The suburbs and the less-crowded residential areas, on the other hand,—the Thyagarajanagars and the Adyars of Lahore—escape completely the troubles that are visited on the local Mint Streets.

It is no mere coincidence that the disturbers of the peace should prefer Bhindi Bazar to all other places in Bombay, Hauz Kazi in Old Delhi, Toba Bhao Salo in Amritsar, and Texall Gate in Lahore. Why do American gunmen love Chicago better than Long Island? The fact is, slums and unsocial behaviour go hand in hand—eliminate the one and you get rid of the other. Human beings demand to be treated like men before they will behave like men. Back of a lot of so-called communal trouble lie deep-rooted economic grievances and social injustices, exploited and made capital of by men who have never known them personally. If someone were to make an analysis of all “communal” murderers and victims, it would be found that 99 per cent. of either

category belong to the lowest social classes. You do not expect a Liaquat Ali Khan or a Savarkar to stab each other?

But if it is the lowest classes that have borne the greatest loss of life in these disturbances, it has been the middle classes that have undergone the main financial suffering. That is why the newspapers are so panicky about communal trouble. It hurts. Has it ever occurred to you that the Great Bengal Famine of 1942-43 did not make, in any newspaper, half the news that the death of a couple of men makes these days? That is because the Famine did not interfere with the conduct of business (on the other hand it meant large profits to a lot of people), while the present disturbances do. And therein lies great cause for hope. Already the man in the street has started grumbling about the unsettled conditions of life. Very soon his vague dissatisfaction will turn to conscious criticism of the leaders who have sought to harness (instead of uplift) the dregs of society to political purpose. The same money-minded members of a rising bourgeoisie who had pinned their faith in the false prophets of a State that was to be based on shock tactics and a lightning victory, will now pause and look before and after. It is too early to say, but is the Suhrawardian chimera of a sovereign State meant as a way of possible retreat, as a safety exit, from premises that are fast becoming untenable?

The heat has gone up to 115 degrees in the shade. The wind is like the blast from a furnace, but it is a good thing for the town's health. Hot air is a useful disinfectant, and surely there will be some germs that are not as hardy as the average Punjabi.



by A. ALAGAPPAN

THE Isle of Wight is diamond-shaped and stands sentinel to the great harbours of Southampton and Portsmouth. It is one of the chief holiday haunts of Britain. Twenty-three miles from east to west and thirteen miles from north to south its coastline extends over sixty miles. It is separated from the mainland by an average distance of five miles. Bede the famous historian tells us that in these channels two tides meet, which was then considered one of the wonders of Britain. The island is covered with beautiful woods. Large areas have however been denuded, especially in the last two centuries, to provide timber for the naval shipping yards at Portsmouth. It has a rich soil and enjoys a fine climate. It has many beautiful hills, especially in the south.

If we take the atlas and look at the island we find that it must have once formed part of the mainland. If the whole island can be pushed slightly up it will fit in exactly with the mainland. It is like a loose piece of jig saw puzzle. Our knowledge does not permit us to fix the exact period when the island was separated by nature from the mainland.

A very interesting place to see in the island is the Carisbrook Castle which lies on a wooded eminence. Its walls enclose twenty acres of land. Built in the eleventh century, of bright yellow stone, it is even now very fresh. Due to failure of water supply the garrisoned forces of the castle had to give way to Stephen's army in 1150. Then a very deep well was sunk and water drawn up by three

donkeys walking on a treadmill in turn. It is quite a pleasure to walk on the castle walls on which sentries must have kept vigilant guard centuries ago. Today the castle is a first class business proposition as the visitors to the island are attracted in large numbers to the entrance gate where tickets are sold. The castle cannot stand comparison with our Indian forts in strength or in beauty. But it is so neatly kept by a large staff that take care of it that it is well worth visiting. If the castle were in the neighbourhood of London the squatters might have captured it to heave themselves in. There is a very interesting museum where documents connected with the castle are preserved. A visitor sees the signature of Oliver Cromwell. If the Protector of the Realm were to go to school again his teachers may not be pleased with his not too fine handwriting.

There are a few small towns in the island connected by a toy railway. Very comfortable buses show the visitors round the island. The main occupation of the people is to make the tourists happy. Every other house is a hotel or a commercial boarding house. In winter the resident population do not number more than twenty thousand, whereas in summer nearly half a million people are in the isle.

Newport is the capital of the island and is on the banks of a small river. The chief places in the towns have London names. We have a Regent Street and Piccadilly in this tiny town. It is

so all over the country. Even large cities like Manchester flatter London. Ryde is the chief town of the island. It serves as the entrance to the island. It is full of steep streets and has a pier built over two thousand feet of mud banks. There is a beautiful artificial lake for rowing. Nature has been very partial to the area lying between Shanklin and Ventnor and has endowed the place with entrancing beauty. The Luccombe downs can stand comparison with any beautiful valley. The Black gang chine near Ventnor is a very attractive place. Needles, at one end of the island, was the point where the world's first wireless station was established. Faringford is a small hamlet where the late Lord Tennyson lived. When the island became a very populous centre the Poet Laureate moved over to the mainland. At present his house is converted into a hotel. Crod's hill is a small village between Shanklin and Newport where the world-famous author J. B. Priestley lives and spins his yarns.

When the Easter holidays commenced we were eager to fill ourselves with sunshine so that we may forget the dreadful winter we had experienced. So we desired to go to the south where the sun is at his best in this country. Thanks to the facilities provided to students by the

Y.M.C.A. we were able to get places in the Cliff Hotel in Shanklin. As it was cheaper to live outside London and as the island was very near we decided to go to its quiet hilly surroundings where we were able to combine pleasure with profit. The Cliff Hotel where we lived was at the top of a rocky region very near the beach. It was in the best locality in Shanklin. It was a Y.M.C.A. run institution. Mr. and Mrs. Davidson who were in charge of the place were full of overwhelming friendliness. They took us out in their comfortable car and were eager to help us enjoy our stay. Mr. Davidson is a Scotch gentleman with an excellent sense of humour. He, his wife and other members of the staff were gripped by the Y.M.C.A. spirit of goodness. Two Chinese students who were staying in the neighbourhood were very impressive. Their names cannot be trotted out without deep study. There were many interesting games organised by Mr. Davision to remove the lid of shyness. We had a fine games room which was also used as our cinema hall. The food service in the hotel was very nice and the members of the staff wore a permanent smile. The hospitality of the Isle of Wight is unforgettable. It was indeed a pleasure island.



The Cliff Hotel, Shanklin.



"PRESS NOT MEETING THE NEEDS OF SOCIETY"

AMERICAN COMMISSION'S FINDINGS

"**MONEY WRITES**" was the title given by Upton Sinclair to a book in which he exposed and bitterly condemned the grip of American capitalists on newspaper, publishing houses and other channels of a writer's communication with the public. The charges which Sinclair summed up in those two words many years ago, and which were repeated by conscientious newspaper editors and writers, have now been substantiated by the American Commission on Freedom of the Press which has completed the most important and thorough investigation of the press in the history of the United States. The Commission was headed by Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor, University of Chicago, and among its members were Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor of Ethics, Union Theological Seminary; Beardsley Ruml, Chairman, Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Archibald MacLeish, former Assistant Secretary of State and William E. Hocking, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University—an entirely 'respectable' lot, wedded to the principle of free enterprise and quite free from any Socialistic bias against monopoly capitalism. Here are the main findings of the Commission:

Drift Towards Monopoly

"For a considerable period the number of daily English-language newspapers has fallen at a fairly constant rate. At the same time there has been a growth in literacy, in total population, and in total circulation. The peak of 2,600 dailies reached in 1,909 has been steadily reduced to the present 1,750. The local and regional chains, together with the Hearst, Scripps-Howard, and McCormick-Patterson ownership groups, control more than half of the total newspaper circulation of the nation. Joint newspaper-radio ownership is increasing. About a third of the radio stations in the United States are controlled by newspapers. Big money made in other fields is now going into communications.

"Of the 1,750 remaining general English daily newspapers in the U.S., 95 per cent, serving all but one-fifth of one per cent of the total daily circulation, take the services of one or more of the three major press associations—the Associated Press, United Press, and

International News Service. This standardization is made more uniform still by the fact that International News Service is owned by interests identified with Hearst, United Press by interests identified with Scripps-Howard. The main causes of the trend towards concentration in the communication industries have been the advantages inherent in operating on a large scale using the new technology. The means employed (during competition) have varied all the way from complicated economic pressures down to the simple instruments of physical violence.

Effects On The Quality Of News Service

"The agencies of mass communication are big business, and their owners are big businessmen. The published charges of distortion in the press resulting from the bias of its owners fall into the categories that might be expected. In 1935 the American Newspaper Publishers Association (organisation of the owners) condemned the proposed Child Labor Amendment—a disgrace to the newspaper industry' was the comment of one paper on this action of the A.N.P.A. Bias is claimed against consumer co-operatives, against food and drug regulation, against Federal Trade Commission orders designed to suppress fraudulent advertising. Many people believe that the press is biased in matters of national fiscal policy.

"To attract the maximum audience, the press emphasizes the exceptional rather than the representative, the sensational rather than the significant. Because drama and tension were demanded by the editorial desks back home, drama and tension were manufactured at San Francisco. Hence calm was turned into the calm-before-the-storm. Silence became the silence-of-impending-conflict. The passage of time became a portentous period of delay.

Responsibility Of The Modern Press

"These agencies (of the press) can facilitate thought and discussion. They can stifle it. They can debase and vulgarize mankind. They can endanger the peace of the world . . . The press itself is always one of the chief agents in destroying or in building the bases of its own significance. The aim of those

who sponsored the First Amendment was to prevent the government from interfering with expression. Our ancestors were justified in thinking that if they could prevent the government from interfering with the freedom of the press, that freedom would be effectively exercised. It must be observed that freedom of the press is not a fixed and isolated value, the same in every society and in all times. It is a function within a society and must vary with the social context. Circumstances have changed so radically (since the First Amendment) that the right of free public expression has lost its earlier reality. Protection against government is now not enough to guarantee that a man who has something to say shall have a chance to say it. The owners and managers of the press determine which persons, which facts, which versions of the facts, and which ideas shall reach the public. The freedom of the press can remain a right of those who publish only if it incorporates into itself the right of the citizen and the public interest. The press must be accountable to society for meeting the public need and for maintaining the rights of citizens and the almost forgotten rights of speakers who have no press. It must know that its faults and errors have ceased to be private vagaries and have become public dangers. Freedom of the press for the coming period can only continue as an accountable freedom. Its moral right will be conditioned by its acceptance of this accountability.

"The American press has great technical achievements to its credit. When we look at the press as a whole, however, we must conclude that it is not meeting the needs of our society. The Commission believes that this failure of the press is the greatest danger to its freedom."

Commission's Recommendations

It is interesting to note the steps suggested by the Commission for meeting this danger. "We have repeatedly evidenced our desire that the power of government should not be invoked to punish the aberrations of the press," says the Report, and expresses the pious desire and hope that "the press look upon itself as performing a public service of a professional kind." How profit-making big businessmen will turn themselves into disinterested publicists is not explained by the Commission. The Report goes on to make other naive suggestions in the same strain: "The agencies of mass communication must themselves be hospitable to ideas and

attitudes different from their own, and they must present them to the public as meriting its attention." The only immediate and practical measure suggested by the Commission is that the present remedy for libel through civil action for damages, which is an expensive and difficult remedy, should be displaced by legislation by which the injured party might obtain a retraction or a restatement of the facts by the offender, or an opportunity to reply. Vigorous mutual criticism by members of the press; the setting up of non-profit agencies by educational institutions to conduct model, high-class press service; the establishment of a new and independent agency to appraise and report annually upon the performance of the press—these are among the Commission's other recommendations.

It is clear that the crucial problem—the domination of the press by a few financial groups engaged in competitive profit-making—is left unsolved. The Commission does not make a single suggestion towards the removal of this domination beyond holding out the possibility—dreaded by the Commission itself—of government being eventually compelled "to break up private power." The only course left for the Commission was, therefore, to appeal to the press magnates to give up the methods which they have so far been employing; in other words, to abandon their own selfish financial interests and to become public-spirited. This appeal indicates the infinite faith which the members of the Commission have in the goodness and perfectibility of big businessmen, but it contradicts their own findings as to the inevitable effects of private, monopolistic operation of the press by capitalists. The Report observes at the very outset that the present danger to the freedom of the press "is in part the consequence of the economic structure of the press, in part the consequence of the industrial organization of modern society, and in part the result of the failure of the directors of the press to recognize the press needs of a modern nation and to accept the responsibilities which those needs impose upon them." The diagnosis is admirable. The remedy offered is futile because it seeks to set right only the conditions described in the third part of the statement quoted, and entirely ignores the first two parts. The abuses resulting from private ownership of a vast network of the press by capitalists in a society frankly run on capitalist lines, cannot be removed by such appeals as the Commission has addressed to the press lords.

A NEGLECTED INDUSTRY OF THE EAST COAST

by V. M. SUNDAR RAJ

THE eastern coast of India abounds in coconut plantations. They are found in almost all the coastal districts. But these plantations are not fully exploited by the people of the East Coast. Here we find the coir industry in a very undeveloped state when compared to Kerala. In the southern part of the Coramandal coast coconut plantations are found in Ramnad, Tanjore, South Arcot and Chingleput districts. In Ramnad the coir industry is carried on by Muslims and Chettis consisting of about 300 to 400 families. The fibre produced by them is of very poor quality because retting is not done completely. The pits used for retting are dug on the surface and they do not remove foul water and let in fresh water at frequent intervals as is necessary for the production of higher grade yarns. In the other districts there is no coir industry except in Madurantakam taluk of Chingleput district where the yarn is produced only for local consumption. The husks of coconuts are generally wasted as fuel. The industry is not developed here because the people are ignorant of the method of coir making.

In the northern part of the East Coast the coir industry is found in Chittoor district and Ganjam where it is resorted to only on a minor scale. It is carried on as a subsidiary industry, the women spinning by hand after their domestic duties are done. In Ganjam the industry grew up mainly due to the demand from Bengal for coir. The industry is most developed in Kistna and Godavari districts on the East Coast. About four thousand are engaged in this industry. The work, as in Ganjam, is mostly done by women during their leisure time. The process of beating the husks into fibre is crude and the fibre requires further cleaning. Labour-saving contrivances are not used and the tedious work of extracting the fibre by hand acts as a deterrent on many people who would otherwise have taken up this work.

Thus we see that in many areas facilities for developing this industry exist but still the industry is not developed because the people do not know how to make fibres and yarns. The want of training and skill stands as an obstacle to the development of the industry. Where the industry already exists it is run on primitive lines, without organisation, without labour saving devices

and without proper knowledge as to how best varieties of yarn could be produced. It is therefore necessary to give proper training and instruction to the people. This should be done by the Government.

The Government recognised the need for the development of the coir industry in the east coast as early as 1926. But the activities of the Government in this direction were fitful and inadequate. Their work has been confined to a few demonstrations here and there when adequate finance was available. The demonstrations were usually failures due to unwise selection of sites, etc. But since 1939 good work was done at Topputhurai in Tanjore district by a mistri and his wife conversant with the West Coast processes of coir retting and coir spinning. The Government have also drawn up and distributed detailed instructions about retting the husks and spinning and weaving of coir yarn so as to improve the quality of the fibre.

The main defect with the coir industry in the East Coast is that the methods of retting followed are not good. On good retting depends the quality of the fibre. There was a widespread belief that the backwaters of the West Coast and the clayey soil there, possessed some special characteristics and exercised a peculiar retting action which results in a yarn of a very high quality. But this idea has been disproved by the experiments conducted by the Government. It has been satisfactorily proved that the bacilli which induce fermentation of intercellular matter is contained in the husk itself and not in the water or soil. The real causes for the superiority of the yarn of Kerala are the state of maturity when the husks are cut down from a tree, the intervals allowed between felling and husking and then between husking and soaking the coconuts, the duration of soaking and finally the removal of stagnant water at frequent intervals.

The coir industry may be carried on as a cottage industry in the East Coast. There is no fear that large scale enterprise would ever drive out cottage industry, for the experience of Japan has shown conclusively that the development of large scale factory industries

does not necessarily mean the extinction of small scale industries. In Japan the cottage industries still retain their remarkable strength and vitality. Moreover, in the case of coir, a power driven factory cannot compete with a well-organised cottage industry. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, the productive capacity of a spinning machine depends entirely upon the speed at which the operator is able to feed the machines. In the case of coir fibre the material is such that a machine for automatic feed and regulation of sizes of yarn cannot be provided. Weaving with coir yarn on power loom thus will not be more advantageous than on handloom factory either in the matter of profit or economy. Coir yarn is so bulky that the largest shuttle which can be used is exhausted in no time. This results in frequent stoppages of the powerloom to replace the empty shuttle and so the advantage of power is diminished.

Some people fear that the development of coir industry in the East Coast

may be detrimental to the coir industry of the West Coast. There need be no such apprehensions because the West Coast can absorb a large quantity of weaving yarns. Difficulty is felt there in getting sufficient quantity of weaving yarns. Thus the West Coast can concentrate on higher grade coir yarns. The coarser varieties of coir yarn produced in the East Coast may also be used as inner lining for big ropes made with soaked yarn in the West Coast.

Thus the coir industry can be well developed in the East Coast. There are no natural barriers to the development of the industry. The Government should take active measures such as arranging for a large number of demonstrations to teach the people the correct process of making yarns and for special classes in the coir industry. For this purpose trained instructors who will sit with the workers and train them are needed.

ANDHRAS IN MADRAS CITY

by VEDAM VENKATARAYA SASTRI

THE controversy over the claims of the Andhras and the Tamils on Madras City in the columns of our dailies is attracting the attention of many. A historian sees the facts, as distinct from feelings of provincial patriotism, as follows:

The village of Madras or Chennapattanam gained in importance only after the East India Company purchased it from the Telugu rulers of Chandragiri. The important city near Madras then was Conjeevaram forty miles south of Madras. There is absolutely no evidence to show that the ancient Tamil kingdoms (of Chera, Chola and Pandya) ever extended up to Kanchi, not to speak of Tirupati. On the contrary Kanchi was the Pallava capital from very early times and the Pallavas are nowhere known as of a Tamil extraction. Their language was Prakrit and later Sanskrit. Tondalmandalam, the territory of the Pallavas, from Conjeevaram to Nellore, was distinctly separate from the Tamil land and formed part of the Andhra empire.

The Cholas who rose to power after the fall of the Pallavas conquered Kanchi and it remained only as their secondary city and never their home. Kanchi did not remain in the hands of the imperial Cholas long. It soon passed into the hands of the Nellore Cholas in the thirteenth century and remained in the hands of the Telugu people until the English acquired the territory around Madras.

Throughout South India and the Deccan we had a so-called Dravidian dialect from which rose Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam. The later differences are due to the mixtures of Prakrit, Sanskrit and Arabic. If more of Tamil is spoken to-day in Madras and around, it is due to the expansion of the Tamils.

Let us not forget that this is only for an administrative division and not to erect a Chinese wall. Our culture is one and our race is the same. Language has nothing to do with race. Let us preserve the unity of India.

THE PRIME MINISTER

by V. VENKATARAO, M.A., M.Litt.

(Politics Department, Madras University)

JORD MORLEY described the Prime Minister as the "keystone of the cabinet arch." The British Prime Minister can do anything and everything as long as he commands the confidence of the majority of the House.

The office of Prime Minister is not known to law except for the most casual allusion to it in the Ministers of Crown Act, 1937. It was convention that brought this office into existence. Previous to King George I no minister occupied a position of primacy. The King presided over the Cabinet meetings and took a leading part in the framing of policy. But King George I did not do so because he did not know English. The absence of the King at the Cabinet meetings inevitably led to the development of the office of Prime Minister, "for once the King was removed from the Cabinet, the natural tendency was for some minister to take his place as a unifying influence" and this position was first occupied by Walpole who may be termed as the first British Prime Minister. Walpole however rejected the title of Prime Minister as that would mark him out as a Royal favourite. But the office of Prime Minister became an established one in 1803 when Pitt refused to be one of the Secretaries of State without being Prime Minister.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Sir Robert Peel was the model Prime Minister. It was said that almost every department of State felt the influence of his personality. It was further claimed that he supervised and was conversant with the work of every department of State. He received deputations and attended Parliament while in session for six or seven hours a day for five or six days in a week. As leader of the House he controlled the business of the House. All this might have been possible a hundred years ago but in modern times any Prime Minister who tries to imitate Peel will meet with disaster. Peel's successors, for different reasons, did not occupy the position which Peel did. For instance, Lord Melbourne loved peace. Lord John Russell had to get along with a powerful antagonist, Palmerston. Disraeli followed the policy of appointing proper men as the heads of departments and supported them as long as he had confidence in their abilities. Lord Salisbury

was keenly interested in foreign affairs. Gladstone was no doubt a powerful personality but he did not take pains to supervise the departmental work. Balfour, though far superior to any of his predecessors in intellectual equipment, was a miserable failure as a Prime Minister. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was disabled by his own and his wife's sickness. Further, his Cabinet was composed of men of divergent views. He therefore intervened only when first class issues came up for discussion. Asquith had to manage two powerful ministers, Lloyd George and Churchill. Lloyd George had to devote all his energy and talent for the successful prosecution of the war. Bonar Law suffered from ill-health, and all his successors Baldwin, Macdonald and Chamberlain were men of inferior talents. But Chamberlain's successor Churchill was the greatest of all the Prime Ministers since the days of Peel.

According to convention, the Prime Minister should be a member of the Lower House, especially since 1923. It is true that before that date some of the Prime Ministers were members of the House of Lords, for instance Lord Melbourne (1835-41), Lord Derby (1852, 1858-59), Lord John Russell (1865-66), Lord Beaconsfield (1876-80) and Lord Salisbury (1895-1902). But in 1923 it was decided that the Prime Minister should be a Commoner. Several factors had conspired to bring about this custom. The House of Lords had grown more and more conservative while the House of Commons became more and more radical, especially after the passage of the Parliament Act of 1911. Secondly, the increasing power of the Labour Opposition necessitated the selection of a Commoner as Prime Minister. Above all, the personality of Lord Curzon—who should have become the Prime Minister under normal circumstances—weighed against his being selected as Prime Minister. "Whatever he might be to his intimates, to the outside world he (Lord Curzon) presented an appearance of Olympian aloofness and conveyed the impression of overweening self-confidence which rendered men unwilling to work under him." In this country all the Prime Ministers of the Provincial Governments are members of the Lower House with the notable exception of Madras.

The Prime Minister is selected by the Head of the State. But it is imperative that the person selected should be able to command the confidence of the House. It is true that the King sometimes tried to use his discretion in the selection of the Prime Minister. For instance, Queen Victoria persuaded Hartington and Granville to form the Government after the Liberal victory in 1870 though the architect of that victory was Gladstone. Again in 1880 when the Liberals won the general election the Queen, acting on the unconstitutional advice rendered by Lord Beaconsfield, sent for Hartington and Granville. In 1885 the Conservatives were again beaten and this time the Queen appealed to Goschen to form a coalition government consisting of "all moderate, loyal and really patriotic men who have the safety and well being of the Empire and the Throne at heart" and thus save them "from the reckless hands of Gladstone." In all these instances the Queen miserably failed because the Royal invitees were not able to command the confidence of a majority in the House without Gladstone in the Cabinet and Gladstone would not occupy the position of an ordinary minister. The helplessness of the Queen in this respect is evident from the following incident. In 1892 when the Liberals swept the polls and when it became inevitable for the Queen to send for Gladstone she poured out her feelings to Lord Lansdowne. She wrote, "Apart from the pain of parting from some personal friends and people whom she can trust and rely on, the danger to the country, to Europe and to her vast empire which is involved in having all these great interests entrusted to the shaking hands of an old, wild and incomprehensible man of 82½ is very great."

With the selection of Prime Minister the work of the King is completed and the immediate business of the Prime Minister is the selection of his colleagues. In this respect he has a free hand. But it may not always be the case. Certain persons must be taken if the stability of the Cabinet is to be maintained. For instance, Gladstone had to take Dilke and Chamberlain. Lord John Russell had to take Palmerston. Macdonald had to take Henderson, Snowden and Thomas. In filling vacancies arising out of death, resignation or ill health, the Prime Minister need not consult his colleagues. In practice, however, the Prime Minister does consult them. Palmerston consulted his colleagues for every appointment he made. Baldwin consulted his Cabinet

for the inclusion of Chamberlain and Birkenhead.

After selecting his colleagues the Prime Minister should submit the names for the Royal approval. The Royal assent is a formal affair. There were however occasions when the Prime Minister's selection was questioned. For instance, the Queen was definitely against the appointment of either Holmes, Baxter or Trevelyan as Under Secretaries at the War Office and went to the extent of suggesting the names of Campbell-Bannerman and Sir Henry Havelock for these offices. Similarly she objected to the appointment of Childers as Secretary of State for War and Lord Fife as Lord Chamberlain and such advanced radicals as Dilke and Chamberlain. In the case of Dilke she went to the extent of writing to Gladstone, "I cannot express how painful it is for me to receive him as my minister He cannot expect a cordial reception". She would accept him as minister only on condition that he would satisfactorily explain his past conduct towards the Throne. In all these instances the decision of the Prime Minister prevailed. But in 1886 Gladstone composed his Cabinet more or less according to the wishes of the Queen.

The essential principle of parliamentary government is that the Prime Minister should select ministers from among the members of the Legislature. In exceptional circumstances, outsiders may be selected. For instance, Gladstone was Colonial Secretary without a seat in the Parliament. General Smuts was a member of the War Cabinet without a seat in the Parliament. Macdonald was defeated in 1931 at Seaham but he was a minister without a seat in the Parliament for a while. In this province Dr. Subbarayan is Home Minister without a seat in the Legislature.

As regards the distribution of portfolios, the Prime Minister has complete freedom. But keymen of the party may insist on having particular portfolios. Palmerston, Rosebury and Henderson insisted on having Foreign Affairs; Lord John Russell, the leadership of the House without portfolio; Lloyd George the Exchequer. Here again the King may interfere. For instance, the Queen did not like that Granville should be Foreign Secretary.

In modern times it is not possible for a Prime Minister to be in charge of a department with substantial administrative duties. The British Prime Minister generally holds the portfolio

of the First Lord of the Treasury which office has very little administrative work. But some of the Prime Ministers held important portfolios. Peel, Gladstone, Baldwin and Chamberlain held the portfolio of Chancellor of Exchequer. Salisbury and Macdonald held Foreign Affairs, and Churchill, Defence.

The Prime Minister as First Lord of the Treasury exercises wide patronage. The appointments of the Governors-General of the Dominions and the Viceroyalty of India are in his hands subject to the approval of the King. Here again the King and the Prime Minister may not agree on the choice of persons. For instance, Queen Victoria did not like the appointment of Ripon as the Viceroy of India because she felt that he was not sufficiently strong willed or firm.

The King's speech is drafted by the Prime Minister. The terms of the speech are generally approved by the King. If any part of the speech is not acceptable to him he simply says "Can this be omitted from the speech?"

The Prime Minister should send the King comprehensive reports regarding the happenings in the Cabinet. The Queen once wrote to Gladstone that his letters "did not give as much information" as she wished and called for fuller details. Gladstone complied with her request.

The Prime Minister is thus not merely the "keystone of the Cabinet arch". He is much more. He is, as Laski puts it, "Central to its formation, central to its life and central to its death."



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KATHAKALI: THE CLASSICAL BALLET OF KERALA

by N. K. VENKATESWARAN

To see *Kathakali*, the traditional play of Kerala, is like being in wonderland. It is so original, unique and quaint, so arresting and glamorous that it can never become too old or outlive its appeal.

Kerala, the home of the Malayalam-speaking people on the West Coast, consisting of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, is one of the most fascinating parts of India. While the country woos the eye with its green woodlands and merry streams, its tastes, usages and manners, its arts, letters and entertainments, are such as are found in no other part of the world. In this snug corner the reins of power and influence were held in ancient times by a very distinctive class of Brahmins called Nambudiries famed for their simplicity, wit and candour, their dainty living and classic love of amusement. The *Kathakali* owes its origin to these wonderfully refined people who even many centuries ago left few stones unturned to enhance the quality of their life.

The *Kathakali* was an exceptional flower that grew out of a rather rough time in Kerala. The arts were in their infancy. Order often fought losing battles against confusion. The myths and legends of Hinduism conformed to the contour of the age: the ultimate triumph of the gods, the underground machinations of the demons and their short-lived intervening glories. The *Kathakali* reflected the insecurities and hopes of the time. It gave artistic and awe-inspiring portrayal to the myths and legends which echoed the prevailing hooliganism, and as in the myths and legends though evil often held the ring too long, the wrath of the gods, slow to stir, yet always got itself going sooner or later and redressed the balance, so the *Kathakali* provided the most potent educational arm of the age.

As in the mystery and miracle plays of medieval England, in the dramatic phantasies of *Kathakali*, good and evil wrangled in the tide of war, and it may at once be added there were also pretty little interludes of romantic love and adventurous chivalry.

It need not be supposed that the play-writers merely varnished the myths and legends for aural or visual display.



A Kathakali dancer.

On the other hand, they breathed new life into them and their original touches often excel in artistic insight, in creative imagination, in robust guffawing strokes of inventive fantasy.

Pantomimic in structure, the accoutrements, the vertical and horizontal drums vying with each other in a swinging output of sound imagery, the spiral rhythms issuing from the cymbals, form a most effective foil to the speechlessness of the players. Silence is enjoined partly in behalf of the make-up, which is elaborate and exquisite and in certain of the greater characters so fascinatingly whimsical that their first appearances on the stage by themselves would be enough compensation for tramping a hundred miles to see the play. The fig is all over the characters. The head wears a crown with a broad or narrow difference from personage to personage. The forehead projects the tremor in the brain. The eyebrows leap with action, the eyes themselves carrying the necessary vicissitudes of expression. The

nose has its proclamatory jutting. The cheeks hold the mirror to the emotional mosaic. The chin offers its eloquent design. The neck glistens with emblematic jewellery. The fingers point to the quality of the person. The ankles jingle to the intellectual profit of the audience. The female characters have their own particular gear, each according to rank, worth and conduct, the meek maiden having no need to express her pureness or beauty, or the fiendish woman, unless disguised to deceive or enthrall, to explain herself. Silence is enjoined lest harm befall this great allegorical gallery of human nature in its infinite variety, before which the reflective spectator is transported to regions of light and bliss. The gods and goddesses, the giants and giantesses, the kings and queens, that appear in *Kathakali* each gets his or her appropriate frame and visage. The face is the index of the mind, the person of the personality, and each character throws before him the shadow of his ulterior motives, or the reassuring gleam of his luminous intentions. It may almost be said that in the *Kathakali* dramatic system there is conceived a world in which men and women show themselves in themselves. They may be dumb but by no means uneloquent.

Even apart from this the spoken word is only supplanted by an equally efficient instrument. The gamut of symbols, gestures and looks make a great language inclusive of every little thought and feeling, rich in lyrical expression, deep in tragic content, swift in narrative power. The fingers gracefully etch speaking pictures. The face puts forth dialogue, full of depths and shoals, subtle ripples, sudden ruptures. The eyes echo the march of the story. The lips are silent, but not still and tell no end. The background singers provide musical notation for every step in the play.

The language of gestures common to men and animals is immemorial and universal. The finest culture sometimes shows itself in its prettiest shape in a single flash of eye or finger. The savage mind often expresses itself in stormy symbols. There are sweet notes in looks and smiles. The alphabet of the hands is common to all races. The tongue speaks, but in the etymology of the eyes there is such power as can alter the tenor of oral intercourse. There is perhaps no greater handicap in this matter of life than the illiteracy of crude manners and no greater felicity than the hypnotic status arising from their modulated sweetness.

It is this pristine and crystal source of expression that is found developed in the *Kathakali* dramatic system. It is a direct instrument, unencumbered by grammar or syntactical idiosyncrasies. A story told in pictorial gestures possesses a psychological lure. In a matter of speech the subsidiary organ of the ear often usurps the place of the principal. In *Kathakali* we see the story with the eyes themselves and not hear it, and if you know the story already the gestures lend it an arresting complexion. Gestures in fact need no school, but come as if they were themselves the soul and substance.

This picturesque language speaking in the face in ripples and bubbles, in lights and shadows, in little transient fabrics of fingers and hands, in poses, nods and shakes of the head, in whole tremulous stirrings of the body, in glances, gleams and shades of the eye is peculiar to *Kathakali* and seldom fails to cast a spell on the earnest spectator.

Ravana goes to woo Sita, a picture of bloom and light, a king in whom the muance of majesty and personal loveliness mix and beckon. That stolen emble of purity sits under the fabulous Asoka tree, its crimson clumps of flowers peeping with a thousand eyes. It is one of the most haunting scenes in the gallery of *Kathakali* stories.

Sita doesn't look or see. The Lord of Lanka embellished with all the graces shows himself a born emperor for the earth. He argues and expostulates, using every gentle art of persuasion and reason. She sits helpless, deep in her plight, inwardly trembling, unaware of the fire and sword that stand between her and her wooer. There is no speech; nor any colour-design. The background music plies at a low pitch. The drums roll in muffled sound and wistfully, and the scene slowly comes to resemble a sweet dream that unfolds in the soul in the depth of sleep in the stillness of the night.

The gifted actor is a wizard in *Kathakali*. At a juncture of opposite feelings each eye becomes a miracle mirroring either side. The face is a stage playing many parts, every emotion, however complex, being faithfully rendered. There is nothing in the world to surpass the battle scenes in *Kathakali* in point of realistic dignity and excellence. So it is that in this age when everything has undergone 'sea-change' since the *Kathakali* was first enacted several hundred years ago at the ruling house of a small principality in Travancore, it has lost none of its

old enthralling fascination and now to all appearance is well on the highroad of fame.

There is a story that the image of Ramachandra in a temple on the precincts of which *Kharavadha* (the killing of Khara, Ravana's brother) was enacted broke into life at the precise moment and actually slew the *Rakshasa* in the same manner as he (Ramachandra) had slain him during his exile. The poor *Kathakali* actor who was playing the role was doing it with so challenging a touch as to awake the image and make it arise, and no *Kathakali* troupe would play the story again in the famous place! It is this kind of almost actual 'reliving' that forms the delight and wonder of *Kathakali*.

Perhaps, in nothing else is the splendour of *Kathakali* so beautifully disclosed as in its dance sequences. In fact, first and foremost the *Kathakali* is ballet. There is no stage. The audience squat on the ground. The curtain, and the canopy which hangs over the major characters at their debut, are held up by attendants. A stalwart metal oil-lamp with its broad artistic container at top puts out a conical pillar of flame. The drummers and singers keep to the rear inconspicuously except in their rhythmic function. Behind the curtain is a character coming to life. There is movement on the spot, movement near and aloof, sundered

little symphonies coming together. It imparts the wings of fancy. The drums softly weave little visions. The singers intone their introductory pieces. The steps jingle and rhyme and transform themselves into pictures of joy. You see with your mind's eye. The spire of flame catches up and begins to nod. The curtain quickens to the tune of the character. The scene is set on springs. The fine spirit of the dance touches everything. The lamp merges in the movement. The curtain goes and the glorious figure is in the midst of the audience; no longer himself but art, the music of movement, the steps carolling, the hands spinning melodies, the eyes aglow with hues that nearly sing in the soul of the house. The actor is the play, putting forth every nuance of action and feeling, rendering every little ebb and flow in the story. He is wild; he is mild, and when he is wild there are bodeful thumps and strides in the wide, wide gamut of his dance, and when he is mild he allures with all the charm of his meek maidenly personality. He storms; he soothes, in the stretches of his dance, and as the story advances, oft twinkles like a single star in the sky. Everything dances. The lamp dances. The drums dissolve in the dance and the spectators gathered into one spirit become one with the dance, dancing in their mind. And it is then that one realises that the expanding universe is one that dances and that the immortals seldom speak, nor sing, but dance.



In a certain Chinese district the Chief magistrate had a birthday. His clerks, noting that he had been born under the zodiac sign of the rat, bought him a solid gold rat as a gift.

Delighted by the appropriateness of the present, the astute official expressed his profound appreciation for their thoughtfulness, and let it be known that his wife would also enjoy a birthday in a few weeks.

"Under what sign of the zodiac was she born?" the clerks inquired.

"She was born," replied the magistrate, rubbing his hands. "under the sign of the ox."—Salt and Pepper.



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BOOKS

The Unfinished Revolution In China.
By Israel Epstein. (People's Publishing House, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Price Rs. 5 for Standard Edition. Cloth-bound Library Edition, Rs. 6-8.)

This is the most comprehensive history of the Chinese people's struggle for freedom and democracy that has been made available to Indian readers. Written by an American democrat from the standpoint and in terms of international democracy, the book offers a critical analysis and appraisal of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement in China from the days of the Taiping uprising of 1850 upto the present year. The author spent many years in China and the countries of the Far East both before and during World War II, and he is deeply familiar not only with military strategy as a war correspondent, but with the political and economic problems of the colonial and semi-colonial nations of the East. His approach to these problems is bold and realistic. "We shall not get very far in understanding," he says, "if we listen to the conscience-stricken white sentimentalists who speak of the East's 'superior spirituality' and to Asiatic entertainers like Lin Yu-tang who conjure up the past magnificence of their philosophers and kings for our present admiration. The evidence of our own eyes, ears—and noses—is correct. Asia today is backward On the other hand, it is fatal to assume that we are 'superior' on this account. Europe overtook Asia only yesterday. Afterwards she robbed her, conspired with Asia's feudal overlords to keep her down and finally carved up much of her territory into colonies. If we emerged from feudalism before she did, she emerged from barbarism long before we did." This illustrates the author's sane historical perspective.

Internal conflict between the feudal war-lords and the vast mass of poor peasants; and foreign intervention by imperialist powers in their own interests and in support of the subservient feudal class—these are the two main threads running through the entire course of recent Chinese history. When the anti-feudal Taiping revolt broke out in 1850,

China was already under foreign control; she was not the colony of any single power but was, as Sun Yat-sen later remarked bitterly, "a hypo-colony—a colony for everyone." Shanghai was held for the Emperor against the Taipings by English, French and American soldiers. Japan, Germany and Czarist Russia entered the competition for colonial loot shortly afterwards. Epstein says: "The Taiping uprising closed one chapter in the history of Chinese popular struggles and opened a new one, which we are still witnessing. It was the beginning of China's democratic revolution, the ancestor of both the original, militantly progressive Kuomintang and the Chinese Red Armies of the future." The Manchu dynasty collapsed in 1911, but it was not until the twenties, after the confusion of the first world war, that Dr. Sun Yat-sen's nationalist movement began to gather strength and to adopt well-defined objectives. Finding that both Britain and the United States strove to re-establish their positions in China along pre-war lines, Sun turned to the young U.S.S.R., which was the only country prepared to treat the Chinese as equals in all respects.

In 1924 the First National Convention was held in China and the programme it laid down embodied the Three People's Principles (National Independence, Democracy and Improvement of the People's Livelihood) and the Three Great Policies (effective anti-imperialism; co-operation with Soviet Russia; and encouragement of the workers' and peasants' movement) which were popularized by Dr. Sun. But unfortunately he died in 1925, soon after the reorganization of the Kuomintang (with the Communists as a constituent group) on these new lines. It was in this situation that the foreign interests tried to find agents *inside* the revolutionary ranks from among the many Kuomintang officers who were frightened by the upsurge of the peasants. Chiang Kai-shek, who had been the military lieutenant of Sun, assumed the role which the right-wing of the Kuomintang and the foreign interests were anxious to assign to a dependable 'strong man'.

The seizure of Manchuria by Japan in 1931 was the beginning of China's era of appeasement which was not to end until 1937. Communists and military units of the Kuomintang who resisted the Japanese invaders were punished for the 'crime'. Chiang declared war on Japan only after the Sian Incident, when he was kidnapped by indignant Manchurians and set free only through the intervention of the Communists whom he had been fighting, but who wanted to build national unity against the foreign aggressor. Epstein's account of the Chinese people's resistance which followed has the force and vividness of first-hand observation. He was both at the 'regular front' manned by Kuomintang troops and inside the 'second front' behind the Jap lines which was maintained by China's Red Armies. The contrast between the continuing old order in Kuomintang China and the new spirit created in the Liberated Areas behind enemy lines as a result of land reforms and people's self-government—this has been the theme of many writers. Epstein's special claim on the public's attention lies in his exposure and scathing criticism of U.S. policy in China during and after World War II.

When appeasement failed and America entered the war, "China's strength was divided into two. The decrepit Kuomintang armies controlled the periphery of Japan's fortress. If they were to be the main force storming it from the outside, it was necessary to fit them for the task. The Liberated Areas were inside the fortress, gnawing at its defences. If they were really to damage it, they needed more arms." President Roosevelt appointed General Stilwell to do both the jobs. And Stilwell was the right man, with his knowledge of and sympathy for the Chinese people. When, however, Stilwell wanted Chiang to divert Kuomintang forces from blockading the Communists to the fight against Japan, and when he wanted to distribute Land-Lease arms to the anti-Japanese forces directly instead of handing them over to Chungking, Chiang Kai-shek raised the cry that Stilwell was "undermining Chinese sovereignty" and got him transferred. Ambassador Gauss resigned in protest. Wedemeyer and Hurley—both friends of Chiang—replaced Stilwell and Gauss. Since then, behind the facade of 'impartial mediation', the U.S. has been helping the Kuomintang with arms, money and goods in the civil war against the Communists. The author illustrates this point with numerous concrete instances and quotes Madame Sun Yat-sen (widow of the

founder of the Chinese Republic): "The peasants will support the Communists who give them land and lower taxes . . . Why then do the reactionaries inflame a war which they cannot win? Because they hope that civil conflict in China will incite a war between America and the U.S.S.R., and thus at last crush the Chinese Communists . . . The first flame of a world conflagration is burning in our land."

"For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with one end in view: the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations . . . The Revolution is not yet finished," said Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his will. It is clear that his aim has not been fulfilled yet, and that the Revolution remains unfinished. The book under review explains why. We welcome this Indian edition of Mr. Epstein's work both as throwing light on the struggle of a great neighbouring nation for freedom and democracy, and as a contribution to the understanding of the present role of the United States in world politics.

Flashlight. (Currimjee Building, 111, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.)

We have received the first number of this new 'visual monthly' edited by Santha Rama Rau and Paul Zills. Mrs. C. V. N. Sastri is its associate sports editor. The aim of the journal is "to fill the void in the field of pictorial journalism in India" by presenting what could be done in various fields of national activity through illustrative pictures. The opening issue carries pictures of leading personalities in India, and articles on varied topics including one by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand on the need for documentary films, and another on 'Art treasures in Indian States' by K. M. Panikkar. This new magazine venture is attractively got up, and bids fair to become popular.

Microtecnic. (Available through the Yoron Service Bureau, 535-VIII, Gall Berivall, Delhi.)

This is an English-French review of scientific information concerning measuring and gauging technique, optics and precision mechanics. The Yoron Service Bureau are the agents for the distribution of this illustrated scientific review which will be published six times per year from Switzerland. The annual subscription is 45 Swissfrancs.

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.

Swatantra And Fair Criticism

In the issue of *Swatantra* dated 17th May "Saka" seeks to justify the stand taken by the journal in the recent ministerial crisis in Madras and also tries to answer critics who charge it with being fickle-minded and also in the habit of transferring loyalties. I for one do not see the need at all for the justification. I have been going through *Swatantra* regularly ever since its inception and I do not find anything in the columns of the weekly to warrant such charges. No doubt it must be said that your criticism of the present Ministry was rather overdone, and your personal attacks on the present Prime Minister making much of his ignorance of the English language must have caused annoyance to many. Barring that, I do not think that *Swatantra* has ever swerved from the path of fair criticism. The fact of the matter is we are accustomed to a herd mentality and to a habit of hero-worship. We have not come to the stage of being able to distinguish principles from personalities. Many of your readers who ask "How dare you criticise so and so?" must remember that such an attitude is a sign of a servile mentality. In the realm of thought every mind is a kingdom and every brain is a sovereign.

From the point of view of national welfare we have got to criticise certain of the attitudes of our leaders to the various problems confronting us while supporting them in certain other points. That can never mean 'shifting loyalties'. Mr. Churchill, the Opposition leader in England, fully supports the present Labour Government in its conscription policy. Does it mean that he has become a Labourite overnight? In the same way the Labour back-benchers in Parliament strongly resent the anti-Russian trend in Berlin's policy and by abstaining from voting they create an awkward situation for the Government run by their own party. Does it mean that they have become traitors? We have to criticise

our leaders on certain occasions not for the sake of criticism but for the sake of the good of millions and millions of human beings. Looked at from this standard I honestly feel that *Swatantra* on the whole has followed the path of fair criticism and has done signal service to the people in trying to create an intelligent public opinion towards the many problems that face us. After all let us not forget that our leaders are also human beings and they are liable to err and they have erred. It is due to their blunders that we find ourselves in this tragic political situation today.

A prominent U. P. Muslim Leaguer after going through one of the editorials in a recent issue of *Swatantra* remarked, "It is masterly" even though it contained a strong attack of Mr. Jinnah. *Swatantra* has done well so far and I am sure it will continue to do well and I am only sorry that we are not able to have it as a daily at present.

T. C. SANKARALINGAM.

Ministers With Little Education

Sri Bulusu Sambamurthy is reported to have attacked the Madras Ministry, saying, "Mr. O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar has now become Premier and hereafter no qualification is needed to become Premier. Everybody in the street could aspire to be Premier! If the signatures of the legislators could be got, the Premier's job hereafter would be to secure votes and dance attendance on the legislators for the sake of votes." I would draw the attention of Sri Sambamurthy to *The Mail of April 28* where, in the educational policy of Britain as framed by the Minister for Education in Britain's Labour Government is published. Mr. George Tomlinson, Britain's Minister for Education, went to school only for a little while and left school when he was 12 years of age and now in his 57th year he frames Britain's educational policy!

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This is not the only instance in which men with little or no education have become Ministers and great statesmen. It is really surprising that such a learned gentleman as Sri Sambamurthy should make such irrelevant remarks in attacking the Madras Ministry.

T. K. S. RAGHAVAN.

High Command To Note

Ever since Sri Prakasam was de-throned, there has been deep and widespread unrest. So great is the affection and regard in which he is held by all sections of the people that the Ministers in the new set-up are unable to move about and hold meetings without police help and protection. That Ministers who claim to be popular, should have had to face such bitterly hostile demonstrations and feel insecure about their lives is a matter for shame for themselves and more so to the Congress to which they belong.

The Congress High Command should not continue to be blind to the sad state of things in Madras but should restore Prakasam to the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party in order to resurrect the honour of the Congress and save the Congress from losing its hold on the masses as a consequence of the administration being entrusted to despised public men.

K. SATYANANDA RAO, B.A.
Amalapuram.

Encouragement To Profiteers?

In order to speed up procurement and to save the province from starvation, the Food Minister of Madras handed over the procurement machinery into the hands of millers in the Andhra districts. The Central Government as well as the Government of Madras are against any increase in the paddy prices now. But how do the Government believe that the millers—vested capitalist interests—can buy paddy at controlled prices justly and honestly? It is an open secret that they are now buying paddy at far above the controlled prices. How can the Government imagine that the millers will be so magnanimous as to give away all the stocks thus procured at high rates, to the Government at the controlled prices? Either they would show less amount of stocks than actually procured, or they would sell away some of the stocks in the black market at abnormal prices. Would this not be a direct encouragement to blackmarketing and profiteering?

R. R. RAO.

Dr. Pattabhi's Dangerous Counsel

Every leader (conscientious), every official (thinking) and every newspaper (not inveterately anti-kisan) have been

at one in demanding a substantial enhancement of the prices of paddy and other foodgrains. For failure to comply with this demand the blame is thrown on the Centre by the Provincial Government and on the consumers' capacity by Rajen Babu. It is however heartening that, realising the justice and urgency of this demand, Rajen Babu has decided to give relief to the ryots at least in a roundabout way by subsidising manures.

As if with the set purpose of frustrating the commendable step to enlist the sympathies of the cultivator, Dr. Pattabhi, a seasoned politician who ought to know better, has urged the Government to take to the war path and in dealing with the ryots, to act firmly, the use—or rather, the misuse—of the police baton being urged by implication. It is sad that Dr. Pattabhi should have two voices; that he should have reserved his mild, mellifluous and defensive voice for the cause of big business, banking, insurance, transport, etc., while the harsh, unjust offensive one is used against the ryots.

I warn the Madras Government not to lend a willing ear to the dangerous counsel volunteered by Dr. Pattabhi lest they should precipitate agrarian unrest the magnitude of which would be terrible. The cultivator has already suffered. Can Dr. Pattabhi justify or will the Government make amends for the 'loot of the ryots', that is, for the groundnut control muddle which unduly depressed the prices of groundnuts as long as they remained in the fields but sent them up headlong by injudicious decontrol no sooner than they left the fields and entered the factory. Heaven forbid that more suffering should be heaped upon the peasant.

P. THIMMA REDDI,
Vice-President, Andhra
Provincial Congress Committee.

Gandhiji's Philosophy

Can I dare to criticise Gandhiji through your columns? Anyhow I will risk it.

Many people have been vociferous while dissociating themselves from responsibility for the fall of Prakasam's Ministry, of whom Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is one. According to Dr. Pattabhi, Gandhiji had expressed the opinion on 9th April 1946 that Mr. Prakasam "should not be the Premier of Madras or even a Minister" and that when Prakasam was ready to put up a fight against Gandhiji's final authority, Gandhiji is reported to have said, "If you want a resolution to that effect from the Working Committee, it will be given." After a little while Mr. Prakasam stated

that he would accept Mahatma's philosophy and Mahatma's view of public purses, which he had previously opposed. Mahatma was reported to have replied that he could not accept the position of one who changed his philosophy in a moment (*Hindu* dated May 20, 1947).

Now let me bring to your notice *Harijan* dated July 14, 1946 in which Gandhiji had written a reply to a 'bhangi' correspondent's letter headed 'Left handed compliment.' In the last paragraph he had written "I am not made for these big institutions. I have never interested myself in the periodical Assembly elections. I have not attended Working Committee meetings where they make these selections." Here Gandhiji's philosophy was non-interference in the periodical Assembly elections.

Nearly three and a half months before this Gandhiji was prepared to interfere in the Working Committee's view regarding Prakasam, and according to Dr. Pattabhi he had said to Prakasam, 'If you want a resolution from the Working Committee it will be given.' Then the philosophy of Gandhiji was to interfere in periodical Assembly elections. If Gandhiji could change his attitude from one thing to another thing directly in contrast with it within three months, perhaps for the better, can we not generalise and say that change of philosophy may come to a man within a moment when revelation comes to him?

I have chosen to criticise Gandhiji to show that he is not far from the fault, if it is a fault, of which he accused Prakasam, and for that matter, nobody is.

Madras. M. VENKATAKRISHNAN.

Fee-Profitteering

The application fee charged from students, seat or no seat, varies from Rs. 2 in Loyola College to Rs. 5 in Presidency, and it is not uncommon for a student to spend as much as Rs. 50 in application fees alone. Often he loses not only the seat but also the hard-earned money of his parent for mere nothing. Is it not bare justice that such profiteering in educational institutions should be prevented, nay penalised, like any other kind of profiteering?

G. PARTHASARATHY, B.A.

Kavali.

Desirable Innovation

The Andhra University exempts from the production of attendance certificates in respect of Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A., examinations, persons employed in Government or other service who have put in three years of service

in the university area of affiliation. This opens up a new vista to many a poor but ambitious young man to whom the portals of a college had been barred previously. I trust that the University of Madras will not hesitate to introduce an innovation so as to enable thousands of unfortunate individuals to realise their hopes of a higher education.

Tirupati.

M. RAGHAVIAH.

Super-Annuation Farce

The Central Pay Commission is reported to have raised the age limit for super-annuation to 58 years. It is an irony of fate that this brain-wave should have emanated from the learned commission at this juncture when the Government are scratching their head over the burning problem of retrenchment and unemployment. One shudders to think of the "temporary" employees, the ambitious youths of the country who have put in service ranging upto 3 years, and who have still to occupy that ambiguous position on account of the solemn commitment of the Government to provide employment for demobilised personnel.

R. JAVANTHINATHAN.

Tanjore.

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