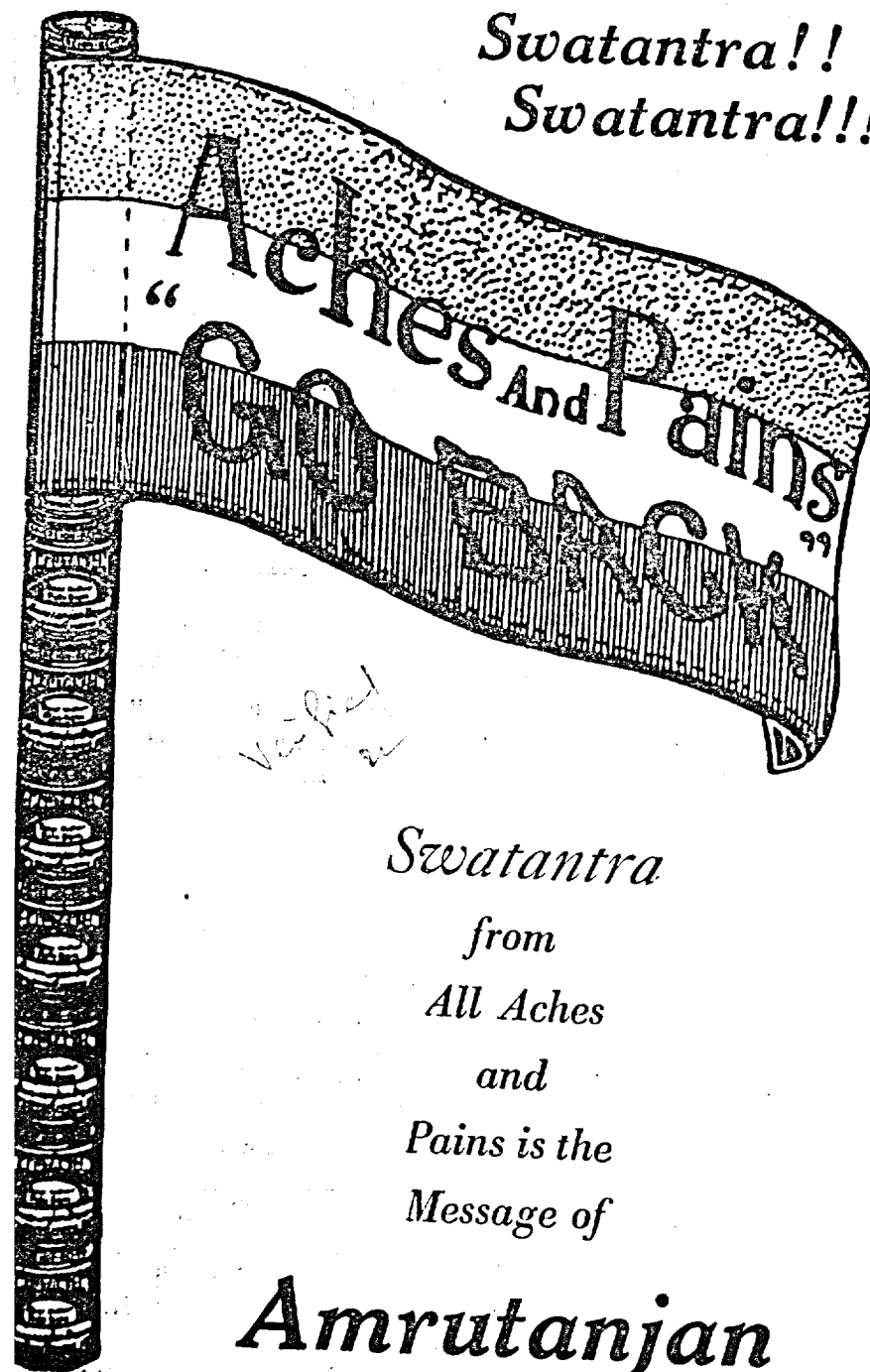


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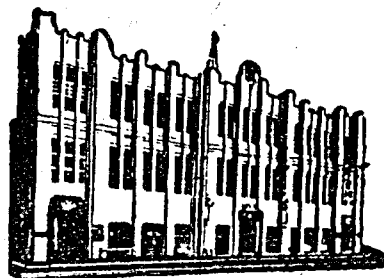
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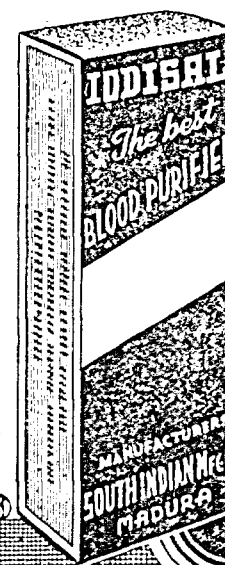


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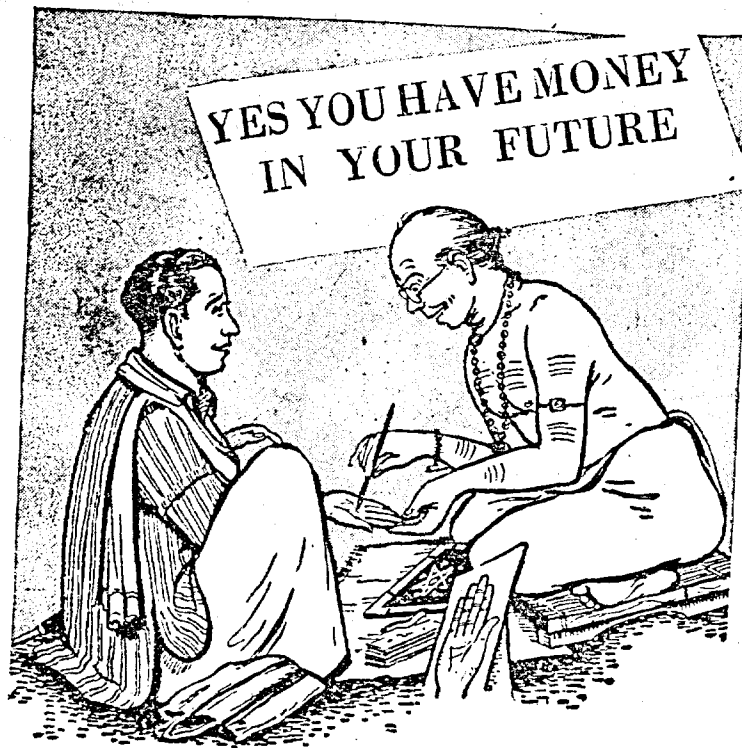
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## SWATANTRA

VOL. II, No. 6.

SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1947.

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Dewan Bahadur C. P. KARUNAKARA MENON, the New Dewan of Cochin.

# SWATANTRA

VOL. II  
No 6

SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1947.

ISSUED  
WEEKLY

## PAKISTAN IN ACTION?

RECENT incidents on the home front, which in most cases seem more like coincidences, are calculated to shake the faith of those who have hoped for a smooth and uneventful transfer of power from British to Indian hands. Bengal was answered by Bihar; and now seemingly after a period of preparation, Bihar has been more than 'avenged' by the crowning horrors of the Punjab. Sardar Baldev Singh has publicly stated that the communal flare-up in the Punjab dwarfs its predecessors in the Eastern provinces of India. The responsibility of the ex-Premier of the Punjab for 'scuttling' at a psychological moment will no doubt be pronounced upon by history in due course. But the ordinary man in the street may be pardoned if he associates this worthy with one of the worst betrayals of political trust that can be brought up against an individual. What the repercussions of the Punjab incidents on other parts of the country will be, no one can pretend to know. But one thing can be asserted without fear of contradiction. Even these ghastly communal riots prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that *India is one and indivisible*; and that they will continue to be incidental to the body politic with increased fury even after the birth of Pakistan as a political reality instead of being as now merely a vague phantom.

There have been ugly rumours which speak of a deep-laid plot in

high places to queer the pitch in the Punjab, and create a situation in which either civil war would be a chronic feature of life in the country or the British power operate from the secret security of a Muslim power in North India functioning like puppets during the last war. It will be remembered that satellite States were sucked into the powerful orbit of bigger rivals, and moved in obedience to their masters' will. Britain's quitting India may have to be understood in a sense analogous to that in which America has quit China! If so, we may have to pay a still more terrible price for a freedom which would become more than ever a will-o'-the-wish.

But the Pakistan which we are seeing in action from Karachi to Bengal is the work of a coward turned bully. The nationalist is immobilised by the fundamentals of his creed, and is tempted to practise more and more of appeasement without however ensuring either his honour or the peace of the country. As for the Pakistani, his ethics are unburdened by any sort of inhibitions; seduced by the thought that nothing succeeds like success, he has adopted for the nonce the philosophy of Rob Roy who held the 'good old rule, the simple plan, that he takes or holds all that he can!' Even this poison of power-politics can be suffered since he who wants to rule is our own brother. A seasonable act of abnegation on our part might ultimately bring him round to our

point of view. But unluckily for us, wherever the Muslim crowds have had a field-day, they have signalled their rule by outraging conscience and the finer instincts of human nature. To sanctify raping by calling it marriage, or to convert one's victims forcibly to a faith they have no fancy for, and then to expect them to serve as pillars of strength for the cause, is to be guilty of medieval barbarity and puerile folly. It is this single portent of Pakistan that must rally all middle opinion to fight it to the bitter end.

With the best will in the world, we find it baffling to understand the psychology of League stalwarts. Do they really and seriously believe that they can rear a State on the quick-sands of hatred and fear? Do they believe that the Hindu majority in spite of its numbers can be cowed into panicky acquiescence and ultimate submission to Pakistan? Up to a point, world opinion was in sympathy with Hitler when he went about posing as the martyr of encirclement and of international Jewry. But the very fate that he wished to avoid for his countrymen has now overtaken them. For the dismemberment of Prussia has been announced in the very week that has witnessed the communal flare-up in the Punjab. Is there no moderate opinion in the Muslim fold which has the clarity of vision and the courage of its conviction to call a halt to the mad career of League megalomaniacs who bid fair to mortgage the future of the Muslims for another fifty years—whether they call themselves a community or a nation?

The Muslim League, both in its leaders and rank and file, is living in a fool's paradise arising from the following considerations. Through a generation of bluff and bluster, they have been enabled through the good offices of a third party to

improve their bargaining position from an utter nothing to a practical 50 : 50 with the majority community. They might be childish enough to hug the notion that what they have so far gained either through force or fraud might become a permanent accession to them. Now they are quite clearly going all out to win the whole, fortified by the thought that, in the event of failure, they can always fall back upon their present gain of 50 : 50. This is the crux of the present situation; and so long as there is mistaken silence in nationalist circles on this question, so long will League truculence keep on mounting to shriller crescendos.

Furthermore, the grant of Pakistan hereafter will only open the flood-gates of regional and local passions until the country is tarred red from one end to the other. But the choice is no more between tame surrender without a blow and a fight to the finish; the fight is being thrust upon us willy-nilly. Therefore it is better that we take the gauntlet without any initial compromise weakening our resolution or corrupting our heart.

These and other related questions will assume concrete shapes with the assumption of office by the new (and let us hope the last) Viceroy of India. From the interpellations in the Lords, we are led to hope that Lord Mountbatten is coming with a clear-cut programme of liquidation which will not capitalise inter-communal disharmonies to perpetuate the British suzerainty. We can only appeal to the forces of Nationalism throughout the country to rally to the support of those who are anxious to effect the change-over with a minimum of damage to our body politic.

But to be candid, we have not the same confidence in the solidarity of the Hindu community as in that of the Muslims throughout the country. Whether imposed artifi-

cially or genuinely felt, the Muslims do strengthen Mr. Jinnah's hands for whatever he cares to do or undo. But all the fissiparous tendencies are actively at work only among the Hindu fold. With shame we have to confess that the South which has unique advantages and opportunities is dissipating them with a lack of forethought and even ordinary good sense that is lamentable in the extreme. There has been no parallel to our ministerial muddle in any other province. There is a shameful because ill-disguised scramble for the flesh-pots of Egypt which makes us hang down our heads in shame. The clever people are corrupt or undependable; the good are ineffective. And so the adventurers are having the time of their lives, like Nero fiddling when not Rome alone, but an entire sub-continent is literally burning with the raging fires of communal frenzy. If Congress leadership fails in this testing time, who can succeed? We devoutly pray that our leaders will lose no time in setting our house in order. We are in danger of letting slip a chance that recurs after a thousand years! The people are ready: let it not be said of our leaders that they alone were found wanting.

### The Congress Socialist Party

IN THE MIDST of prevailing discontents and disharmonies, it is refreshing to record the new orientation of policy adopted by the All India Congress Socialist Party. We welcome this new move not only as an authentic proof of the vitality of Indian politics, but also as pointing to a necessary trend in the politics of the Congress itself in the coming years.

It has long been admitted that the Indian National Congress will have completed its life-mission with the achievement of the country's political independence. But independence by itself is not the last word in political development; it might

even be a curse in certain circumstances, as may now be inferred from the sad fate that has overtaken Italy or Japan or Germany. The problem of a Free India is to make an ordering of its internal economy and external relations with the rest of the world subserve the highest ends of democratic growth and peaceful advancement of individuals and nations. The great problem of our time is how to resolve the conflict between Capitalism and Communism. To allow this conflict to express itself in stereotyped forms requires neither courage nor vision; but to evolve a *via media* between the two, to rear a society based on the best of both through patient adaptation and unwearied experiment would require the highest qualities of statesmanship, humanity and wisdom of which individuals may be capable. The Congress Socialist Party has vision enough to see what is needed to shape the development of a Free India; and because we believe that it has all the virtues of the Communist ideology without its extra-territorial loyalties, we commend the decision of the Socialist Party of India to stand on its own feet, steering clear of the Congress on the one hand, and of the Communist Party on the other. The rank and file of Congress to-day is drawn from the exploited classes; with the achievement of independence, the Capitalist class must necessarily be isolated from the lower middle classes, and assume whether consciously or otherwise the role of exploiters of indigenous labour. The position has already been reached in many industries, and so there is scope for idealism and economic realism joining forces to fight the cause of the under-dog in India. We would very much prefer this task being undertaken by a body which is broad-based in the history, traditions and instincts of the people, which recognises the validity of imponderable forces

such as religion, the ties of the home, the appeal of patriotism, and the pieties of the family, and which finds in them a natural corrective to the inevitable exuberances of a revolutionary platform. We welcome the new party as it provides the only bulwark we can see against the inundations of an unqualified, doctrinaire Communistic theory which has already shown its ineptitudes and callousness in treating the masses as a pawn in the game of power politics. But cutting itself clear of the leading strings of the Congress, the new organisation has given a convincing proof of its ability to win adherents on the merits of its platform. For

let us remember that a good deal of the horrors of the Russian Revolution might have been avoided if the ideology had been home-brewed. In fact, the overthrow of Tsarist Russia by Marxian ideology was the earlier revenge of Teuton against the Slav. It is necessary to show to the world at large that, in the happier conditions of our political freedom, there is ample scope for native ideologies to furnish the momentum necessary for peaceful revolutions in the land having for their objective the age-old but still valid aspiration:

May all the people prosper and  
may all people live without Fear!

## Sotto Voce

### Performing Fleas



AIR TRAVEL, says a high authority, is "simple, easy and logical." My experience of levitation has been confined to the dream-world; there I have performed amazing feats with simplicity and ease, though I could hardly see any logic in them. If the logic is supposed to in here in the means of conveyance and not in the mode of experience the *Gamana Gulika* must be voted the most logical of all conceivable air machines. Icarus who tried to grow a pair of wings is hardly to be envied, much less imitated. The triumphs of science, which sprouted in that first bungling beginning, have all been won at the sacrifice of human dignity.

Let me explain. Could there be an odder sight than a man on a bicycle? That precarious balancing on two wheels is something

unnatural to man's native condition; he was born to plant his feet four square on earth. No wonder that the Victorians favoured the tricycle, that least disreputable of wheeled things. We have all of course heard of the miracles of the monocycle; but the monocyclist, like the artiste of the trapeze, is a freak, or if you like, a professional; gentlemen are amateurs.

The adaptation of man to the machine is much more thoroughgoing when it comes to steam and oil. It amounts in fact to a subjugation of the collective unconscious. Supposing James Watt had insisted on the laying of a permanent track forthwith, instead of parading his absurd contraption in the streets of Newcastle with a man solemnly marching before it with a red flag, he would have been drummed out of that hard-headed

northern city for a crazy loon. But once men saw with their own eyes that steam could not only beat the devil's tattoo on a boiling kettle, but could actually send a big lumbering engine moving in orderly fashion, they abased themselves before it and accorded it privileges which Solomon in all his glory never exacted.

Just imagine what tremendous self-sacrifice it implies for man the born jay-walker to mark out and fence off a whole road for the creature of his hands, docilely submitting to the ignominy of endless waiting at level crossings. The Diesel engine is hardly less impertinent, hurtling through a seething mass of humanity with the care-free abandon of a meteorite moving through space. Talk of the atomic bomb stunting man's stature and forcing him to live like the Adulamite! Do we not walk every day as timorously in our crowded cities, every cell in our bodies shrinking at the imminent prospect of being pulped?

Well-mastered techniques become almost fixed habits. They are our modern substitute for the instincts which we have been shedding one by one in the process of being civilised. I once watched two young men in a big steel forge engaged in the task of hooking the billets as they came hissing and writhing like red snakes out of the molten bath. The aplomb with which they caught them deftly in the long-handled prongs and passed them between their legs, suggested the bravado of an Olympian revel. Had they missed it by a hair's breadth, the iron would

have scorched and seared their flesh. But they remained sure of themselves—and stolid.

I had a vague feeling that they had never experienced a fraction of that exhilaration which flooded me when, after a weary month of trying to float on water and sinking like lead, the miracle happened and I found myself the master of a new faculty. I could beat the fish at their own game (so I imagined in my callow pride!) but—and that thought perhaps accounted for the satisfaction as much as anything else—I would not be any the less a man for that. I could never manage to balance myself on a bicycle even for a giddy moment, having nothing but grazed shins to show for my pains. But I still maintain that swimming and cycling are not in the same class.

The swimmer is not subdued to his skill as is the chronic cyclist, bow-legged and slouch-shouldered. The mole, pushing its ball of dung before it with blind persistence, is a case of perfect adaptation at the biological level. But the unfortunate chauffeur, who has, because his employer has bought a jeep, to become ambidextrous at a moment's notice, must be as amenable to a soul-destroying discipline as a performing flea. It is a good thing that you should be able to do your appointed work with the utmost economy of effort and the ease that comes of perfect integration. But Moses at the fair was not half so foolish as those who would exchange their intelligence for the pseudo-instincts of the machine-age.

VIGNESWARA.

"Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the Jews. Do you know why?"

"Why Sir?" Stephen asked.

"Because she never let them in", Mr. Deasy said solemnly. (James Joyce—*ULYSSES*).

# SIDELIGHTS :

Whoever is out of patience is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees, and kill themselves in stinging others.—BACON.

IN the camp of the no-confidence-wallahs, the stock of Omandur Ramaswami Reddhar is reported to be going down. Omandur is politically a man of no consequence. He has none of the qualifications associated with leadership. Till he was suddenly bolstered up last month as a rival to Prakasam, even his name was unknown to people in the major part of the province. It was his very insignificance that made him attractive to the moving spirits behind the no-confidence move. They seem to have thought that while he filled the role of puppet, they could be the power behind, and rule as the real masters.

There were however too many aspirants for mastery, and that spoiled the whole nicely laid plan. It would appear that it was a joke of C.R. that gave the first filip for the nomination of Omandur. Kamaraj Nadar insists now on the joke being taken seriously. Dr. Subbarayan is disappointed with Nadar, having somehow fancied that in the very ridiculousness of the mention of Omandur as leader, there lay a subtle strategy of C.R. for himself being jockeyed into power as Prakasam's successor. Dr. Rajan on the contrary is very happy. He hopes to be the real boss of the Cabinet, in the event of Omandur being elected leader.

One other suggestion that has come to the fore is that the premiership should be separated from the leadership. There are not wanting precedents for such a separation. Desabandhu Das led the Congress in Bengal but stood aside from office—he preferred to have nominees of his own running the Cabinet. In Madras Pitti Theagaraya Chetti was for many years leader of the Justice Party and could have become Chief Minister if he chose. But he was content with retaining a non-official

status and letting his lieutenants form the Government. Das and Theagaraya Chetti were well known figures in public life. They inspired vast numbers of people with ideas of their own and their leadership sought to promote loyalty for the ideas which they held to be essential. They shied at the shackles of office lest their freedom for the propagation of ideas dear to them be impaired thereby. Their rejection of office was due to their stature having outgrown office. The very reverse of this is the case with Omandur. Those that back him are only too conscious of his limitations. They fear he will collapse and make a miserable spectacle of himself under the burdens of the premiership. As a figurehead he might do; and to reduce him just to a figurehead and no more, they favour the arrangement by which another is to be set up as Premier while Omandur held the title of leader.

Who is to be that other? Kamaraj's choice is reported to be for Bhaktavatsalam. The chances of Bhaktavatsalam are dependent on the extent of support he is able to muster from the no-confidence groups. The Andhra section led by Gopala Reddi and Kala Venkat Rao has no politics except that of hatred for Prakasam, and it has sold itself body and soul to Kamaraj Nadar whose hatred of the Premier is even more fierce than its own and who long ago pledged himself publicly to bring about the Premier's downfall. It is all the same to them whether it is Omandur or Bhaktavatsalam or Rajan or Subbarayan. They have neither personal loyalties nor devotion to any principle or public policy, and they are ready to give their votes to anyone set up in opposition to Prakasam. Bhaktavatsalam can count on their support, but it may not suffice to make him win. Omandur, having tasted the joys of prominence, seems now avid for the thrills of power as well, and report has it that he is rebelling against the role pre-ordinated

for him by Kamaraj Nadar. He has begun to ask why if he is good enough to be leader he should be deemed not good enough for Premier. Omandur's supporters in the Nadarite camp do not like to see Bhaktavatsalam as Premier. Nor does Dr. Rajan or Dr. Subbarayan in the C.R. group.

With a storm raging all around, Premier Prakasam goes about fulfilling his duties with no trace of care or disquiet on his calm brow. His demeanour in the face of all the difficulties that have come upon him has been magnificent. It stamps him as a born leader of men. Confusion has started among those who are supposed to have signed the no-

confidence move. Some repent, others say their signatures were given under a misapprehension, and one avers that he never signed at all. Among the people the impression is growing that Prakasam is the truest Congressman going in the province and his troubles are due to the machinations of unfaithful legislators not sharing his sincerity of purpose in the pursuit of the Congress programme. It is realised by all that none has given more to the Congress than he in all South India. And if it should be given to lesser men who have not a fraction of his service to their credit to unseat him, the impetus for service is not likely to survive in the Congress fold.—SAKA.

## COCHIN: A NEW ANGLE

OF ALL the "freedoms" that the mind of man can conceive—or desire—none will deny that the most elementary and the most essential is freedom from want. All aims, all desires flow from a man's inside, and if this is empty, the contribution that he can make to the well-being of society is reduced to nothing. It is well, therefore, that the new Dewan of Cochin State, Dewan Bahadur C. P. Karunakara Menon, has placed freedom from want in the forefront of his programme. The first task everywhere in India to-day is to lay, once and for all, the ghost of starvation that has been haunting us for the last few years.

But freedom from want cannot be had for nothing. No one realises this more clearly than Mr. Menon, who has had such long and recent experience of food administration in South India. Production of food entails an adequate and steady supply of water, and this points to the need for irrigation works. Cochin cannot afford large and costly works of this kind, so Mr. Menon plans the construction of small tanks in each taluk which will serve the purpose of storing water when nature is kind, for use when nature is angry. In course of

time the entire State will be so covered—without the people feeling the pinch.

Production, however, is only one chapter in the story of food supply. From the fields where it is grown, from the peasants thrashing floor it must be carried to the mouth that it is to feed. Cochin, unfortunately, is not well served with roads. The improvement of communications, therefore, holds high priority in the new Dewan's programme. Here again no ambitious plan is contemplated; the State's finances will not admit of that. But the money must be found—the money will be found—for a network of roads, not grand asphalted roads perhaps, but small, kutchra roads that will nevertheless do the job.

The development of industry, the life-blood of the modern world, is another urgent need. The new Dewan can be trusted to encourage all industrial activity motivated by the good of the State as a whole and not merely by selfish hope of personal gain. Thus employment will be provided, the people enriched, and the scope for material advancement and happiness considerably widened.

# MADRAS MINISTERIAL CRISIS

by T. S. R. NARASIMHAN

THE Madras ministerial crisis is unique of its kind. It is unique among other reasons for its underlying causes, the political jesuitry disclosed, and the new orientation, rather the twist, given to the theory of democracy. Surcharged with the sickening detail of greed, intrigue and treachery and the disregard of even the barest rudiments of political fairplay and parliamentary etiquette, it records the lowest ebb that public life and Congress position ever reached in this province and adduces further evidence in support of Prof. Coupland's thesis that the Congress High Command thwarted the attainment of parliamentary democracy under Provincial Autonomy in the Congress-majority provinces, as contemplated by the framers of the Act of 1935.

Policies and politics in the Congress-majority provinces have all along been the making of the interaction of three distinct forces. It is an uneasy balancing of three jealous powers: the Congress High Command as guided by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, the Premier and the rank and file of the Congress Party itself. Opposition generally does not count except in the very rare circumstance of the Premier being a Prakasam and the good and consent of the electorate is always happily taken for granted. The strength and pull of even these three factors that count varies from time to time and any two of them in alliance could outdo the third. In the first Congress Ministry under C.R., the Premier, in the golden books of the High Command, held the party under leash. The party was so well gagged and muzzled that some aggrieved members recovered their voices and bitterly complained of the Premier's ways only at the time of the recent elections when C.R. was ultimately thrown overboard. For a time the party stood behind the new leader and kept the High Command at bay after openly flouting it. Now the cycle is complete: the High Command and the

party have joined hands to oust the leader. Provincial Autonomy is never real and provincial interests are never safe in the absence of a Premier capable of resisting all outside influences, including that of an intruding body like the High Command, of late more and more authoritarian and becoming synonymous with the Interim Government at the Centre. Such a leader, however, seems to have little chance of surviving under this system of three-cornered contest conducted behind the back of the electorate.

In the Congress-majority provinces, the High Command, standing as it does, as a buffer between the electorate and the elected representatives of the party, is what Prof. Coupland and a host of others have complainingly pointed out, "a super-constitutional" if not "unconstitutional" appendix largely fatal to the achievement of the real objective of Provincial Autonomy which is responsible government. The High Command does not content itself with laying down the broad outlines of policy; it seeks to control the Cabinet as if it were the electorate. If this be necessary in the interests of party and its dignity the High Command must at least take care to settle all issues on merits, impartially, as the electorate itself would have done if an appeal were made to it, for the ultimate sovereignty of the electorate is the major premise of democracy. If dissolution and appeal to the electorate are barred to the Premier, how could it permit the corresponding right given to the party of moving a no-confidence resolution? In failing to resolve the crisis impartially and on merits in consonance with well-expressed public opinion and allowing it to take the course it has taken, the Congress High Command is at once guilty of being a party to the fraud played on the public of this province by the trick of no-confidence and of being false to its professions of maintaining the dignity of the party. By throwing to the winds

the only circumstance that lent, some grace to an otherwise constitutionally untenable stand it had taken, it has proved utterly unworthy of the great moral responsibility by the electorate of the province, it arrogated to itself. By its irresponsible and partisan behaviour it made a mess of the politics of this province. At every stage its intervention was both interested and irresponsible and hence unfortunate. It has neither the knowledge nor the open mind which alone could ensure that the will of the electorate be done when the intimate contact between the electors and the elected is severed by its intervention. An impartial outsider cannot help feeling that the whole affair savours strongly of a joint coup on the part of High Command led by some of its unscrupulous spirits, and the rebel leaders, the one, to get back its lost hold on the province and the other to dish the leader and his supporters completely and distribute the spoils of office exclusively among themselves.

Congress notions and procedure make a mockery of the democratic form of government already much abused. The recent excursions in this domain by the President acting as the interpreter of the High Command, and the resolution of the Working Committee on the Madras ministerial crisis are both pitiful and painful. According to him the test in a democracy is who has the votes, and the legislators have them. This is a truncated version of democracy and democratic process. On the basis of this version it has neither roots nor checks. The electorate and the salutary checks of dissolution do not come into this picture. For him democratic procedure presumably starts with the fact that legislators are elected and have votes in their hands, no matter if it ends in their abusing their rights. This is reducing democracy to a form of government permitting of unlicensed debauchery on the part of legislators in between elections—an exposition not unworthy of a Mussolini! If this be the account of democracy by a Congress President acting as the mouthpiece of the High Command, why should

they resent Congress being termed a totalitarian or Fascist body? For they too start as popular organizations first, woo the electorate, and once installed in power, start flouting public opinion and end in stifling it altogether. "Cliques and intrigues are allowed in politics"—this is again another of his favourite sayings, perhaps a cardinal tenet of his political philosophy. But this evades the real issue which is whether they must characterise even Congress politics, not mere politics. If it does, why talk the bunkeem of Congress being dedicated to truth, character, non-violence and morality in all its aspects of varied activity? Should tomes be wasted on this? Though brief, Machiavelli was more explicit and eloquent when he recommended an amalgam of the virtues of the fox and the lion. To bless intrigues in this strain when the salutary solvents of enlightened public opinion and dissolution of the legislature are not operative, is to render them doubly dangerous and to condemn the country to the anarchy of medieval Italy. These forces are already in full swing and their baneful effects already felt by this unfortunate province, and to deliver the message he had, need the noble President have undertaken the trouble and expense of an arduous air-journey?

The root-cause of all this trouble can be traced to four factors. In the first place the High Command as well as the rank and file of the Congress Party are utterly ignorant or unheeding of the vital distinction between the respective rights and duties of the party in power, the opposition, the Premier and the Cabinet. They seem to regard themselves as a brotherhood at least in so far as working the governmental machinery of the province is concerned and fancy infringement of their rights if the Premier and the Cabinet do not inform them in advance of the pettiest administrative detail. Formulation of policy is the function of the Cabinet but in the Congress brotherhood all are equal; and if all are not in the Cabinet it is not out of lack of either desire or competence but exigencies

of space. They outdo the opposition in denunciation of the incompetency of the Cabinet,—their party leaders! Having no true conception of a Premier as distinct from a puppet they regard the Premiership their absolute gift, tempered by the advice of the High Command. So much so any manikin may be made a Premier and the post itself may be held in rotation amongst themselves—a worthy imitation of Athenian practice! The Premier is their creature and his Cabinet is the making of their nominations. He may be made and unmade overnight with no reasons given but simply moving a vote of no-confidence though the very party rules framed by them do not provide for it. This capricious abuse of power is encouraged by thoughts of immunity from all Nemesis because of the prevalence of three other factors: (a) the absence of an opposition strong enough to take advantage of its antics and dislodge it from power; (b) the impeding of the operation of democratic checks like dissolution of the legislature and (c) the dangerously immense and rather uncritical backing given to the party in the province. But for the conspiracy of all these circumstances the Premier with his immense popularity, great sincerity of purpose and gigantic political stature dwarfing the entire party would not have been put to the predicament being subjected to a no-confidence move organised by deserting colleagues without rational basis. The last minute desertion of the leader by his Cabinet colleagues need surprise nobody, for it is the logical corollary of divided loyalty and third party-nominations into the Cabinet. No wonder that throughout the period of his Premiership, the Damocles sword of desertion and Cabinet break-up hung over the head of Sri Prakasam. He is the only person

who comes well out of this sad affair and he emerges bigger in stature. The moral of this all is that Congress as a body suffers from what Plato would have called 'lie in the soul.' A new spirit pervades the entire organisation. Bosses, cliques, authoritarianism are coming into being. Responsible government will be real only if the connection between the electorate and the elected is close and intimate, whereas it is now hamstrung by an alien body called High Command which is neither responsible nor intelligent nor even honest. We in Madras stand to gain nothing by self-government if the key to Madras were to lie at Bombay or Delhi. That way no true federalism or parliamentary democracy would come into being. If Congress as a political party must survive and serve the people of this province, its allegiance must be provincialised and maintained as such for all provincial purposes. Meanwhile the respect and affection for a noble organisation that valiantly fought for the political emancipation of the country should not blind us to its very great fallibilities. They must be removed lest it degenerate into a family corporation with its grip on a vast engine of political tyranny. Again, if the problem that faced England in the early part of the 19th Century was how to educate "masters," India is faced with the further problem of educating its servants. Service and sacrifice, real or fancied, are always blessed and they had their day. But to select our legislators in future as well merely on that basis would be suicidal to the development of a democratic India. Sri Prakasam is the classic warning. In any democratic country worth the name a leader of his record, eminence and age would have been hailed a Gladstone or a Churchill.

Hearing nothing concerning a story she had sent to a magazine, a woman wrote an indignant letter asking the editor kindly to read and publish the story immediately or return it, as she had other irons in the fire. The script came back at once with a note: "I have read your story and advise you to put it with the other irons."—ENGLISH DIGEST.

## PRODUCERS-CUM-CONSUMERS CO-OP. SOCIETIES

by S. D. SUBRAMANYA SARMA

THE PURPOSE for which the producers'-cum-consumers' co-operative societies are being started is so well known to the public of this province that it will be superfluous to deal with it now. But the criticism levelled against these societies by some interested sections of the public has tended to create an incorrect impression about these societies in the mind of the layman. It is necessary for disinterested people to view the scheme impartially and come to a conclusion, whether, on the whole, from the point of view of the public in general, the scheme is beneficial or not.

The criticism levelled against the scheme can be broadly divided under three heads, viz., that relating to (i) the future 'prospects' of these societies; (ii) the relationship of these societies to the already existing co-operative societies, and (iii) the effect on the "normal trade channels."

Fortunately, the number of critics who maintain that these societies will not be able to pay their way is not large. It is well known that the societies are going to enjoy virtual monopoly in trade, in their respective localities, and therefore it is very difficult to argue that one single society will not be able to function with profit where a dozen or more retailers are thriving now, even granting that the dozen present traders are resorting to malpractices.

An average society may be expected to cover 4 or 5 contiguous villages with a total population of about 15 to 20 thousand; possess a capital of Rs. 1 lakh; maintain 2 or 3 branches and godowns in the different villages. Its total expenses may reasonably be estimated at Rs. 30 to 35 thousand. It will deal not only in paddy but in all the crops raised in the area and sell all the necessaries of life to the local inhabitants. Its profits from the

paddy business and the sale of other commodities to the villagers may be expected to balance its total expenses and its profits depend upon the quantity of the other crops that it handles. In view of the figures given for Malabar, we may reasonably expect the societies to work without a loss.

A capital of Rs. 1 lakh will be sufficient to carry on the day-to-day business. The necessity for quick turnover of stocks so as to enable the same unit of capital to be used in a large number of transactions during the year, must be impressed on the societies. As a rule, loans, if any, should be raised only from co-operative banks. The larger the amount of capital, the stronger will be the position of the society. It is indeed amusing to see two popular critics, at the same meeting, denouncing the scheme, one on the score that the societies are having a large amount of capital and so are themselves capitalistic and the other on the score that the societies are unable to get the necessary capital despite all the assistance of the Revenue Department.

The lessons that these societies teach the rural folk in democratic management will be of great value. The management of these societies may be expected to be efficient. In spite of examples to the contrary, on the whole, capable and qualified people are recruited for responsible posts and the necessary training is being imparted to them. It would have been better had some of the local Congressmen, at some places, not taken an unnecessary hand in the selection of the staff and directors.

The new society is an all-embracing multipurpose society and so the present consumers' stores, weavers' societies, credit societies, marketing societies, etc., may all feel that they are being outwitted by this newcomer. But in view of the

present helplessness in which many of the societies find themselves (with few and honourable exceptions), it is desirable, from the co-operator's point of view, if some new push is given to the movement. The consumers' stores organised during the war are getting disorganised even before their organisation is complete; the credit societies are where they were two decades back; the less said the better about agricultural marketing and it may be unnecessary to mention about the other types—that is, in fact, the position of our present movement. The causes for this may be many, but mainly they are: (1) the extremely small proportion of population covered by the societies; (2) the inadequate capital resources; (3) lack of propaganda; (4) lack of co-ordination of the activities of the various types of societies, etc. Indeed, the present societies do not play any worthy part in the economic, let alone the social, life of the villages. The new societies remedy all these defects most admirably.

It is true that there was indecent haste in introducing the scheme; the co-operators with experience ought to have been consulted; the ground for these societies ought to have been prepared by extensive propaganda. But I don't think any co-operator refuses to welcome the newcomer on these grounds. If these multipurpose societies also fail, most probably, the last hope of the co-operator vanishes.

The opposition of the private traders is natural and understandable. But it will be very good if they realise at least now, that it is not the Government but only their own anti-social, blackmarketing activities that struck a death blow at capitalist trade. Even the Advisers' regime, even during the abnormal days of the war, instructed the collectors to give preference and allot liberal quotas of control-

led goods to the co-operatives however new and inexperienced they be. The claim that a large percentage of the traders are not blackmarketeers cannot be substantiated. It is a pity the business magnates denouncing the scheme, never gave so much as a friendly advice to their brother traders that they have a social service to perform and not simply to exploit the situation. If the few traders claim that their living should not be snatched off, is it not the duty of the State to see that the few do not exploit the many?

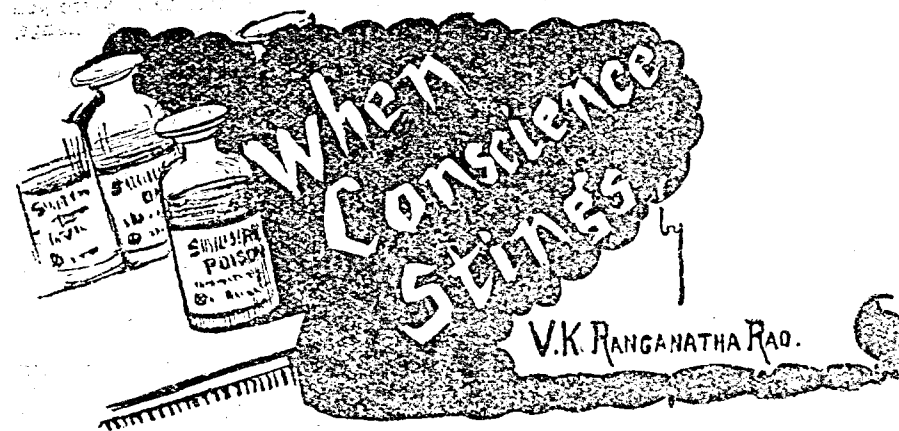
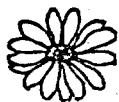
The Government is not going to hand over to itself all the trade. The trade is of the people, the people are going to carry it on for themselves and the Government is bound to help them. Trade is only democratised and not nationalised as some people would like to think.

It may be that some people will be displaced, e.g., a small number of employees, and it is but proper that they be absorbed in the new societies, as far as possible. They can help the people instead of the merchants with the skill that they have acquired.

Some people feel that there is a violation of the sacred principle of freedom of enterprise; will they not also agree that it is necessary to check the freedom of a few, in certain lines, in the interests of the public in general?

It is true that the retailers and the textile traders are the immediate sufferers; but they are the persons selling the public the most essential commodities.

Finally, we may urge the following for the successful working of these societies: (1) least interference, either official or political; (2) Government subsidy for propaganda; (3) free audit and supervision; and (4) a good central society. Given these and proper business methods, the societies are bound to succeed and be of lasting benefit to the public.



ALL day long it had been raining. The roads and lanes alike were filled with an unholy mess of mud and slush. It was late at night when Dr. Jaedish Curewell plodded his weary way home, along the road. The rain beat mercilessly against his face and he was drenched to the skin in spite of his raincoat. By the time he reached home, he felt tired to the point of exhaustion. He flung the raincoat in a heap to a corner of the hall and sank into an old easy chair.

"Dinner is ready, sir," said a voice at the door. The doctor grunted an acquiescent 'yes,' and closed his eyes.

In less than two minutes the summons was repeated.

"Your dinner is getting cold, sir," said the doctor's old house-keeper, coming into the room. "Hadh't you better go upstairs now, sir?"

"Oh! I am too tired to stir, ayah—I feel dead beat. Please see if you can get me a cup of strong and hot coffee, and I'll try to get upstairs."

For three nights in succession Dr. Curewell, in addition to his arduous daily rounds, had to sit up with those who needed his help and the continuous deprivation of rest had tired him out.

After dinner, he sat down in his great chair and fell asleep.

So deep was his slumber that the house-keeper had to take him by the shoulder and shake him before she could get him awake.

"Doctor! Sir!" He heard her voice calling him as in a dream. "Wake up sir! Here is the servant come for the judge's medicine, and I can't find any made up for him."

"The judge's medicine!" echoed Dr. Curewell, looking up as if he hardly understood what was said to him.

Only that morning he had assisted at a consultation held at the bedside of his old friend and patron, Mr. Justin Prakash, the Chief Justice of—, and it had been decided that in twelve hours a certain medicine was to be administered, if the symptoms did not change in the meantime. The judge was seriously ill and the medicine was to be tried as a last resource.

After yawning and rubbing his eyes, the doctor rose and passed out of the dining room into the hall.

"Give the man something hot, ayah; the man is shivering," he called out, as he crossed the hall. And then pushing back a red balze door, he disappeared into the surgery.

The judge's servant, who was accustomed to stronger drinks, did not very greatly relish the cup of hot tea which the ayah kindly gave him. He drank it off and sat with a discontented air, waiting for the medicine.

In a few minutes it was ready and the man set off on his three-mile ride back to his master's.

The doctor went into the hall, called his house-keeper, and telling her that he was half-dead with fatigue, charged her that he was not to be roused except on the gravest necessity. He then went upstairs, and in ten minutes was once more sound asleep.

The next day about eight o'clock, Dr. Curewell opened his eyes, greatly refreshed in mind and body. His first thought was of the judge, was he better? Had the medicine administered the night before served its purpose?

After a hasty breakfast, Dr. Curewell went into his surgery to begin his postponed task of preparing the medicines which he had in his own mind prescribed the preceding day. He had got half way through the list when, having occasion to reach an upper shelf, his eye fell on the bottle from which he had taken the dose for Judge Justin, the previous night. It was a little out of its usual and proper place, and the doctor stretched out his hand to set it right. Before he had time to touch it, a horrible suspicion darted through his mind. It was the wrong bottle!

The bottle he had intended to use stood next to one which contained a virulent poison—the names of the two drugs beginning with the same letters. One of them had been moved—the one that held the poison. Then, had he sent the judge, a deadly potion, a drug, which in his enfeebled state, would kill him in half an hour?

Slowly he turned the bottle a little way round, so that the label fronted him. Yes: it was the poison. But might he not have used the right bottle after all, slightly disturbing the other as he replaced it? As the thought occurred to him, he took the two bottles down from the shelf and examined them, trying to remember which of them he had used the night before. Mechanically he put his hand first on the one glass stopper, and then on the other. The stopper of the bottle containing the poison was loose; the stopper of the one which held the drug he had intended to use was fast jammed in the neck of the bottle. Try as he might, the doctor could not loosen it with his fingers.

After a time, the idea pressed itself upon his mind—"why am I sitting here? It is possible that the medicine may not have been given, and I may arrive in time to prevent its being taken."

He rushed out into the hall and hastily pushing his bicycle out, swung himself on to it.

But before he had gone half a mile, he saw a man coming towards him—a man whom he recognised as the judge's servant, who had come to fetch the medicine the night before; and at the sight of him the doctor's heart sank.

The man saluted. The doctor looked his enquiries—he could not speak them.

"The missus set me on, sir, to meet you and spare you coming out today, as she was sure you must be worn out. It is all over sir; the master died last night."

"Did he get the medicine? Were you in time with it? he asked in a strange, constrained voice.

"Yes, sir."

"You are sure?"

"Yes, sir."

"How long did he live after the time when he took the drug—I mean, after the time you got back?"

"It might be half an hour, sir," answered the man, after a moment's reflection.

"Ah, well," said the doctor turning away, "it can't be helped now—I mean, of course, I can't be of any further use. Tell your mistress that I am much obliged to her for considerably sending you to meet me."

Throughout the morning, and all through that day and the next, and for many days after, the same thoughts held possession of his mind, and were always present with him. During his lonely walks, by his solitary hearth, even in sick rooms, he was thinking: my hand killed Judge Justin.

At first he felt certain there would be an inquest, and he lived in momentary expectation of arrest. Then he saw that there need be no inquest if he chose to sign the usual certificate of death; and after a long debate with himself, he signed it.

(2)

Three years went by and time seemed to do little to lighten the weight on Dr. Curewell's mind. He was apt to be morose, absent-minded and melancholy, a different being from the cheery old man he had been. The only one who could win him from his melancholy humours was his daughter Leila. She had been the living sunshine of his house ever since her return from college.

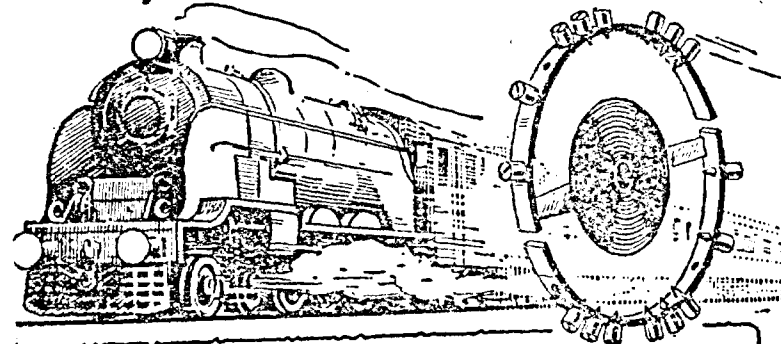
It was a June evening, and the doctor paced impatiently up and down in his dining room, glancing now and then out of the window to see whether Leila was coming. She had been to a tennis party.

At last she appeared walking slowly up the garden path, but she was not alone. A young man—the doctor recognised him as Victor Prakash, the son of the late Judge Justin,—was by her side. They were walking very slowly, the girl's eyes were bent on the ground, as if to avoid the gaze her companion fixed on her.

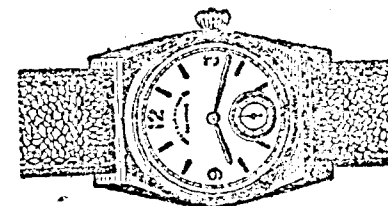
A groan burst from the doctor's lips.

"I might have foreseen this!", he cried aloud as he hurried out to meet the advancing pair.

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"You are very late, Leila," said her father almost sternly. "Good evening," he added, with a nod to her escort.

Leila slipped into the house, leaving her father and her lover—for now she knew that Victor loved her—together.

The young man expected that he would be asked to step into the house, but the doctor made no sign in that direction. He strolled on towards the main entrance, and Victor, with a last look at the door through which Leila had vanished, was fain to follow.

The two walked on in silence for a minute or two.

"Do you ride or walk home?", asked Dr. Curewell.

"I didn't bring my bicycle, I shall walk," answered Victor.

"It is a long way."

"Only three miles."

"Then if you are going to walk, I mustn't detain you," said the doctor coldly.

"I am not in any hurry," said Victor; and then seeing no way of leading up to the subject, he plunged into it at once.

"I wanted to have a little talk with you, Doctor, tonight. The fact is, sir, I am in love with your daughter, Leila, and she is all the world to me. Have you any objection to my asking her to marry me?"

"Yes."

Victor looked up quickly. Did the doctor mean that he had objections to the match? Surely not. Yet his tone was far from conciliatory.

"Do you mean, sir——?" he began.

"I mean that I have objections, very strong objections, to such a marriage. It cannot be. It is impossible."

Young Victor could hardly believe his ears. He was assured of a good position in the government service, besides being the possessor of considerable property, and the doctor was not unaware of it. He could not help thinking that the position he was offering Leila was a far better one than the old man could have expected for his child.

"I hope, sir, that you have nothing against me personally," he said with a touch of pride in his voice.

"I am not obliged to give you my reasons. It is enough that I do object most strongly."

"If you think that my mother might not approve, I beg to assure you. My

mother knows of the fact, and she is very glad of my choice."

"I am sorry to say that this fact does not matter at all," said the doctor not unkindly. "I can't allow my daughter to marry you. Take my advice, sir—leave home for a time. By and by you will meet another girl. After a time you will forget her."

"Never," cried Victor in a voice that started the old man. "Dr. Curewell," he continued in a softer tone, "let us be frank with each other. What is it that has raised up a barrier, as it were, between you and us, ever since my poor father's death? You have been cold and distant. You have not seemed to care for Leila and my sisters being together. Have we slighted or offended you in any way? If so, I am heartily sorry."

"No, Mr. Victor. I have nothing to complain of. The fault has been entirely on my side; but I cannot speak of it further. You must excuse me. I think I will go in now. But put all thoughts of a marriage between you and Leila out of your head. I am sorry for you both, but it can never be. Good night."

Dr. Curewell did not go indoors as he had said he would. For more than an hour he remained pacing up and down the garden path, which Victor and Leila had traversed together.

He might have stayed there half the night, had not Leila come out and entreated him to come in.

"Young Victor has been speaking to me," he began abruptly.

Leila's hand trembled on her father's arm.

"And I have told him, my child, that such a marriage is impossible. It must never be. You understand that, my girl?"

"But we—we love each other," she stammered.

"Child, I tell you it cannot be. Perhaps when I am on my death-bed, I will tell you my reason. You may please yourself then—when I am dead."

He left her suddenly and going up to his room locked himself in.

(3)

Victor Prakash followed Dr. Curewell's advice—he went abroad. A long letter, full of passionate words of love, came from him to Leila just before he left home. She said nothing of it to her father. It was the one treasure she possessed, and she read it till she stood on the page.

It was some three or four months after Victor's departure. Dr. Curewell was one day suddenly called upon to attend a case. He followed the poor but cleanly dressed old woman who had come to take him, to a house in the poor quarters of the town. The patient seemed to be suffering from some wasting disease, but was fully conscious. He stared at the doctor for a full minute and then said in a feeble voice.

"Aren't you Dr. Curewell, sir?"

"Yes," said the doctor with some surprise. Though the face seemed familiar, he could not place when and where he had seen it.

"I asked my mother to bring a doctor, and it is a curious coincidence that she should bring you."

"Why curious?", said the puzzled doctor.

"Do you remember that night when Judge Justin died, sir? I was sent to fetch a certain medicine for him."

"Oh! yes. Now I see, you were the man that took the medicine."

"Yes, sir, he was a very kind master and I committed a sin of gross neglect, which is haunting me ever since."

"What is it! speak out man," cried the doctor eager with impatience.

"Do you remember, sir, that it was a very bad night? On my way back, I stayed at a friend's house for some time. What with the rain and the time spent at my friend's house, I arrived back at the house rather late and everything was over by that time."

"Do you mean to say the judge was dead by the time you returned there?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then he did not take the medicine at all!"

"No, and I beg your pardon. I feel as if I was the cause of his premature death. If only I had arrived with the medicine in time! God have mercy on a poor sinner."

The doctor was speechless for a time with mixed feelings.

"Well! my good man," he said at last. "If it is any comfort to you, you better take it from me that the judge would not have lived long, even if you had been in time with the medicine."

"Oh! sir," the man said gratefully "you have taken a weight from off my mind."

The doctor looked at him with kind eyes and smiled enigmatically.

Once or twice during the evening Leila caught her father's eye. He was smiling at her and looked as if he longed to speak to her.

"What is the matter, Papa?" asked Leila playfully. "You look so bright and happy today. Have you heard of someone who has left you a fortune? You seem ten years younger."

"So I am, my dear—twenty years younger," said her father, affectionately patting her on the head. "I have been under a misapprehension all these years, and—and if you care to write to Victor and tell him to come home, I shall be delighted to see him."

"Oh! Papa, do you really mean it?" cried Leila with her arms round her father's neck. "You have made me so happy."

Victor and Leila were happily married very soon after. But neither of them could persuade Dr. Curewell to say why he had at first so firmly refused his consent to their union.

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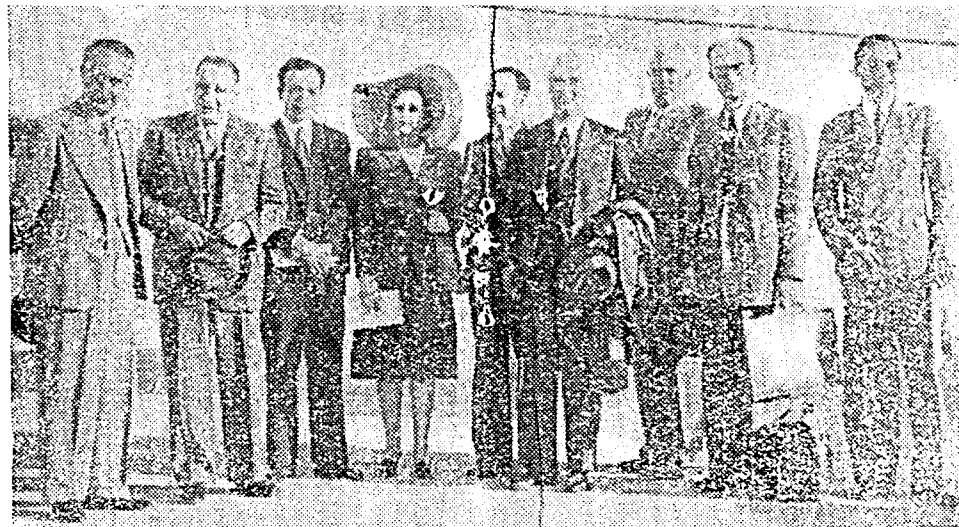
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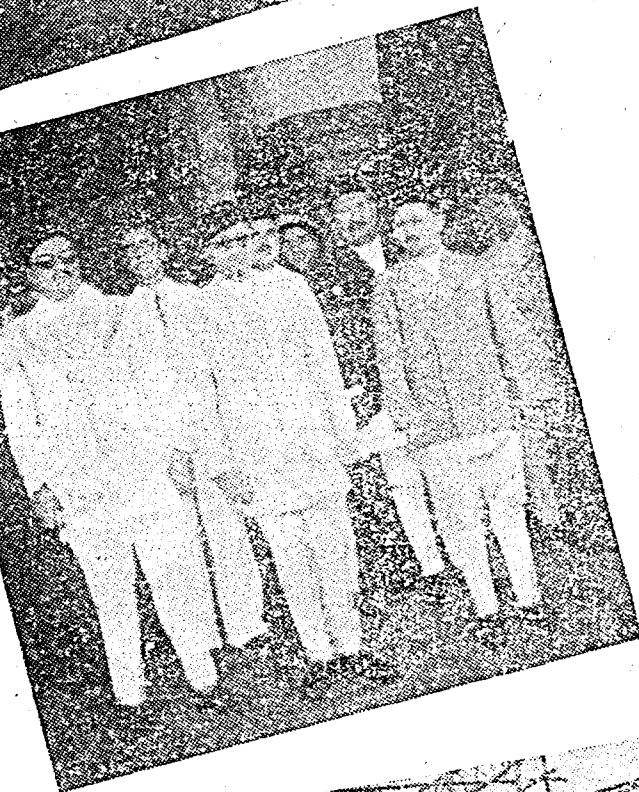
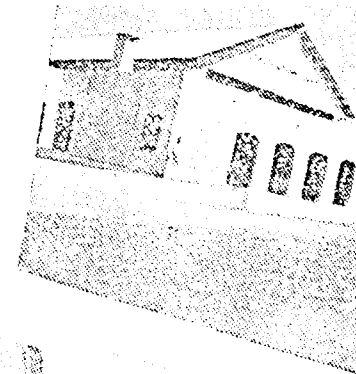
deals in books, magazines, stationery etc.



Eastern House  
where delegates  
will be housed.



Constitution Club,  
which will be the  
venue of the  
Round Table  
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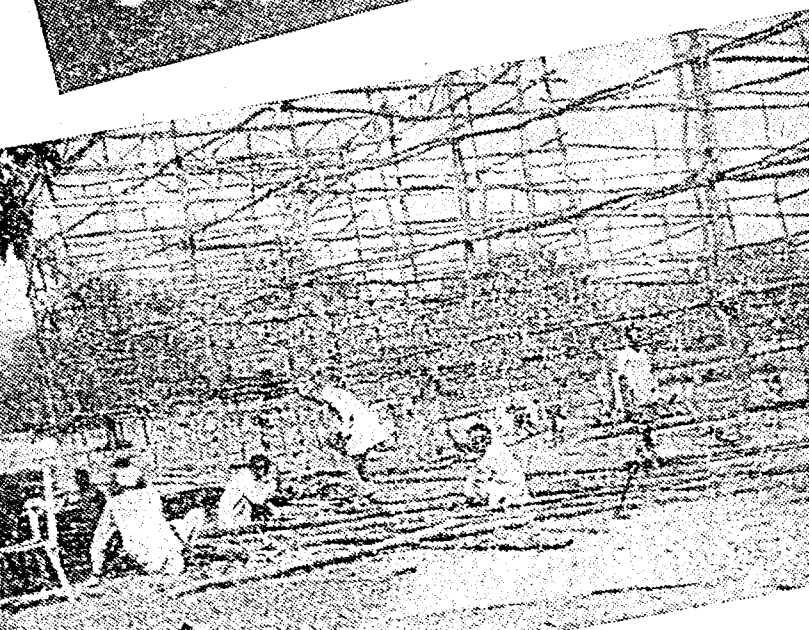
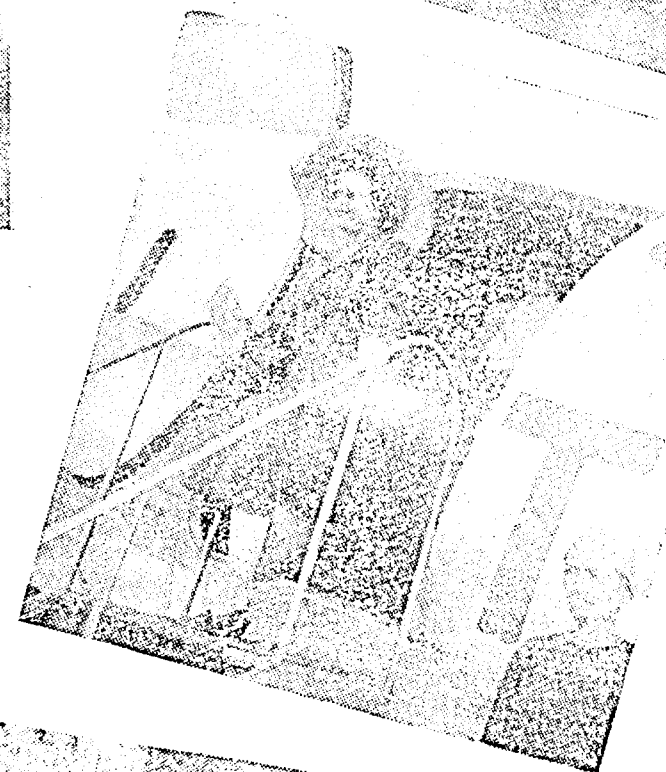
(Left) The Nepalese Delegation. (Top) The Iranian Delegation. On the extreme Left is seen H. E. Ali Asghar Hekmat. (Right) Princess Safiyah Firouz, the lady delegate from Iran stepping out of the plane at Willingdon Airport.

## ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

(To be held at Delhi from March 23.)

(Bottom Left) Workers busy with the erection of the pandal for the Conference's plenary session to be held on March 23 and 24.

(Bottom Centre) Left to Right: Wife of the Consul-General for Iran, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Princess Safiyah Firouz and Mrs. Kitty Shiva Rao. (Bottom Right) A view of the Purana Qila where the Conference will be held.





# Spotlight On The World

By Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A.

**P**RESIDENT TRUMAN'S message to the Congress asking for financial aid to the extent of four hundred million dollars to Turkey and Greece is the most outstanding news of the week in the field of international politics. It marks a new stage in the development of the United States foreign policy and the future of World Peace and War depends to a considerable extent on the steps taken to implement that policy.

## WHY AID GREECE AND TURKEY

It is not on humanitarian but on political grounds that aid is being extended to these two countries by the United States. And these political grounds are of a varied character. In the first place Greece and Turkey are to-day in a hopelessly bad financial condition. Although Turkey did not take part in the second war she had to maintain a large army and she has continued to maintain this all these months after the war as she is afraid of the Soviet forcing the issue of Dardanelles any day. Nearly fifty per cent. of her revenues are being spent on defence. This is too heavy a burden for her to bear. And more has to be spent if she is to effect the modernisation necessary for the maintenance of her national integrity. She is not in a position to do all this except with external aid. The economic condition of Greece is equally bad. In the second place these countries have in the recent past relied on Britain for this aid. But in the opinion of Truman Britain to-day is no longer in a position to extend this aid. She finds herself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating even her old commitments in different parts of the world including Greece and Turkey. America is thus the only country that is in a position to help them. In the third place

financial and military aid to these countries is necessary if confusion and disorder are to be avoided in the whole of the Middle East—in the area extending from the Adriatic to the Persian Gulf. A strong Greece and a strong Turkey are the only barriers against the spread of anarchy into the Middle East. In the fourth place Mr. Truman made it clear that if to-day Greece is not strong it is due to the trouble given to her popular and democratic government by the few guerilla bands in the country who are receiving substantial help from the neighbouring states of Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria. To counteract this external pressure it is necessary that external aid should be secured by the regularly constituted government of the country.

## UNDERLYING IMPLICATIONS

Significance is rightly attached to Mr. Truman's message because of the wider implications which it contains. The aid to be given to Greece and Turkey is not merely financial in character. It is proposed to send American experts, economic and military missions—engineers, public health specialists, agricultural experts, etc., and this will ultimately lead to the Americanisation of the army and all departments of civil life in these countries. More important than this is the reference made by Mr. Truman to the part which the United States should play in suppressing totalitarianism. He didn't use the term 'Communism' but he had really Communism in mind in all his references to totalitarianism. He has called on the people of the United States to take up the heavy responsibility of destroying totalitarianism and making the world safe for free government and for free enterprise. His proposal to aid Greece and Turkey is a part of this wider

programme for carrying on a crusade against totalitarianism and Communism.

## ENUNCIATION OF A GENERAL POLICY

According to Mr. Truman every nation is called on at the present moment in world history to choose between two alternative ways of life. "One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political oppression. A second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed on the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, controlled Press and Radio, fixed elections and suppression of personal freedom. I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure. I believe we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way." If the Congress agrees to extend aid to Greece and Turkey it means that it agrees to uphold Mr. Truman's doctrine that it is the duty of America from this moment onwards to intervene in the internal affairs of every country in which attempts are made to introduce Communism with the help of the Soviet.

## CHALLENGE TO THE SOVIET

This is exactly what Mr. Truman has in mind. His message is a culmination of the policy of getting stiff with Russia which has been in the making for the last eighteen months. It is his belief that it was through the aid of Russia that in countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia Communist governments had come to be established and that Russia is determined on using force to spread Communism into Greece, Turkey and several other countries. It is one thing for the Communist doctrine to make headway in a country by evolutionary and constitu-

tional means through its own inherent strength. There is nothing objectionable in such a course. But it is quite a different thing for Communism to be forced through violence on an unwilling people. In the name of Communism Russia has succeeded in extending her domination over a large part of Europe. Communist parties even though in a minority in these countries have been able to make headway because of the support they have been getting from Russia. In fact Communism in most of these countries means the domination of Soviet Russia. It is because of this that the United States Government protested in recent months against the unfair elections in Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland. These peaceful protests have proved to be of no avail. Now an open challenge has been made. It is a message not merely to the American Congress but to the world as a whole and to Russia in particular that Mr. Truman conveyed. It is in a sense a warning to Russia that she should no longer make any aggressive attempt to force herself and her doctrines on other countries in the world and it is also an encouragement to the people of many countries fighting against Communism and Russian domination that they can look to America for aid in these fights.

## RUSSIAN REACTION

It is not known as yet what the Russian official reaction will be to this new policy of the United States. One opinion is that the Russians will adjust themselves to this new situation and confine their activities to countries which are already within their sphere of influence and that as a consequence of this the world will be sharply divided into two areas—one dominated by Russia and another by the United States. If such an adjustment takes place there may be no war. But if the Russians come to feel that this new policy of the United States is a challenge to them and that this will surely lead to the domination not merely of the Middle East but of China and even India by the

United States, Russia might begin to prepare herself for an ultimate war against America.

### CRITICISM OF TRUMAN'S POLICY

It is on this ground that Truman's policy is being criticised. He has sown the seeds of a future war. He has made any friendly understanding with Russia an impossibility. America has now decided to take the place hitherto occupied by Britain and establish her Imperialism in place of British Imperialism. The riches of America are to be used for this purpose. Iran is hopeful of getting help from her. China is also equally hopeful. There are so many other countries which are in need of financial help—countries both in Europe and Asia. The world is now entering on a new stage in its history. It is the stage of American Imperialism. It has thrown the United Nations Organisation into the background.

### A NEW MONROE DOCTRINE

It may be recalled in this connection that a former President of the United States—Monroe—sent a message to the Congress in 1823 declaring that "the United States would regard as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to itself the efforts of any European power to interfere with the political systems of the American continents, or to acquire any new territory on these continents." This declaration was made as a reply to the attempts of certain European powers like France to establish their control over the states of South America which secured just then their independence from the yoke of Spain. Monroe was then afraid of the introduction of the monarchical principle into America as against republicanism. The attempt of Russia to extend her influence through Alaska over a large part of

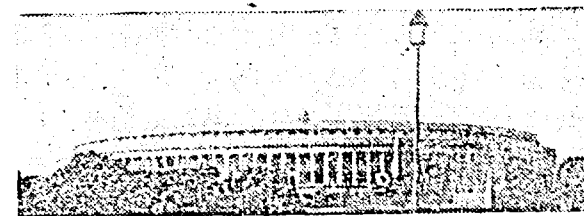
the Pacific coast was also one of the causes that led to the declaration of policy by Monroe. Mr. Truman's message is now considered to be a sort of Monroe doctrine applicable to the whole world outside the Soviet sphere of influence. He hates totalitarian Communism as bitterly as Monroe hated monarchism. The old Monroe doctrine secured the independence of the South American republics and led at the same time to the spread of the economic and financial domination of the United States over them. It is now feared that the new Monroe doctrine might lead to similar results over a large part of the world.

### THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

The sensation which President Truman's message has created has naturally reacted on the attention bestowed by the general public on the proceedings of the Moscow Conference. Even otherwise it may be noted that much progress has not been made at the Conference in respect of the drafting of the treaty with Germany and Austria—the one purpose for which it has met. The whole week has been spent in each of the four representatives making charges and countercharges as regards the extent to which the Potsdam agreement of 1945 was put into effect. The only subject on which there was agreement was the liquidation of Prussia. The greatness of Germany was built on the strength of the Prussian State. She occupied a dominant position in the German Empire in the Weimar Republic and even under Hitler. She was the home of German militarism. She has now ceased to exist and the old Prussian territory is cut up into several smaller districts. Thus has disappeared what has been for two centuries the centre and source of German aggression. It is a great step in the process of the demilitarisation of Germany.

Andrey Zhadnov put it in a nutshell when he said that, to write something about Russia nowadays, all you have to do is to mix a bit of a slander with a bit of ignorance, season with impudence, and the dish is ready.—SOVIET NEWS.

## NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

THE Interim Government has partially surrendered to the industrialists assembled in Delhi over the budget proposals—as any government which does not know its own mind must. Dr. John Matthai gave the country an inkling into his own thoughts and possibly Pandit Jawaharlal's when he said that if industry would not be satisfied with a smaller percentage of profits, they would have to seriously consider whether it was worth giving capitalism a longer lease of life in this country. Then, said Dr. Matthai, they would be up against the question of nationalisation as an immediate prospect.

Obviously, other ministers in the Interim Government had no idea that Pandit Nehru and Dr. Matthai were thinking on these lines. For on the day before Dr. Matthai's declaration, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was assuring big business, gathered in conference at the Imperial Hotel, that nationalisation was not a practicable thing for the next few years. He compared nationalisation to death—only as far as Big Business was concerned, it is to be presumed—but he told them that the certainty of death did not deter any man from carrying on his day to day activities. He also asked the representatives of big business to take over and run the Government, because he was impressed with their brilliant intellects. Many in New Delhi have taken objection to this last remark of C. R., but personally I think he meant it ironically.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Finance Member, for his part did not foresee that so barren a budget as his stood little chance of being accepted by the country. He made it clear to the House that he would not be bullied by the capitalist press, and that he

would not change a single provision of the budget, but he submitted his proposals to a select committee even without such a demand being made on the floor of the House. This is bound to be the fate of any budget which has no concrete proposals for stepping up production and raising the standard of life of the mass of the people.

The budget should have clearly carried proposals for nationalisation of Industry—preferably on the lines of industrial co-operatives in China. (It is of fundamental importance to ensure that private capitalism is not replaced by State capitalism which may have many of the lop-sided features of the former.) One distinguished economist said: "This is a common man's budget in the sense that the man who presented the budget is a common man, who has little knowledge of economics and planning."

It is amusing to reflect that none of the newspapers representing big business criticised Mr. Liaquat Ali's proposals as heartily as those who happened not to be representing any vested interests. They feel so thoroughly demoralised at their own past despicable record that they dare not lift their heads and squarely state their case. At every step they halt, offer praise and flattery to the Finance Member and then ask for favours, such as reduction in the corporation tax or suggest some other basis for capital levy. It makes one ashamed to witness the cringing and fawning of pot-bellied black-marketeers before members of the Interim Government, and one is constantly afraid that the members fall a prey to the flattery. And sometimes the fears prove to have been well founded.

It must be admitted that Mr. Liaquat Ali's budget has brought

from the treasury benches declarations on economic ideologies which no other budget would have. If Dr. Matthai was Finance Member, he would have presented a perfectly orthodox budget—that is the limitation of all experts—which would have called for the usual hums and haws. But now he had to appear in the role of an expert defending a colleague. His knowledge of economic theory was deftly used to present Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's proposals in as favourable a light as possible.

Dr. Matthai's speech produced a rather disquieting effect on big business, and they read his remark about giving a longer lease of life to capitalism as a threat and bullying tactics. Dr. Matthai's theorising was unexceptionable and was

to be regarded as one of the best expositions of practical economics. But his intervention in the debate was rather unkindly commented upon by some. They have assumed that Dr. Matthai is a votary of the Tata School of Economics, and they therefore say that he was laying aside his convictions in order to appear that he has been converted to the Nehru school of politics. To be a signatory to the Bombay Plan does not automatically mean confession or proof of lack of integrity.

*The Statesman* writes: Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Dr. Matthai have both hinted that if private enterprise proved recalcitrant, it might have to go. It is unlikely that the country would tolerate mass coercion on the Russian model!

## TWO MINUTES WITH ALI ASGHAR HEKMAT

(From Our Correspondent)

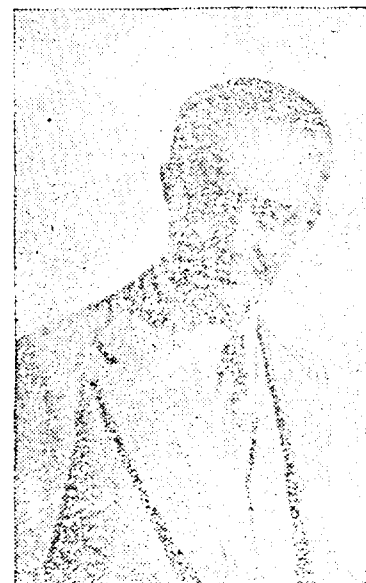
New Delhi: The first group of Pressmen to meet Ali Asghar Hekmat, Leader of the Iranian Delegation to the Inter-Asian Conference, were ourselves. We had a two-minute interview with him, in

in his country. Terrible censorship. Thorough distrust of the Foreign Press.

One of us recalled that he had met Hekmat when he came to India three years ago as head of the Iranian Goodwill Mission. But that did not melt Hekmat's heart. "Interview terminado".

Hekmat shook hands with us, and suggested that if we had any questions we might put them down in writing so that he could answer them in writing. He did not wish to have any misunderstandings created, he said. We did not wish to have any misunderstandings created either. So we told him we would give him some questions. We parted.

The Inter-Asian Relations Conference had arranged with an Iranian gentleman in New Delhi that he would act as Liaison Officer to the Iranian Delegation. We gave him our questions, as suggested by Hekmat, but I understand Hekmat asked him also for his credentials soon after our interview terminated. He showed Hekmat the letter addressed to him by the Inter-Asian Relations Conference wherein they had expressed their thanks for agreeing to act as Liaison Officer to the Iranian Delegation. But Hekmat was not satisfied with that. He wanted that a letter should be addressed to Hekmat by the Inter-Asian Relations Conference that so and so will be such and such for the Iranian Delegation. Our questions to Hekmat have therefore to wait until the diplomatic relations between Hekmat and his Public Relations Officer are properly established.



H. E. Ali Asghar Hekmat

the course of which we spoke for one and a half minutes and he spoke for half a minute. After shaking hands with us, he asked: "Where are your credentials?" We were astonished. But we politely produced our visiting cards. Press passes for the Central Assembly and the new identity cards issued by the Government's Information Department bearing our photographs. Hekmat dismissed the visiting cards by saying: "That only bears your name". About the identity cards which bore photographs and had the signature of the Secretary of the I. & B. Department, Hekmat pronounced: "That is not enough."

We sympathised with Hekmat. Conditions seemed to be pretty bad

I have heard and read a good deal about the sense of individual liberalism in Soviet Russia. I have been particularly impressed—without always being convinced—by Arthur Koestler's *Yoga of the Commissar*. But it seems to me that all this is

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nothing before conditions in Iran. I am judging, of course, from my experience with the Russian Scientists' Delegation and comparing it with the interview we had with Hekmat. It is surprising how two minutes may sometimes reveal much more than what two years may not.

I am glad Hekmat had no instructions from the Iranian Government to appear to be free to say whatever he pleases and give a false picture of conditions in Iran. Hekmat—although he must be referred to in Iran as Your Excellency because he is a former Minister of Education—is after all a Professor in the Teheran University, and it would not be easy for any Government to get away with instructions of that kind. Professors can never be persuaded to altogether get rid of their academic outlook, and in this we are to find a sign of encouragement and hope in all countries where there is a suppression of the rights of the Individual Man.

After the interview with Hekmat we met two men who had lived in Iran for several years. One of them said that he appreciated the difficulties of Hekmat because he believed that his speech at the Inter-Asian Conference must have already been prepared for him. He conceded that it might have been prepared by Hekmat himself, in which case he was sure it must have been censored by the authorities. Hekmat was not authorised to say even one word beyond his manuscript. "Not one word", he emphasised.

The other student of Iranian affairs told me that Hekmat was immensely liked by the British authorities. Whenever a new Ministry was formed in Teheran, the British always suggested the name of Hekmat as one of the Ministers. He added: "Hekmat always carried a letter of introduction or credentials for the British."

## ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

by M. R. KRISHNAMURTHY

THIS WEEK is one of momentous interest to India. For the first time in history, an attempt is being made to bring those countries which have been systematically exploited and enslaved by the "Whites," into contact with each other. The Asian Relations Conference which meets in New Delhi on the 23rd instant is of great interest to India in particular, and to the other countries of Asia in general. At the time when the proposal to hold a conference of Asiatic Nations was put forward, India was still far from the milestone of freedom. But at the time when the conference is being held, a long step has been taken by her and today she is sure of her freedom. With her immemorial tradition and culture enriched by other traditions and cultures, inhabited by one-fifth of the human race and about to begin a new era in her history, India is eminently fitted to play the part of a host for her sister countries and become the leader of the Asian continent.



Mr. Geo. E. De Silva, Minister for Health, Ceylon, who is a delegate to the Asian Relations Conference to be held at Delhi from March 23.

When after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 the Western countries began to recognise Japan as a leading power in the East, interest centred round her. With surpassing rapidity Japan advanced industrially and economically and twelve or fifteen years ago she was in a position to challenge any power in the West. In spite of this, America and Europe did not consider the growing power of Japan as a serious menace to them. At the same time Japan concentrated her attention on her neighbours and with the clarion call of "Asia for Asiatics," she began to rouse the colonial people of our continent. Unfortunately, though Japan paraded as the leader of the East trying to bring freedom for her neighbours, her real attempt was to enslave the whole of Asia. She was not motivated by the lofty ideal

which she proclaimed. And rightly Japan deserved her fate. Now with the downfall of Japan the next country able to lead the Asiatic nations with the best intention of promoting unity and freeing them from slavery, is of course India. Already she has established herself as a champion of the enslaved countries, and the response to the invitation for attending the conference speaks for itself about the interest evinced by the invitees.

New Delhi will be buzzing with activity this week. Lord Mountbatten will be arriving and Lord Wavell will be going. This will of course mean considerable interest in the political quarters. But more than this the Asian Conference will draw the attention of the people. Countries which have suddenly hit the front pages of the



newspapers will be sending their representatives to India. China, Indonesia, Indo-China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Asiatic Russia, Ceylon, Siam, Tibet—these countries will be sending delegates while Britain, America, Russia and Australia will be sending observers to watch the conferences. A majority of these countries are yet unfree. They too like India stand on the threshold of freedom. While the struggle of India throughout had been non-violent and what she has achieved is entirely due to constitutional methods and public agitation, the struggle in other countries are marked by violence. Even now the struggles are not yet over in Indonesia and Indo-China. But there is no doubt about the outcome of the fight for freedom. No longer can the West dominate the East. Britain, the chief of the Colonial powers, is relinquishing her empire and France and Holland cannot expect to stay long.

The Conference is neither political nor official. It is merely an informal meeting of the representatives of various countries trying to know each other better. Problems of common interest will be discussed and sympathy with each other will be expressed. The important thing underlying the Conference is the hope that this will lead to unity among the Asiatic nations that have been deliberately prevented from coming closer together. The legacies that the Western rule will leave behind are low standard of living, illiteracy and disease. An immense task of reconstruction is awaiting throughout the continent.

The personalities that will lead the delegations from different places will find themselves the centres of attraction. Particular mention should be made of Dr. Sharir, Dr. Ho Chi Minh and U Aung San, who, according to the information available up to the time of writing, are expected to lead the Indonesian, Indo-Chinese and Burmese delegations, respectively. These leaders are as eminent in their countries as our own national leaders. The traditional hospitality of India will be extended cordially to all her guests.

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## RUKMINI DEVI'S ACHIEVEMENT

by Dr. JAMES H. COUSINS

THE eleven years' work of the Kalakshetra at Adyar, under the direction of Srimati Rukmini Devi, reached a climax of achievement in the two remarkably successful performances on February 22 and 23 on the stage of the Rasika Ranjani Sabha, Mylapore. A packed audience in the big theatre signified its enjoyment in rapt attention to the unfoldment of the story of the Kutrala Kuravanji in the South Indian dance, the Bharata-natya.

Artistically the presentation was at the highest point of beauty both in its setting and dressing and its rendering by the six dancers and the accompanying singers and instrumentalists. A common enthusiasm for perfection carried them through the two-and-a-quarter hours' performance with unflagging energy and skill.

The scene of the dance-drama was outside the temple of Courtallam, and was indicated with a simplicity that was much more impressive than any imitation of actuality could be. With this as a constant background of repose, in lovely costumes based on the spirit of the seventeenth century, in which the Kuravanji was first performed, the dancers filled the big stage with fascinating colour and rhythm and infectious joy in their exacting work. Individual performances were delightful in their temperamental varieties; and these were richly merged in the fascinating kaleidoscope of group-actions.

Over this artistic triumph of an evening, with its immense call on imagination, observation, memory, feeling, agility, skill (the true callisthenics as the ancient Greeks thought of it, a combination of strength and beauty, but with the added Indian idealism), there hovered two spirits from which the external expression drew its life; the spirit of indigenous tradition, and the spirit of affined creative genius. The first was the presiding deity of the legendary story in Tamil

poetry of three centuries ago; the second, in two embodiments, was the inspirer of the tangible dance-drama in its music and movements.



Srimati Rukmini Devi

The notable event came about this way. The priceless collection of palm-leaf manuscripts made by the late famous scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, was presented by his son, Mr. Kalyanasundaram Aiyar to Srimati Rukmini Devi, whose devotion to Indian culture and whose high endowments as an artist in the Bharata-natya he had recognised. The collection was housed in a room of the Adyar Library at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society. The manuscripts contained not only philosophical dissertations such as the subtle South Indian mind revelled in, but the texts of dramas long forgotten. Certain of these were of the order of the Kuravanjis, that is, once popular dance-dramas in which the prophesings of a gipsy girl (Kura-vanji) gave the crucial turn to the story. One of these was called the Kutrala Kuravanji, as its scene was laid in the precincts of the famous temple at the place now called Courtallam. The poem thus brought to light was by Thirukudda Rajappam Kavirayar, a famous Tamil author of about A.D. 1650. To this relic of Tamilian literature

Srimati Rukmini Devi's attention was drawn by Mr. S. Chidambaramatha Mudaliar, the eminent Tamil scholar, and her imagination began to ponder over it.

The rescuing from oblivion of a long-forgotten work, to which scholars have given a high place as both literature and drama, would itself be an event of much importance to Tamillian scholarship. But the artistic eye of Srimati Rukmini Devi saw the possibility of the revival of the forgotten dance-drama; not in the sense of putting "new wine into old bottles," for no vestige of the exhilarating elements of music or dance remained; nor in the sense of putting old wine into new bottles, for no modern dance or music had any affinity with the old Tamil verses.

To the Tamil dramatist, as to Rabindranath, the world wove words in his mind; but the music that the joy of his inspiring genius, his *ishta devata* (personal deity), as Rabindranath called it, added to the woven words, and the ancient traditional dance that intensified and embodied the music, had to be re-created if something of the complete inspiration of the poet was to be realised; for without these the full significance of the poem would remain a secret.

Happily in one of those conjunctions of planets that occasionally brighten the firmament of art, there shone the indigenous genius of the director of music and dance in the Kalakshetra, Vidwan K. Krishnamachariar, who was familiar with the technique of old dance music. To him Rukmini Devi entrusted the re-creation of the musical expression of the poem; and the result has been a first-class demonstration of what may be figuratively called artistic reincarnation, through which the spirit of tradition finds new life.

In the poem by Rabindranath already referred to, the question is asked of the *Ishta-Devata*: "My poet, is it thy desire to see the creation through my eyes, or to stand at the portals of my ears, silently to listen to thy own eternal harmony?" Ear-gate had been opened by the musician. Srimati

Rukmini assigned to herself the task of opening eye-gate, through which the spirit of the dance, that in the Hindu conception has created and maintained the universe, may see and inspire one of its variations in time and space and in the forms and appearances and terms of a civilisation that had retained for millennia the consciousness of art as a medium for the translation of the highest vision into the purest expression.

To this high service to patriotism and culture Srimati Rukmini Devi brought the experience of a decade as a front-rank exponent of the Bharata-natya. She brought also an innate idealism in both its aspects; in the acceptance of all things external as expressions of realities beyond the mind, and in the reaction to these in a search for perfection which through the idealistic artist inspires and energises the arts that, in the words of the Irish poet AE, are assured of the memory of time because they have "some touch of the timeless" on them.

Much time went to the consideration of details; in research as to costumes, jewels and hair dressing, in the adaptation of the text to stage purposes; in the synchronising of words and music, and of these with the rhythms, postures, gestures, groupings and finger-signs (*mudras*) evolved out of the knowledge, experience and imagination of Srimati Rukmini. The ultimate synthesis of stage-setting, dressing, music and dance was completed in eleven days of intense artistic activity, in which Srimati Rukmini was simultaneously creator, producer and actor; and in the latter attained an eminence that will give her a permanent place in the history of Indian dance as an artist who was not merely an entertainer but a dedicated apostle of culture in the highest, as expressed both in her chosen art of the dance and in the related arts that are included in the curriculum of the Kalakshetra at Adyar of which she is the director.

But the revival of the Kutrala Kuravanji was not a passing triumph of an individual artist. The artistic attainment and idealistic enthu-

siasm of the renowned leader inspired the eager and responsive cast and musicians to their best efforts, with the notable result mentioned above. These and their collaborators and successors will carry on the good

work of the renaissance of the Indian dance, which, as it is interpreted and presented by Srimati Rukmini Devi and her disciples, will be one of the foremost regenerators in the cultural future of India.

## IN A TEMPLE

by BINOD

TO a great temple on the bank of a famous river I traced my sinful steps. Here, safe from temptation, safe from sin's pollution, I poured forth my mortgaged and bleeding soul to Him who had given it me.

It is true indeed that God is where we find Him, and that he resides no less in a good man's heart than in an enclosure allotted for worship, but there is something about a temple (or a mosque, or a church, or a *gurudwara*) that illumines our soul with beauty and carries us away from the strange disease of worldly life, with its sick hurry, its divided aims, its heads o'ertaxed, its palsied hearts. In spite of the man-made noise a serene peace reigns here, and in the midst of conflict an infinite sweetness, a limitless fraternity, an ocean (without bottom or bound) of love, of pity, of clemency. It reaches to all men, to the noble, the learned and the wealthy, as to the outcasts and the criminals; to the loyal, the thankful and the proud, as well as the doubters, the waverers and the superficial.

The gentleness of heaven itself broods over a temple. Even as we enter its stately portals, there comes upon us a sense of wonder at its loveliness, awe in the face of its majesty, exultation in its power and in the very knowledge of its existence. We go on in, and now we are face to face with our Maker—not that we are not face to face with Him always—but the devotee and the image of his God are linked by a deeper tie than the crass world knows. To the worshipper his idol is more, far more than merely a work of earth, marble or stone; it is to him a symbol, an active, purposeful symbol of what he believes in, of what he is inspired by, and it would surprise him not at all if, suddenly, it were to take life and step down from its pedestal to gather him unto itself.

What a beautiful thing is this faith, in spite of the ruthless logic of modern thought; what a powerful antidote to the fears, the uncertainties, the inhibitions attaching to human life on this minute fragment of the cosmos that we call the earth. This faith, I repeat, is a beautiful thing, even though, analysed scientifically, it may be a silly thing. And I am not so sure of that either; for, to forswear faith, to belittle belief, to trample trust does not by itself indicate a scientific mind. After all, the strength and vitality of the human soul is tested by its contact with institutions; and if it feels itself enriched, ennobled, uplifted in an atmosphere of godly piety, then, I say, it is well that it should be so.

However that may be, we are now inside the temple, with our gaze transfixed on the great and noble idol, not so much on what is going on around it, not so much on the priests doing it homage. We gaze at it and *through* it; we look at it and *beyond* it; and, while our poor, poor blind eyes are fastened on the figure of clay or stone, the eyes of our mind have roved far and wide, far and wide, far and wide in an endeavour to comprehend the force that it represents.

But only an endeavour; for the Being Beauteous Whom all of us have at some time or other owned—the believers always and the infidels in their moments of distress—passes all comprehension and is beyond human ken. Not the genius of all the world's scientists, not the wisdom of all the world's sages, can presume even to peer into this Mystery of Mysteries, the Mystery that is God, before Whom each one of us, however high and mighty in the calculations of this puny world, is yet—

*An infant crying in the night,  
An infant crying for the light,  
And with no language but a cry.*

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## BALANCED DIET

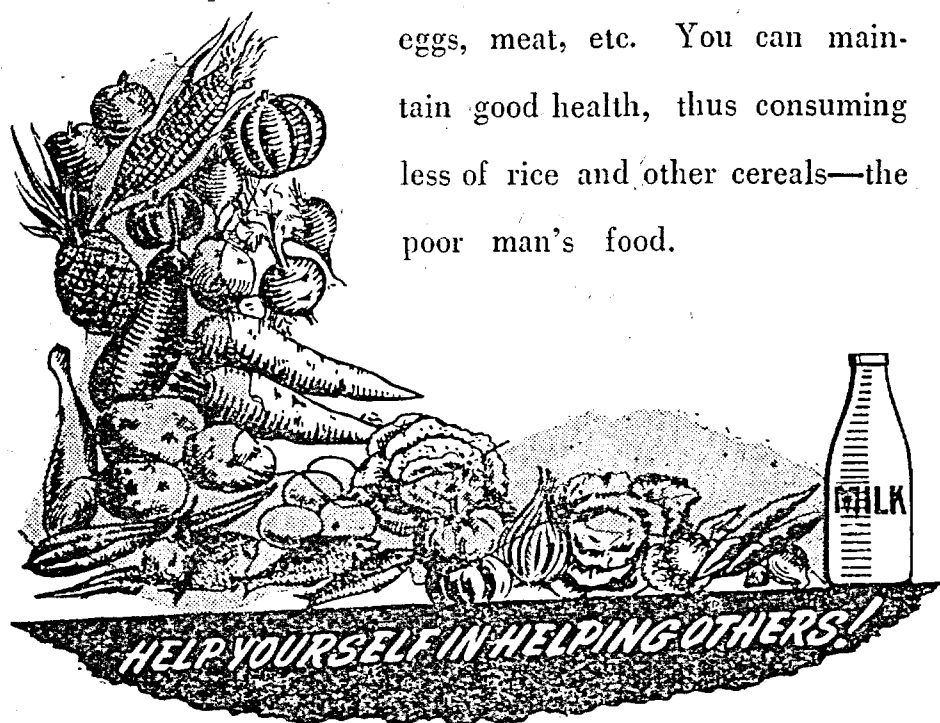
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## LEGAL CONVENTIONS

by S. RAJAGOPALAN

THE news that amongst those who partook in the parleys leading up to the resignation of the Khizr Hyat Khan Ministry in the Punjab to make way for the formation of a Muslim League Ministry, was the illustrious officiating Chief Justice of the Federal Court, is of more than passing interest and would seem to raise a question of first-rate constitutional and legal importance. This is perhaps the first occasion when an exalted member of the judiciary had to assist in solving a provincial party problem, and the question arises whether this would be in consonance with certain legal conventions which have been associated with the British Judiciary and which form part of our own too. High Court Judges and Judges of Federal Court are not "Government servants," and are under no statutory obligations to keep clear of politics or of party politics; but by a series of what one may call self-imposed restrictions, judges in England and in this country do not identify themselves with political parties the moment they take their seats on the bench. The reason is obvious. Judges are immune from public criticism to an extent vouchsafed to but a few, including a Premier, a Governor or even a Viceroy; and nothing would tend to make them more susceptible to public criticism than that they had identified themselves with this or that party.

It is not, however, suggested that on assumption of office, a judge should cease to take interest in politics. Judges may and often do hold strong views on political questions or even party questions and yet remain judges. The Indian National Congress in days of yore claimed almost all the great judges of the land among its votaries. Here, in Madras, Sir T. Sadasiva Ayyar, while a judge, was a member of Annie Besant's Home Rule League. Recent times have afforded many instances. Typical was the splendid series of speeches which Sir Muhammad Zaf-

frulla Khan made in London during the war years for securing India's political emancipation, which in language and content could not have been bettered by a politician even of the "extremist" persuasion. The notable performance of Justice Chagla at the U.N.O. Assembly shows that the political consciousness of a judge is ever alert. Very often judges have been commissioned to solve vexed political tangles. Sir Maurice Gwyer arbitrated in the Gandhiji-Rajkot Ruler controversy. Only recently it was proposed to leave to the decision of the Federal Court the problem of the grouping of provinces.

In England a judge on assumption of office sheds all his political affiliations. The notable exception is, of course, the Lord Chancellor who is almost invariably the topmost leader of the bar in the party which takes up the reins of office. The Lord Chancellor has much judicial work to do as he presides over the final court of appeal for Britain as well as for the Empire; and also presides over the political deliberations in the House of Lords. He combines in one individual the two roles of Chief Justice and Law Member in India. It has always been a marvel as to how, generally speaking successive Lord Chancellors have been able to fill the two roles with credit. The classic example is that of Lord Birkenhead whose unrelenting hatred of certain political parties and personages vanished into thin air the moment he became, and as long as he functioned as, Lord Chancellor. In this respect he had shown a better example than Lord Simon did when he was Lord Chancellor. The Simon-Laski episode naturally created a sensation a year ago, but the sting of it was lost by the swift apology which was forthcoming. Incidentally it may be mentioned that some of the bitter political utterances of Lord Simon in the House of Lords in recent weeks, in so far as they represent the views of a political party in

opposition to the Government, are difficult to reconcile with the fact that as an ex-Lord Chancellor, he has still the right to sit and sits often on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

In a few months, a constitution for a free India will have been framed and it is of the utmost importance that the Indian judiciary should be fashioned anew. The Bri-

tish judiciary has remained, in war and in peace, an ideal institution and India can do nothing better than adapt it wholesale. Fortunately certain of its features have already become part of our legal system, and what remains is the incorporation of some legal conventions which have been evolved after centuries of test and trial and which will thrive well in India.

## THE ONLY REALISTIC SOLUTION

by K. S. VENKATARAMANI

Some daring work awaits Lord Mountbatten worthy of his brilliant past—this time in the field of construction. Prime Minister Attlee's declaration, most wise and courageous, has poured realism into our politics and the Parliamentary debates have strengthened the constructive forces. Now it is the duty of our leaders to lead us wisely and well.

The Constituent Assembly should inevitably assume the functions of a sovereign body and speed on with its work on principles of utmost justice to the Muslims and the minorities. The logic of events will compel the Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly sooner or later. The true coalition spirit is bound to evolve under the dynamic pressure of real work when political life crystallises itself into nation-building work.

To achieve before June 1948 the objectives laid down, we require:

- (1) The immediate emergence of the Interim Government as a Cabinet with full collective responsibility.
- (2) The functioning of the Constituent Assembly as a completely sovereign body competent to decide all issues.
- (3) The recognition of Provinces as the basic integral unit for all purposes.

(4) The recognition of East Punjab and West Bengal as necessary new provincial units. This is the only solution at present for a complicated problem.

Federal India can well afford small Provinces and States as they can be run economically and scientifically. U.S.A. with only 150 millions has 48 States and many States there have a population of less than 3 millions. Indian States grouped with a population of not less than 3 millions and Provinces with a population of not less than 10 millions can form efficient autonomous units of Federal India. This is the only realistic solution of a difficult problem.

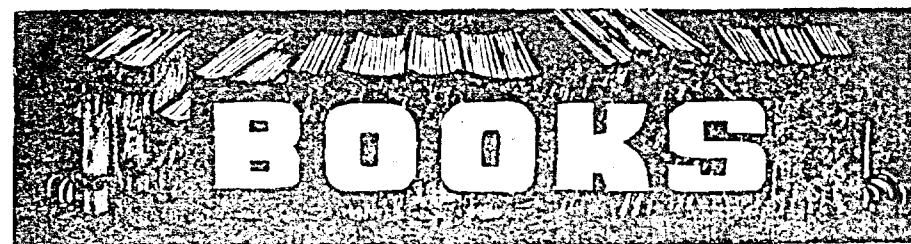
If we work sincerely and with justice as our Pole-Star, the British Cabinet will find it impossible to transfer in June 1948 sovereignty in fragments to several bodies. Union Centre is implicit, is inherent in the geography of India which act of parties can delay but never defeat. The proof of this is in the historical process which we have witnessed from Asoka to Akbar, Akbar to Shivaji and Shivaji to Attlee.

Much depends on Lord Mountbatten and the instructions he has received. With proper support on right lines by the the British Cabinet, Lord Mountbatten seems just the man with imagination and daring for the re-making of Indo-British relationship on a higher, purer and nobler level.

Julian Huxley, who is Secretary-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation has this story to tell about his last trip to the United States.

He introduced himself to an American as "Julian Huxley of Unesco."

"Ah, yes, a gallant little country."—WORLD REVIEW.



Vedanta, The Basic Culture Of India.

By C. Rajagopalachari. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi. Price, Re. 1, Cloth-bound, Rs. 2.

In this booklet, the author who has already published a book on the Upanishads, pleads for a new order based on the Vedanta which is the basic culture of India. The outline of Vedantic doctrine and life presented is studiously clear and simple. The point of view is that of social morality and social order, and the author apologises for whatever mysticism may have got inadvertently mixed up with his account. The book closes with a fine selection of quotations from the Gita and the Upanishads.

The author's approach to his subject is not perhaps of the happiest. A virtuous indignation against black-marketeers and the profit motive, and the failure of cooperative economy seems to have served as the impetus for the appeal to Vedanta. The author as a shrewd administrator knows very well that the checking and the regulation of individual self-assertion—either for aggrandisement or for domination—is always the problem in all administrative organisation. If abnormal economic conditions have baffled the available governmental skill, is the club of the Upanishads the right weapon for the fly in the administrative ointment? The reader feels considerably relieved on finding that Mr. Rajagopalachari does not expect the revival of the Vedanta to restore the hypermoral anarchism of the Krita Yuga, but merely to bring about conditions for the easy enforcement of the State laws.

It is true of course that Dharma—the individual and social moral law—and spiritual achievement, are not unrelated. But for any clear thinking to be possible, the two must be kept distinct; the former regulates social action and conduct, and produces a first order adjustment of the individual to society, while the latter, as the author rightly emphasises, is a change of state. A moralistic approach to scriptures like the Upanishads and the Gita is likely to land one not in a clear-seeing spiritual knowledge, but in a weak and

sentimental pseudo-spirituality. It is amusing to be told that 'the appeal of Vedanta is based on responsibility to the future world. Vedanta seeks the welfare of the future world of which we are the builders.' It is equally interesting to read of the Gita: 'Vedanta and the ethic which follows from it, and which is expanded and fully set out in the Bhagavad Gita, are pre-eminently fitted to serve as the spiritual basis for planned co-operative community-life, wherein every one must work according to capacity, and get according to need. Work without aiming at personal profit, and with an eye only to the welfare of the community, is the way of life taught in the Bhagavad Gita. It is some decades now since the publication of Sri Aurobindo's Essays on the Gita; there it was pointed out that it is thoroughly illogical to hold (with Tilak) that the teaching of the Gita is Naishkamya Karma, and the doing of duty without thought of its fruits and 'in scorn of consequence'; for, the theme of the Gita is a conflict of duties, a moral dilemma, which cannot be resolved at the moral level, but only through a divine revelation and a divine guidance. As regards the fruits of action, Sri Aurobindo refers to the final exhortation of the Lord, 'Arise, conquer thine enemies, and enjoy the kingdom' which does not suggest that the detachment from the fruit of action is the final word in the teaching of the Gita. This is sufficient to shew the subtlety of the scriptural teaching, and the danger to clear thinking in the uncritical acceptance of the popular versions thereof.

The danger is equally great in dealing with the deceptively facile generalisations of the Vedanta (or rather, of that section of the Vedanta, which the author has taken, from his own standpoint). For example, what exactly is meant when the author says 'When we come to understand the relation between the individual atman and the Supreme soul, the feeling of separation between one living being and another melts away?' Irrespective of the

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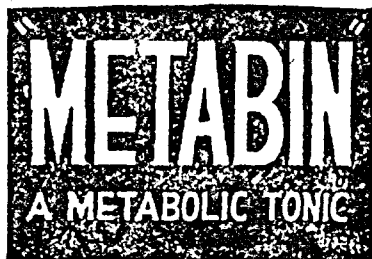
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Vedanta, it is a fact within the experience of any man, that on certain occasions he feels at one with a group, and on other occasions he feels opposed to and separate from others. In contrast to the tendency to abstract generalisations in the Upanishads, the Vedic Rishis were more scientific and strove after precision in thought and expression. According to them, there are two primordial forms of Nature (Prakriti), Aditi and Diti, and the conscious beings or forces which function in man, are born of these, and are called respectively Adityas and Daityas, corresponding to the two modalities of human consciousness, the *unified*, and the *separatist*. In contrast to the sentimental exaggerations of the Mayavada which developed from certain unprecise statements of the Vedanta, the Vedic Rishis seem to have held that the Diti-prakriti is *not* shed as an evil during the march towards perfection, that on the other hand, it has an ultimate place in the economy of the 'immortalised' or 'perfected' human consciousness. This stands to reason and common sense; for, mental consciousness generally, and the dharmic or moral consciousness in particular, come from the Diti.

The author's plea that his version of the Vedanta is the 'basic' culture of India does not of course conform to the traditional view, that the Vedanta should be taught as the final essence or weighty summary, at the culmination of a strenuous period of Vedic study and practice. The author would

probably argue that we are maturer than the ancients by a whole series of millenia, during which 'science has grown, and has come to be accepted on a larger scale than ever before,' and that we might therefore skip the tedious preliminaries, and go straight to the cream of the Veda. There are however other grounds which justify the author's position. For all practical purposes the meaning of the Veda has been lost, and its recovery will prove an arduous task. The Purana may be tolerated as poetry, but its symbolic thought is beyond the grasp of the rationalistic mind. The materialistic culture of the modern Indian does not give him the power and the outlook for the handling or intelligent criticism of the Dharma Shastra. The Upanishads however remain; luckily, they depart appreciably from the concrete-symbolic thought in which the modern scientific mind is completely at sea, and come nearer to present-day speech in their abstract style and speculative generalisations, so that it is possible at least to misunderstand them. The Upanishads accordingly offer the one vulnerable point in the otherwise impregnable citadel of Indian culture. In the circumstances, the *kartavyam karma*, the duty of the patriotic Indian is clear. He has to maintain that the Vedanta contains the final saving truth, the supreme achievement and expression of the genius of the race, and seek to found all modern movements, social, economic, or political, on the rock of the Vedanta.—(R. V.).



### HEREDITARY LONGEVITY.

"On July 31, 1554, the Cardinal of Armagnac, passing down the street, perceived an old man of 81, who sat weeping on the door step of his house. Inquiring into the cause of the old gentleman's tears His Eminence received the reply that the octogenarian's father had just given him a sound thrashing. The astonished Cardinal at once asked for an interview with the father, and was shown into the presence of an older gentleman, aged 113, extremely well preserved. After a few questions the Cardinal requested the centenarian to inform him what offence the son had committed to deserve such chastisement. "He passed by his grand-father without taking off his hat," was the answer. More astonished than before, His Eminence now asked to be introduced to the grand-father. He was introduced and saw before him a gentleman of 143."—HIBBERT JOURNAL.

# 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.

### Selfish Legislators

One must feel glad for the admission of Dr. Rajan that "the present crisis is not a new development in Madras politics. It is the culmination of events of the last year."

Dr. Rajan's statement clearly reveals that the cause of this no-confidence move is not Mr. Prakasam's administration either in policy or in detail but the wounded pride of the High Command and the selfishness of the agitators. One main cause is that Madras Province is multi-lingual and the presence of Mr. Prakasam as Premier is obviously unacceptable to C. R. and Patel at Delhi who may have common points to score in keeping Madras and Bombay as composite provinces for as long as possible.

The resolution of the A.P.C.C. and the requisition before the T.N.C.C. to consider a motion of no-confidence in its President, the recent tour of the Premier and other events in this connection leave deep and indelible impressions of the people's love and admiration for their accredited leader. One thing is clear. It is not the Ministry that lost the confidence of the people but it is the selfish legislators that have lost the confidence of the people. When the legislators are not truly representing the wishes of the constituencies and when the Ministry has still the people with it, it is the plain responsibility of the Governor to dissolve the House and refer the question to the verdict of the people, the final judge in all these matters.

V. SOMASUNDARA RAO, B.A., B.L.  
Rajahmundry.

### Premier Prakasam

It should be admitted that the Prakasam Ministry's textile policy is not in consonance with the expressed wishes of the people. Let me, on the other

hand, glance over the achievements of the Ministry during its short period of ten months. The opening of temples for Harijans, the gradual introduction of Prohibition without, in any way, bringing large-scale unemployment to the toddy-tappers, the successful and efficient handling of the acute food situation in South India, are some of the main achievements of Prakasam, and these do him credit. It is common knowledge that South India was threatened with a famine, much worse than the one experienced in Bengal in 1944, and it was only due to the far-sightedness and efficient handling of this problem by Mr. Prakasam and his colleagues that the "demon of famine" could be kept off the doors of Madras.

His career is not merely brilliant but unsurpassed. The Madras bar remembers to this day, with pride and elation, the dignity and self-respect that it enjoyed in the days he practised in the High Court. As Editor of *Swarajya*, he drained the last resources of his property in the service of journalism.

Mr. Prakasam's active politics are dynamic. A worker selfless and untiring, an economist with a fanatic belief in the village barter system, a patriot without vanity, a politician averse to petty squabbles, a leader really ruling, a statesman with terrible sincerity and volcanic emotion—that is Mr. Prakasam—the soldier hero of the Congress.

A. SWAMINATHAN.

Calcutta.

### Prakasam Vindicated

C.R.'s suggestion in the Assembly that the only feasible proposition in the matter of increasing yarn production for the benefit of handloom weavers is to take to hand spinning on an intensive scale, has at last unmistakably vindicated the position taken by Sri Prakasam. Every other plan to increase

yarn production could only be a long range one, having no bearing upon the immediate present. C.R.'s downright statement on this subject might well set at rest the controversy raging in the province over Sri Prakasam's textile policy.

But then, why did C.R. take an uncompromising position with regard to the surrender of spindles by the Madras Province? C.R. himself has provided the answer to this question in his statement in the Assembly. He said that handspinning could exist side by side with machine-spinning and to discard the latter would be as detrimental to the interests of the people as to discard the former. We simply cannot afford to ignore the vast manpower at our disposal. It is absurd to wait and undergo untold travail till the necessary machinery could be got ready for the requisite increased production of yarn. And with President Truman's recent challenge to Russia, things look decidedly too gloomy to warrant any optimism on our part regarding the import of capital machinery into India.

One thing however is worthy of our consideration. Why should handloom weavers clamour for mill-yarn? Why not they take to handspinning and supply themselves with yarn without wringing their hands helplessly over yarn scarcity? There seems to be no valid reason for the position taken up by the handloom weavers. After all, they are skilled artisans and they can learn handspinning, which is aimed very closely to weaving. If only 75 per cent of the weavers would take to handspinning, the cloth problem would be solved.

As regards wages, they could always sell their yarn at a higher price so long as the mill-cloth position continues to be unsatisfactory.

M. S. V. CHARI.

### Game Of The Anti-Prakasam Groups

And so the expected has happened and the anti-Prakasamites were able to pass the no-confidence motion against him, just as the anti-C. R. groups got rid of him last year. The man who has sacrificed everything for the country's cause, the man who was able to save South India from the threatened large-scale famine just six months back, the man who scrupulously followed the Congress Election Manifesto and enforced Prohibition in 12 districts, the man who wanted to teach a good lesson to the greedy and conscienceless merchants by starting producer-cum-consumer co-operative

societies, the man who started village committees and town committees for the equitable distribution of all available food grains to the poorest and the lowest, the man who has planned to abolish the zamindari system and do immense good to the tiller of the soil, the man who is straining every nerve to wipe out the black-markets and end corruption among officials, the man who was able within the short period of a few months, to appoint a sub-committee for the revision of salaries of Government servants and give them all possible relief, the man who was extolled as a model to all other Provincial Congress Ministries by no less a person than Gandhiji himself—such a man is pulled down by the combination of a few selfish people with many selfish, and unscrupulous men who are apparently puppets in the hands of mill-owners and capitalists. I do not wish to say anything against the anti-Prakasam groups but the public are entitled to know the reasons for his being pulled down. Except in regard to his textile policy, wherein there are reasonable grounds for honest differences of opinion, I cannot imagine anything which any Congressman can take objection to in his administration. Some of his policies may be ill-conceived and some of his ideas may be Utopian, but that he should pay the extreme penalty for it is extremely unjustifiable. The better course for the Congress M.L.A.'s would have been to make him mend his policy where it needed to be mended. Just as the anti-Nazi spirit brought America and Russia together only to show up all their divergences the moment the common enemy is gone, so also the anti-Prakasam groups will fall down like a pack of cards, the moment he is removed. Let it be remembered that Prakasam outside the Cabinet will be more powerful against the coming Ministry than his enemies had ever been to him in the recent past.

P. T. K. IYENGAR.

Ambur.

### Trends In The Working Committee

Though, to the man in the street, the Working Committee may seem to be a composite body, still to any shrewd observer of its proceedings, the opposing trends that prevail among its members are only too apparent.

Firstly, there is Sardar Patel who is the embodiment of power politics. He has been responsible for the fall of more than one tried patriot. Nariman, Dr. Khare and C. R. have been the

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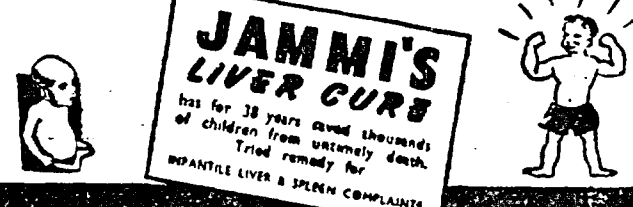
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victims of his wrath. Nariman never recovered from the political blow that he received from the Sardar. As for Dr. Khare, Government patronage saved him from oblivion. C. R. bowed before the political storm that raged around him only to triumph over his opponents including the Sardas by securing a place in the Interim Government.

Next there is the Azad—C. R. combination. These two members seem to have a special affinity for each other. Both are men who have faith in working the constitution to the best advantage of the nation. Towards the Muslim League, these leaders are inclined to be most conciliatory. They have no faith in politics of the fire-brand type. They would gladly yield Pakistan, if there is no other way of avoiding internal strife. From the certificate that Azad recently gave to Lord Wavell, we suspect that he feels that Lord Wavell has been handled tactlessly which had led him to adopt pro-League tactics with such violence culminating in his reported advice to the Governor of the Punjab to form a League Ministry before his Lordship left the shores of India. The Militant attitude of the Sardar seems to have distressed Azad to a very great extent. The Mahatma, though out of the Working Committee, really guides its deliberations. Rajendra Prasad is the only member of the Working Committee that implicitly follows the Mahatma's advice. He has no opinions which are opposed to that of the Mahatma. As for Kripalani, he resembles Sardar Patel, but is less militant. It is the lot of Pandit Nehru to manage to satisfy all these members in his political activities. The most difficult problem for Nehru is to satisfy the militant Sardar.

Coming to the trends in the Working Committee regarding Sri Prakasam, the Mahatma and Rajen Babu seem to be in favour of retaining the Prakasam Ministry. The Sardar, Nehru and Kripalani do not like Sri Prakasam setting at naught the will of the majority of the Legislature Party, irrespective of the nature of the motives behind it, for this would lead to a bad precedent. Azad seems to be neutral. C. R. is indifferent while Dr. Pattabhi is hostile.

But Sri Prakasam's stand that the no-confidence motion passed against him was not valid must however hold good, inasmuch as the sanction of the Executive Committee or the Leader of the Party had not been obtained for such a move. The sponsors of the No-confidence motion acted without forethought and Mr. Vydlanatha Iyer's con-

tention that rules could be brushed aside whenever it suited the majority to do so is most unconvincing. The rule has first to be amended and the anti-Prakasamites were in such a mighty hurry that they overlooked this legal law in their procedure.

Acharya Kripalani has first to decide whether the no-confidence motion is in order before proceeding further.  
**POLITICUS**

#### A Case For Timely Encouragement

While addressing a public meeting on Feb. 26, you said "In China there has been introduced a spinning machine that can produce yarn about five or six times output of our charka."

In this connection let me state that I have been trying to produce spinning, weaving, paper making and the like machines which would be within the scope of cottage industries.

I achieved success in adjusting the movements and mechanism of the existing huge machinery into a very small scale so as to run them by hand or with very small electric power.

I experimented many a time and obtained very successful results and yet I could not introduce the machines as I was fully handicapped by the workshop people. They were fully immersed in war time demands which were more remunerative than my job. Thus I wasted nearly five years.

As a result of this five years' experience I decided to establish a small workshop of my own to produce models for my machines myself.

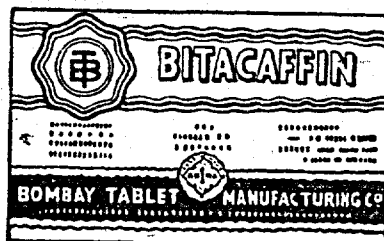
With this view, I have already purchased a lathe machine and all other necessary equipment with my own capital of Rs. 8,000 and settled to carry on this activity at Rajahmundry.

The Rajahmundry Electric Supply Corporation declined to supply me electric power to run my lathe machine. I appealed to the Government about six months back, to supply me current but there is no response till now.

I went to Madras to know personally whether the Government can help me in getting current at Rajahmundry and encourage me in this enterprise.

I enquired at the office of the Chief Electrical Inspector (Controller of Electricity) and learnt that the Director of Industries issued an essentiality certificate to me and that the Rajahmundry Electric Supply Corporation had been requested to send the application for permit immediately. A month has elapsed but nothing has been done.

Rajahmundry. B. K. RAJU.



## BITACAFFIN

(Headache Tablets)

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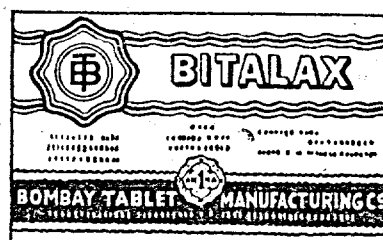
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