

# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Balkans after the Vienna Award:—**By pressure of the Axis Powers, Roumania at the end of last month was forced to cede the greater part of Transylvania to Hungary as she had earlier given up Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria. This was to a large extent to be expected since Roumania after the last War had acquired too many of her neighbours' territories to expect a peaceful existence. Of the three countries of the Little Entente, Czechoslovakia and Roumania have shared a similar fate—a division of outlying territory between three Powers and a Berlin controlled regime for the rest. Germany, by urging Hungarian claims while at the same time guaranteeing what is left of Roumanian territory, keeps both these Danubian States under her control. The unrest in Roumania which followed these adjustments, has resulted in a virtual dictatorship. An appeal from one or other section of the nation, it is not unlikely, may bring in a German administrator to Bucharest. The third Little Entente State, Yugoslavia, is menaced by Italy which apparently regards Yugoslavia as of so little account that she only indirectly menaces it by threatening Greece. Italian action against Greece, it is naively suggested by a British Official Wireless message, will not go beyond threats as aggression would immediately call into effect the British guarantee to Greece and land Signor Mussolini in grave trouble since British ships will occupy Greek ports. Strangely enough, the Italian press increased in vehemence only after Mr. Churchill's last speech in which he contemplated the possibility of the Axis Powers moving up to the "gates of India" with boyish abandon. Wherever the "gates of India" may be—there are many interpretations of the phrase—Greece comes clear outside them. A certain amount of surprise has been expressed at the silent attitude of Soviet Russia in the Balkan adjustments, even though it is believed that Russia is not altogether disinterested in

Yugoslavia and in Bulgaria. It is not impossible that Russia is more concerned with winning Turkey back to her side. Turkey's position is rendered difficult by a pro-Petain regime in Syria and Russia's indifference to the fate of the Balkans may very soon be matched by Axis tolerance of Russian influence in Turkey. The changes which have so rapidly transformed the face of Europe, scarcely make the prospect of a long war a pleasant one to these conquered territories.

**Sir G. Paish in the U. S. A.:**—Few would have been prepared for the news contained in the cryptic Reuter's message that Sir George Paish, the eminent English writer on statistical and economic subjects, had become the centre of a political storm. He seems to have proceeded to the United States on his own account to do his bit to advance Anglo-American relations. Being a scientist and not accustomed to involved expression of his purposes, he would seem to have given the impression to his American friends that he wished their country which has been so profuse in its expression of appreciation for the cause for which Britain is fighting, to come into the war and ensure the success of Britain. For all his avowals of sympathy, the average American does not wish his country to be dragged into the war though he does not mind manufacturing and selling arms and ships to Britain to fight Nazism. Sir George Paish's indiscretion, if there was any, was likely to become the subject of discussion in the American Senate. To avoid further unpleasantness the British Ambassador, Lord Lothian, has advised Sir George to leave the country as soon as possible in the interests of Anglo-American relations. The Secretary of the Interior gave a broad hint to the same effect adding that as Sir George had come as a private citizen, his department could not order him to leave the country. Sir George pleads that he wanted the States only to give all the help she can short of entering the war. As this is what all parties in the United States have agreed to do, Sir George Paish might have spared himself the trouble and expense of going over to the States to persuade the Americans. British propagandists have the knack of rubbing the American the wrong way. In the absence of fuller information, we cannot but sympathise with Sir George Paish on his hard luck. At the

same time, Lord Lothian would not have advised Sir George to quit the country as the best he can do to promote Anglo-American relations unless the statistician had committed some grave blunder.

**The Prospects of Pan-Islamism :—**Some high authorities appear to be apprehensive of a pan-Islamic aggression on India in support of the demands of the Muslim League. They may have good reasons for it. They are doubtless in possession of inside information not available to laymen. Judging, however, from the trend of events in the principal Muslim countries during the last twenty years, such a contingency seems remote. Pan-Islamism died out with the abolition of the Khilafat. Indian Muslims with the help of the Congress tried hard to preserve it. But the Turks were inexorable. When Kemal Ataturk sent the Caliph out of the country, he bade good-bye to Pan-Islamism so far as Turkey was concerned. There is no reason to think that Turkey has wavered in its policy since his death. She can not very well do so. Her frontiers which were secure then, have now become insecure owing to Turkey's changed relations with Soviet Russia and the trouble in the Balkans. Due to these and for other obscure causes, she has not been able to carry out her obligation actively to help Britain when attacked and has to content herself with an attitude of non-belligerency. Egypt which also is under treaty obligation to help Britain, is also constrained to observe neutrality. Iraq and Afghanistan have not been particularly sympathetic to Indian Muslims. The Arabs did not allow their common religion to come in the way of their revolt against Turkey in the last war. We are, therefore, not inclined to mix up the Muslim League with foreign Islamic politics. Since, however, there seems to have arisen a doubt on the point, Congress may consider the advisability of sending a goodwill deputation to Muslim countries to explain its position and programme. No better leader can be thought of for such a deputation than the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

**Muslim League on the Viceroy's Offer :—**The resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Muslim League at its meeting in Bombay on Monday, is a lengthy paraphrase of the resolution of the Liberal Federation which we published in the last issue. The central point in the Viceroy's offer was the acceptance of seats on the Executive Council (under the scheme of expansion). The Working Committee of the Muslim League finds it "very difficult" to come to a decision on this offer until and unless the Viceroy places it in full possession of the details regarding the constitution of the Council not only with reference to the Muslim seats offered to the League but also with reference to other parties who may decide to accept the offer. The Viceroy can not obviously assign to the additional men powers and functions in excess of those

possessed by the permanent members. More than that the Muslim League's demand implies that the League authorities will have the right of intervention in the operations of Government to see that the terms agreed are being strictly observed. We reprint the League's resolution on the Viceroy's offer. As regards the Muslim League volunteers, the Working Committee expressed its opinion that it was not intended to apply to the League volunteers who were organised for the purpose of training and disciplining Muslims "in co-ordinate activity for the social and physical uplift of the Muslims and to maintain peace, tranquility and order in the country." The Government circular claimed that Government had ample forces to preserve peace and order and volunteers were not needed for the purpose. The Working Committee has allowed such members as think they can serve any useful purpose by joining War Committees, to do so. It is only by a stretch of imagination that Government can find comfort in the League's attitude.

**Christian Hindu Marriage Law :—**The *Bombay Law Journal* reports a case decided by the Nagpur High Court which brings out once again a longstanding confusion in the Indian Christian Marriage Act. "The respondent, a Hindu, married the petitioner, a Christian woman. Subsequently the respondent married a Hindu woman and was living with her. The petitioner filed a petition for divorce. Held, although the respondent was not guilty of bigamy, he had committed adultery within the meaning of section 10 of the Divorce Act. Divorce granted to the petitioner." This short statement omits important facts. But these may be gathered from the context. The first marriage was evidently under the Indian Christian Marriage Act. There is provision in it for the marriage of a Christian with a non-Christian without affecting the personal law of the latter. The second marriage was obviously under Hindu rites. As the Respondent's personal law allowed the second marriage, he could not be held guilty of bigamy. The Court did not declare the marriage with a Hindu woman to be void. How can a man commit adultery with his own wife? There was no other way in which the divorce could have been granted. It would have been a grievous hardship to the Christian wife to continue in that status after the second marriage. But she married the man knowing that he was free to marry a second wife under his personal law. Without questioning the legality of the judgment, we think that the chances of amending an admittedly defective law would have been improved if the Court had pointed out the hardship involved and had not tried to get round the difficulty by lending its sanction to the astounding proposition that a man can commit adultery with his own legally married wife. The legitimacy of children by the Hindu marriage (existing or prospective) is jeopardised by such a proposition.



**Missionaries and Methodism:**—The ways of mission leaders are mysterious. Five Methodist missionaries seem to be agreed in their views on War and Imperialism. They are Dr. J. Holmes Smith and Mr. Paul K. Keene, Mr and Mrs. Ralph T. Templin, and Dr. E. Stanley Jones. The first two took an identical stand. The only point in which Dr. Jones differed from the Templins of Muttra was that he did not sign the Kristagraha Manifesto because he did not wish to "push his views up under the nose of Government" (*Reformer*, April 1340). But the action taken by the Mission has not been the same in all cases. Dr Holmes Smith and Mr. Keene left the country because they felt that they could not keep their pledge. This feeling came to both of them not out of thin air as the *Indian Witness* naively suggests, but out of a very real controversy with conservative missionaries as to whether the signing of Kristagraha Manifesto I by foreign missionaries was a breach of the pledge. To solve this difficulty, Manifest II was issued as an open letter to the Viceroy. The Viceroy was silent but the mission leaders supported the conservative missionaries. In published statements, Dr. Holmes Smith and Mr. Keene were definite that the Mission body accepted as a breach of the pledge their action in applying their views on War and Imperialism to conditions prevailing in India. The Templins, at first almost alone among Methodists, questioned this opinion. Therefore the first two left India while the Templins remained. The American Consul told Dr. Smith that the Church's judgment was final and that it was for the Church to decide. Both Dr. Smith and the Mission heads accepted this position (*Reformer* January 13, 1940). After Dr. Holmes Smith had left India, almost two months after, Dr. E. Stanley Jones who was his guru and inspiration, pointed out in a press communication that Dr. Jones' "witnessing to his Christian convictions on War and Imperialism" was not derogatory to the Government but helpful to it. He went further and discussed what he would do if "Government should say I could not give my witness" (*Reformer*, April 13, 1940) thus throwing the initiative on Government not on the Mission. This position was not dissimilar to that taken up by Mr. Ralph T. Templin. Yet Mr. Templin has been asked by his mission to leave India while Dr. Jones is not affected. The *Indian Witness* speaking for Methodist officialdom sees no principle in Mr. Templin's recall only a question of procedure. Has Dr. Jones then been saved owing to his tact or by his prestige?

**An Anglo-American Deal:**—The lease of several places in British possessions in South America for the establishment of naval and military bases by the United States in exchange for 50 cruisers to be handed over to Great Britain, is altogether a new phase in the evolution of international amenities. No similar leases have been heretofore granted by any country voluntarily and as part of a bargain between equally sovereign States. The American view seems to be that Britain herself will not maintain

forces of her own in these places, the defence of which will thus be left wholly to the United States. The civil administration, however, will be in British hands and the sovereignty will continue to be that of His Majesty. This kind of diarchy has not been tried under similar conditions in any part of the world and experience alone can show whether it is capable of harmonious working. The British Government relieved of the necessity of defending its American Colonies will be able to concentrate its full strength on the war in Europe and if this leads to an early end to it, all the world will have cause for rejoicing. The United States had steadfastly refused to enter into a military alliance with Great Britain, but the present arrangement is as good as a military alliance, in some respects it is better than one. A section of American opinion indeed regards the "deal" as practically America's early participation in the war. The President has carried this "deal" through on his own authority. In sending it to the Senate he has submitted his Attorney General's opinion that it was legally within the power of the President. The Republican Candidate for the Presidency at the election next November, Mr. Willkie, while approving of the transaction, has expressed regret that the President did not consult the Senate before concluding it.

**"A Sporting Offer":**—We do not quite understand what a sporting offer means. Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya has made "a sporting offer" to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to the effect that the National Government of India might have a Muslim League Premier and that he would undertake to secure the support of the Congress Party for him and the Ministry which he may form in carrying on the Government. We gather from this that the arrangement which is suggested is meant to counter the opposition of the Muslim League to a Congress controlled administration. Mr. Rajagopalacharya virtually tells the League that if it does not trust the Congress, Congress is prepared fully to trust it. This has created a difference in the League camp. Some of the members suspect that the Madras ex-Premier has something up his sleeve.

**Editorial Announcement:**—*The Reformer* today carries on its front page instead of two names as joint Editors, a single name as Editor, S. Natarajan. Mr. S. Natarajan has been associated with the literary and business side of *The Reformer* for fifteen years. For the last four years he has been joint Editor. Latterly the bulk of the work of the paper has fallen to his share. His book, "West of Suez," has a fresh interest today as the picture of a large part of Europe just before it was eclipsed by the shadow of Herr Hitler. I shall be completing my 72nd year in the next few days and, in the interests of the paper, the time is opportune to place the active conduct of it in younger hands, I have much pleasure in making this announcement with the cordial concurrence of my colleagues on the Board of Directors.

K. NATARAJAN.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 7, 1940.

## FIFTY YEARS.

*The Indian Social Reformer* was first published on the 7th September 1890. Today it enters on its fifty-first year. The contrast between conditions which prevailed fifty years ago and now is complete to the last detail. Indian reformers in 1890, with a few possible exceptions, accepted the British connection as a historical fact. Many of them spoke of it as a divine dispensation. They regarded English education, English language and literature as the doorway to Freedom. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the pioneer of the movement of Freedom in modern India, was an all-round reformer. He founded the Brahmo Samaj as the organ of religious freedom. His strong support encouraged Lord William Bentinck to suppress suttee. He was the founder of the first English school in India and a vigorous advocate of modern education. He started the first Indian journal and pleaded hard for the liberty of the Press. His tradition in all these respects was inherited by his successors. Suttee and infanticide were repugnant to the natural sentiments of the Hindus and their suppression was accepted without opposition. The passing of the Act to remove the ban on the remarriage of Hindu widows, some years later at the instance of Pandit Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar, however, was bitterly resented. So high an authority as Lord Roberts has included it among the causes of the Indian Mutiny. Another piece of legislation which also aroused resentment was the one for securing rights in ancestral property to converts to Christianity. Things had settled down after the Mutiny with the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. Three Indian Universities were established and their first products became the leaders of reform. The National Congress was established in 1885. The Indian National Social Conference followed two years later. There was a difference of opinion among the leaders as to whether social reform should precede political reform or be preceded by it. A section of leaders held the first view. They argued that a modern state could not be raised on a medieval society. The other section which prevailed, fully endorsed this view. But it felt that, in view of the differences between the Indian communities, the social movement should not be mixed up with the political movement in which all could participate. The issue came to a head in a practical shape very soon. The Age of Consent Act of 1890 aroused fierce opposition in the country. Its strongest supporters and opponents were in Bombay. Mr. Tilak objected to the holding of the National Social Conference in the same pavilion as the Congress because the Conference had supported the Bill and

advocated social reforms which were calculated to weaken the political movement by creating splits in the community and giving a handle to opponents. This was in 1895. By that time *The Reformer* had established its position as the organ of the social reform movement with whose leaders in Bombay it was in closest touch.

*The Reformer* had also other objects in view. The social reform movement since the days of Ram Mohan Roy had degenerated into a quibble over shastraic texts. The reformers tried to prove that widow remarriage was supported by the Shastras, while their opponents quoted other Shastras as prohibiting them. This kind of verbal controversy had gone on for a considerable time without leading to any tangible result. The chief exponent of the shastraic support of social reform was Dewan Bahadur Raghonath Rao who spent much money and time in collecting texts, printing them in the form of tracts and distributing them among the people free of charge. He also called conferences of Pandits at different centres and it was no unusual thing for these conferences to end in scuffles. *The Reformer* and the Hindu Social Reform Association which was started soon after in Madras, demanded that social reforms should be discussed and decided on rational lines and not on the authority of shastraic texts. The shastraic reformers, moreover, did not show any practical sympathy with those who adopted their precepts. Thus, the Dewan Bahadur, though the leading exponent of the abolition of the custom against remarriage of widows, would not take his meals in the company of remarried couples. *The Reformer* challenged this position and insisted that every reformer should practice what he preached. Of course, every reformer was not required to marry a widow, but if any one did so, he should be associated with by those who preached social reform. Social purity was another question which claimed urgent attention. Social reform had fallen into popular discredit because some people who ate and drank forbidden food claimed to be reformers. *The Reformer* took up the question and had total abstinence adopted as a main plank in social reform. The importance of public men leading pure private lives was another question to which considerable space was given in *The Reformer*. One or two well-known leaders whose lives were the cause of public scandal, were particularly involved in this campaign. The suppression of the dedication of women in Hindu temples and the abandonment of the practice of engaging nautch women at domestic and social functions, formed the subject of a vigorous campaign which attained notable success. Excommunicating people for travelling overseas or dining with persons of other castes, has practically ceased now but it was a crucial question in the early years of *The Reformer*.

*The Reformer* did not confine itself to technically social matters. Social reform touched religion

with one hand and politics with the other. *The Reformer* from the first dealt freely with religious and political questions. The Theosophical Society and Swami Vivekananda's Mission were closely followed, the former with some distrust of its esoteric doctrines, the latter with warm sympathy for its dynamic Hinduism. Christian Missionaries were in several cases genuinely helpful but in more cases they were a cause of considerable embarrassment. These regarded reformers as sappers and miners in their campaign for the destruction of the indigenous religio-social system. Government officials were as a rule indifferent. But one high-placed official enquired half in jest what other purpose reformers could have in advocating abolition of caste but the end of British rule. All these currents and cross-currents found a powerful channel in the National Social Conference which, first with Ranade as General Secretary and afterwards with N. G. Chandavarkar, became the accredited organ of the national mind and conscience. To the Amritsar Conference in 1919 Sir Narayan Chandavarkar sent a message declaring that the time had come to extend the scope of social reform to subjects which were connoted by the term in the West, sanitation and hygiene, child welfare and maternity, relations between workers and employers. Meanwhile, the social reform movement had branched out into several special directions; the Women's movement, the Depressed Classes Mission, the Social Service League. In the early days of *The Reformer* the greatest opposition to social reforms came from women. Even the education of girls was disfavoured. Then suddenly one woke to find that a great enthusiasm had seized the country for the education of girls. There were not enough schools for them. Girls overflowed into boys' schools. The congestion is still acute. In about ten years women's opposition to social reform disappeared and today older reformers are rather alarmed at the pace which some advanced women wish to set.

It will be seen that the policy of the leaders, both political and social, was to create a body of men and women of high character and trained emotions to take up the leadership of the country. No extravagant measure of universal self-sacrifice was demanded. What was expected and secured in large measure among public men, was a habit of subordinating personal to public ends whenever the two appeared to be in conflict. The object being the attainment of a high average of quality, there was no attempt at appealing to the masses. Political leaders on this account were taunted by high officials as being a microscopic minority who carried little weight with the inarticulate masses. But that they did not mind. They deliberately refrained from organising anything like a mass movement which might easily get out of control. They did not want to end British rule but to mend it. The transfer of power

to Indians, they saw, was inevitable. They worked in every way to create the right type of personnel to shoulder new responsibilities free from caste, communal and race prejudice. The advent of the late Mr. Tilak and Gandhiji to the leadership of the National Congress completely changed the scene. The Lokamanya in his later years shed his antipathy to social reform and reformers and even co-operated with them to some extent. Gandhiji converted the Congress into a totalitarian Party. He made it a religious, social as well as political organ. The starting of Civil Disobedience, the approaches to Hindu-Muslim unity, the methods adopted to bring up the Harijans, were all his own and distinct from those of the older school. This is not the occasion to attempt an estimate of the Gandhian policy. It revolutionised the conditions which existed at the starting of *The Reformer*. The situation has been vastly aggravated by the present War. In the nineties of the last century Britain was at the zenith of her power and prestige. That she should be fighting for her very existence half a century later never entered into the calculation of the most far-sighted public man. The collapse of the old order is well-nigh complete. The task before those on whom falls the responsibility of reconstructing national life on absolutely new lines, is a tremendous one. It will be the aim of *The Reformer* unflinchingly to bear its share of it.

#### "DEFEATISM."

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In "I. J. P.'s" curious letter which you published last week, under the above heading, there are numerous inconsistencies. In the first place he is apparently an admirer of the ideals of pacifists but objects to these ideals being acted upon; he thinks that the evils in European society pointed out by American missionaries and Quakers may exist but thinks it is a case of "fouling their own nests" if these "defeatists" point out that there has been fouling. He certainly dislikes *The Reformer's* publishing any of their contributions. And he would have a very rigid censorship set up in India so that the indiscriminating Indian might not read what the balanced Briton reads in his own country.

It is just these characteristics shown by "I. J. P." which have enabled a democracy in Europe to develop imperialist tendencies abroad. As for his remark on the rottenness of the countries which have fallen to Herr Hitler's armies, such comments obviously can only be made after the result is known. Most of us had been led to believe that the rotten structure of Nazism would have collapsed with the strain the moment it exerted itself to any extent. In fact anyone suggesting even vaguely on the outbreak of war that Poland and France would be destroyed by their own "rottenness" would have been clapped in prison for circulating false rumours. As for the comparison between the Empire and a house on fire, surely "I. J. P." is more picturesque than just in comparing Indians to children squabbling over their places at the dinner-table?

Bombay, }  
September 3, 1940. }

Yours etc.,  
INDIAN.

### PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

(BY A. B. LATTHE, BELGAUM.)

Very few people who talk of constitutional reforms, think of the financial aspects of those reforms and fewer still devote the necessary study to those aspects. The scanty attention which is paid to the subject by many politicians is, therefore, not a matter for surprise. Professor C. N. Vakil and Mr. M. H. Patel of the Bombay University have done good service to this class of politicians—and generally to those who are interested in the future well-being of the Indian masses under a progressively more and more self-governing constitution—by publishing a handy volume on "Finance Under Provincial Autonomy." (Messrs Longmans, Green and Co., Price Rs. 4/-.) The authors have succeeded in providing a volume, on a subject which most people pass over as too dry or uninteresting, which will rouse the curiosity of many people about matters which they will feel they had wrongly neglected. The book gives a clear synopsis of the financial provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 and traces the history of the financial administration in various Provinces under the so-called Provincial Autonomy inaugurated by that Act. 'The future outlook' of the Provinces is discussed in a concluding chapter. Suggestions, it should be noted, are occasionally made for the improvement of the financial prospects of the Provinces. The volume thus surveys the whole problem of provincial finance in its various bearings and will be useful to the readers who wish to study this vital subject.

Naturally enough, the authors have not adopted the tone of political writers. It is true that in one or two places they could not avoid criticism of the Central Government in its attitude towards the needs of the Provincial Governments. Their attack on the changes made in the Neimier Award after the resignation of the Congress Ministries is quite vigorous and reads very much like what those Ministries would have said if they had been called upon to express their views on the changes thus made. Apart from one or two instances of this kind, they have tried to adopt the abstract methods of theoretical economists in dealing with the many difficult questions of taxation which is perhaps the most important portion of their work. These methods have the look of scholarship characterised by detachment. Freedom from passions which participation in controversies arouses, is the great advantage of writers who take no part in the controversies when they rage. But this abstract method of study has its own defects. Unless you are an out-and-out politician charged with actual responsibility for carrying out taxation measures to raise revenues for urgent needs, you cannot realise the varied difficulties facing you. If then you begin finding fault with one thing or another from the seclusion of your study, all the abstract learning you apply to the subject is unable to give you the full view of all the forces that a politician with responsibility for action has to take into account.

The authors, for instance, complain that the Provincial Governments wrongly opposed or neglected the levy of succession duties which they contend would bring in a large revenue. It is quite likely that the Duties may bring in good revenue. But do the authors realise what hardships an inheritance tax would mean to the five sons of a petty agriculturist owning three acres of land who have before them no openings except the cultivation of their ancestral, probably debt-burdened land? One of the many considerations which the Finance Minister in Bombay had to weigh in this connection

was the probability of collections to be made under these Duties and the possible share of All-India collections which Bombay might get. Supposing a crore a year is yielded by the tax-payer in Bombay and the Federal Government lays down principles of distribution which bring in only fifty lakhs what would be reaction of such an arrangement on public opinion? So long as the distribution of the proceeds of a tax is in other hands and one does not know how the distribution will be made, such considerations must arise in the minds of those who may be called upon to share the responsibility for the levy of that tax by some other agency.

I am not arguing the issue of Death Duties as a source of Provincial Revenue. Nor am I at present either defending or opposing that levy. Whatever the merits or faults of this tax, the point to note is that the mere fact of the tax standing the tests of theoretical Economics does not sufficiently justify its levy by a responsible government. Taxation, like all other financial measures, must be considered with a large number of facts with which it may be mixed up. Finance is not a question merely of raising money in the easiest way. A direct Sales Tax on the retail sale to the consumer is theoretically the best Sales Tax. The authors of the book before me seem inclined to take this view. In theory, they may be quite right in their view. And yet the social factors so well-illustrated by the experience of the Tobacco Tax in this Province leads one to the view that, if such a tax has to be levied, it is at present best to levy it at the first wholesale stage at which the constitution permits the Provincial Legislature to levy it.

One more point may be usefully noticed before closing this short review. The book deals with the Land Revenue System in this Province and rightly points out the defects in the existing system. But in attempting to suggest a substitute, the authors have blundered into theories which cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. They suggest that the 'assessment should be permanently determined on the annual value at the time of the settlement' at the rate of 12½ per cent with a tax on Agricultural Income. Under this scheme, a tax-exemption is to be given to income below a thousand or fifteen-hundred. In the first place, let us take the case of Land Revenue Settlement on a permanent basis. We all know the evils of a Permanent Settlement like the one in Bengal where attempts are afoot to give the go-by to the permanency. Here in Bombay, a fall in prices below the prices when the settlement has taken place gives rise to a furious agitation for rebates, remissions, etc. Of course, no one complains if the price improves. Is there any justice in saying that the prices of a depression year should be taken for the settlement in each case? Secondly, the idea of an Income Tax on agriculturists looks very alluring. But in a Province like Bombay where most of the agricultural land is held by petty agriculturists, an Income Tax is not likely to bring in even a fraction of the revenue which will be lost by adopting the scheme suggested in this book.

Such mistakes are inevitable in the treatment of economics—Finance is a very important part of it—on an a priori basis without actual experience of the conditions which govern the solution of problems. The State affects the whole life of its people by measures of taxation as well as by the way expenditure is incurred. In all attempts to deal with these measures without reference to the entirety of social conditions of a given people at a given time, such mistakes are bound to creep in. In spite of them, the volume under review presents a very clear picture of the financial constitutions under which provincial mini

stries were called upon to function three years ago, and sets out as clearly the difficulties which the existing system of Provincial Finance imposes. I am glad to recommend it to all those who take interest in the working of autonomy in the Provinces and, what is still more important, in a possible revision of the existing financial arrangements which should be made for the future.

### THE SUPERIOR CLAIMS OF NON-VIOLENCE.

(BY RALPH T. TEMPLIN.)

The importance of Mr. Krishnalal Shridharani's book "War without Violence." (Publishers: Messrs. Victor Gollancz; Price 9 sh) results from the interesting blending of East and West which the author brought to his task. Five years' research in the United States of America coupled with a definite purpose, have made his study exactly what he has called it, "a contribution from India whose appeal is not based on the traditional 'mysticism of the Orient' but on a very matter-of-fact pragmatism. The whole focus is upon securing effective action, short of the destructive practice of war, for achieving realistic and needed ends." But at the same time the author's background of Indian culture and folklore, his actual participation in the 1930 Civil Disobedience and his intimate and understanding knowledge of Gandhiji and India's non-violent movement, its philosophy, its technique and its achievements, make him also an authority in the source material with which he has so ably and irresistably documented all his important points. If this book can be widely read in the West it will be more effective than others, especially than those purely theoretical works of Gregg, Muste and other Western writers, in commending non-violent direct action to the Western reader as an effective method for overcoming resistance to legitimate reform.

It is appropriate that this book, with its exceedingly apt title, should appear at the very time when the ineffectiveness of violent war is beginning to dawn on the intelligent consciousness of men of all lands and races, of those who still desire to preserve any fragments of our democratic civilization.

This book is conveniently divided into three parts. The first is introductory and consists of one chapter on the technique of Satyagraha in each of its phases as it has been applied in India. He shows with diagram as well as with notes how these phases arrange themselves into a definite pattern, and at the close suggests the possible extension of the technique into the wider fields of national defence in a violent world.

Part two deals with Satyagraha in practice. The "Individual Facing the Group" is illustrated from Gandhi's own life. The other sections, "Group versus the Government," "Community versus the State" and "Organisation and Discipline" vividly describe India's non-violent struggle to the end of the 1930-1934 Satyagraha.

The closing section on "The Theory of Satyagraha," is not as forbidding and unpromising as that may sound. Beginning with what he calls the "Folklore of Non-Violence," the author tries by tracing Satyagraha to its root-sources, to account for its emergence in India's life. One has a feeling that he is doing this, not because he wishes to prove what many would like to believe—that non-violence would not be practicable outside of India—but because he wished once for all to show that the most careful study of contributing causes in India can prove nothing of the kind. This study is a very able contribution to this field and, in my opinion, carries his point with

it. The fact that no one has more ably traced the emergence of non-violence lends peculiar strength to his purpose.

The thesis of the book is, first that non-violence is a technique available alike to all people who wish to resist evil in any organised form, Fascism, Communism, Imperialism, or any other; and, second, that it can be employed by all such groups on their behalf in the place of war; and, third, that as a technique for struggle in any righteous cause (in the interest of the peoples' well-being) it is more effective than war. In all of this the author makes a very good case.

But there is one great defect. Mr. Shridharani repudiates all claim of any superior moral values in non-violence. Perhaps it was his long subjection to American pragmatism which led him to say that, "As a form of mass action directed towards the attainment of desired social ends, Satyagraha is just another technique which mankind can use at will.....it has no claim to moral superiority.....for moral standards vary from people to people, place to place and time to time..... it is useless to prescribe Satyagraha on the ground of moral superiority, notwithstanding the efforts of Gandhi and his ardent disciples. On the contrary, Satyagraha's priority depends upon its higher efficiency." This writer too was steeped in the pragmatic philosophy over a much longer period than the author of this book. This is a very old tune, indeed one which has become monotonous and wearisome; and, one may well add, a tune that has grown obnoxious in a world in which man's self-sufficiency is an exploded belief. In turning his back on Gandhi's fundamental philosophy of Ahimsa and Satyagraha, the author has not only himself lost his greatest case for non-violence, but has done a distinct disservice to the Western world.

This error is possible only because the author is unable to conceive of non-violence as a more than mere method. If it is merely another method of struggle then the author's contention holds good. But the fact is that non-violence as method is the smallest segment, and perhaps the least important segment, of non-violence. The real non-violence (like violence its opposite) is the organised structure of thought and life. This is true of those people who have repudiated class superiority and selfish aggrandizement. It may well be supposed that in a truly non-violent world the necessity for struggle against other human beings—those who resist human progress and well-being—will cease to be. Non-violence can exist as method only because—well, for the same reason that war as a method exists, because violence as organised thought and life is now the core of all organization in the individualistic morality of our day.

The author's contention is true, that non-violence is pragmatically the most efficient technique for resistance against the violence of the social structure of our present world. But it is superior because God and Truth are on the side of the people's cause against whatever enslaves and degrades personality or whatever wastes or filches from man, the world which God has given to him. The World and its wealth have always been the people's own. History is one long record that governments which do not recognize this truth and seek its realization, cannot permanently abide. It remains to be seen what a civilization can reveal which endeavours to order itself around non-violence instead of violence. Denmark is the world's best illustration to this date of the possibilities. How can one say that non-violence is not itself a higher morality?



## MISSIONARY SOCIETIES AND THE PLEDGE.

The following letter, writes the *Indian Witness* of Lucknow, from the Government of India to the Secretary of the N. C. C. "finally settles the question of procedure, which to our thinking should never have arisen":

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.  
Home Department.

FROM

C. J. W. LILLIE, ESQUIRE, I. C. S.,  
DEPUTY SECRETARY to the Government of India.

TO

THE SECRETARY of the National Christian Council.  
Simla, the 23rd August, 1940.

SIR,

I am directed to say that the Government of India have seen an article in the issue of *Indian Witness* of July 18th, entitled "Alien Missionaries in India" in which certain doubts are raised regarding the interpretation of paragraph 5 of memorandum A. The Government of India wish it to be made known that in their view the correct interpretation is that given in the article itself and that they regard it as incumbent on the Governing Body of a missionary society, to see that the provisions of the memorandum are carried out and that appropriate action is taken when there is any breach thereof. They do not regard an interpretation by which it is left to the Government of India to take the initiative where there is a breach of the memorandum as consistent with the plain intention stated in paragraph 3(c) of the memorandum that the Conference will hold recognized societies responsible for carrying out its provisions.

I have etc,

(SD.) C. J. W. LILLIE,

Deputy-Secretary to the Government of India.

As the *Witness* points out this "finally settles the question of procedure." We wish, however, that the action of the Methodist authorities in India in purging its missionaries, had been the result, instead of the cause, of such a letter. The Methodist Church has not only made itself an agent of the Government but it has by this precedent made all missionaries and mission bodies similar tools. In the case of Mr. Gordon Halstead, the position was different. There the Government asked for Mr. Halstead's removal from India and, according to the Methodist version, "representatives of the Mission saw the Governor and tried to get him to change the order." (Dr. Wellons' letter to Mr. Templin, *Reformer*, February 17, 1940.) Now the Mission points out its troublesome members to the Government and, even though the Government keeps quiet, sends them out of the country. The missionary worker apparently need expect no loyalty from his chiefs whether in India or America. The question of procedure may be settled "finally" but the solution sounds nonsensical to the ordinary layman. After all only the Government can say which activities and whose undermine its authority. When another body seeks to interpret the interests of the Government it lands itself into strange contradictions as has the Methodist Mission. The relation between foreign missions and the State has been laid bare with cynical frankness and the Government may well congratulate itself on the Church's surrender without a fight.—*Editor*.

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## SEX IN VILLAGE INDIA.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I hope Mr J. K. Metha will not think me ungracious if I make some comment on his very kind reference to my book 'The Baiga' in your issue of Aug. 17th but I feel bound to point out this work cannot be taken as giving a typical picture of village India or of its sexual philosophy and practice. It is a study of one particular tribe which is in many ways unique: I would not care to generalise from my special conclusions.

Mr. J. M. Ganguli has touched on a subject that has often been discussed by anthropologists, the relative strength of the sexual instinct and the nature of love among simple and more sophisticated peoples. There is a very full account of this in Briffault's 'The Mothers' (Vol. II, Chap. XIV). Mr. Ganguli seems to take the view of Crawley and many others that sexual instinct among simple people is normally weak, and for this view there is a good deal to be said. He is certainly correct in his observation that 'their mind is much less intensely excited that way by brooding and imagination.' As Briffault says, 'There exist in primitive societies none of the barriers, none of the delays, none of the repressions in regard to the satisfaction of sexual instincts which afford, in cultured societies, an opportunity for their transmutation.' Again Rousseau says, 'Being confined to the purely physical aspect of love, and fortunate in being ignorant of those preferences which irritate the passions and increase the difficulties in the way of their satisfaction' simple people 'must needs feel less frequently and less powerfully than we do ardours of temperament. Imagination, which plays such havoc amongst ourselves, has no power over their mind; each awaits peacefully the impulse of nature, yields to it without exercising choice, with more pleasure than fury, and the mood being satisfied, all desire is extinguished.'

This "simple, sensuous and passionate" approach to sex, which is typical of peasants all over the world, without repressions or frustrations, has one great advantage. The villager is practically free from sexual abnormalities. Briffault points out how the repression of sex results 'in European civilisation, in various forms of nervous disturbance, in romantic passion, in religious phenomena, in masturbation, in vice, manifestations which are for the most part unknown in primitive societies where no such repression exists.' On the other hand, civilised peoples are often able to sublimate their sexual desires into the highest achievements of mankind.

Where I would venture to join issue with Mr. Ganguli—if I understand him rightly—is in his apparent belief that the weakness of the sexual instinct in village India is a matter for congratulation. But surely this weakness is largely due, not to a higher standard of morality, but to the abominable conditions under which millions of our people have to live. Under-nourished, diseased, ill-housed, a prey to continual anxiety and fear, the villager cannot develop a natural and vigorous sexuality. The Baigas whom I describe in my book are undoubtedly over-sexed: they are a free people, of hunting nomad stock, wiry and vigorous in physique, happy and in temperament. I have just finished a monograph on another tribe, the Agaria blacksmiths. These are as certainly under-sexed: an over-worked, over-taxed people, weary, anxious, suspicious village menials; these unhappy men know little of the delight of love and have never developed its technique.

The real danger of sex is not that we should have too much of it, but that it should taken an abnormal course. This danger is far greater, even in India, than is commonly believed. Ancient India developed a sexual culture which, pure, passionate and beautiful, has been the wonder of the world. Modern India need not be afraid of it.

Gorakhpur  
August 27, 1940. }

Yours etc.  
VERRIER ELWIN

### THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND THE BRITISH OFFER

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed the following resolutions at its meeting in Bombay on Monday:—

(1) The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the statement issued by His Excellency the Viceroy on August 8, 1940 and the authoritative amplification and clarification of it by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the course of the India debate in the House of Commons on August 14. The Committee consider that these pronouncements constitute a considerable progressive advance towards the approach of the point of view and the position taken up by the All-India Muslim League on behalf of Muslim India regarding the problem of the future constitution of India, and the Committee also note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government have, on the whole, practically met the demand of the Muslim League for a clear assurance to the effect that no future constitution, Interim or final, should be adopted by the British Government without their approval and consent.

(2) The Working Committee place on record that some of the observations made in the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy, and also in the speech of the Secretary of State for India, with regard to the theory of unity of national life which does not exist are historically inaccurate and self-contradictory. Such observations are calculated to raise apprehensions in the minds of the Mussalmans of India, and therefore, the Committee deem it necessary to reaffirm and make the position clear once more that the Committee stand by the Lahore resolution and the basic principles underlying the terms thereof, proposing the division of India and the creation of independent States in the north-western and eastern zones of India where the Muslims are in a majority, and the Committee declare their determination, firm resolve and faith that the partition of India is the only solution of the most difficult and complex problem of India's future constitution, and are glad to state that the vital importance and the true aspect of this question are being fully realised by British Parliament; and that His Majesty's Government are now fully apprised and seized of the realities of the situation.

The Muslim League again makes its position clear that the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves and will exercise their right to self-determination and that they alone are the final judges and arbiters of their own future destiny.

(3) The Working Committee appreciate that His Majesty's Government have conceded the principle urged upon them by the Muslim League that in order to secure genuine and full support of Muslim India and such other parties as are and have been ready and willing to undertake the responsibility and are prepared to make every contribution to the intensification of the war efforts and for the defence of India with a view to meet any external danger or aggression and to maintain internal security and peace, they should forthwith associate the representatives of the Muslim League with authority and power as partners in the Central and Provincial

Governments and establish a War Council which will include the Indian Princes and thus secure their co-operation also.

The Committee, therefore, are glad that His Majesty's Government provisionally and during the prosecution of the War have decided upon the expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the establishment of a War Advisory Council on an all-India basis, although they regret that His Majesty's Government have declared that they at this stage do not contemplate non-official advisors in the provinces which are at present administered by the Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. The Committee, however, find that the specific offer now made as embodied in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy dated August 14 purporting to give effect to and to implement that principle of co-operation with authority in the Government as partners is most unsatisfactory and does not meet the requirements nor the spirit indicated in the resolution of this Committee of the 16th of June 1940 which was communicated by the President to His Excellency the Viceroy by his letter of June 17, 1940, nor does it meet the memorandum that was submitted to His Excellency by the President on July 1.

In the circumstances the Committee find it very difficult to deal with this offer for the following reasons:—

(a) Neither the President nor the Committee were consulted as to the number of the proposed increase of the additional members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

(b) The Committee are not yet aware of the manner in which the entire Executive Council will be reconstituted.

(c) The Committee have no information as to which are the other parties with whom the Muslim League will be called upon to work.

(d) The Committee understand that the President has not been informed as to what portfolios will be assigned to every one of these additional members. The Committee are merely asked without any further knowledge or information, except that the total number of members of the expanded Executive Council will be in the neighbourhood of 11, to send a panel of 4 out of which 2 will be selected for appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

(e) The Committee have considered the system of panel suggested and they are of the opinion that it is open to many objections, is not desirable and does not commend itself to them.

(f) As regards the proposed "War Advisory Council," the Committee do not know its constitution, composition and functions, beyond the information that it will probably consist of about 20 members and the Committee are asked to submit a panel out of which 5 will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy.

In these circumstances the Committee consider the offer unsatisfactory and request His Excellency the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and hereby authorise the President to seek further information and clarification.

(4) The resolution of the Working Committee passed in Bombay on June 16 requesting the Muslims generally and, in particular, the members of the Muslim League not to serve on war committees and to await further instructions from the President pending the result of the negotiations with the Viceroy was not a decision that adopted the policy of non-co-operation with Government, as has wrongly been represented by the enemies of the Muslim League, but, on the contrary, was intended to urge

upon Government a line of action and policy which they should adopt to secure more effective co-operation in the prosecution of the war. There were two very vital points for which the Committee have been pressing Government, namely, (1) that no constitution, either interim or final, would be adopted by His Majesty's Government without the approved consent of Muslim India and (2) that in order to secure genuine and whole-hearted support of the Muslims it was imperative that within the framework of the present constitution Muslim Indian leadership should be associated as a partner in the realm of the Central and Provincial Governments forthwith.

As a result of the negotiations the Working Committee are glad to state that the first point has now been practically met by the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy of August 8 and the amplification and clarification of that statement by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, in the course of his speech on August 14 in Parliament and the Committee note with satisfaction that Government have accepted the principle of the second point that was urged upon them, namely, "co-operation with authority and power" in the Government in order to prosecute the war successfully.

In view of these circumstances the Working Committee leave those Muslims who think that they can serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with the War Committees free to do so.

The Committee are of opinion that Government should, in fact and not merely in principle, take without delay Muslim leadership into their complete confidence and associate them as equal partners in charge of the reins of the Government in the Centre and in the Provinces in order to secure genuine and whole-hearted co-operation of Muslim India in the prosecution of the war successfully."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**"Sporting Offer"**:—Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya's "sporting offer" to the Secretary of State has had an unexpected repercussion. Mr. Amery himself has to all appearance taken no notice of the offer to accept a Muslim League Premier with colleagues of his choice and free to consider the Pakistan idea. But the Sikhs in the Punjab have taken alarm. The Congress High Command was called upon to repudiate the "offer" and, on its failing to do so, Master Tara Singh, President of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee, has resigned from the Punjab Congress and the All-India Congress Committee. Master Tara Singh does not, however, make a communal issue of his resignation and has asked other Sikhs to continue to remain and participate in the Congress organisation. The Sikhs are rather a matter of fact people who do not understand the subtleties of politics or they would have realised that Mr. Rajagopalacharya's offer was merely meant to expose the Secretary of State's sophistries. No British statesman worth the name would have accepted the offer. Although Mr. Rajagopalacharya was confident he could get the Congress party to support the sporting ministry—he was wrong so far as Sikh Congressmen were concerned—the country as a whole may not see its way to support the Congress party. Meanwhile, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan who attended the meeting of the Working Committee in Bombay, told a representative of the *Lahore Tribune* that he was totally opposed to the division of the country, that the Punjab could not be governed by any single community and that the resolution of the Muslim League did not contemplate any division of India.

**Civil Liberties Union**:—The Bombay Branch of the Civil Liberties Union has not been very much in evidence in recent years. The acceptance of office by the Congress in 1937 gave a general impression that the work of such associations was no longer necessary

and, as the first office-bearers were mostly drawn from the Congress party, it was inevitable that a more lenient view was taken of any encroachments on individual liberty by the State. The Civil Liberties Union was regarded as a troublesome body and many of its members who had in its early days played an important part, resigned from it. The Union was, of course, considerably weakened by these defections and it was generally believed that it had ceased to function. We are glad to see from a report in the newspapers on Wednesday last, that an annual general meeting was held to elect office-bearers. Mr. N. M. Joshi has been elected President. This is a commendable choice since Mr. Joshi has no party affiliations and is not likely to hold office in any future government. Most of the other office-bearers and Committee members are persons who have not made their mark as party politicians. This is an improvement on the first Committee which had a distinguished personnel but was less convincing as a working institution. Unfortunately the size of the Committee makes it almost unwieldy—there are ten office-bearers and sixteen members. The only justification for this must be that it evokes greater enthusiasm and it does not discriminate between one champion of Civil Liberties and another. Bombay has known less of the Defence of India Ordinance than many of the other provinces. But the Union has much work to do and in the near future will probably have its hands fully occupied.

**The War**:—For several days in succession since last Saturday, Britain has been subjected to intensive bombardment more than repaid by British bombardments of Berlin. On Wednesday Buckingham Palace was reported to have been hit though the damage was not serious. Italian armies are mobilising on the Egyptian frontier. The war is working towards its climax and it is expected that the end of September will see a decisive turn in the position of the belligerents.

**The Nazi Hold On Europe**:—In a recent issue of *No-Frontier News*, Mr. Devere Allen who has gone back to the United States, meets the accusations made against King Leopold of the Belgians. He says that the simplest reason is usually true in public events and the reason he gives for Belgian surrender is "In any future Belgium, a few young men were to be needed—alive." Mr. Allen who was for long in Brussels,

remarks that so far from the King being responsible for Belgium's policy of neutrality, "no government could hold power in Belgium that undertook to reverse that policy." Leopold was not pro-Nazi. On the contrary, Mr. Allen points out, he was in the forefront in rooting out fifth column activities and, Mr. Allen adds, no small country in Europe so assiduously worked to master the fifth column. Mr. Allen also publishes in the same number an account of how France came to capitulate but, since this is not gathered at first hand as Mr. Allen's views on Belgium are, one or two links are missing. Mr. Allen quotes from one of his correspondents that General Franco played a great part in raising Marshal Petain to the premiership of defeated France and in inducing Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to accept him. Mr. Allen says that through the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, Franco persuaded the "near-Fascist" party in France "into whose hands power was falling" to make Marshal Petain, Premier. This is the first indication we have that power was falling to near-Fascists. These gentlemen would seem to have disguised their authority very successfully. It was generally believed that the Reynauld group, no less than other parties, looked to Marshal Petain to shoulder the responsibility for a policy which none of them were prepared to face the country with. It is not unusual for a subjugated country to seek to unite its people for reconstruction work under the leadership of a national figure. Mr. Allen gives an interesting item on General Franco's position in Europe. He writes :

Francó was eager to assert himself, not merely for reasons of prestige, sorely needed at home; but because he has become a hostage of Mussolini in a new and not too pleasant way. Italy has transferred all the debts owed to her by Portugal to Spain and Spain has become the guarantor of these obligations. At any time Italy can make Spain take as active a part in the conflict as may be desired.

Mr. Allen remarks that all kinds of pressure are being applied to Portugal's dictator, Salazar, by Herr Hitler.

**Prohibition and the Abkari Act:**—In his comprehensive treatment in the article we print this week, of the question whether under the Abkari Act a policy of total Prohibition could be initiated, Mr. B. G. Kher cites Government resolutions from 1838 to support the view that the Abkari Act was intended, as we had pointed out, not merely to bring in revenue but to restrict drinking, legal as well as illicit, in the interests of the people. That is also the commonsense view. The scheme which Sir Chunilal Mehta had in view during his Ministership, was one which aimed at reducing liquor consumption gradually during a fixed period until the province became dry. Had it been worked out Bombay would have been enjoying Prohibition from some years now. No objection, so far as we are aware was raised at the time against the propriety of such a measure being worked under the Abkari Act. It would be in no way surprising if some

ingenious lawyer discovered that so long as there is an Excise Minister there can be no Prohibition, and succeeded in establishing his point. Mr. Kher's case is a convincing one. The fact that it was not put before the Full Bench of the High Court, carries its obvious lesson. Prohibitionists in seeking legislation in future must press for an Act which cannot be shaken in the Courts. It should not be a difficult task to devise a water-tight law.

**Templin of Muttra:**—We publish this week an appreciation by Prof. P. A. Wadia of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph T. Templin who sail for America this week-end. To those who do not know Mr. Templin, it will seem that the great work carried on at Muttra by Mr. and Mrs. Templin has been terminated by an irrelevant incursion into politics. But those who have followed his frequent contributions to *The Reformer* during the past year, will realise the absurdity of all attempts to persuade or intimidate Mr. Templin into restricting his activities. Mr. Templin's fault has been that he saw life as a whole and was not afraid of applying his principles to every problem that confronted him. In the utterly unnecessary controversy which has just ended, the mission leaders have had the worst of it. In some ways they were unfortunate in that they came up against the Templins. For what in most other instances would have been a severe test for the individual, has in this case turned out to be a thorough exposure of the system. This has been largely because the Templins never once lost sight of the principle underlying the dispute. We wish the same could be said of the other side. Nothing would please the Templins more than that they could return to work in India in the near future, in a capacity which allows them the fullest opportunity of service. They will meet with a ready welcome whenever that happens.

**The Social Service League:**—The twenty-eighth annual report of the Social Service League, Bombay which has been just published, shows that the institution has managed in spite of financial difficulties during 1939 to keep up the many useful services it runs in Bombay. Apart from its usual activities in running night schools and organising recreation for the working classes, the League threw itself enthusiastically into the Literacy Campaign which it was invited to join. As the Chairman of the Adult Literacy Committee's letter to the League put it, the Literacy Campaign in Bombay could only be carried out if the League took up the work in collaboration with the Committee. The League has a wide field in which it works, covering educational, recreational and medical work among the working classes. It runs an industrial settlement for criminal tribes at Belgaum but otherwise its work carried out through six centres lies mainly in Bombay city. Now that Mr. N. M. Joshi is no longer in the Servants of India Society, he will be able to concentrate with greater single-mindedness on the work of the League of which

he is General Secretary. The Social Service League has appealed in its report for public support and we trust an encouraging response will be forthcoming, even in midst of more insistent demands from other quarters on public generosity.

**Indians In South Africa** :—Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Chairman of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, in a cable to General Smuts welcoming his broadcast address on the necessity of equal justice between man and man and nation and nation, expressed the hope that the South African Premier would apply these principles to the different races in South Africa. General Smuts in his reply argued somewhat irrelevantly that lots of Indians were happier in the Union than in India, and he argued that this was because of the South African conception of their responsibilities. As a matter of fact this is not correct in any sense of the term. The Union Government has had often to be reminded of its duty towards its Indian citizens. Sir Purshotamdas, however, in his reply to this cable without entering into any controversy on this point, has confined himself to the larger issues involved. He has sent the following to General Smuts :

Thanks for your cable and assurance that measures for improving position of Indians in South Africa are under constant review. With regard to your belief that lots of Indians in South Africa are in many respects happier than in India, you are perhaps referring to their material position. That may be so but you and I believe that between man and man there should be social justice and our aim should be a nation of free men and women. Human dignity requires equal opportunities for political, economic and national expression and the right of shouldering responsibilities. Until such facilities are afforded to Indians in South Africa, true happiness cannot be established. I deeply appreciate your good wishes for the progress of India which I heartily reciprocate for every section of South Africa.

Sir S. Raza Ali, ex-Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa, has in a message to the South African press which we reprint, further amplified Sir Purshotamdas' cable.

**The Holwell Monument** :—Along with the decision to remove the Holwell Monument, the Bengal Government has also proceeded to omit all references to the Black Hole incident from text-books. Prof. Upendranath Ball in the current number of the *Calcutta Review* contributes an article on the Black Hole in which he examines the evidence for Holwell's story. After pointing out that Mr. Mills, though mentioned by name as his colleague in the Black Hole internment, was not with Holwell according to other contemporary records, Prof. Ball remarks drily that Mr. Gray who is not mentioned by Holwell as one of the survivors, was largely responsible for the story and for many of its details. Holwell himself has given three different versions and the first monument was put up at his expense. The number of prisoners supposed to have been in the Black Hole varies from 170 to 144; the number

of survivors from sixteen to twenty-five. Mr. Ball cites a report of Governor Drake that the imprisonment followed on the riotous conduct of drunken British soldiers. The story goes that the small garrison left at Calcutta after the departure of Governor Drake was about 170; of these, says Mr. Ball, 25 were killed and 70 wounded before the Black Hole incident. It follows from this that it is impossible for 175 men and women to have been imprisoned in the Black Hole; and extremely unlikely that 145 of the British colony were trust in by Siraj-ud-Daulah's men. "That a large number of men died in the siege of Calcutta," he writes, "is undeniable and all the evidence points to the conclusion that they were killed by the Nawab's men when they tried in a fit of drunkenness to overpower the guards. Those who survived were taken to the prison and spent an uncomfortable night. To exonerate themselves from their own guilt, they manufactured a story which has made Siraj-ud-Daulah and his men appear guilty." Prof. Ball points out that in the treaty that was signed after the defeat of the Nawab, though the East India Company secured compensation for all losses suffered in Calcutta, there was no demand made for compensation for the families of those who perished in the Black Hole. Nor is there any mention of the Black Hole in any of the official documents. He concludes that the whole incident was built up out of rumours in order to enable the Company's men to repudiate the terms of the Treaty signed with Siraj-ud-Daulah. Prof. Ball's article is a convincing study of the authenticity of the Black Hole.

**The Congress Conference** :—On September 15, the All India Congress Committee which is meeting in Bombay, will decide the future course of the party. It is expected that the leadership will be restored to Gandhiji and that the Congress will reaffirm its faith in non-violence. The mischief, however, has already been done and we do not see how the Committee can get over the fact that at a crucial stage the leaders decided to modify their acceptance of Gandhian leadership. The All India Committee moreover, had itself endorsed the repudiation of non-violence in matters relating to internal unrest or national defence. There is a general feeling that the Committee will decide to revive civil disobedience. But most of the leaders make a distinction between the justification for such a decision and the preparedness of the country for a renewed struggle. Nobody questions the fact that the country is not ready for civil disobedience.

**The Reformer** :—The period of 50 years ended last week covers the life of the paper. I was not one of the group which started it although I joined it almost immediately. For about six years until one of us three, the late Mr. K. Subba Rao joined Mysore Service, he was the editor.

K. N.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 14, 1940.

## INDIA IN THE EMPIRE.

The political problem has been clarified by the definite rejection of Dominion Status. Even after its declaration of Independence as its goal the Congress was not of one mind regarding Dominion Status. Gandhiji spoke of it as the substance of Independence. There was an interval when Congress was clearly in a mood to compromise on Dominion Status. *The Reformer*, for reasons which but rarely occur to active politicians, has all along urged the unsuitability of Dominion Status for India. A country must be a Dominion as a fact in order to be a Dominion in law. Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, the three true British Dominions, were daughter States sprung from the loins of the British people. They were settlers in those distant lands. They were much smaller in numbers than the Mother Country. Their culture and their history were all derived from British culture and British history. The legal ties under the Westminster Statute are thin and fragile. But the historical and cultural affinities constitute a bond much stronger than can be forged by any parliamentary statute. For want of such affinities, Eire can maintain herself as a neutral in the present war. For want of such affinities, there does not exist in South Africa the same unanimity as in the three Dominions. Dominion Status is, therefore, merely a symbol to mark the existence of racial and cultural affinities which render constitutional restraints superfluous and irritating.

India, too, at one point in the two hundred years of her connection with Britain came as near having similar affinities with Britain as an Asiatic country can with a European country. That period was the last decade of the last century. The founders of the British Indian Empire did not regard their civilisation as superior in all respects to what they found in this country. The virus of Imperialism and racial domination did not infect British Indian policy until the last quarter of the last century. Lord Curzon, perhaps the ablest and most conscientious Governor-General Britain ever sent out to India, whole-heartedly adopted this policy and strove to make the administration efficient in pursuance of it. His successor had not his ability or his determination. Indeed, he had no policy and let matters drift. A man of large vision did his best to rally the national spirit of India to the British connection. Lord Hardinge was all but cashiered for his statesmanship. The last war composed for the time the growing estrangement between the two countries. But only for a time. Another statesman who tried to do his duty by India, Mr. Montagu fell into disgrace and died of a broken heart. Clearly it was dangerous for an English politician with a career to make to befriend India. Today distrust is the prevailing note in the relations between Indian and English statesmen. Every statement made requires to be clarified. The process of clarifi-

cation has no end. Dominion Status has been definitely declared to be unsuitable to India in these circumstances, and it will be wise to accept the declaration as final. Alternative ways of maintaining the connection should be explored and one is sure to be found if both sides are animated by an earnest desire to keep together.

The promise made is that India, at some suitable time after the end of the war, will be given equal status with the Dominions in the British Commonwealth. What does this equality amount to? The failure of democracy is due to the fact that economic equality which was needed to give reality to political equality was not secured to the citizen. In the British Commonwealth of Nations, India would be the poorest partner. In "The Conditions of Economic Progress" (Macmillan and Co) published this year, Mr. Collin Clarke has examined the figures of national income of all the countries in the world. Canada and New Zealand have a higher national income than Great Britain. Australia closely follows the Mother Country. Mr. Clarke notes that Eire has a high place in the list. South Africa's average is deceptive as the whole population, the great majority of whom are hewers of wood and drawers of water, depress it. What about India? "There is no doubt whatever," observes Mr. Clarke, "about the extreme poverty of China, British India and the Dutch East Indies." The great Democracies have complacently voted for the *status quo* in the Dutch East Indies. The extreme poverty of the population is no concern of theirs. China was under an Asiatic regime and its poverty requires no explanation. But it is certainly disconcerting to find British India wedged in between the two. Mr. Amery will no doubt explain that the British had done their best and that it is the Indian's own fault that he has remained one of the poorest peoples on earth. Great Britain herself has grown immensely rich all these years. But this is not the question which we wish to raise now. We ask how can there be perfectly equal status between the plutocratic countries of the Commonwealth and the pauper nation of India? It is like making a man with an income of Rs. 50 an equal partner with a man with an income of Rs. 5,000. The equality will consist only of obligations. A writer in the *Political Quarterly*, Mr. Alaric Jacob, points out that while the United States would almost certainly fight to prevent Australia or New Zealand falling under alien domination, it is not at all anxious to defend Britain's possessions of India and the more backward parts of the colonial Empire which, it is felt, "we are holding down by force against the will of the populations, from whom we are withholding education and democratic rights." And he concludes that only a Britain which among other things had emancipated India and the Colonies could make a new approach to America with the fairest prospect of success. So, at least for the sake of "saving face" with America if not for the sake of India, the Freedom of India is an immediate issue in British politics.

## INDIA IN AMERICA.

In a recent issue of the *New Republic*, a letter from Americans interested in Indian affairs was published deploring the paucity of Indian news available in the United States of America. In view of this Mr. James Frederick Green's contribution to the Foreign Policy Reports, "India's Struggle for Independence" (June 1, 1940), gains additional importance. Mr. Green has given his readers a painstaking review of the post-war developments in India. While, however, one cannot but admire the impartiality of Mr. Green's presentation of the facts, one feels less confident of his method of interpreting them. For example,

The Muslims, less advanced politically and often in debt to Hindu merchants and bankers, allege that the Hindus discriminate against them in business, education and civil service. Many Muslims, moreover, resent the undemocratic principles of the orthodox Hindus, who forbid inter-dining and inter-marrying with non-Hindus and who regard even upper-class Muslims as socially inferior to the lowest caste Hindus.

The absurdities of this statement are glaring. Mr. Green apparently regards class as democratic but caste as undemocratic. On the system of weightage, Mr. Green defends the practice, though he concedes that "the electoral system has aggravated the tension between the communities." He writes:

The British Government has maintained that any constitutional change must provide for protection of Muslim rights and has, therefore, weighted electoral distribution and legislative representation in favour of the Muslims. Some such compensation—inevitable to a certain extent in every federal structure and parliamentary system—is probably necessary at present, since the Muslims constitute less than one-fourth of the total population and are in a minority in all but four Provinces. The Muslims, moreover, have appeared less able than the Hindus to organize politically.

We are not aware of a similar adjustment in the United States of America, where 14 million negroes form a large enough (and small enough) minority to claim special electorates and weightage. Nor is there any talk of safeguarding the 20 million German born Americans who surely are not voluntarily discarding their language to take up English. Mr. Green again shows a failure to get the communal problem basically right when he says:

Maintenance of unity.....would preclude the establishment of an independent Muslim State but would presuppose a generous degree of home rule for the predominantly Muslim areas.

This is a position which must be unacceptable even to Muslim Leaguers in so far as it postulates the presence today of a Hindu obstruction to Muslim home rule in the provinces where Muslims predominate. It is not now in question whether Muslims are free in Muslim provinces. What is agitating the Muslim League is the position of the community outside these provinces and at the Centre. Nor does Mr. Green seem to sense in any other way the existence of a Hindu minority problem in the four provinces which is growing appreciably since the British acceptance of the Muslim position. The minority problem in India is not, and it cannot be too often emphasised, like the minority problem in the Balkans. The right that is being fought for here, is not the right to exist but the right to exercise authority. On the national question Mr. Green, like other writers before him, is unable to see an Indian point of view after having split up Indian opinion into its communal components.

If he is able to follow the British Government so far in regard to policy, Mr. Green parts company

with them on the problem of the States. He believes that the Princes are affording Britain an opportunity to put off considering Independence; that compromise between British India and the States will come through consolidation of small States into a few large units and a reduction of the powers of the Princes. He rightly points out that the support of the Princes to Britain in the present War, "partly by a desire to express loyalty to the Crown and partly to keep Britain obligated to the States," will increase the difficulties of a constitutional settlement in future. But the trouble which political parties in India find is not with the small States—some of which like Rajkot, have offered easy targets for political agitation; while others like Aundh, have won golden opinions from even such inveterate enemies of the Indian States system as Pandit Jawaharlal—but in the large States which are gradually working up to a political consciousness that threatens to divide them from the rest of India. The special attention now being paid by leading Congressmen to Indian States is bringing on results not unlike those which have arisen out of Congress attempts at Hindu-Muslim unity and at Harijan work. It is worth noting that while Mr. Green hints that Muslims resent the undemocratic ways of orthodox Hindus and, therefore, dislike the Congress, he also points out that the Princes object to federation because of the Congress enthusiasm for social reform. Mr. Green has lost sight of the fact which he has so admirably stressed earlier, that there is a world of difference between one Indian State and another. The obvious solution for the States problem seems to be to get ahead with British Indian Federation leaving it to time to bring about a larger political unity. After all it is more possible to attract States' support for entry into an existing Federation than to plan the details of a scheme which from the outset has roused great distrust and no enthusiasm.

On the subject of Indo-British relations, Mr. Green emphasises the need for a compromise between Congress and British leaders. At the time he wrote his report, the prospects of such settlement were brighter than it is after the Congress formula of a National Government has been rejected by the British. Mr. Green has noted the Indian objection to Dominion Status but one is surprised that an American writer should have failed to ask his people the obvious question, whether the United States would have risen to its present stature as a Dominion of Britain and if so why Canada has not been similarly developed. The impression he gives is that India's objection to Dominion Status is largely based on a fear that it will stabilise the present relations between India and the Dominions. Mr. Green has given in a brief paragraph an admirable summary of what India means to Britain—a view which is not always borne in mind in America. He writes:

For the duration of the war, British policy is dictated by military considerations. India is at once a liability and an asset since it both requires protection from invasion and provides man power and material for Britain's war effort. To defend India, Britain has sought to control maritime communications in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the Malay Straits, as well as land communications in the Near East in Iran, Afghanistan and along the North West Frontier. To preclude invasion by any other great power—Germany, Italy the Soviet Union or Japan—the British Government is determined to maintain law and order in India, suppress civil disobedience and combat subversive propaganda. Communist and Fascist influence among the Indian population, however, appears to be negligible, although



Britain fears German and Russian penetration along India's land frontiers. Britain moreover regards the maintenance of its authority in India during the war as a necessary condition of its diplomatic and military prestige throughout Asia, Africa and the Near East—particularly among Muslim peoples.

If these are the political reasons for British policy in India there are economic ones as well. Mr. Green in a candid paragraph explains these reasons :

In the World War, India became a reservoir of gold, raw materials and men for the Western front. It despatched approximately 1,338,620 combatant troops and non-combatant auxiliaries to the various battle-fronts—considerably more than all the British Dominions contributed together—and made a direct contribution of about £ 112,000,000 to the Empire war chest, while its subscription to war loans was even larger. It is the expectation of the British government that India will offer similar assistance during the present conflict, while the Congress party protests against India's belligerency and refuses to co-operate until its political demands are met. Yet independence or Dominion status would probably diminish the amount of assistance which Britain could obtain from India in a future conflict. British policy is motivated not only by political and military considerations, but also by economic factors. It is virtually impossible to estimate Britain's present economic state in India, and to calculate the economic benefits—direct and indirect—which the British derive from that country in peace time and hope to obtain in wartime.

The implications of this statement are clear to any reader. Had Mr. Green written after the Congress offer, he would have appreciated the proposal for giving full support to British policy in exchange for a recognition of India's right to independence. On the subject of India's declaration of war by act of the Governor-General, Mr. Green urges that though the British Government committed a psychological blunder they were within their "legal rights." In all such matters the question of legal rights depends largely on the opinion of the writer.

#### MR. ELWIN AND THE GONDS.

I was a little shocked—if that is the proper word—at the so-called interview with Mrs. Verrier Elwin in the *Illustrated Weekly Times*. According to the journalist, the Gonds had expressed their appreciation of Mr. Verrier Elwin's philanthropic work among them by granting him the privilege of taking one of their girls as life-partner. This is the first instance I have come across of philanthropic work having been rewarded in this fashion. What shocked me, however, was that Mrs. Elwin should have been so soon after her marriage brought into the limelight as the guest of honour at the Rotary lunch and at the microphone to render her tribal songs. If Mrs. Elwin had been an Englishwoman, there would have been no thought of such publicity although many people in Bombay know less of the tribal life of the English people than that of Gonds. The Hindu civilisation runs back to several millenniums and the Gond stage was not the oldest on it. The structure of the Gond family is patriarchal which in social evolution always followed, never preceded, the matriarchal type. We have in Malabar the matriarchal family, and the people of Malabar is one of the most progressive in the whole country. A Dravidian people speaking a dialect akin to Tamil and Canarese, the Gonds at some time fell out of the main body and got stuck in their primitive customs. They are now rapidly catching up with the rest of the Hindus. Mr. Verrier Elwin is making a brave effort to stop this process. "What they need, Mr. Elwin remarked in the course of my conversation

with his wife," writes the *Times* reporter, "is education through their own songs, poetry and literature which recreates and stimulates them. That would revivify the old tribal culture and equip the Gonds to keep intact their own priceless heritage." Mr. Elwin thinks that the influence of Hindu civilisation has been harmful to the Gonds.

Their contact with civilisation is tending to bring an undesirable disintegration among them. Many tribesmen educated in the village schools are trying to imitate their Panditji (master). They have actually tried to put their women in purdah, forbidden them to dance and sing. And child marriages are greatly on the increase. It is a tragedy that education should introduce to the tribesmen the very evils that the rest of India is trying to eliminate.

As it happens, the Panditji's wife does not observe Purdah. In any case, is there no alternative to purdah but the limelight? As for forbidding women to dance and sing, several strict Christian Churches have done the same except on religious occasions. Child marriage is an undoubted evil which Hindu influence has often introduced in primitive tribes but the latter will not adopt so obviously difficult a custom if it was altogether devoid of merit. In any case, the contact of Hindu civilisation with primitive forest tribes has not led to such serious consequences as the contact of similar tribes with Western civilisation. Mr. Elwin's motives are very laudable but the idea of isolating Gonds from the main current of Indian life is unlikely, if it succeeds, to improve their social or economic condition.

K. N.

#### MR. AND MRS. RALPH T. TEMPLIN.

(By PROF. P. A. WADIA, BOMBAY.)

To readers of *The Indian Social Reformer* the name of Templin has by this time become a familiar name—both on account of the numerous articles that have appeared from time to time under his signature and also on account of the unfortunate pledge controversy which has been agitating missionary circles, a controversy in which *The Indian Social Reformer* has been practically the only paper that has shown sympathy and extended the hospitality of its columns to the parties affected under the pledge.

On the rights and wrongs of this controversy this is not the occasion to dwell. But at this moment when Ralph Templin and his wife are leaving India, it is but proper that some of us who know the couple and somewhat of their selfless, quiet work in India, should record our regret at their departure and our appreciation of what they mean to us, non-Christians, as representatives of the Christian faith.

Ralph Templin came out to India as a missionary of the American Methodist Mission in December 1925. He was stationed in Meerut where he remained Principal of a Middle School until May 1927. In July of the same year, he was appointed Principal of a Middle School in Muttra, which ultimately grew into the Clancy High School in 1929, and moved into a new and specially constructed building. Templin and his wife remained in charge of the School till the beginning of this year when they were asked by their ecclesiastical superiors to sever their connection with the Mission for having violated their pledge to refrain from undermining the constituted authority of British India.

At Muttra Mr. Templin developed the Clancy High School into a Technical and Agricultural School introducing a three year plan under which boys

alternated between the class and work in villages, under competent leaders. It was a plan which combined self-help for poor boys with village service calculated to give them an understanding of and sympathy for the India of the villages. In their methods of teaching they were successful in diverting the attention of the pupils from the examination to regular study and interest in their subjects.

But what was more valuable about their work at Muttra was their building up a tradition of fellowship between themselves and their Indian staff. During their stay they shared with their Indian colleagues in a common life—an adventure in faith which incurred for them the displeasure of many of their American friends and superiors in the Mission field. The fellowship of the faithful, so distinctive a reminder to the Christian of the tradition of the beginnings of the faith, was "suspect" to the Methodist Mission of our own times dedicated to the work of spreading the Christian message amongst the "heathens," whose entry into the kingdom without the help of Christ was a matter of doubt and also of concern.

In demand as lecturer at student camps, colleges and conferences, for four consecutive years Templin was one of the lecturers at the Sat Tal Ashram in the Himalayas.

Well—their work in India has now been brought to a close so far as the Methodist Mission is concerned. The Templins are now returning home, uncertain of their future, but calm in the assurance of finding new fields of work which might enable them to earn an honest living and carry on the traditions begun. Well might it be said that the hope for the future, so far as Christianity is concerned, lies not in the organized Churches nor even in the foreign missions which are sponsored by the Churches for spreading the glad tidings to a sorrowing world, but in movements and individuals outside the Church in such groups as may gather round scattered individuals who express in their lives and work the best that is in Christianity.

To us, non-Christians—and they are not a few—the Kristagraha Manifestoes and the pledge controversy have been an occasion for distinguishing between the many who are called and the few who are chosen—between the Churches that have proved themselves more zealous in the defence of the constituted authority of India than the Government of India itself—and the individual rebels against these Churches, who stand for "Truth" and loyalty to a God Who cannot be cribbed and confined within the walls of creeds and the security of dogmas. The Templins may rest assured that they carry with them, if not the blessings of the Methodist Bishops or of the National Christian Council, the good wishes and grateful appreciation of all their Indian friends, Christians and non-Christians alike, for their witness to the Truth

**Sir Raza Ali on South Africa:**—The following message was sent by Sir Raza Ali, former Agent-General, to the South African Press: "Gen. Smuts is a good friend of our people in South Africa. But I am afraid like most friends he has indulged in wishful thinking in expressing the view that lots of Indians are 'far happier' in South Africa. Perhaps what he means to convey is that they earn more and have a higher standard of living in South Africa than would be within their reach if their ancestors had not emigrated from India. This is true. But it is equally true that increasing unhappiness is their inseparable companion. Except for one Statute enacted in 1936, which still remains to be implemented, each successive legislative measure—and there have been numerous such measures—instead of improving their position has unfortunately been making it steadily worse. We look to Gen. Smuts to remove the daily growing discontent of Indians in South Africa."

### THE PROHIBITION POLICY OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

(BY B. G. KHER, BOMBAY.)

On July 17, 1939, the Government of Bombay issued a Notification to the effect that, in exercise of the powers conferred by Sub-section 2 of Section 14B of the Bombay Abkari Act, they were pleased to prohibit the possession by any person of any liquor or intoxicant in the areas specified in the margin; without a permit or a license issued by an Abkari Officer. In a Criminal Appeal—Emperor vs, Chinubhai reported in 42 Bom. L.R. 669,—which was heard by a Full Bench of the Bombay High Court, the validity of this notification was questioned.

In a statement which I issued to the Press on July 18, 1940, I had contended that this Judgment was erroneous. I said so because, I think it is founded on a mis-apprehension on the part of the Full Bench of the object of the Act which has induced them to take the view that the policy of total prohibition as a measure of social reform was never contemplated by the Legislature and that, if supported, it would bring the whole administration of the Abkari Act to an end. This is what their Lordships said:

We have been referred in detail to the provisions of the Act but we think it sufficient to say that in our opinion, the object of the Act was primarily to secure Abkari revenue though some of the Sections—for example, Section 17A and Section 35 (2) (g) and (h)—show that the Legislature intended also to confer power to control the trade in drink and drugs and to obviate abuses which might arise from such trades. We find, however, nowhere in the Act anything to suggest that the Legislature contemplated the introduction of total prohibition of intoxicants as a measure of social reform and it is obvious that such introduction would primarily make an end of the purposes of the Act. That is the consideration which must weigh with us in construing Section 14B.

That is to say, in short, their Lordships think that the main object—the primary object of passing the Abkari Act is to secure revenue for Government. This is a very erroneous view to take and it totally ignores considerations of historic development, public policy and Government's intentions as unequivocally expressed by the popularly elected Legislatures.

State control over liquor in India can be traced from very ancient times in some form or other. The Arthashastra of Koutilya, the Manusmriti and the Firmans of some of the Muslim Rulers as also the Regulations of the East India Company will clearly show that early Hindu Kings, Mahomedan Emperors, Maratha Rulers as also the earlier British Administration gave moral principles preference over the collection of revenue in dealing with Abkari matters. The present Abkari Act is mainly the outcome of Rules and Regulations framed in 1790 and 1793 by the East India Company, and the well-known Minutes of Sir John Mountstuart Elphinstone which define the general principles and policy in Abkari matters. Now let us examine some of these materials.

On September 17, 1838, a Government Resolution was issued to the effect that

It cannot be too strongly urged upon the Collectors that the object which Government has in view is to restrain and, if possible, to diminish the total consumption of spirituous liquors, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded that any amount of revenue that may be lost by the efficiency of the system for this end will be repaid a hundred-fold in the preservation and advancement of moral feelings and industrious habits among the people.

This clearly shows that the primary object of the Act was not to secure Abkari revenue as their Lordships believe, but the preservation and advancement of moral feelings and industrious habits among the people.

On June 3rd 1874, another Resolution which was issued by Government, says *inter alia* :

If in any place, the trade cannot be carried on consistently with the just demands of the State, it must cease, though it will probably always be found that the difficulty arises from the absence of proper fiscal arrangements. It would, however, be better that the excise revenue in any such place should be sacrificed than that the officers of the Government should assume functions calculated to expose the policy of the State to misunderstanding.

On October 27, 1875, Government Resolution No. 6092 stated:

Government has frequently enjoined on Collectors the necessity of doing all they can to discourage the extension of drinking; but it is always to be borne in mind that it is the greatest possible mistake to allow smuggling. When people have a taste for liquor, they will certainly obtain it, and, if there be insufficient shops, they will smuggle.

If this is not enough to show that the principal consideration is not revenue but the advancement of moral feelings, on May 30, 1879, there is a further Government Resolution No. 2833 which says,

The Governor in Council can only reiterate the principle that has been so often expressed by Government that Government do not desire to make any revenue from Abkari, but where there is a population habituated to the use of spirits, it may be assumed that they will find means to gratify their tastes, and if they cannot procure spirits on tolerably easy terms, they will smuggle. The Collectors, therefore, in issuing licenses, should be guided by this principle.

Can anything be clearer? Government say in so many words that they do not desire to make any revenue but if there is no restriction or control, as there would be a good deal of smuggling, a double injury would result—*viz*; excessive consumption of illicit liquor as also an injury to revenue. Hence they deem it necessary to control the consumption of liquor. We have further proof of what the policy in these matters is. Another resolution dated the 19th July 1889 says :

The principles on which Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India has more than once requested that the Excise Administration in India should be based are (1) that any extension of the habit of drinking among Indian populations is to be discouraged; (2) that the tax on spirits should be as high as may be possible without giving rise to illicit methods of making and selling liquor; (3) that, subject to these considerations, a maximum revenue should be raised from a minimum consumption of intoxicating liquors.

Does this justify the main assumption which guided the Full Bench in coming to the conclusion which they did, in the construction of Section 14B—*viz.*, that the object of the Act was primarily to secure Abkari revenue? Let us proceed further. On the 22nd September 1883, a Government Resolution was issued to this effect,

Facility of obtaining intoxicating liquor, no doubt, aids in increasing consumption, but if a real demand in any locality is not met by a supply of taxed liquor, illicit distillation will be encouraged.

Government, therefore, enjoined that it was not right to maintain a low rate of duty on spirits for stimulating consumption. If this does not convince your readers as to what was the true object of the Abkari Act, here is a further Government Resolution dated the 11th September 1838. It says,

There occur passages in periodical reports which read as if the increase of the excise revenue was the paramount object of good administration. Revenue Officers are naturally apt to give prominence in their reports to increased revenue taking for granted that the authorities to whom the reports are addressed, will know that the increase has been obtained by successful administration on the principles insisted on by the Secretary of State.

But as these reports are sometimes used as basis for attacks on the administration, the Government of India share the Secretary of State's opinion that, at the risk of tedious repetition and of placing the well understood doctrine on record year after year, administrative officers and local Governments should be careful to employ language which cannot give colour to the idea that the object of the Excise Department is to increase revenue at the sacrifice of social considerations.

The settled policy of Government was, not to place temptations in the way of those who do not drink, and to discourage excess among those who do; and to the furtherance of this policy, all considerations of revenue must be absolutely subordinated. I do not think it is necessary to multiply further quotations to show what the object of the Act was. I hope that in fairness it will now be conceded that it is erroneous to say that the object of passing the Abkari Act was primarily to secure the Abkari revenue. It is unfair to the Government.

A similar Act was passed in Bengal in the year 1878 known as the Bengal Excise Act of 1878 and a reference to the case of Boistub Churn Naun and others *vs.* Wooma Churn Sen 1881 I. L. R. 16 Cal. 43; is very pertinent. There the contention of the plaintiff's Advocate was that the Bengal Excise Act was a purely Revenue Act. He contended that the Act was primarily passed for the protection of revenue and not on grounds of public policy and a reference was made to Maxwell on Statutes. Wilson J. who delivered the judgment of the Court, stated *inter alia* as follows :

In the first place, we should be shutting our eyes to what is a matter of common knowledge, that in this country as well as in England for many years past, from a period long before this Act was passed, public men have never supposed that the regulation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors is to be dealt with upon considerations of revenue alone.

The preamble of the Act is a good deal wider than if the object were merely the protection of the revenue. It is this : 'Whereas it is expedient to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the manufacture, sale and possession of excisable articles' (our preamble is similar), and his lordship came to the conclusion that the Act was not framed solely for the protection of revenue, but was embracing other important objects of public policy as well, and that the penalty imposed was for the purpose of prohibition and not solely for the benefit of the revenue.

I do not know if this case was cited to the Full Bench, but it goes exactly counter to the assumption made by their Lordships, which is referred to above. This construction was re-affirmed in the case of Behari Lal Snaha *vs.* Jagadish Chunder Shah, I L. R. XXXI, Cal. at p. 798. The head-note is as follows :—

The object of the Excise Act is to prohibit persons from selling or carrying on the business of selling excisable articles without a license. The prohibition by the Act of the sale of liquor without a license is based upon the principle of public policy and on moral grounds and the purpose of the Act is not confined to the protection of the Revenue.

From the above, I hope it will be seen that the Abkari Act is not merely a Revenue Code but a

moral Code also and the collection of revenue is only with a view to discourage smuggling. A reference to Section 11 of the Bombay Act will support this conclusion. It reads as follows :

Government may by notification in the Bombay Government Gazette (a) prohibit the import or export of any excisable article or of hemp into or from the Bombay Presidency or any part thereof; (b) prohibit the transport of any excisable article or of hemp.

The definition of excisable articles includes liquor. The sale of any excisable article to any person apparently under the age of 14 years is totally prohibited by Section 17A. Section 35 (2) (g) and (h) have already been referred to by their Lordships.

To say, therefore, that nowhere in the Act was there anything to suggest that the Legislature contemplated the introduction of total prohibition of intoxicants as a measure of social reform, that such introduction would virtually make an end of the purposes of the Act is, to say the least, not supported either by the preamble or by the enunciated policy or the avowed and expressed intentions of the Government in passing the Abkari Act and issuing the Notification in question before the Court. Section 14B (2) under which the Bombay Government issued the Notification in dispute reads as follows:—

Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), Government may by notification in the Bombay Government Gazette, prohibit the possession by any person or class of persons either throughout the whole Presidency or in any local area, of any excisable article either absolutely or subject to such conditions as it may prescribe.

Government claimed that under this clause, they were entitled to prohibit any person who did not possess a permit or a license for possessing liquor. This contention was negated by their Lordships, because they were apparently under a misapprehension as to the primary object of the Act.

#### OUR COUNTRYMEN ABROAD.

The ignorance of Indians about their countrymen abroad is amazing. Most people in India became aware of the existence and plight of Indians in South Africa during Gandhiji's agitation there. And I have come across several intelligent and otherwise well-informed Indians—some of them journalists—who have been unable to shake off South Africa from their minds and still believe Kenya and Zanzibar to be somewhere in South Africa. Mr. Dharam Yash Dev's "Our Countrymen Abroad" shows that Africa is not the only seething pot of Indian unrest. From this book we get a general idea of the various countries in which Indians have settled down and the injustices meted out to them in every part of the British Empire. It is interesting to discover that far-flung Grenada (the location of which is not known to many) has about 5,000 Indians out of a total population of 75,000.

This general survey is to be followed by many more pamphlets dealing in detail with the condition of Indians outside this country. The idea is an excellent one. The general feeling in the Congress is that till India wins Swaraj nothing could be done about the Indians beyond the seas. But recently due to the "internationalism" of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Congress is interesting itself more and more in the grievances and aspirations of Indians outside India. However, owing to the colossal ignorance of individual Congressmen, the subject receives in their political circles the same summary and cold treatment that debates in India used to get in the British Parliament less than 50 years ago. The result

is that not only are the grievances of Indians abroad not well understood and well dealt with but the Congress is misled (as in the case of the appointment of Agents in East Africa) and is unable to give effective guidance to the people concerned. It is a mistake to think, as is done everywhere in India, that the Indians in the British Colonies are without any fault or blemish and that they manage their affairs well and wisely. There is no intelligent study of their problems and a ready ear is given to every story from the Colonies. In this connection it must be noted that some men outside the Congress know more about Indian conditions abroad than those in the Foreign Department of the Congress. They are more critical and less led away than many in the Congress.

The idea of the series initiated by Mr. Dharam Yash Dev should be to give a more critical and fair description of the ways and problems of our countrymen abroad than is done in Mr. Dev's book.

Any one visiting any British Colony in Africa is struck by the fact that the general ethical and commercial standards of Indians are very low. The Indian Trade Commissioner in Kenya pointed that out once in a speech in Nairobi. The reason is obvious. Men who can do well in India do not as a rule go out. Only those who are not good here or have an inordinate desire for making money quickly and without undue regard for niceties of conscience, go out to the Colonies. That is not typical of India. Young men from schools of correction and reformatories used to be sent from England to the British Colonies. Again the men who thus gather in the Colonies, have an overmastering passion for getting rich and powerful as rapidly as they can. This attitude is infectious and it does not make for the cultivation of the higher virtues.

The disgraceful prejudice against India in the Colonies is not, therefore, wholly uninvited. It is partly inspired and deepened by the behaviour and outlook of Indians abroad. The conditions of filth and dirt in which the Indian colonists specialize in the streets, trains and boats call for comment. The undercutting, exploitation and many other unfair commercial practices in which they indulge and the political intrigue among themselves should be brought to light in these series of books so that Indians here may view these questions in their proper perspective and administer a corrective to the Indians living abroad.

It is illogical to blame British Imperialism and then under the protection of the British flag and the British sword, seek to exploit the backward races of the world. These booklets should not turn a blind eye to the Indians' insidious ways of exploiting the natives of the British Colonies wherever they exist—nor to the open scheme recently propounded by a member of the Working Committee of the Congress for the exploitation of the East African territories.

Apart from these limitations this book written in an easy style gives a very interesting picture of Indians living abroad. It is true that the statistics quoted in the Appendix of the book are antiquated but more recent statistics are only available from the local blue-books and it may be hoped that the writers of the other booklets will try to get more recent statistics. Books of this series if written in Mr. Dev's pleasant style will prove educative and useful and will make Indians in India more Colony-conscious and less susceptible to interested propaganda.

P. A. M.

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## NOTES.

**Kerala Conflicts:**—Attention has been called more than once recently in *The Reformer* to the weakening of the influences of law and order while the Central and Provincial Governments are preoccupied with war efforts. Some months ago in the Thana District adjoining Bombay City, a Police Patel's nose was solemnly severed from his face in the presence of the whole village by a gang which professed to redeem the poor from oppression. The other day a group of Gonds, a primitive forest tribe, was fired on by the Police in the Nizam's Dominions for alleged encroachment on the lands of the Government. Now comes the news of clashes between the Police and the people in some towns of British Malabar. It seems that the Kerala Congress Committee had organised public meetings against "the repressive" policy of Government. The District Magistrate issued an order forbidding the meetings under some emergency powers. The Congressmen nevertheless held the meetings. Lathi charges and firing were resorted to in some places to disperse the crowds. The attempt to prevent a peasants' conference in Morazha village had more serious results. A crowd of two thousand turned furiously on the Police and all the officers were disabled by the hail of stones flung at them. The Sub-Magistrate who had accompanied the Police had to run for his life followed by a howling mob for over a mile and a half before he could secure support. Several policemen including officers were injured in the clashes at different places. One Sub-Inspector was killed at Pappinisseri, and three members of the public were shot dead at Tellichery. While these acts of lawlessness should meet with condign punishment, a strict and impartial enquiry should be instituted into the action of the Magistrates in forbidding meetings which are the most natural and innocuous outlets for public discontent when feel-

ings are running high. It is the right of the subject to protest against oppression, when he believes that he is being oppressed. The abuse of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code has been a long-standing grievance, and in the reports that we have seen so far, there is little to show that the peaceful holding of these protest meetings would have been rendered impossible by opposition from any section of the people themselves. The wisest way of promoting respect for authority is for authority to respect public feeling. The Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Mr. Ramakrishna Aiyar, I. C. S., is said to have called on the leaders and tried to persuade them to give up the meeting "since the District Magistrate had prohibited it," and on their refusal he is reported to have arrested them. This official went to the Congress office accompanied by a Police escort, obviously not the most effective way of persuasion. Then, again, it was not the most discreet way of dealing with the situation to make arrests when the meeting was in progress. The Police should either have occupied the place before the hour fixed for the meeting or they should have waited till the meeting was over and arrested the men at their residences.

**Refugee English Children:**—The Government of India are considering how to provide adequate educational facilities for English children who have joined their parents or friends in India since the outbreak of the war disorganised education in Britain. This is a direction in which India will be happy to do her best for children as it is wholly in line with her natural sentiments. Government at first estimated that there would be about 200 children, English and Indian, (we detest the word European in such contexts) but actually many more children have arrived in this country. A Bombay Government Press Note invites information and suggestions. Indian children may be left out of this scheme as they will find no difficulty in taking up the thread of their studies at the point where it was broken when they went to England. Moreover, as they will remain in this country after the war, it is to their interest that they should continue their education in the regular Indian institutions. English children will naturally go back to their native country when peace is restored and it is, therefore, desirable that the arrangements made here should fit in with the English system. We trust one impor-

tant consideration will not be lost sight of. The sojourn of these children should be in such surroundings as will foster mutual respect between them and Indians. Some of the so-called European schools are hotbeds of snobbery and English children should be prevented from catching the infection. Very much depends on the choice of masters. There would be far less danger of it if at least the headmasters are recruited directly from England than if they were picked up in this country. In the cases of College and University students there should be no difficulty in their joining the established institutions. Government intend that the arrangements to be made should be self-supporting. This is certainly desirable. We value this opportunity as a means of promoting good understanding between our two peoples.

**Missionaries and Social Reform:**—The Catholic *Examiner* in the course of a friendly notice of the leading article "Fifty Years" in *The Reformer* of the 7th September, questions with reference to the remark that, while some missionaries were genuinely helpful, others were rather embarrassing, "whether it can be merely a coincidence that almost every reform they (the reformers) have advocated has been an approximation towards Christian morals and ways of life." The question is simply answered. The Indian social and religious reform movements, which often went hand in hand, were from the first opposed to proselytising. Raja Ram Mohan Roy who had a high reverence for Jesus Christ, strongly opposed street preaching and other mass propaganda as merely seeking to substitute a foreign for an indigenous superstition. These movements effectively closed the door to proselytism amongst caste Hindus and obliged the missions to seek recruits from the depressed classes. To total abstinence, an important plank in the reform platform, Christian missionaries were for long indifferent if not opposed. The *Examiner* and the Catholic Church still believe in moderate drinking on the authority, quoted by the *Examiner*, of St. Thomas Aquinas, described as "the greatest Catholic moralist hitherto." Those who would not accept the shastras as authority for reform are unlikely to accept Aquinas as an authority on alcoholic drinks. The *Examiner* objects to our regarding abstinence from drink as a question of social purity. No fact emerges from the literature on prostitution so clearly as that drink is its inseparable adjunct and that, if drink was abolished, prostitution will lose its main support. That many men drink and lead reputable lives, is no more an answer to this indictment than is the fact that people sometimes fall from the third floor and remain uninjured, a reason for regarding throwing people down several floors as an innocent pastime. Even as regards food, Aquinas's views are out-of-date. Jesus from the exigencies of his itinerant mission, had to profess indifference to what one ate, but the importance of diet is perhaps the outstanding hygienic teaching of the present

day. Vegetarian food in preference to animal food seems to be favoured by the consensus of expert opinion.

**The Late Rev. L. P. Larsen:**—The Rev. L. P. Larsen whose death is noticed in the *Dnyanodaya* was a member of the Danish Mission, perhaps the oldest Protestant Mission in this country. The methods of the Danish Mission are entirely different from those of the wealthier countries. Simple, cultured, and devout the Danish missionaries impressed all who came in contact with them as genuine exponents of the Jesus' Way. We do not think that they cared much for proselytising though many who came to know them closely always cherished a high regard for them. Larsen was a typical member of his country's Mission. Quiet, gentle, modest, he drew around him in the old building in Popham's Broadway in Madras in the early nineties a number of earnest young men of all communities who later in their different ways and according to their opportunities exemplified the spirit of true social service in several parts of the country. The Editor met Mr. and Mrs. Larsen in their home in Denmark three years ago and they were full of interest in India and her people as ever. Their country has now come under the Nazi yoke without a struggle. Herr Hitler is reported to have declared that he does not consider Denmark as a conquered country and that it will be free to pursue its traditional way of life. After all, we judge a country by the people belonging to it whom we happen to have known. The memory of Larsen will always be associated with a kindly feeling for the simple and sincere Danish people and their beautiful land.

**The Late Bishop Chitambar:**—Bishop Chitambar of the Methodist Episcopal Church died on September 4th. To have broken through the bonds of race and colour prejudice which is not less prominent in Church circles than among American laymen, and forced his way to episcopal rank in the Methodist Church, is an achievement which shows that an Indian can prove himself the equal of the white man in any walk of life that he may choose to adopt. There might have been some diplomacy on the part of his American friends in raising an Indian to a bishopric. The Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church had led the way and the Methodist can not lag behind. Nevertheless the late Mr. Chitambar must have had unusual qualifications which led to his preferment. This writer's contact with the late Bishop was limited to a single occasion. He had written a book on Mahatma Gandhi and he honoured this writer by requesting him to peruse it before publication. It was in some respects a counterblast to Bishop Fisher's book. The copy was returned without any expression of opinion. It is understood that there will be difficulty in finding an Indian successor to Bishop Chitambar. In passing, we may note a discrepancy in the *Dnyanodaya's* obituary notice on the Bishop. It describes him

as "born of a South Indian Brahmin whose conversion to Christ brought on such persecution that Chitambar's father had to move to Northern India." There are many families descended from converts of the Brahmin caste in Southern India. Bishop Chitambar's father is unlikely to have been subjected to greater persecution than these families. The fact is, all this talk of persecution is bunkum. It is the stock in trade of a certain type of missionaries. The really persecuted parties in most cases of the kind are the old parents and grandparents of the convert. The most common attitude of the orthodox community to converts, was that they were a good riddance. How many times have social reformers not been exhorted to quit the fold and become a Christian or a Mussulman instead of being a thorn in the side of the family, remaining within it, observing scrupulously the family ritual and carrying on a propaganda in favour of the remarriage of widows or dining in the company of mlechhas! The organ of Bishop Chitambar's Church, the *Indian Witness*, describes his father as a "Marathi convert to Christianity from Brahmanism."

**Premium on Foreign Liquor:**—The Government of Bombay issued in July a Press Note stating that the policy which it had decided on in view of the judgments of the High Court on the Prohibition notification of the late Congress Government, was "to do what is possible to reduce to a minimum the consumption of country liquor and toddy in the prohibited areas, while relaxing to a considerable extent the conditions relating to foreign liquor." This was the very policy which was condemned by the Bombay Foreign Liquor Committee thirty years ago. It was an official Committee and it declared that "care should be taken that the campaign against country liquor is carried on *pari passu* with corresponding action against the foreign shops calculated to prevent any transfer of custom from the former to the latter." This is also the commonsense view. *The Reformer* in its issue of July 20 pointed out that the policy announced by the Bombay Government would be seriously detrimental to the cause of temperance. The policy has been in force for about two and a half months and already its evil effects are prominent. In the news supplement to the *Illustrated Weekly of India* last Sunday, attention was called to the great increase of consumption of cheap foreign liquor in the Mill areas, particularly Japanese beer. The Government has placed itself in a queer dilemma. It has applied to the High Court for permission to appeal to the Federal Court against the former's decision on the validity of the Congress Government's Notification. It has also adopted a policy which if continued will land the community in social demoralisation. We had suggested that Government should scrap the whole scheme and restore the *status quo*, leaving the Legislature when it resumes its functions to pass a comprehensive law. This will obviate the reference to the

Federal Court, with its possibilities of further complications.

**Indians in South Africa:**—Sir Maharaj Singh, who was Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa before Sir Raza Ali, has in an interview added his voice to the protest against General Smuts, complacent attitude towards Indians in South Africa. Sir Maharaj Singh's concluding remark goes even farther than anything said by Sir Purshotamdas or Sir Raza Ali on the subject. He says that it is hoping against hope to expect General Smuts to apply his principle of equal justice to all sections of the South African population. The cause of the Allies is in no way helped by broadcasts by men like General Smuts who are willing to pay lip service to high-sounding principles, while failing to apply in their own administrations ideas of common humanity. The prompt action of Sir Purshotamdas has resulted in the exposure of the hollowness of General Smuts' claims as a champion of social justice. Unfortunately neither the press in Britain which gave wide publicity to the original broadcast of General Smuts, nor the South African press will give publicity to Indian reactions to it.

**The War Situation:**—The war situation has suddenly become graver than it seemed last week. Very likely full information was not available until this week of the developments in the several theatres. Anyhow, the facts disclosed now give cause for the gravest apprehension. The general opinion in this country has throughout been that Britain will somehow come out victorious in this war as she did in the Napoleonic war in which too Waterloo was preceded by a succession of victories for Napoleon. The invention of the aeroplane and the importance it has attained as a weapon of war, made a difference but Indian opinion was confident that with the help of the United States and the Dominions Britain will catch up with Germany in the mastery of this weapon. Among thoughtful men and women there was a feeling that wealth and power had gone to Britain's head, that a few strokes of fate would but purify, chasten and strengthen her to fulfil her mission to the world. Both India and Britain stand for the supremacy of the Civil over the military power while the Totalitarian States stand for the supremacy of the military over the Civil Power. This is the common ground between India and Britain in their attitude to the present struggle. True Britain in India has yielded to the temptation to exalt the so-called "martial races" over the politicians who stand for civil freedom. But this is an aberration from Britain's tradition and is bound to pass away. The grave situation in which Britain finds herself will evoke the warmest sympathy in this country and is the real cause of the changed attitude of the Congress under the leadership, now resumed, of Gandhiji.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 21, 1940.

## BACK TO GANDHIJI.

Since the outbreak of war, the attitude of the Congress has been that it would co-operate with the Government of India's war effort if certain constitutional changes were made at the centre. No one in the Congress questioned the propriety of a non-violent organisation participating in war. Gandhiji who took up the attitude of undiluted non-violence, in fact expressly wrote that he was prepared to give unconditional support to Britain in the war but that it would be moral support; and that, as the Congress was contemplating the advisability of giving support in men and materials as well, it could not make its support unconditional. This difference between Gandhiji and the Congress grew until with the adoption of Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula the breach was complete. But it is well to bear in mind that the difference did not relate to India's joining in Britain's war against Nazism. Mr. Rajagopalachari was enthusiastic about the country's participation once the British Government responded to the Congress gesture. The Congress President emphatically stated that there was no question of India using any independence she might get immediately, to step out of Britain's war. And, as if these two opinions were not authoritative enough, several Congressmen, in the Working Committee and out of it, came forward with confirmation of this view. To non-Congressmen it appeared that the Rajagopalachari formula was intended to convince the British that the Congress, by restricting the field of application of non-violence, had made itself ready to co-operate to the utmost in prosecuting the war. The Viceroy's offer of August 8th, however, took no account of the Congress demand and the constitutional changes suggested in it failed to satisfy even moderate Indian opinion. It was natural that leading Congressmen should have felt it necessary to take counsel. Contenting themselves for the time with asking the country to denounce the Viceroy's offer, the Working Committee called a conference of the All India Congress Committee for September 15, at Bombay. In the uncertainties of the situation some Congressmen were imprisoned for impeding the "war effort of the Government," while at the other extreme Mr. M. N. Roy was thrown out of the Congress in the United Provinces for a too enthusiastic preaching of "helping the war against Fascism." As the day approached, conflicting rumours spread through the city, helped on by statements from Congress leaders. While the more fiery of these were preparing emotionally for civil disobedience once again, men like Mr. Rajagopalachari were warning their public to bear in mind developments in the war theatres and the impropriety for satyagrahis of embarrassing Britain in a crisis.

The Congress session at Bombay had to choose one of two ways out of the political deadlock: It could have taken its stand with Gandhiji, and declared that it was ready to offer unconditional moral support to Britain in the present war; or it could have taken up an attitude of uncompromising insistence on the minimum demands of Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula before co-operating in every way, with money and men no less than morally, with the Government of India. The Congress had moved very far away from Gandhiji and it would have been difficult, after the Poona resolution in support of Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula, for it to have affirmed its undiluted faith in non-violence. The All-India Congress Committee struck a middle path between the two alternatives. In its resolution which we print elsewhere, it ignored its past commitments and requested Gandhiji to take charge of the situation. At the same time it placed, under the appearance of reaffirming its faith in absolute non-violence, limits to Gandhiji's principle of ahimsa. In free India the ideal will be pursued "so far as it is possible of application." And in world affairs, general disarmament replaces the practice of non-violence by one nation. At the present moment, the Congress insists only on one thing—"the free expression of public opinion in condemnation of the British Government's associating India in the war against Germany, against the will of the vast body of the people of India, and of exploiting her man power and national resources for this purpose." The wording of this sentence is unfortunately inaccurate. It would be more correct to say "without the consent of the people of India" than "against the will of the vast body of the people of India." Denunciations of British appeasement of Nazism have flown from Congress leaders with a fluency unmatched even by their diatribes against British imperialism. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad showed intense indignation at Britain's decision under pressure from Japan to close the Burma Road for three months. It naturally follows that Congress leaders recognize an Indian interest in resisting aggression in Europe at least equal to what they expect from Britain in checking Asiatic aggression. If Lord Linlithgow had gone through the correct procedure of consulting his legislature, there would have been only one decision. If by some chance Indian opinion is taken in the near future on the subject of participation in the European War, it is very likely that there will be opposition to it but that can not be from the men who have now handed over the Congress leadership to Gandhiji. It is essential to bear this in mind. Moreover the Congress, so far as the resolution goes, is not pleading the cause of conscientious objectors to war but only of those who object to the manner of India's association in this war.

The position, however, changes when we consider the speech delivered by Gandhiji on

Sunday evening on the resolution. Gandhiji explained to the All-India Congress Committee that the wording of the resolution was his own and he went on to say that his position was that of the conscientious objector. Accepting the British contention that constitutional change could not be considered until the present war was over, Gandhiji saw the Indian problem as one of preserving the *status quo* without detriment to any section of the people. The main lines of the solution he set forth are logical. Claiming for Indians the right to agitate against India's joining in the war effort, Gandhiji said :

My reasoning is the only reasoning that will sit well on Congress lips. But I do not expect all to restrict themselves to that reasoning. Those who have conscientious objection as I have, will adopt my reasoning. Those who are tired of British Imperialism will use that argument. There will be others who will have other arguments. All these should be covered under this freedom of speech, provided, however, they all accept non-violence, provided also that what they say is said openly and not secretly.

Is this not carrying advocacy of free speech too far? We believe that those who regard this war to be wrong because all wars are wrong, have a claim on all civilised Governments. The Government of India has not penalised conscience in this matter. There is also something to be said for those who feel, for whatever reason, that India has been drawn into a war which in no way affects her and that the country would have been better off left alone. With such persons the correct procedure is through argument not imprisonment. There is also a case for those who oppose all imperialisms. But it is certainly strange that after declaring his fervent desire not to embarrass Britain in her difficulties, Gandhiji should include among those who should be allowed freedom to propagate their ideas, men who are "tired of British Imperialism." He would seem here to have lost sight of distinctions such as he has drawn between those who believe in non-violence and those who do not. To the former he extends the right of free speech; the latter he leaves out, presumably on the ground that he who does not object to the use of force, should not oppose Britain's struggle against Nazism. The distinction between "openly" and "secretly" will, of course, disappear once his point is granted by the Government. The issue raised by Gandhiji pertains more to civil liberties than to India's status and Gandhiji made it clear that he was putting off all questions relating to status to the end of the war. How complete is to be Congress' postponement of the issue is shown by Gandhiji's assurance that mass civil disobedience was out of the question. More, he went on to say,

I will not seek imprisonment. I do not want to offer Civil Disobedience. I will not place myself in peril. I will not expose myself to imprisonment. But if Government chooses, it will not be difficult to take me away. I will not be able to restrain my pen or seal my lips. It will be difficult for them to keep me in prison not because India will rise in rebellion—India will be

wrong if it does so. My own instinct is that they will not be able to keep me in prison.

Many interpretations can be placed on this passage but it seems to indicate that there will be no struggle. Stripped of all its superfluities, the Congress resolution is tantamount to an offer to the Viceroy to stand aside and allow those who are prepared to cooperate, to carry on their task unhampered, if there is no persecution of Congress workers launched by the Government whether it continues as at present or is remodelled on the lines of the Viceroy's scheme. True, the resolution might have been more clearly worded. But it should be read in the light of Gandhiji's high sense of chivalry and his obvious desire to suspend all controversy until Britain emerges out of the war. It should not be difficult for Lord Linlithgow and Gandhiji to come to an agreement on this basis.

#### SIR SHANMUKHAM CHETTY ON INDIAN STATES.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty delivered an interesting address on the 10th September to the Mysore University Students' Union on Indian political evolution with special reference to Indian States. Before he became Dewan of Cochin, Sir Shanmukham took a prominent part in British Indian politics and had served with conspicuous ability as Speaker of the Indian Legislative Assembly for a term. He is thus in a position to evaluate with an exceptional measure of accuracy the systems of administration in British India and in the States. He began his address by frankly avowing that it was the fact that, when he came in personal contact with His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, "I, with all my radical views about Democracy and Responsible Government, came to realise what a great asset kingship can be, if the powers are exercised in the right direction especially in a country with diverse and conflicting interests like ours." Sir Shanmukham mentioned as the most striking illustration of his thesis that, though undoubtedly one of the most orthodox Hindus that one could come across, the Maharaja of Cochin visited not only Hindu temples but made it a point to visit mosques and churches, gave free grants of timber—a royal prerogative in Cochin—to shrines of all religions which in Cochin stand in close proximity to one another. Sir Shanmukham added :

This illustrates in a forcible manner, how even the most orthodox Hindu can exercise the spirit of tolerance without in the least sacrificing his position and the fundamental principles of his religion.

Sir Shanmukham has certain prejudices and prepossessions which are being shaken by actual experience but which he is reluctant to give up. He is, however, a young man and with soon grow out of these. The main prejudice is about orthodox Hinduism; the outstanding prepossession about democracy. Implied in his compliment to His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, is the prejudice that orthodox Hinduism is normally antagonistic to other faiths. The fact, however, is that the broad outlook of the Maharaja is not a personal idiosyncrasy. It is the ancient Indian, "orthodox Hindu," tradition which His Highness has inherited and to which he faithfully adheres. What Sir Shanmukham notes as the practice of His Highness, is or was the practice of all Hindu rulers. The late Maharaja

of Mysore, as Sir Shanmukham acknowledged, followed the identical practice, notwithstanding the fact that the State had been restored to his House from a Muslim dynasty. The latter itself followed the same tradition. The identical practice was followed in all Indian States. This tradition which is much more than one of bare toleration, derives from the ancient teachings of the Vedas and Upanishads. The ruler of a State is the protector of all religions professed by his subjects because Reality is one which people call by different names. When people talk glibly of majority tyranny, they are flying in the face of history which proclaims that in India the majority by its religious faith was the protector of all minorities. Any constitutional change which weakens that tradition by weighing the scales against the inheritors of it, is doomed to early collapse. It is not in spite of but because of his undoubted orthodoxy that His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin is imbued with the broad spirit which animates him towards all classes of his subjects. Hinduism has fallen on evil days because those who should have kept it pure and unsullied have deserted their tasks for selfish ends, just as Indian States have fallen into disrepute because many rulers have, unlike the Maharaja of Cochin, not kept to the high tradition of their semi-sacerdotal office.

Similarly about Democracy, Sir Shanmukham clings to a prepossession which experience has rudely shattered. He is particularly unfortunate in citing the United States as an example. He told the students :

You can not think of a greater form of democratic government than that of the United States of America. You have no responsible Government there. The President is the supreme head of the Executive and neither are amenable to the vote of the Congress. In fact the members of the Cabinet are not even members of the Congress, and nobody can say that that system of Government is not a democratic government.

Certainly, the American Government can sport the label of democracy if that is the main thing. But it surely is not the best system of democratic or any other form of Government. The President and his Executive are not independent of control as Sir Shanmukham suggests. The Senate on the one side and the Supreme Federal Court on the other hold him fast. With a single judgment the Supreme Court swept aside the whole of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal during his first term. The Senate refused to ratify the Peace Treaty on which President Wilson had set his heart and the last days of the poor man were truly miserable until death relieved him of his misery. His successor, Warren Harding, escaped impeachment by dying suddenly in Alaska. For the gigantic jobberies for which he was responsible, some of his Cabinet were subsequently prosecuted and sent to prison. Let us not be dazzled by the accumulated gold and apparent prosperity of the United States. The "Grapes of Wrath" are piling up behind this imposing facade. The unemployed millions may be partially absorbed by the conscription which the President is intent on applying to guard against a possible invasion of his country by Nazis, Fascists and Japanese. But the permanent and radical defects in the American system can not be cured in that way. Notwithstanding its democracy, the United States offers no facilities for the preservation of the language or culture of minorities. The fight about democracy and autocracy is meaningless. As in industry so in politics, the modern world has paid too much attention to mechanical and institutional contrivances and too little to the man who has to work them. This is being painfully realised by Western thinkers. We in India are, however, still squabbling over the slogans which the West is rapidly discarding. We plead for a realistic interpretation of terms like

"Orthodoxy" and "Democracy" by men in responsible positions like Sir Shanmukham Chetty.

Another preconception which Sir Shanmukham has uncritically adopted from Anglo-Indian administrators, is that India is unique in having numerous sects and classes which in certain circumstances are easily induced to become hostile to one another. The fact, however, is that there is no country in the world where the population is perfectly homogeneous, and there are many countries which are even more divided than India. The most conspicuous example of this is the United States itself. The population there is a cross-section of Europe with in many cases the antagonisms and national prejudices of Europe still fresh in their minds. Mr. R. A. Butler, the able Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared the other day that there was no part of the world where national and racial antagonisms are so deep-rooted as in Europe. Yet in America sections of the European population are massed together into a unity which it is nobody's interest to question. Even little Luxemburg had a French and a German group as had Belgium. Switzerland has a French, an Italian and a German section. In Italy itself the Southerners have little affinity with the natives of Lombardy. In Germany the South Germans have no love for the Prussians. In Great Britain, the Welsh, the Scotch, and the English are distinct stocks who are held together by the bond of economic prosperity. Soviet Russia is the latest example. The fact is that what is called national unity is largely fostered by a national government which is vitally interested in maintaining it and in repressing sternly though not necessarily aggressively fissiparous tendencies as they show themselves. British Indian administrators so long as they were sure that the administration would remain in their hands, maintained a system of unitary administration as best calculated to promote economy and efficiency. When some sort of self-government came into view, they separated Burma from India and divided India itself into a number of "autonomous" provinces and within these provinces framed the franchise on the basis of religious beliefs. All this in the name of promoting Indian unity! National unity is therefore very much the creation of a national government, that is a government which feels in its innermost soul and conscience that its first and greatest interest, as it is its duty, is to stimulate and strengthen the forces which every where and always exist in favour of harmonious relations among human beings and to discourage the separatist tendencies which are fostered by interested partisanship. The problem is not by any means peculiar to India.

**College Industries in Bombay** :—The report of the Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee, which has just been published, stresses the urgency of the problem of cottage and small-scale industries. The Committee was appointed by the Government of Bombay in April, 1938, with Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas as chairman and the Director of Industries, ex-officio; Mr. C. N. Vakil, Dr. P. U. Patil, Mr. Mahomedally Habib and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao as members. The terms of reference required the Committee to examine the present position of small industries in the Province and to report on their place in the Provincial economy in relation to agriculture and large industries; to survey the work done by the Government of Bombay in the realm of economic development within the Province during the last 17 years with special reference to agriculture, large industries and small industries; to report on the measures which the Government can undertake to promote economic development within the Province and to suggest methods of financing the same; and finally to make such other recommendations as pertain to State policy with regard to economic development within the Province.

## BOMBAY PROHIBITION POLICY AND THE HIGH COURT.

(BY B. G. KHER, BOMBAY.)

I have shown last week that the assumption on the strength of which the Full Bench of the Bombay High Court decision that a policy of total Prohibition could not be introduced through the Abkari Act, was taken, was erroneous. I shall now proceed to consider the other reasons which influenced their Lordships in coming to this decision.

The policy of the Bombay Government of introducing total Prohibition was approved of by a resolution of the Legislature and the Notification of the 17th July 1939 was published to give effect to it. The words used in the Notification are "that the Government of Bombay prohibit the possession by any person in the area specified in the margin, of liquor, etc." Their Lordships are of the view that a power to prohibit the possession by "any person or class of persons" does not justify the Government in prohibiting all persons or the public generally. So the question is what meaning is to be attributed to the word "any" in Sub-section (2) of Section 14 B. The word "any" is used in the sense of "every" at so many places. Thus in Section 11, it is stated that the Government may prohibit the import or export of any excisable article. Here naturally "any" means "all" or "every." There are other Sections in the Act where "any" has been given the same meaning. The wording of Sub-Section (2) is emphatic and it empowers the Government "to prohibit the possession by 'any person or class of persons' either throughout the whole Presidency or in any local area of any excisable article either absolutely or subject to such conditions, as it may prescribe." Their Lordships, however, thought that this did not entitle the Government to prohibit the public generally, that the words "any person or class of persons" could only mean a person designated by name or description or a class of persons designated and that the specification of the area in the margin of the Notification was not such designation or description. Now with great respect, it is submitted that the use of the word "class of persons" along with the words "any person" need not be taken necessarily as restricting the meaning of the words "any person." They are only used to show that the prohibition may be either of persons or classes. Thus Government could prohibit any person generally from possessing liquor without a license or, secondly, they could prohibit any class of persons, as in fact they have in Section 17A prohibited persons under the age of 18 years. In this connection, I would refer to condition 18 of the Form of Licenses issued under the Abkari Act which lends support to my submission. The statement, therefore, that it is difficult to say what effect can be given to the words which appear in the Section, but not in the Notification, "or class of persons," is not justifiable.

Their Lordships were influenced in coming to the conclusion which they "did, by the assumption that the administration of the Abkari Act was for purposes of revenue and it would be frustrated in case total Prohibition was introduced. Secondly, another consideration which ought to have found no place at all—namely, "that valuable business in liquor built up over many years and with the expenditure of much capital in reliance of the continuance of Government policy under the Abkari Act" will be destroyed—seems to have influenced the decision of the Full Bench. This is what their Lordships say:

The very highest the case can be put on behalf of Government is to say that the words "any person or class of persons" are capable of including the public generally though also capable of the narrower construc-

tion. If that be so, and the language of the subsection is to be regarded as ambiguous, we can see no reason for adopting the wider construction. Such construction would place it in the power of the Government of the day, not only to bring the whole administration of the Abkari Act to an end, but further by a stroke of the pen, without any previous warning or the provision of any compensation, to destroy the value of business built up, it may be, over many years and with the expenditure of much capital in reliance on the continuance of Government policy under the Abkari Act and the previous legislation on the subject. That this is no imaginary danger is clear from the fact that the notifications made no provision whatever for compensation.

This conclusion is due to a mis-apprehension of the Government policy underlying the Abkari Act. Government was influenced by moral considerations. There was no evidence in the case about the destruction of valuable business and as the policy of total Prohibition had been duly approved by the Legislature, this consideration, it is submitted, ought not to have weighed with their Lordships at all. It is evident that it did and, hence, they held that the Notification under consideration in the case was *ultra vires* and of no effect.

Thereafter on the same day, a Governor's Act, Bombay Act No. VI of 1940, was passed with a view "to remove doubts as to validity of the Notification issued under the Abkari Act for the purpose of promoting, enforcing and carrying into effect the policy of Prohibition in certain areas in the Province of Bombay and as to the powers of the Provincial Government to make and issue Rules, Orders and Notifications for the said purpose." Section 3 of the Act amended the preamble by enacting as follows:—

In the preamble of the said Act (Abkari Act of 1878), after the word "Bombay," the words "and whereas in order to promote, enforce and carry into effect the policy of Prohibition, it is necessary to prohibit the import, export, transport, manufacture, sale and possession of liquor and of intoxicating drugs in the Province of Bombay or in specified areas thereof" shall be inserted.

This amendment of the preamble leaves no doubt whatsoever as to what was the intention of the Government. Section 6 Clause (b) provided that for the words "any person or class of persons" in Section 14 B of the Abkari Act, the words "any individual or a class or body of individuals or the public generally" shall be substituted. Section 7 provided as follows:

The amendments made by this Act in the preamble and the provisions of the said Act shall have effect from the date on which the said preamble and the said provisions were respectively enacted and any rule, order or notification made or issued under the said Act before the commencement of this Act shall be deemed to have been made or issued under the said Act as amended by this Act and no prosecution, suit or other proceeding shall lie against any person for anything in good faith done or intended to be done in pursuance of any such rule, order or notification as the case may be.

One would have thought that this was a clear indication of the intentions of the Government and effect would be given to them. Another case, however, came before the High Court, which was also the subject-matter of a Full Bench decision. This Full Bench decision is reported in 42 Bom. L. R. page 791 and, again with great respect, I have to submit that this decision also is not correct. In the statement which I issued in July, I have given some grounds for this view. I understand, however, that the Government of Bombay have filed an Application asking for leave to appeal to the Federal Court against this decision. I will not, therefore, comment upon it further until this Application is disposed of.

### THE PROBLEM OF MENDICANCY.

(BY MISS LALITHA I. MOSES, BARODA).

The institution of street-begging is, in truth, the very canker that destroys the roots of India's social structure. Everywhere in India, one comes across beggars of all description; there are the genuine beggars, poor disabled folk, more often than not, the sufferers from incurable, malignant diseases. On the other side, must be ranged the strong and able-bodied hypocrites, who adopt begging as their profession either through the tradition of their families, or through sheer idleness! They find a good field for pursuing their activities to secure an easy livelihood in the vast cities; almost anywhere in the streets of Bombay, for instance, one meets with beggars—not merely diseased or decrepit people—but beggars apparently robust.

It is because begging is permitted and encouraged that these social parasites, not only themselves thrive on public bounty, but also make their innocent offspring follow in their footsteps. The mistaken sense of charity or humanity of the public in giving them alms is indeed a source of encouragement to them. If money could be had so easily without labour, why should these feel any inclination to work?

It may be difficult for many benevolent people to realise that they are doing any wrong by throwing alms to these beggars. They are very often prompted by the most humanitarian motives—or by the moral or religious faith that they are doing something good or noble. But in any event they are doing great harm to the society at large. They are helping to perpetuate a pernicious social order which makes such unequal distribution of wealth possible. By such charity to individuals, we are indefinitely putting off all chances of reform in our social order. Such indiscriminate charity to the individual is a poison to the multitude; for, by giving such alms we indefinitely postpone any chance of an amelioration in their condition. Such an inducement to the beggars makes it difficult for them to be led into the more self-respecting course of industry, for their livelihood.

Another difficulty that faces the reformer is that such charity has been given a religious aspect in our country. Often the beggars put on the garb of mendicants and exploit the religious sentiments of the people; and the religious-minded regard charity to these as a sort of expiation for their sins.

How can society be rid of such hypocritical parasites? The measures to be adopted ought to be drastic, for no amount of appeal to their self-respect and lectures on the dignity of labour could turn them from their chosen course. The only effective and practical step will be to pass strict laws prohibiting open beggary. Violators should be penalised; then the number of sturdy beggars will certainly dwindle down. Side by side, there must be a vigorous propaganda to show that indiscriminate charity is harmful not only to the beggars but also to society as a whole.

But apart from the cultivation of public opinion by social workers, it is the primary duty of the State to provide workhouses and appropriate avenues of employment. Thus if we give them the necessary opportunities for work, the beggars would be prevented from relapsing into their old habits. This would enable them not only to earn their living, but more important will be the psychological effect that it will produce. It is beyond doubt that when these able-bodied beggars are thus given avenues of work, a certain self-respect will be created in them, and gradually there is every chance of their becoming normal, useful citizens of the State.

In the last three or four decades, Governments of all progressive countries have considered it their duty to legislate in social relations. The old attitude of

*laissez-faire* is no longer regarded as the guiding principle of progressive states. With the rapid strides taken by socialism and socialistic ideas, we find governments undertaking legislation in so many social matters. The aim of all such legislation is the amelioration of the condition of the less fortunate members of society, and the lessening of the maladjustment in society due to a faulty distribution of wealth resulting from the capitalistic system. There are many instances of progressive governments in the West having successfully tackled the problem of beggars. But unless public opinion is sufficiently organised in India, there is little hope of the State moving in the matter. But apart from the State, the local bodies and in our cities, the municipalities, can do a great deal to help in solving the problem.

In the case of the really deserving beggars who are unable to work—the old, the diseased, the maimed and the blind—the establishment of asylums to house them would be a splendid remedy. For among the innumerable diseased beggars who are parading our streets more than 30 per cent are a prey to the harrowing malady, leprosy. There are also other equally infectious diseases that attack the beggars, and to permit them to beg in the public streets, rubbing shoulders with the rest of the populace is indeed to permit a source of contagion and danger to the health of the multitude. Further, the beauty of our picturesque streets and bye-roads is sadly marred by the sight of these ugly, disfigured specimens of humanity, and this fact has often been recorded by foreign visitors to India.

Asylums for all diseased beggars may at first sound fantastic and impracticable. It is, however, encouraging to note that some of our Provincial governments and States and a few voluntary associations have taken the initiative to establish a handful of asylums in different parts of the country. But the need for them is very great, and the governments must undertake to provide the poor with more asylums, homes and workhouses.

It is not improbable that the State may plead inability on the grounds of financial stringency. But there can be no doubt that, if the State starts workhouses for the poor, and homes for the destitute and the disabled, it would be possible to induce charitably minded people to make voluntary donations to them. So often provisions as regards charity in the wills of persons fail on account of uncertainty. Such bequests with a primarily charitable intention can with advantage be diverted to the State for such purpose.

**Bengal Orphanages And Widows' Homes:**—In the Bengal Legislative Assembly on Friday September 13th, Begum Farhat Banu Khanum introduced a bill entitled the Bengal Supervision of Orphanages and Widows' Homes Bill 1940, which proposed to make compulsory the licensing of institutions like orphanages, widows' homes and marriage bureaus. In moving that the draft bill be referred to Select Committee, Begum Khanum drew the attention of the house to the alarming number of institutions, both public and private, that apparently exist for the purpose of affording protection for minor girls and boys. Many of them, she said, were veritable clearing houses for boys and girls for immoral purposes. They were run by interested persons who made money out of these nefarious transactions. At the same time, she admitted there were a number of genuine institutions which should be actively encouraged by the Government and the public. Her bill proposed to make it compulsory for all such institutions to be run under licenses from proper authorities. Her bill also provided for inspection by Government Officers and Committees of Management. The house unanimously accepted the proposal to send the bill to the Select Committee with instructions to submit their report by November 30, 1940.



### THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION IN INDIA.

Mrs. Margarita Barns' recent book, "The Indian Press", (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Price 21 sh), has a misleading title but the sub-title remedies the defect; for the book, it is stated, is "a history of the growth of public opinion in India." Mrs. Barns surveys a wide field—she goes from the first court chronicles of the Moghul courts to the dawn of journalism in Britain, from the invention of the printing press to the importation of types to India, from the love of knowledge shown in India as early as the third century B. C. to Mr. Neville Chamberlain's words in praise of a free press and free speech with which the main body of the book concludes—and, though a good deal of it is learned, it is nevertheless padding. In her use of the word "press," Mrs. Barns alternates between the newspaper and the machine which prints it. Mrs. Barns' book, however, is more than a survey of the political history of India from a new angle. This is also an exceedingly useful compilation of the laws affecting the press in India book and a historical survey of the attitude adopted by the Government to the liberty of the press.

Mrs. Barns introduces her reader to the subject with a definition of "political India" and of "journalism." She writes:

Political India may be divided into Congress India (that is the India of the majority of the Hindus of nationalist convictions with a small minority of Muslims), India of the Muslim League (that is India of some eighty million Muslims), India of the Princes (that is Indian India as apart from British India and its traditions of evolutionary constitutionalism), India of the Liberals (that is the India of those of various communities who believe in the efficacy of progressive constitutionalism in preference to direct action), and European India (the India of those scattered Europeans in the services, professions and commerce whose domicile is England but whose place of temporary residence is India.) It is a fact based on historical reasons which will be examined later that the bulk of the Indian press is controlled by the first and the last of the various Indias which have been described.

Mrs. Barns is fully aware of the inaccuracy of a description of this kind. The very parentheses she has tacked on to each India show it. So far as the press is concerned, all this was thoroughly unnecessary. Nor is it accurate to say, as Mrs. Barns does by inference, that the Muslim League represents eighty million Muslims. Such inaccuracy is the more deplorable in one who has been in close touch with Indian opinion for some years. Although there is a close connection between politics and the growth of the Indian press, there is little justification for believing that the political divisions in the country are reflected in the press. Mrs. Barns herself notes this when she refers to the absence of a Muslim League press or of an Indian States newspaper. But there is another side. The Congress, for example, has only one newspaper which can be said to represent its view. In the controversy between Dr. Khare, the Congress and the C. P. Governor, it was a recognized fact that the whole Indian press rejected the Congress charges against the C. P. Governor. This is far more important in a history of the Indian press than what Mr. Hicky wrote in 1780. It is surprising that Mrs. Barns who comes very near the subject in her eighteenth chapter, should have missed the significance of it. Probably that is because she is more concerned with the attitude of the Government to the press than of the press to the Government. Mrs. Barns does less than justice to the Anglo-Indian press when she says that the only major issue of difference between the Government

and the English-owned or English-influenced press was the question of the States. The Anglo-Indian press made itself the champion of every form of vested interest in the country, the upholder of the *status quo* in every way. Inexperienced in the art of criticising governments, it was driven to strange shifts in opposing official measures. The case of Prohibition will rise readily to people's minds in Bombay. The local Anglo-Indian chain of newspapers resorted to every device to resist Prohibition including the publication of articles with illustrations on how Prohibition laws had been evaded in other countries.

With the intention of making her book topical—for Mrs. Barns is first a journalist—she has drawn attention to the common ideals of the British and Indian press:

It is noteworthy that there is at present more in common between the ideas of India and Britain as expressed in their newspapers, than between the ideas of India or Britain on the one hand and the authoritarian States on the other.

Is this anything to be wondered at when we, whether Indian or Briton, are in the midst of a war for saving Democracy from Totalitarianism? As a matter of fact so far as non-European affairs are concerned, the ideas of the British press, with very few exceptions, are not dissimilar to the racial attitudes of Imperial Italy or Nazi Germany. As regards the attitude of the public to the Government, Mrs. Barns is apt to forget the great difference between the Asiatic and the European points of view: There is not that underlying distrust of Governments which exists in all European countries, whether it finds expression in a free press or is suppressed by the State. While, for example, in Europe any insistence on rights naturally sets itself in opposition to the State, here it very often is aimed at reducing the control of business or at the tyranny of social or religious institutions, and it seeks government support in attempts at freeing the community. The Civil Liberties Union is a very recent development and it is not a very robust one at that. Pertinent to this is the peculiar development of totalitarianism in Japan, which will repay study. Mrs. Barns has given her public an excellent preliminary survey of the history of journalism. We trust that her pioneer work will be followed up by contributions in which adequate importance is given to the social and cultural soil in which the Indian Press is growing.

### THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION.

The All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay on Sunday afternoon. The following resolution was placed before the meeting on behalf of the Working Committee by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel:—

The All-India Congress Committee has given its careful attention to the events that have taken place since its last meeting held in Poona on July 27, 1940, and to the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Wardha in August last. The Committee approves of and endorses these resolutions.

In order to end the deadlock in India and to promote the national cause, in co-operation with the British people, the Working Committee even at the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi's co-operation, made a proposal to the British Government in their Delhi resolution of July 17, 1940, which was subsequently approved by the A. I. C. C. at Poona. This proposal was rejected by the British Government in a manner which left no doubt that they had no intention to recognise India's independence, and would, if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely in bondage for British exploitation. This decision of

the British Government shows that they will impose their will upon India, and their recent policy has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the war against Germany, against the will of the vast body of the people of India, and, of exploiting her national resources and man power for this purpose.

The All-India Congress Committee cannot submit to a policy which is a denial of India's natural right to freedom, which suppresses the free expression of public opinion, and which would lead to the degradation of her people and their continued enslavement. By following this policy the British Government have created an intolerable situation and are imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the elementary rights of the people. The Congress is pledged under Gandhiji's leadership to non-violence for the vindication of India's freedom. At this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom the All-India Congress Committee, therefore, requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. The Delhi resolution, confirmed by the A. I. C. C. at Poona, which prevented him from so doing, no longer applies. It has lapsed.

The A. I. C. C. sympathises with the British people as well as the peoples of all other countries involved in the war. Congressman cannot withhold their admiration for the bravery and endurance shown by the British nation in the face of danger and peril. They can have no ill will against them, and the spirit of *satyagraha* forbids the Congress from doing anything with a view to embarrass them. But this self-imposed restraint cannot be taken to the extent of self-extinction. The Congress must insist on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy, based on non-violence. The Congress has, however, no desire at the present moment to extend non-violent resistance, should this become necessary, beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

In view of certain misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the Congress policy of non-violence, the A. I. C. C. desires to state this afresh, and to make it clear that this policy continues, notwithstanding anything contained in previous resolutions which may have led to these misapprehensions. This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India.

The Committee is convinced, and recent world events have demonstrated, that complete world disarmament is necessary, and the establishment of a new and juster political and economic order, if the world is not to destroy itself and revert to barbarism. A free India will, therefore, throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Such lead will inevitably depend on external factors and internal conditions, but the State would do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament. Effective disarmament, and the establishment of world peace by the ending of national wars, depend ultimately on the removal of the causes of wars and national conflicts. These causes must be rooted out by the ending of the domination of one country over another and the exploitation of one people or group by another. To that end India will peacefully labour, and it is with this objective in view that the people of India desire to attain the status of a free and independent nation. Such freedom will be the prelude to the close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace and progress of the world.

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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Massacre of Innocents:—**Eighty-three out of 90 children in the "City of Benares" bound for Canada from England, were drowned along with 200 other passengers as the result of the ship being torpedoed by the Germans when about 600 miles from land. The incident has stirred humanity to its depths. No more harrowing illustration of the ruthlessness and brutality of modern war can be imagined. If it does not arouse in men and women all the world over a determination to put an end at all costs to the possibility of similar nefarious incidents, the human race must, indeed, be past redemption. Humanitarian war is a contradiction in terms. War was always and will be always a brutal and bloody affair. The difference between modern war and the old style war is that, while the consequences to the civil population in the latter case were indirect showing themselves in famine, pestilence and the breaking down of moral restraints, in the former they are direct. Indeed they affect the civil population more than the armed forces. Mr. Winston Churchill pointed out recently that the present war caused less destruction to the life of soldiers than the previous war, while the destruction caused to property and the civil population was far greater. Men, women and children are alike exposed to the risks of modern war. The blockade of belligerent countries by one another, is recognised as a legitimate method of modern war. The object of the blockade is to starve the civil population irrespective of age or sex. No discrimination is made nor is any possible. The children who were drowned in this voyage will not have died in vain if their sacrifice awakens humanity to its duty to destroy root and branch the system which makes such horrors possible.

**Evacuation of Children:—**The *Reformer* from the first had grave doubts about the wisdom of transporting children to distant countries in the hope of sparing them the horrors of war in their own country. The break-up of family life

which the plan involved, was a greater evil than the risks of children being bombed. When Mr. Winston Churchill became Prime Minister, the scheme was suspended. He explained that all its implications had not been understood when it was approved and he clearly indicated the practical and psychological reasons which made reconsideration necessary. There was talk even of its being abandoned. The American Press made a great fuss over the suspension making out that it was an affront to proffered American hospitality. In reply to Mr. Churchill's plea that ships could not be easily made available, America offered to amend her Neutrality Law prohibiting the entry of American ships into belligerent territorial waters, and to send her own ships to fetch the children. When the law was actually amended, it bore a condition that the guarantee of Germany and Italy should be first secured to ensure the safety of the American ships. There was no probability of the two countries giving any such guarantee unless it was reciprocal. Another circumstance which led to the reversal of the suspension, was that some British Ministers had sent their children away from England and Labour members complained that the children of the working classes, not having the means to pay their passage, were being denied the safety secured by the wealthier classes. We had suggested the provision of agreed child sanctuaries in the belligerent countries as a more practical and less expensive as well as psychologically more wholesome substitute. The ship which carried the 90 children, seems not to have been protected by convoys. It is stated that the present disaster will not lead to a change of policy!

**U. S. A. Presidential Prospects:—**The *New York Times'* support of the Republican candidate in preference to the re-election for a third term of President Franklin Roosevelt has been commented upon as portending something serious. As a matter of fact it has no such significance. President Franklin Roosevelt was re-elected for his second term in the teeth of the opposition of practically the entire American Press. The American newspapers have much less weight in their country than abroad. Every one in America knows that scores of newspapers derive their inspiration from a single boss whose advocacy of one policy rather than another is often influenced by his personal



interests. The radio has become a powerful rival to the Press and President Franklin Roosevelt is perhaps the greatest living expert in radio propaganda. Newspaper opposition will affect his chances of re-election but little. What may, however, tell against him is the genuine and widespread fear of a third-term Presidency as but the stepping-stone to a hereditary monarchy. The Americans are even more afraid of a monarchy than of a dictatorship.

**Professor Keynes' Wizardry :—**It is the obvious and imperative duty of the leaders of a nation at war to do everything in their power to keep up its spirits. For this purpose, some underrating of the enemy's strength and overrating of its own advantages are necessary and legitimate. But there is a point beyond which such economy of truth defeats its own object. The declaration of Professor Keynes that Great Britain has not only not lost much by the War but is actually richer than in 1937, struck us as rather a blatant kind of exaggeration. Of course, the Professor might have his own definition of national wealth. But it must be a highly ingenuous one. War and Waste were words which were almost synonymous to the older economists. Professor Keynes, however, would seem to regard War as a most remunerative investment. If he is right, the longer it lasts the wealthier must Britain become each year. Some months back we protested against the complacent reasoning of the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce that the War is a God-send to Indian capitalists to enrich themselves. Professor Keynes now supports them with his authority. We look forward to a fuller and detailed statement of Mr. Keynes' opinion.

**Industrial Co-operatives in China :—**We publish this week Dr. Walter B. Foley's survey of Chinese Industrial Co-operatives. The movement, as will be seen from this short and vivid account, is no longer in an experimental stage. It has won a place for itself in China's national life. By itself the co-operatives would not have made any great headway. But General Chiang Kai-shek's Government was quick to see the possibilities in it and the idea appealed to friends outside the country. Dr. Foley is the moving spirit in the Philippine Association for Industrial Co-operatives in China and, as his article shows, the United States has taken up the cause. The number of co-operative societies is 1,810 with a membership of 24,000, most of them previously unemployed or war refugees. The share capital of the co-operatives is 415,000 Chinese dollars. The co-operatives have loaned out over five and a half million Chinese dollars and their monthly production is valued at seven million dollars. There are two and a half lakhs of persons dependent on the movement. Of its capital (apart from the shares), a million dollars are from foreign contributions; over six million are derived from the Government and a slightly larger sum from loans from banks,

Dr. Foley in a brief sketch of the financial position which we have omitted from his article, remarks that "Chinese bankers are becoming increasingly interested in this type of industry, particularly since the closing of the Indo-China and Burma trade routes." The Chinese Co-operatives expect to raise another twenty-five million dollars from their banks and a loan from the Anglo-Chinese Co-operative Society of London of £ 100,000. The money is loaned out at rates of interest varying from 5 per cent to 10 per cent to industrial co-operatives. On the subject of liability, Dr. Foley gives the following interesting information :

Liability is limited, but the system is based on shares whereby each member assumes responsibility for his portion of the loan and collectively they cover the whole loan. In practice liability is based on labour power and productive capacity of the individual industry rather than on paid share capital which is very small of necessity. Some co-operatives have had to be reorganized but the cases of failure are so few that no statistics have been collected on them.

We have taken out of Dr. Foley's article the financial part of it, largely because the figures are four months old now. Besides, apart from the financial support it has received both from its Government and from foreign friends of China, the Industrial Co-operatives Movement has a magnificent record of service to the people which is an example to the outside world. What China has worked out for herself through bitter years of war can be applied to other countries for the relief of unemployment.

**Buddhism in Bombay :—**Mr. Dharmanand Kosambi who has been working for the past three years in the mill area in Bombay, combines in himself scholarship and the zeal for social work. A distinguished Pali scholar, he has not shrunk from throwing himself vigorously into whatever work appealed to him. In a moving valedictory discourse at the Buddha Society on Sunday, Mr. Kosambi announced that he proposed to retire to Sarnath and there to live the life of a recluse. He told his hearers that he was throughout his life swayed by the conflicting ambitions of leading a life of renunciation and of doing some good to the world. He had, he said, in the past been called back into the world from his seclusion more than once and he was not certain whether this time he would be left in peace. It was a very human talk which Mr. Kosambi gave and, much as Bombay will miss this sincere and earnest worker, his many friends will wish that he finds the quiet that he seeks in his retirement. Mr. Kosambi mentioned that he was handing over his Vihara at Parel to the Mahabodhi Society. He remarked that his past association with the Congress had made his ministry to the depressed classes of Parel unpalatable to some of the leaders of that community. He also pointed out that the special political reservations which the depressed classes had won within the Hindu fold, made conversion work extremely difficult. A depressed class man as a Hindu possesses certain rights electorally which he would lose the moment he declared himself a Buddhist.

**The Hindu Mahasabha and the Viceroy's Offer:**—The resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha which we print this week, completes the response of political India to the British offer made by the Viceroy on August 8th. Lord Linlithgow has not received support from any of the four All-India political parties and his decision to constitute his Council on an all-party basis instead of a national one, has led to the inevitable bargaining for seats from Muslim and Hindu leaders. If what the Government of India does is really important for Britain's prosecution of the war, Lord Linlithgow may well continue for the remaining period as he has done for the first year ignoring Indian opinion and carrying on according to his discretion. There is little likelihood of any agreement being reached between communalists seeking to establish their own communities in power. The Mahasabha has, it is true, declared that it will not non-co-operate with the Government. Dr. B. S. Moonje who presided over the Bombay session in the absence of Mr. V. D. Savarkar who is ill, in the explanatory statement with which, according to political precedent, he followed up the resolution of the Mahasabha, made it definite that his party were not prepared to stand aside from the advantages which participation in the Government of India was likely to bring. We do not see anything wrong in the Mahasabha's insistence on representation in the Viceroy's Council and in the Advisory War Council on a population basis, once the Muslim League claim for equality has been raised; when every other community is pushing its claims and more than its claims, it is absurd to expect the Hindu Mahasabha which is pledged to safeguard Hindu interests, to adopt a self-denying attitude at this juncture. The prospect is not, of course, a very pleasant one—with the Mahasabha taking the place of the Congress as the majority organisation for minorities to win concessions from—and some of the minorities have taken fright at the very thought. The *Guardian* of Madras, for one, gives expression to the following strange enunciation of democracy:

The fact of the difference in numerical strength does not introduce comparative merits or rights. Theoretically when the (now) moderate Muslim opinion claims 30—50 representation, it asserts the democratic idea, that every one is as worthy of rights and responsibilities as every one else in a democracy. The 'compromise' that is required from the side of the majority is a recognition of this truth. The 'compromise' based on numbers is apparent not real, for it reverts to the 'unchallenged' right of the majority—a communal one—to dictate what minority life shall be.

The *Guardian* is not apparently in touch with Muslim opinion sufficiently to distinguish between "moderate" Muslim and "extremist" Muslim. The fifty per cent demand, so far as we are aware has come, like Pakistan, out of the Muslim League and its adherents. We are unable to follow the *Guardian's* reasoning when it says that, because "everyone is as worthy of rights and responsibilities as everyone else in a democracy," therefore members of one commu-

nity should have electoral representation above that of another. It is a quaint democracy which makes an Indian vote in the Muslim constituency equal to a hundred Indian votes in the general constituency. The argument that the Hindu Mahasabha itself objects to majority rule in the Punjab and in Bengal and, therefore, majority rule is unjust, has little substance in it. Communalists, of course, have the same type of grievances. It would be strange if they had not.

**Persecution and the Missionary:**—The *Dnyanodaya* grows more mysterious every week. In justification of its unfounded statement that Bishop Chitambar was a South Indian whose Brahmin father had to shift to North India because of religious persecution, it refers to "recurring cases" of persecution and the biographies of notable Indian Christians. It concludes with the significant statement, "persecution is always eventually an advancing factor not a hindrance" There is a complete explanation of why persecution is found even where none exists. The missionary is here on his own admission solely for advancing his particular brand of Christianity. "Persecution" advances it and he looks out for any incident which can be made out to appear as persecution. There is a certain family relationship between this and atrocity-mongering. If the *Dnyanodaya* wants to understand what religious persecution is it should read Vardis Fisher's account in "Children of God," of what Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormons sect, suffered at the hands of his countrymen just because he claimed to be a prophet. Coming from an organ of six missionary associations, one of which is the Methodist Church of America, this talk of religious persecution seems to be singularly misplaced after the events of the past year.

**The War:**—The duel between the two principals, Britain and Germany, particularly London and Berlin, continues. The latter showed signs of slackening and the former of stiffening in their aggression. General De Gaulle's hope of winning over French West Africa by a personal visit to Dakar did not materialise. After a vain endeavour to land, the General withdrew explaining that he did not wish to be the cause of bloodshed between fellow Frenchmen. Signor Mussolini has explained that Spain cannot give military aid to the Axis Powers as she was dependent on Britain's goodwill for her food supplies from the United States. The Egyptian Cabinet split on the question whether the Italian penetration into Egyptian territory of about sixty miles should be regarded as an act of war against Egypt or merely an incident in the Anglo-Italian conflict which does not affect the relations between Egypt and Italy. The majority held the latter view whereupon four of the Ministers resigned. Italy continues to occupy British Somaliland but elsewhere Britain has scored over Italian forces in Africa. Japan and France have come to terms over the facilities to be afforded to the Japanese army in Indo-China. Soviet Russia waits and watches.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 28, 1940.

## CHAOS IN MARRIAGE LAW.

The *Dnyanodaya* announces that at the 29th annual meeting of the Bombay Representative Christian Council held early this month it was intimated that a Committee was being appointed to meet at Dornakal to complete the draft of a new Indian Christian Marriage Bill and that Government would be requested to sponsor the Bill. It was also announced that the Roman Catholic Church was for the first time beginning to show signs of willingness to co-operate with the National Christian Council in connection with the proposed Christian Marriage Bill. The present Act is out of date especially in respect of the provisions for the marriage of Christians with non-Christians. The new Bill should confine itself to marriages both parties to which are Christians. In the absence of a simple civil marriage law, intermarriages between persons of different communities who do not wish to change or repudiate their religion, can not be contracted in this country at present. The only Act which is available for the purpose is the Special Marriage Act of 1872. This Act requires that each of the parties to a marriage should declare before the Registrar that they do not profess Hinduism, Mahomedanism, Buddhism, Christianity or any other recognised religion, which to people to whom religious belief is not a farce, is utterly repugnant. The declaration, it has been authoritatively laid down, does not affect the status of the parties under their personal law. In other words, it is a mere formality. A Hindu who marries under the Special Marriage Act continues to be a member of his joint family, and to retain intact his rights as such in all respects though he has solemnly declared that he does not profess the Hindu religion. Originally intended to afford relief to Brahmans who did not wish to go through the ceremonies of the older faiths, especially the Hindu rite, on the score of their including idolatrous features, the Act in its passage through the Legislature became transformed into its present shape owing to the opposition of the older religionists. In Bombay where the Prarthana Samajists have always regarded Indian Theism as the purest form of Hinduism, the Special Marriage Act was rarely used by the Samajists. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar had revised the Hindu marriage rite so as to eliminate idolatrous features, and his rescension was generally adopted in many cases and such marriages have been deemed to be sufficient without any registration. Sir Hari Singh Gour's attempt to amend the Special Marriage Act by omitting the obnoxious declaration had a curious result. Owing to the opposition of non-Hindus, the Gour Act in the first place was confined to Hindus, including Sikhs, Jains, Arya Samajists and Brahma Samajists. If this was all it would have been still an

important advance as Hindus form the vast majority of the population. But unfortunately, Sir Hari Singh introduced in his Act provisions regarding joint family and succession to property which were entirely irrelevant to his main purpose. Owing to this, we have the anomaly that a Hindu marrying under the Special Marriage Act, after declaring that he does not profess Hinduism, retains all his rights under the Hindu law; but if he marries under the Gour Act specifically meant for Hindus, he ceases *ipso facto* to be a member of the joint family and his family becomes subject as regards succession to the Indian Succession Act. Nevertheless not a few Hindus have contracted marriages under the Gour Act but the great majority who would otherwise have preferred it owing to its monogamous requirement, are unable to use it because they do not wish to break away from their families.

For persons who are single or widowed, and who have no repugnance to change their religion in order to acquire a wife or husband, the path is fairly clear. Proselytism is now judicially recognised as valid among Hindus as among Christians and Mussulmans. Orthodox Hindu authorities do not accept proselytes. The old established religious sects still remain opposed to proselytism. But there are several side-doors by which a man or woman may find a way into the Hindu fold. Sikhism, the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj keep open door to all comers. Once a person joins any of these sects he is a Hindu. There are besides Hindu Missions who carry on proselytising propaganda. The Shankaracharya of Kurtkoti was given a large sum of money by the ex-Maharaja of Indore for this purpose when the latter married his American wife after having her converted to Hinduism by Kurtkoti. The rigid restrictions as to caste, sub caste and gotra, of a Hindu marriage are avoided by undergoing a form of conversion to Sikhism and Brahmaism. In the case of the Arya Samaj even this is not needed. In several instances in recent years, persons of different castes have contracted marriages after conversion according to the Anand Marriage Act of the Sikhs. In other cases since the passing of the Arya Marriage Act this has provided an even easier road to intermarriage. The greater freedom permitted by these sects would be a real advantage to the community but for the fact that they have sometimes been availed of to contract polygamous marriages. Readers of *The Reformer* would have noticed from time to time such occurrences reported and commented on in these columns. Much confusion and great hardship to innocent women have been caused by the license which makes such abuses possible. The validity of some at least of these marriages are not beyond doubt. It may be challenged long after the intermarrying parties are dead by some collateral claiming a right to ancestral property. It is not only among Hindus that the tendency to discard first wives in favour of a younger or more aggressive

woman has been on the increase. Young women of education have aided and abetted, and in some cases have actually put pressure on married men to marry them. In the Orissa case which was discussed at length in these columns, a Christian woman persuaded or was a party to a Brahmin teacher trying in various ways to divorce his Hindu wife, in order to marry her. He was ready to become a convert to Christianity. When he found that this would not help him—as the Hindu wife declared her readiness to follow him into the new faith—he tried the Brahma Samaj. British Law Officers have declared that a Brahma marriage is *ipso facto* a monogamous marriage and the second Lord Sinha has been on that ground allowed to take his seat in the House of Lords. The Orissa Brahma Samaj, however, performed the marriage of the Brahmin teacher with the Christian wife under the impression that enrolment as a Brahma operated as a divorce from his first wife! There is thus a great deal of confusion in the laws of marriage as affecting intermarriages. It is high time a simple Civil Marriage Act was passed to relieve Indian social life of the incubus of the existing confusion.

#### "ALONE"

The word "Alone" takes on an increasingly poignant fascination as one passes, say, the fiftieth milestone in life. One's circle narrows. Old, familiar faces disappear. One is increasingly thrown back on oneself and the profound significance of the epigram, "Never less alone than when alone," dawns upon one. With decreasing distractions from one's surroundings, one's mind turns inward and one finds that one has within oneself resources far exceeding those which one had dreamt of. The same result is obtained in solitude by men who have had the necessary preparation. As everyone has at some time to face alone the transition from the present to the future life, it is good to practise the presence of solitude before it descends upon one.

I picked up a very plainly bound book the other day attracted by its title, "Alone." Opening it at random I lighted on the following:

The universe is not dead. Therefore, there is an Intelligence there, and it is all-pervading. At least one purpose, possibly the major purpose, of that Intelligence is the achievement of universal harmony.

Striving in the right direction for Peace (Harmony), therefore, as well as the achievement of it is the result of accord with that Intelligence.

It is desirable to effect that accord.

The human race, then, is not alone in the universe. Though I am cut off from human beings, I am not alone.

For untold ages man has felt an awareness of that Intelligence. Belief in it is the one point where all religions agree. It has been called by many names. Many call it God.

This was the gist of the philosophy which had come to me out of April's hush.

This too was the gist of the philosophy which had come to the sages of the Upanishads how many centuries ago and in what hush of environment one can only guess. The Kathopanishad gives it in the most direct terms. I am quoting from the English translation by S. Sitarama Sastry, in the series published by Messrs. Natesan and Co, Madras:

Sole, controller, the internal *atman* of all living things who makes his own form diverse. To the

intelligent who realizes him as seated in the self, eternal bliss is theirs, not others.

Eternal among the ephemeral, conscious among the unconscious, who, being one, dispenses desired objects to many, the intelligent who see him seated in themselves, to them, eternal peace, not to others.

In his praiseworthy endeavour to render the majestic Sanskrit original literally into English, Mr. Sitarama Sastry has rather confused the meaning of the verses which is that all phenomena, material and mental, are the manifestation of a Supreme Intelligence, and Peace and Harmony are attained only by realising in oneself the fact of this Unity. Every time I recall these verses—that is every day—the thought comes to me that the world must have been miraculously illuminated when the Seer projected his grand vision into it. The author of "Alone" was not a sage of antiquity. He is an officer of the American Navy inspired by a passion for collecting scientific data about conditions in the Polar regions. He disclaims being a scientist himself. He writes:

We men of action who serve science, serve only a reflection in a mirror. The tasks are difficult, the objects remote; but scholars sitting in bookish surroundings tell us where to go, what to look for, and even what we are apt to find. Likewise they pass dispassionate judgment on whatever we bring back. We are nothing more than glamorous middlemen between theory and fact; materialists jobbing in the substance of universal truth.

I said that the passage which struck me occurred on a page which I opened at random. I did not turn to the beginning but went on reading to the end of the book. It ended with the arresting observation: "A man does not begin to attain wisdom until he recognises that he is no longer indispensable."

Then I turned to the beginning. I found that the name of the author was Richard E. Byrd. He was not a rich man. He had to borrow money from friends for this expedition to the Antarctic region. His motives in undertaking it were suspected. It was surmised that he went there "to do some quiet but serious drinking." One of his men in bidding him good-bye at the last stage called him "Admiral." The "Advance Base" at which he spent two months *alone* was the nearest point to the South Pole where a shack to shelter him and his instruments from wind and weather was possible. His purpose was to collect meteorological data. But beyond that he had a personal motive. It was "one man's desire to have that kind of experience to the full, to be by himself for a while and to taste peace and quiet and solitude long enough to find out how good they are." One point of difference between the American explorer and the Indian Seer, may be noted. The former distinguishes between "awareness" of the Cosmic Intelligence and harmonising with It. The latter reduces the two into one, in accordance with the monistic genius of India. In Indian belief, you never *know* a thing until it becomes efficient as a motive. To know a thing is to do it. Scattered profusely among technical matters are such arresting observations as the following:—

The tolerable quality of a dangerous existence is the fact that the human mind cannot remain continuously sensitive to anything. Repetition's dulling impact sees to that. The threat of sudden death can scare a man only for so long; then he dismisses it as he might a mealy-mouthed beggar.....Fright and pain are the most transitory of emotions.

The fortitude shown by people in beleaguered and bombarded cities, is common to all races. A calamity is more terrible in the prospect or retrospect than when it is actually upon one. Here is something of wider scope:

When a man achieves a fair measure of harmony within himself and his family circle, he achieves peace; and a nation made up of such individuals and groups is a happy nation. As the harmony of a star in its course is expressed by rhythm and grace, so the harmony of a man's life-course is expressed by happiness: this, I believe, is the prime desire of mankind.

Byrd was clearly making observations not only in meteorology but into his own psychology. My object in noticing the book here is two-fold. Firstly, to deprecate the rather excessive emphasis that is being laid on the achievement of the immediately and obviously "useful" as the main thing for a country's greatness. This school leaves out of account the human spirit which is vastly more vital to national greatness than merely material achievement. Secondly, to point out that even significant material achievement depends on the cultivation of the spiritual nature of man, meaning thereby the spirit which is not daunted by difficulties, is, indeed, stimulated by them to its greatest effort. Only in Bengal has this larger view of national elevation been understood and pursued to any extent in India. Elsewhere, even Universities have been content to remain on the level of the "practical." While what India and the world badly need is youth which will stake its all on something gloriously "unpractical"! This was the spirit which animated the ancient Rishis, and it is one which must be recaptured at all cost. Sometime back there was talk of an Indian expedition to climb some hitherto unmapped peak of the Himalayas. What has become of it? K. N.

#### THE LATE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

The death of Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, late Maharaja of Mysore, called forth many tributes from far and near, in and out of India. Perhaps the most striking of these was that paid by the English-speaking Christians of Mysore at a United Service held at St. Bartholomew's Church, Mysore, on Tuesday August 13. The service was conducted by the Rev. F. E. Hill, Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Mysore. At the conclusion of the service, he delivered an impressive and eloquent address, in the course of which he said:

Many of us here have come from another land. At times we have been conscious that between us and the people of this land there are those inevitable barriers set up by difference of race, language and religion, differences in standards of life and of culture, and yet the gracious personality of our late Ruler could reach across all these barriers, so that as we came to know him we learned to trust him, and from our trust and admiration of him we were led on to give him our affection and love. It is for that reason that, foreigners though we be, we are one with every citizen of this State in our deep sense of loss.

The preacher went on to say:

I do not know what philosophy of life and death our late Maharaja followed, but none could read his public utterances or hear of the way in which he faced the prospect of ill health and the end which comes to all mortal men, without realising that he had a sure faith in the goodness of God and in the ultimate triumph of good in this world. We believe that he sought to do the will of God in his kingly office and in the personal affairs of his life. Spiritual values were for him real and eternal, and spiritual things were for him an abiding influence and inspiration. His sincere piety was something which men of all religions could respect and honour, and surely beyond the veil of this life all his spiritual longings and noble aspirations will find their fulfilment.

The late Maharaja's philosophy of life and death was no secret and Mr. Hill's profession of ignorance of it, can only be attributed to the natural reluctance of a missionary to acknowledge that any good can

come out of a philosophy of life and death not held by the Christian Church. It reflects credit on the preacher nevertheless that he could recognise the great qualities of one who, so far as we know, never once in his public speeches gave evidence of having derived inspiration from any but his ancestral faith.

#### CHINESE INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVES.

(BY WALTER B. FOLEY, MANILA.)

The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives under the Executive Council of the Government, are directed by the following personnel:—Dr. H. H. Kung, Chairman (Minister of Finance), K. P. Liu, Secretary-General (an engineer), Hubert S. Liang, Associate Secretary-General (an engineer), Rewi Alley, Chief Advisor and Field Secretary, Frank Lem, Chief Engineer, C. F. Wu, Assistant Chief Engineer. A staff of over 500 engineers, technicians, accountants and co-operative organizers supervise the field work, receiving at present Ch. \$ 100,000 monthly from the Government for administrative expenses. All the important leaders are college graduates, and on the whole this staff is excellent and its members are noted for their honesty, competence and devotion to the work. They have accomplished one of the most remarkably successful ventures in recent years in China. Seven of the leading engineers and organizers are graduates of American engineering colleges, subsequently trained in the Ford Motor Works. These include: K. P. Liu, Hubert S. Liang, Frank Lem, C. F. Wu, C. K. Tan, P. P. Mao and Charles Wong. Part of the efficiency of the movement is due to the fact that it is managed by the good teamwork of engineers, technicians and trained co-operative organizers, rather than politicians. Of the foreign advisors, Rewi Alley, the chief, is an efficient Irish-English industrial and co-operative expert from the New Zealand, who was released from his duties as Factory Inspector of the Shanghai Municipal Council, on request of the Chinese Government, to organize the Industrial Co-operative. He is noted for his expert knowledge of both city and rural industry in China. Other advisors are J. B. Tayler, well-known British co-operative expert who has worked in rural co-operatives in China for many years; E. R. Lapwood, released from Yenching University for a year or two to join the C. I. C.; and Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe and Charles Riggs of Nanking University in Chengtu, who serve as voluntary advisors. Quite a number of Americans are actively helping and encouraging the work, including many missionaries in the interior.

Each member has only one vote, and can own no more than 20% of the total shares of the society. Each must obey the Constitution of the C. I. C. or be expelled. This Constitution, was drawn up by W. H. K. Campbell, co-operative expert sent to China by the League of Nations, and the C. I. C. staff. This form of management was found to be excellent in China, and makes possible rapid growth and wide extension of industry under the rules of the C. I. C. Constitution. There has been no accusation of the "squeeze" against the movement, and it is considered to be one of the most honest and efficient forms of management in China today.

Five headquarters (Northwest, Southeast, Southwest, Yunnan and Szechuan-Sikong) are directing subsidiary depots in 16 provinces, extending in a semi-circle from Kansu in the northwest to the Kwangsi coast in the southeast. Other depots are being organized in Hopei and Shangtung and in the far northwestern regions. When in full operation, the chain of Industrial Co-operatives will extend o



every province except Kiangsu (the Shanghai area). Front line and guerrilla mobile industrial units number over 100, located in Honan, Hupeh, Shensi, Shansi, Anhui and Chekiang. Many are within a few miles of the fighting front and continue industrial production through constant bombing and army manoeuvres, such as those in the 5th War Zone and guerrilla regions. Others are in the heart of Japanese-occupied territory.

Losses from bombing have been negligible, amounting to only a few thousand dollars with the loss of less than 20 lives. This decentralized industry is unaffected by war and bombing. Located in the villages, the factories cannot be distinguished from the air. Even a direct hit causes only a small loss, and the workers go out and rebuild elsewhere. Many of the co-operatives are located in bombproof caves in the Northwest.

In five Headquarters, the following social services are run:—Nine primary schools, 3 apprentice schools, 4 training schools for organizers and accountants, 7 industrial training classes for women refugees, 50 literacy schools, day and night, classes in co-operative principles and management, held regularly as required for new members, 9 nurseries, 4 clinics, 1 hospital, 8 recreation halls.

There are 2,000 disabled soldiers in co-operatives, engaged in many trades, from printing, spinning, weaving and leather-work to gold-washing. Centres for this work exist in Kiangsi, Fukien and Shensi, and plans are afoot to expand the work.

The families of soldiers at the front are also given special consideration in the co-operatives, and there are several centres devoted to this special work.

Practically no machinery has been imported as yet. Heavy machinery was originally salvaged from the cities before Japanese occupation, but at present most of the light machinery is being made by ten machine-shops, under the direction of the engineers. There is mass production of spindles, looms, etc. The Chengtu-Machine-shop, for example, makes from 50 to 100 improved spinning-wheels daily, at a cost of 6 Chinese dollars, apiece. In private industry these wheels cost 10 dollars.

Machine tools are being turned out by water-powered or adapted charcoal motor-powered lathes. Much of the machinery is primitive but sufficiently good for present needs. The steel die manufactured by C. I. C. machine-shops for 500 dollars would cost 3,000 dollars imported.

Some of the products turned out by one machine-shop in Kiangsi are the following: platen-type printing presses, hand-presses and dies for the manufacture of buttons from old kerosine tins, etc., oil presses, small platform weighing scales and weights, hand-weaving looms for towels and cloth, motor car springs, manual rolling machines for bakeries and food shops, rice mills three types of hand grenades, foundry equipment, moulds for bottle making, laundry irons, hand tools for tanneries, sugar mills, charcoal gas engines, etc.

All adaptations of machinery are blue-printed and passed on to other machine-shop. The C. I. C. has four technical magazines for the purpose of improving technical processes.

Water-power and charcoal-burning engines are usually the kind of power used, though there are two electrical plants and more are planned. Frank Lem and C. F. Wu are two of the best electrical engineers in China, and gave up their jobs with the American-owned Shanghai Power Company to organize co-operative industry in the provinces along modern lines.

The Industrial Co-operatives are engaged in over fifty different types of industry, and showed 114 different products at the Chungking Exhibition recently. They can make nearly every article needed for daily use, from toothbrushes and boats to

medicines and army supplies. (Animated toys, to compete with the Japanese, are one of the features.) The C. I. C. has its own system of union marketing and supply.

Early in 1940 400,000 woollen army blankets were delivered, and an order for 1,500,000 is now being filled, at a cost of less than seventy cents U. S. currency. Several hundred thousand army uniforms, padded overcoats, etc., have already been supplied and the C. I. C. receives regular orders for these. Four cooperatives are making ordinary medical drugs, vaseline, etc. The C. I. C. chemists have drawn up a list of 29 modern drugs which it can easily manufacture, when this industry is well-organized. Dozens of cooperatives are employed in filling large orders for surgical cotton and gauze. A single cooperative in Hunan is turning out daily from 1,000 to 1,500 pounds of grease-free absorbent cotton and 1,000 pounds of gauze. This same co-operative also supplied 10,000 first-aid bags during the Japanese attack on northern Hunan. As another example, in the Northwest, one order for 30,000 pounds of bandages and 30,000 pounds of surgical cotton was turned out within six weeks. In Anhui, in the war zone, medical cotton is improvised out of ramie fibre. About 50% of the 500 co-operatives in the Northwest Headquarters are employed in making army supplies.

China can become self-sufficient in small-arms and ammunition, nearly all of which are now made in Government arsenals. The Industrial Co-operatives have not yet been commissioned by the Government to engage in the munitions industry but machine-shops and chemical plants can be expanded to create a large and effective source of supply. One order for 70,000 hand grenades was easily filled by one machine-shop in the Northwest Headquarters in a month. The C. I. C. has offered to help in this field and the engineers have made sample munition for demonstration.

Some co-operative machine-shops, such as those in Anhui and Chekiang, are repairing arms at the front, and this work can become very important in the war zones.

The Industrial Cooperatives are already engaged in the mining of gold, iron and coal, and have plans for working copper, zinc, tungsten, wolfram, tin, manganese, molybdenum, bismuth, lead, silver, sulphur, etc., which are abundant in Kiangsi. There are over 17 general mining cooperatives in the Northwest Headquarters, others elsewhere.

An "Indusco" gold-rush has already occurred along the Han River in the north, and in Sikong and the Southeast. By the middle of December, 1939, fifty cooperatives were engaged in gold-washing along the Han River, averaging 25 members each. Capital required was about Ch. \$ 16 a member. Output was from 60 to 70 ounces a month which sold then for Ch. \$ 860 an ounce.

Sufficient iron and copper exist in Free China to build a large industrial base, and requirements for present C. I. C. light industry are not heavy. C. I. C. iron foundries produce malleable iron in quantities. Steel is being made by several Government electric furnaces at the rate of 50 to 60 tons daily. Total output of pig iron in all China is only 50,000 tons a year, but this can be greatly increased.

Over a million Chinese dollars have been contributed to the C. I. C. from foreign sources since 1938. The central liaison committee is in Hongkong, headed by the Right Rev. R. O. Hall, Bishop of Hongkong, and numbering T. V. Soong, the eminent banker, and three other leading Chinese bankers in its membership of eleven. This "International Committee for Chinese Industrial Co-operatives Productive Relief Fund" serves as a board of trustees for contributions, which it handles on the revolving fund prin-

ple. Other promotion committees in China exist in Shanghai, Hongkong and Chengtu, consisting largely of Americans.

Committees so far created abroad for support of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives are the following:

1. The Anglo-Chinese Co-operative Development Society, Limited, in London and Manchester, with four Members of Parliament on its executive committee, including Alfred Barnes, M. P., as President, Sir Stafford Cripps, John Jagger and G. S. Wood, Directors. This Society has a plan to loan £ 100,000 to the C. I. C. from co-operative members in England.

2. The Australia-China Cooperative Movement, Melbourne: J. F. Chappel, Chairman.

3. Philippine Association for Industrial Cooperatives in China, 200 members with Mrs. Francis B. Sayre as Honorary President, and Dr. Walter Brooks Foley as President.

4. Local committees exist in Washington, D. C., Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and a national committee is now being formed, sponsored by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and other influential Americans, including the following:—Henry R. Luce, Mrs. Paul V. McNutt, Governor Gifford Pinchot, Henry L. Stimson, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, and John Earl Baker, William M. Chadbourne, Evans Clark, Miss Frances Curtis, Mrs. John Coolidge, Miss Gertrude Ely, Mrs. John K. Fairbank, John R. Hersey, Mr. Richard Hogue, Mrs. Arthur Hummel, B. A. Garside, L. Carrington Goodrich, Roger S. Greene, Mrs. John H. Hammond, Rev. Walter B. Foley, Owen Lattimore, Miss Edna Lonigan, Miss Helen Loomis, Mrs. Rufus G. Mather, Mr. Rufus G. Mather, Mrs. Laurent Oppenheim, Mrs. Warren Pierson, Arthur Upham Pope, Nathaniel Peffer, Harry B. Price, Stephen Raushenbush, Dr. G. Canby Robinson, Daisy Fiske Rogers, Mrs. George Shattuck, Michael Straight, and Richard J. Walsh.

#### Sir Maharaj Singh on South Africa:—

Sir Maharaj Singh, former Agent-General for India in South Africa, has issued the following statement:—“General Smuts’s recent statement that Indians in South Africa are in many respects far happier there than they would be in India, needs qualification. While I gladly admit that many Indians are, from a material point of view, better off in South Africa than they would have been had they remained in their motherland, there are at the same time large numbers of Indians, especially in Natal, who are living in conditions bordering on destitution. For their condition the South African Government are largely responsible through their failure to provide the same facilities for employment for Indians as for Europeans. Moreover, it is absurd to speak of Indians as living in happy conditions in South Africa seeing that they are deprived throughout the greater part of that country of municipal and political franchise, though subject to the same taxation as Europeans. They suffer from several social disabilities to a far greater extent than in any other part of the world, and as Sir Raza Ali has rightly pointed out, there has been for several years past increasing anti-Indian legislation. Lastly, if many Indians have improved their material prospects by going to South Africa, a much larger number of Europeans, both British and Boers, have bettered themselves. After all most people emigrate to distant countries to earn more money. I gladly state that when I was Agent-General in South Africa, General Smuts, next to Mr. J. Hofmeyr, was the most helpful Minister in regard to matters affecting Indians, and I would sooner have him as Prime Minister at the present juncture than any other South African statesman. One can only hope against hope that a man of his world-wide reputation will not confine the excellent precepts in his speeches to Europeans in South Africa but will include within their scope Indians and Africans.”

#### CONGRESS IN OFFICE.

The speeches and writings of Mr. C. R. Reddy are published under the caption “Congress in Office,” by Mr. Abdul Ahmeed Khan, M. L. A., ex-Mayor of Madras.

The present disturbed times, specially in this country, require that every effort should be made by people who can think and who can speak and write reasonably and nationally, at least without any bitterness, to make their contribution to the solutions of the problems that beset the country. Mr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, is not a party-man and is a scholar and a thinker. Even though one does not agree with him, one has to admire and appreciate the spirit of sweet reasonableness which flows throughout his writings and speeches.

It has become a fashion more or less to decry democracy. Mr. Reddy, however, appears to welcome democracy, provided only that “men of merit and character exercise power and influence.” At the same time, he warns people against the fetish that “the ballot box may be the 11th Avatar of Vishnu.” He has scathingly condemned the form which democracy or mobocracy has assumed in some of the Continental countries like Germany and Italy.

With regard to the freedom of vote in Germany and Italy, he spoke in his Convocation Address at the University of Nagpur, of the religious fanatic who devoutly believed in God, and, therefore, had naturally nothing but contempt for man. Approaching one of his friends with a revolver in his hand he said: “Tell me frankly, do you believe in God or not? You are free to answer as you like. Only I must tell you that I just now shot a man who said he did not believe in God.”

This is not the kind of democracy which is required for this country. What is required here is not a particular ‘crazy’ or ‘archy’ but the spirit of constitutionalism; as Mr. Reddy well puts it, that “power of self-control and innate regard for the deeper laws of human nature, which is so ingrained in the British character.”

He has great respect and reverence for Mahatma Gandhi, though he apprehends that his idealistic philosophy of life is not the best calculated for relieving India of her troubles at present. Thus a question he put in his Convocation Address will be found the most appropriate at present: “What is the place of mystic idealism in politics? It has certainly a place in individual life, a big place. But has it an equal place in racial and national life? Martyrdom of individuals is regarded as a sublime sacrifice, ever to be venerated. But could we prescribe martyrdom to whole races and nations? Disarmament is good. But if one nation disarms, while the rest are piling up their military establishments, is that not the way to racial subjection and suicide?”

Arising from all this democracy, this idealistic philosophy, the administration of the Congress Cabinets and the ideals and ambitions of the so-called minorities, there has arisen at present a situation in the country which baffles Mahatmaji on one side and the British Government on the other. In his speech at Jaipur, Mr. Reddy had a very keen and cutting analysis of some of the present-day problems, specially the problem of Federation. It was an unwanted child. The Congress did not want it; the Muslim League wanted it still less; but both had their different angles of vision and different methods of approach.

From this idea of the Federation to Provincial Autonomy, it is but one step, and Mr. Reddy

analysed the situation which arose in the different Congress Provinces. He put both the sides of the case, for instance, with regard to the Party Government or the Composite Government. The conclusion which he seems to have arrived at, is that, to produce the necessary atmosphere of amity and friendliness, the Congress must offer cabinet seats in the Provinces to nominees of the League or to persons elected by a majority of Mahomedan legislators.

Later on, in his three lectures delivered in Madras at the Madras University Research Scholars' Association, at the Law College, and at the Presidency College Union Society, he deals mainly and fundamentally with the Congress versus the Muslim League. If we may be allowed so to put it, Mr. Reddy, since his Convocation Address, seems to have moved a good extent towards the position of being more or less a pro-Muslim, without using these words in a bad sense. He seems to have accepted the position of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League with regard to the Mahomedans constituting a separate nation. He disapproves of the proposal of the Constituent Assembly, and does not see anything wrong, evidently, in the Pakistan scheme. There have been, no doubt, sins of omission and commission on both sides; but a constitutionalist like Mr. Reddy cannot leave the position where he has left it. What reactions will there be on the country as a whole and on her constitutional progress if the Pakistan scheme, i. e. the scheme of the Mahomedan people being considered as a separate nation altogether, comes to be translated into practice? Mr. Reddy could well have examined the position of the foreign Mahomedan States and seen whether nationalism or Pan-Islamism is the governing force there at present. Surely, the existence of two nations in the country with particular regions assigned to them will lead to the vivisection of the country, as Mahatmaji put it, though Mr. Reddy may not agree with this term.

Many of these writings and speeches are dealing with very delicate and thorny problems, and yet there is sobriety, calmness and reasonableness seen in their treatment. The discussion, in short, is carried on on a fairly high level, and, if all attempts at solving this tangle were made in the same manner, we would be nearer the day when Hindu-Muslim unity would be reached.

J. K. M.

### RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY.

(By H. L. MANSUKHANI, KARACHI.)

On September 27, 1833 passed away Raja Rammohan Roy—the Father of Modern India. Every year India gratefully recalls his service and pays its homage to the sacred memory of its distinguished son, who, in the words of his biographer, “stands in history as the living bridge over which India marched from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was an arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and conservative progress. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable environment.” And rightly has India acknowledged him, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore, as “the great path-maker of his country” who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step and initiated us into the present era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.

Born on May 22, 1772, at Radhanagar in Bengal, in a Brahmin family, Rammohan was noted as a talented lad. He received good education in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. The study of Sanskrit

scriptures gave him an insight into the errors and absurdities of Hindu idolatry, which he began to protest against at a very young age. This ultimately led to his banishment from his home, where upon he went on travels for a number of years.

By 1814, he returned to Calcutta, where he founded the “Atmiya Sabha” for free discussions on theological subjects. In 1820 he published “The Precepts of Christ,” in which he maintained that Trinitarian Christianity was no better than Hindu polytheism. In 1823, he started an agitation for the liberty of the press, vehemently opposing the press ordinance of the year. In 1825, he founded the Vedanta College. In 1829 his efforts succeeded in getting the practice of Sati abolished by a regulation of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. In 1830 he opened the Brahma Sabha for “the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe.” In the same year he proceeded to England where he took a prominent part in the rejection by Parliament of the appeal against the abolition of Sati. He breathed his last on 27th, September, 1833, at Bristol.

Raja Rammohan Roy was born in an age of economic degradation, political subjugation and spiritual chaos, when India presented a sad picture of a mass of mental debris. He saw superstition reigning supreme, idolatry and ignorance dominating and the whole nation getting stunted. In him was the spirit of a prophet and the intuition of a genius. Almost single-handed he fought the errors, abuses and the absurdities of the society. An intellectual giant as he was, he could elevate to a higher plane whatever he touched. In every branch of nation-building activities he did pioneering work and proved himself to be a great linguist, a social reformer, an educationist, a humanitarian, a philanthropist, an advocate of woman's emancipation and a passionate lover of freedom. He, indeed, was the forerunner of Indian freedom, who dreamt of a New India.

He was proudly conscious of the strength and ability of India which is clear from the following words from his “appeal to the King in Council.” “With increasing knowledge and energy, India would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population either useful and profitable as an ally of the British Empire or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy.” And today when we pause a little and contemplate the life and activities of this international ambassador of India's culture and genius, we wonder not a little that such a great man should have been born in the most backward of countries. It almost seems as a miracle of the Almighty to have blessed this land with such a gigantic personality whom the Rev. J. T. Sunderland has characterized, as “in a large and true sense India's immortal Moses, Mazzini and Washington, all in one.”

It is no mere rhetoric to say that Raja Rammohan Roy was excellent, in fact he was a harmonious blending of various sorts of excellences. His was a universal mind.

Raja Rammohan's best contribution to the world was in his endeavours to bring about the consciousness that there is only one universal religion, under which all political units can live contented. The century that has rolled by after the passing away of Raja Rammohan Roy, has witnessed momentous changes. Still the state of affairs is really deplorable. In the midst of a conflicting world, India is passing today through a tense period of political consciousness. And it is tragic that during such a period, the two major communities of India should be at daggers drawn. The lessons of the Raja's life have a greater appeal to the rational mind today than during any other period.

### HINDU MAHASABHA'S REPLY TO THE VICEROY'S OFFER.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, has released the following resolution which it adopted at its session last week-end at Bombay:

"Resolved that in view of the opportunity that the present war offers for the general militarization of the Hindus and for the organisation of the system of India on sound and up-to-date modern lines so that India be converted into a self-contained defence unit, the Hindu Mahasabha is prepared wholeheartedly to work out the schemes of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the War Advisory Council, but on honourable terms of equity and justice as stated below:

(i) in view of the declaration made by the Muslim League of its 'determination, firm resolve and faith' that the partition of India is the only solution of India's future constitution, the Hindu Mahasabha urges the Viceroy to make a clear and definite declaration that the Government has not approved or accepted any such proposal or scheme.

(i) (a) That in view of the reported understanding between the Viceroy and the Muslim League that the League would be given two seats on the proposed extended Executive Council and five seats on the proposed War Advisory Council, the Hindu Mahasabha claims representation of six seats on the extended Executive Council and fifteen seats on the War Advisory Council on the population basis.

(b) This Committee considers the demand of the Muslim League of 50 per cent representation on the proposed Executive Council and elsewhere as undemocratic, unconstitutional, unreasonable and preposterous and it would urge the Viceroy to give an assurance to the Hindu Mahasabha that no such demand would be entertained."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Freedom of Speech in War :—**The letter written by Lord Linlithgow to Gandhiji with the latter's reply which was published by the Indian press on October 1, gives the gist of the discussions which have taken place between the two on the Congress demand for freedom of speech. Gandhiji sought permission for Indians to express their views on India's participation in the war, provided such expression of opinion was non-violent and openly given. The two letters reveal a great measure of agreement between the Viceroy and Gandhiji. Lord Linlithgow was apparently prepared to apply in India the special law in force in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors. Though he did not say this in so many words the public is led to this inference from the passage quoted below :

I indicated to you the nature of the special treatment laid down by law in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors—which I may broadly describe as an arrangement under which while the conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others, whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort.

Gandhiji for his part would seem to have accepted the restriction on preaching to soldiers or munition workers at the actual works. He claimed for Indians, however, the right to deliver addresses and otherwise call upon people to refrain from assisting "India's war effort" in any way which would involve participation in bloodshed. And he sought to extend this freedom to the Indian who objected to India's participation in this particular war, just as much as for the conscientious objector to all wars. It would be unfortunate if a slight difference on these two points should destroy all possibilities of a wartime understanding between the Government and the Congress. The concessions allowed to the conscientious objector in Britain

are very real since there is conscription in that country. In India the position is very different and, according to the repeated statements of the Governor-General and several of the Governors, already Indians are free, without bringing their conscience into it, to abstain from the Government's war effort. If participation in the war is voluntary, where is the special merit in allowing the conscientious objector freedom to abstain and to proclaim his faith? Though Gandhiji, it is reported, sees no way out of a conflict, it seems absurd that a comparatively minor point should be made into an issue between the Congress and the Government. Gandhiji has declared that there is to be no mass civil disobedience and he concludes his reply to the Viceroy with the words: "But I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the British Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position." These two significant statements seem to carry within them the germs of a settlement on the basis of continuing the *status quo*. After all the whole question can be settled without any spectacular declarations from either side. Both Gandhiji and the Viceroy seem greatly to exaggerate the possible effect of anti-war propaganda in India.

**Sir Sikandar on the War Path:—**Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Punjab Premier, has from the first constituted himself the chief protagonist in British India for India's participation in the present war. His motives in doing so are beyond question. He has always prided himself on being a soldier and for the average soldier a war is as welcome as water to the duck. Some of the strongest denunciations of war have been by soldiers of eminence but they were not mere soldiers but men who looked behind and beyond the glamorous aspects of war to the distress and demoralisation which every war leaves inevitably in its train. Sir Sikandar is obviously not of this type. Nobody blames him for that. His sincerity, honesty and utter disinterestedness in championing India's participation in the war, are beyond question. But when he goes beyond this to attack those who take a different view of India's duty in this war, he oversteps the legitimate limits of his profession. His denunciation of Gandhiji's request to the Viceroy to allow liberty of speech to those who feel honestly like Gandhiji that war is a crime against humanity and a sin against

Heaven, as a "stab in the back" of the British Government, can only be explained as due to temporary mental unbalance caused by overzeal. Sir Sikandar has not even thought out his words. If he had, he would have seen that the liberty which Gandhiji asked was for open speech not for secret conspiracy. As a matter of fact, this liberty is the same as that for which democracies are said to stand and to be fighting for. Much of the bitterness and strife in the world is caused by the intemperate use of language. Words are more dangerous than swords when carelessly handled. Sir Sikandar's phrase is not only intemperate but untrue to fact. The Government can suppress public speech and writing but it can not, to use the old Indian phrase, "seal the lips of the multitude," particularly in a country like India. Suppression of speech and writing led to the collapse of France. In the case of India, there is a further reason for allowing the utmost latitude. Ahimsa, non-violence, as Gandhiji and millions of persons understand the term, is a religious principle. No doubt Sir Sikandar does not regard it in that light. But no prudent Government of India would care to persecute people for believing in and proclaiming the creed of *ahimsa*. It is safe and pleasant and profitable to denounce those who have conscientious scruples but it is hardly chivalrous—chivalry used to be reckoned as a soldierly virtue—to denounce persons who are constrained by their conscience to take the unpleasant, unprofitable and risky position of conscientious objectors to war. Sir Sikandar might leave to lesser men the role of bull-dog of the British Empire.

**The Three Power Pact:**—The outstanding event of September is the new Pact between Germany, Italy and Japan agreeing to collaborate in the establishment of a new world order. For the moment we may leave aside the details of the Pact. The great historical fact is that the shortsighted view of Europe being an entity apart from and superior to the rest of the world, has been broken. The persistent insistence of responsible British statesmen that the present war was to stabilise European conditions, to save European civilisation, and to advance Christianity, has been the leading factor in forcing Indians into the position largely of onlookers in relation to the fierce struggle in progress. German and Italian statesmen too were doing the same thing. But the force of events has been too much for them. It has brought out the real nature of the struggle. The Axis Powers have grasped this aspect of the situation while Britain is still haggling about the position of India—the one country best qualified to be the mediator between Europe and Asia—whether it should be that of an equal partner or of the milch cow and pack-bullock in the Commonwealth. India in its present dependent position can not speak with the authority of freedom to her fellow nations. She will be suspected naturally of

speaking under pressure from her British overlord. This is a pity because the relations between Europe and Asia should be regulated on principles of co-operation and not of conflict. And the voice of India would have pleaded for co-operation.

**America and the Far East:**—So far as foreign policy is concerned, the difference between Mr. Wendell Willkie and President Franklin Roosevelt seems to be that, while both agree that the utmost help short of sending over troops should be given to Britain, the Republican nominee seems to be more keen on strengthening the position of the States on the Pacific from which he expects greater danger to his country's freedom than from Europe. Mr. Willkie apparently regards Japan rather than Germany as Enemy Number 1 of his country. His programme includes giving financial assistance to China to enable her to develop as a free Republic able to hold her own against Japanese aggression. Great Britain's policy in the Far East, on the other hand, has been to be conciliatory towards Japan and to help China consistently with this object. The British policy is likely to be more effective as a means of securing peace and stability in Eastern Asia than the American. American opinion is divided between a policy of "appeasement" and one of active opposition to Japan on the part of the States. Both sides are agreed that the United States by itself "does not possess sufficient strength to oppose Japan in the Far East at the present moment" (Foreign Policy Association Report, July 1). While the appeasement advocates, Mr. Sumner Welles seems to be one of them, favour a new and comprehensive agreement with Japan on all outstanding issues, the other side, of which the chief exponent is the present Secretary of State for War, Col. Stimson, is in favour of a pact with Soviet Russia pledging both parties to the maintenance of Chinese independence and the *status quo* in South-East Asia. "Unless an agreement of this nature can be reached," concludes Mr. T. T. Bisson, the author of the Foreign Policy Association Report, 'America's Dilemma in the Far East,' "there is every indication that the Soviet Union, while continuing to aid China, will assume a non-committal attitude towards a Japanese excursion into the South Sea." What the interests of the United States are in maintaining the *status quo* in South East Asia, is not clear. Holland has ceased to exist as an independent State. Netherlands Indies is a derelict territory where the *status quo* has ceased to exist. If the U. S. A. proposes to set up the territory as an independent, self-governing state, its position will be intelligible and honourable. What Soviet Russia may expect in return from the United States, Mr. Bisson does not mention.

**War and Wealth:**—Apropos of Mr. Keynes' estimate that Great Britain is richer to-day than in 1937 there are some broad facts which we

expect him to explain. The first is that if Britain has become richer on account of the War, why is it necessary to make collections in India—admittedly a much poorer country—for War purposes, such as the purchase of Spitfires and other kinds of armaments, and even for the relief of Londoners who have been rendered destitute by Nazi air raids? Britain was spending some months ago about 40 percent of her national income on the War. Now her expenditure must have gone up much higher. Perhaps, nine or ten million pounds a day will not be an overestimate. She has not only to finance her own armies, ships and air forces but has to subsidise about half a dozen other governments which have no foothold in their own countries. Britain is a creditor country. Her prosperity depends on the solvency of her debtors. Nearly all her clients in Europe have been thrown out of business. She has no doubt her shipping routes intact, but the debtor countries are spending their money on armaments and armies and it is unlikely that they will be able to repay their debts until a long time after the war, if they ever do. There is also the fact that Britain has leased several naval and air ports to the United States in exchange for fifty battleships. There is talk of similar deals on the Pacific. Where then has the increase of riches come from?

**Blockade:**—A friend takes exception to the statement in last week's *Reformer* that blockade has been accepted by civilised nations as a legitimate method in war. He recalls the terrible conditions in Berlin as a result of the blockade in the last war, and asks how any civilised people can justify it. But it was enforced by five nations, namely, Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States and Japan. When on the signing of the Armistice, and pending the negotiations for the Peace Treaty, the Germans asked that the blockade might be relaxed in order to afford relief to the sorely suffering people, President Wilson on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers refused the request.

**An Indian on Poland:**—Dr. Hiranmaya Ghoshal who was lecturer in Warsaw University at the time of the Nazi invasion of Poland and who recently returned to Calcutta with his Polish wife after a dangerous journey overland through Yugo-Slavia, Greece, Turkey, Syria and Iraq, contributes to the *Amrita Basar Patrika* a vivid account of the position in Warsaw. Ten days after the Germans entered, he says, there was practically no front on which the Polish Army could concentrate. The officers of the higher ranks in the Army had practically disappeared. Except for General Rommel, there was no officer above the rank of Major in the field. "They had all fled in motor cars with their wives and children, the belongings they could lay hold on, and even pet animals and birds, for places of safety." He writes:

An incredible number of German spies seemed to be at work behind the Polish lines who gave out troop

movements and concentrations. German airmen destroyed almost all railway stations without exception. The telephone and telegraph wires were cut with the help of the Fifth Columnists.

The Commander of the Polish Air Force delayed action. Acting on the information of spies, the Germans destroyed most of the Polish planes while in hangars. It is a picture of utter demoralisation which Professor Ghoshal depicts. The junior officers and the rank and file of the army held out gallantly to the last but they could not save the country.

**Children Evacuation Scheme Suspended:**—We are glad to learn from a Reuter's cable dated October 2, that the British Government have decided to send no more children under the overseas reception scheme. After the City of Benares incident, it is stated, Government came to the conclusion that "during the winter season of heavy seas and gales, they cannot take the responsibility."

**The King of the Belgians' Defence:**—The *New Review*, the Catholic monthly published in Calcutta, gives the substance of an interview which the King of the Belgians accorded to the Cardinal Archbishop in Belgium, authorising him to publish it. The King told the Cardinal that the only alternative was the extermination of the Belgian Army and immeasurable hardships to the civil population.

This decision of an essential military order was taken by the King as Supreme Chief of the Army, in full accord with his Chief of Staff and following his advice. He has not done any political act nor has he concluded any treaty or pact—even of a military nature—with the enemy. He has not, therefore, broken the Belgian Constitution in any way whatsoever. He acted because, corroborated by the unanimous judgment of three eminent Belgian jurists, he was convinced that he had the right to do so in virtue of the powers that the Constitution confers on the King in this matter. He found himself without recourse to his Ministers, the last four of whom had abandoned Belgian territory, on May 25.

**A Beam in Darkness:**—The belief that Germany has given up at least for the time being the projected invasion of Britain, has been gaining ground for several days past. If this turns out to be true, it will be of good augury for the future. On all other issues compromise is possible even if it may be difficult. On the question of occupation of British soil, there can be none. If, therefore, Germany relinquishes this object, it will be a step nearer peace which every person of goodwill longs for.

**Bombay Excise Policy:**—The *Dnyanodaya* protests as we have done more than once against the policy of complete freedom to foreign liquor trade with strict control of the trade in country liquor. The idea is so obviously grotesque that it is inconceivable that in any circumstances a Government in India would seriously adopt it. It was, as we have pointed out, condemned thirty years ago by a Government Committee on foreign liquor. But criticisms, however reasonable, are lost on Government which cannot afford to admit that it can commit mistakes. The sufferers, however, are not the officials but the people.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 5, 1940.

### STALEMATE IN INDIAN POLITICS.

On Sunday the Muslim League decided that the Viceroy's offer of August 8 had failed to satisfy Muslim opinion and, therefore, left the League no option but to refuse the seats offered to its representatives on the Viceroy's expanded Council and on the Advisory War Council. Mr. M. A. Jinnah the League President has made public the correspondence which he had exchanged with Lord Linlithgow with a view to clarifying the Government position. In a further statement explaining the League resolution, Mr. Jinnah declared that the Muslim League had to reject the offer because

the British Government appear to have no intention to part with power. In making the present offer, they are trifling with ninety millions of Muslims who are a nation. The long drawn out negotiations which the Viceroy has been carrying on with various parties lead only to one conclusion, namely, that the British still wish to continue the relationship of master and servant. We will not submit to this position.

In one of his letters to Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Jinnah struck an even sharper note. He told his Excellency,

we are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire unjustly to harm any community. The issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India's constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interest of the Mussalmans but may be disastrous for them.

The very language of this paragraph reveals that Mr. Jinnah has been adroitly drawn by the Viceroy on to dangerous ground and that he is conscious of the pitfalls lurking there for the Muslim League. If the British have seemed to champion the Muslim cause as against the nationalist standpoint, they have no intention of admitting the Muslim League into partnership with them in wielding authority in India. In refusing the Muslim League demand, the Viceroy reminds Mr. Jinnah that there are "parties other than either the Congress or the Muslim League."

Mr. Jinnah's assertion that the British wish to continue the relationship of master and servant, bears all the appearance of a discovery. But surely he must have gathered from the various statements of the Viceroy and of the Secretary of State for India that there was to be no change in the political position till after the war. Then again, his declaration that "we will not submit to it," seems to display a warmth completely unwarranted by the admission that it is merely a "continuation" of a relationship to which the Muslim League has submitted in the past, is submitting at present and proposes to continue submitting for the duration of the war. For though the Muslim League will not send representatives to serve on the two Councils, yet

members of the League will be free to co-operate in Britain's war effort. Mr. Jinnah concedes equality with the League to the Congress in his letters to Lord Linlithgow. He demands equal representation for the Muslims with the Hindus if the Congress accepts seats on the Viceroy's Council and on the Advisory War Council; majority representation if the Congress non-co-operates. What if the Congress nominated a majority of non-Hindus to the Councils? No more successful than his attempt at constructing Executive Councils, has been Mr. Jinnah's endeavour to present Pakistan as the "universal faith of Muslim India." Immediately after the Muslim League session, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab and one of the League leaders, issued a statement that to attribute the authorship of the Pakistan scheme to him was "incorrect, unwarranted and mischievous." Mr. Jinnah has apparently failed to convert his leading lieutenant.

In one of his letters to Mr. Jinnah, Lord Linlithgow stressed the need for reaching quick decisions. He wished to announce the names of members of the expanded Executive Council by the end of August, and to complete the personnel of the Advisory War Council by the middle of September at the latest. His reason for protracting negotiations with the Muslim League beyond that period, was his anxiety, in the words of Mr. Amery, to go ahead without the Congress "prepared to work with those who will work with him and with each other." The League decision has turned the tables on the Viceroy. But the ways of the Government of India are inexplicable. The Government of India Act of 1935 was thrust upon the people of this country against their wish and it took the British five years and a major war to discover that it was unworkable as a constitution and impossible as a basis of political reform. The obvious next step for the Viceroy is to give up his futile efforts at devising a formula which will preserve the constitutional *status quo* and at the same time satisfy any political party in this country. All parties in India, now that it is beyond doubt that the British have no intention of setting up any sort of national government at the Centre during the war, will welcome such a decision. The only excuse we can think of for Lord Linlithgow's initiating his fruitless and protracted negotiations with political leaders is that he was himself in the dark about Britain's policy towards India. In view of the widespread confusion in both Britain and India, it would be wise to avoid fundamental changes at the moment. The scheme Lord Linlithgow had put forward is nothing more than a patched up unity between various parties in which each party had to seek to score against the others. The emphasis naturally is more on how much one can get out of the scheme, than on what contribution one can make towards national unity and political progress. Such an atmosphere is unfavourable to any constitutional discussion.



## THE OLDEST CHIDAMBARAM INSCRIPTION.

### RECENT DISCOVERIES.

(BY S. R. BALASUBRAMANIAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

Chidambaram has had a long history. Vyagrapada the tiger-footed and Patanjali the five-hooded and snake-tailed sage did penance at Tillai (the oldest name for Chidambaram). Each consecrated and worshipped his own personal Linga but also worshipped the Linga of renown at the Mulastana and the Lord exhibited himself as Nataraja and danced the Divine Dance. Such is the traditional story of the origin of Nataraja cult here. Hiranya Varman who is said to be a Chola chief and who is said to have come from Gauda desa in Northern India, was cured of his leprosy and he was the first who built the Sabha and the Temple of Chidambaram. He is a legendary figure.

Tillai or any one of its various names is unknown to Sangam literature. The temple of Nataraja was in existence in Pallava times. Two of the sixty-three Tamil saints Appar and Sambandar who are said to have flourished in the 7th Century A. D. have sung the praises of Nataraja. Appar, in particular, refers to the Golden Hall (Ponambalam) and he ascribes the gilding of the hall of Nataraja to Deva. Tirumangai Alwar mentions that the Lord of Tiruchitrakutam (Vaishnavite name for Chidambaram) was worshipped by a certain Pallava king, who made gifts of gold, pearls and precious gems. Sundarar also alludes to the worship of the Lord Nataraja by a Pallava king who punished those kings who refused to pay him tribute. Mannikkavachagar is intimately connected with Chidambaram and he is said to have won over the Buddhists to the Saivite faith after his victory over his adversary in a religious disputation. But his age is uncertain and a matter of controversy. Hence the temple of Chidambaram with the cult of Nataraja should have come into existence sometime between the period of Patanjali (2nd century B. C.) and the days of Appar (7th century A. D.), the contemporary of Mahendravarman Pallava.

The Cholas are intimately connected with Chidambaram. Deep was their devotion and great were their gifts to the Lord of Tillai. Two Chola kings of Sangam age, Karikala and Koochanganan, have exercised a powerful influence on later generations and are prominently mentioned in later Chola records. Koochenanan, the last of the Chola Kings of the Sangam age, was a great hero who won a great victory and imprisoned a Chera king. But contemporary records do not mention his connection with Chidambaram. It is only in the Pariya Puranam that we find mentioned that Koochanganan's parents were worshippers of Nataraja and they built houses for the Dhishitars of Tillai.

Parantaka Chola of the house of Vijayalaya is given credit for building Dahra Sabah (Chidambaram Chit Saba) to Siva in the Tiruvalangadu plates and the Leyden grant mentions that Parantaka covered the temple of Siva at Vyagri-agrahara (Chidambaram) with gold. He must be the first king in historical times who gilded the "Kanakasabha" (the golden hall of Chidambaram).

In the days of Rajaraja I (accession 988 A. D.) the whole body of the Devaram hymns was recovered and redated by this king with the help of Nambi-Andar-Nambi.

The next great contribution of the Cholas was in the days of Kulottunga I. The present structure of the Govindaraja and Nataraja shrines was the creation of Kulottunga I and his son Vikrama

Chola (12th Century). Kulottunga I's sister Kud.vai and his feudatory, Naralokavira, made the first two walls of enclosure and the hundred pillared hall and perhaps the western tower, as well, at Chidambaram. Vikrama Chola had a palace called Solakon at Chidambaram and he gave away the whole year's revenue of the state in the 10th year of his reign to his family god, Nataraja.

The days of Anapaya, alias Kulottunga II, marked the climax of Saivism in South India. He added walls of enclosure to the Shrine of the goddess and removed the Vishnu idol of Govindaraja and deposited him in his original home, the ocean. It is an unfortunate period of the triumph of sectarian Saivism. His age is, however, memorable for the composition of the Pariya Puranam, the history of the 63 Saivite Saints of the Tamil Land by Sekkilar. The last great Chola ruler who is said to have added a Mukamattapa to Sahapathi, a gopura and the golden harmya to the Prakara of the goddess, is Kulottunga III (accession 1178 A. D.). Thus though Chidambaram has a long and chequered history, and the Cholas are intimately connected with Chidambaram, there are no records of the early Cholas in the Nataraja temple, because the present structure dates from the early 12th century. Two of the six records recently discovered by me in the Ananteswaran Koil are the oldest inscriptions of Chidambaram. One of them is in the 3rd year of a certain Parakesarivarman. The archaic character of the inscription and the presence of *Pulli* on some of the consonants lead me to ascribe it to the earliest Parakesarivarman, namely Vijayalaya Chola, who was the founder of the Chola house of Tanjore (about 850 A. D.). The second which is in the 13th year of a certain Prakesari, can be safely ascribed to Parantaka who is credited with the gilding of the golden hall. It was remarked in the Ephigraphical report for 1914, that "it is a curious fact that though the history of Chidambaram goes back to the Pallava times, no records of even the earlier Cholas are forthcoming from that place." These records recently discovered fill up that gap.

In the past whenever temples were renovated it was the practice to take a true copy of the inscriptions on the walls in the presence of the members of the assembly of the local body and the royal officers and after they had been certified to be a true copy, the old walls were demolished. When the renovation was completed, the copied inscriptions were under proper supervision and official guidance re-engraved on the walls of the newly-built shrine. Such was the care for old records in the past. But this good practice is now completely forgotten. And whenever an old temple is renovated, thousands of invaluable records of the past and sculptures as well are destroyed. It is very unfortunate that even today the interest of the public in the monuments of our country is not sufficient enough to prevent this kind of vandalism going on in our midst. Large funds, intensive propaganda and a band of enthusiastic scholars are needed to carry on a great campaign against the wanton destruction of our ancient monuments by people ignorant of the value of these prehistoric documents. Unless we act promptly now, we may come to the stage when people might get interested in the epigraphs and sculptures of old, but none would be available to save. Public bodies like the Religious Endowments Board in the Madras Presidency owe a duty to themselves and to the public in this sacred task of preservation.

## RACIALISM AND WORLD ORDER.

(BY RALPH T. TEMPLIN.)

In my Christmas message last year before the students of "Prem Mahavidyalaya" of Brindaban (*The Reformer*, January 6 and 13, 1940), I condemned as well as I could the proposal of Charles Lindberg for a white block of European nations for the preservation of white racial purity and world domination. Lindberg's proposal was precisely as blunt and as specific as this statement of it. It could not be too quickly or completely repudiated by the people of my race. I was glad to know that that section of my address was taken out to be broadcast from the Bombay station of All India Radio. If I had been privileged to make my choice, I could not have selected any statement made by me during this international crisis which is more pertinent to the question of international world order.

Since the day of that address I have devoted more time and thought to the problem of race than ever before. I have come to the conclusion that it is not merely the remote future of world peace which is involved in the problem of race. The greatest barrier to world democratic order and to permanent peace, at this very moment, is the inability of large sections of the public in every land to think in terms of racial equality.

The suggestion for a European, or a "democratic," block of nations, organised to preserve world order has met with sufficient rebuff from many quarters. But the argument against it has in the main relied upon the inevitable shifting of the basis of future wars to race. I do not believe it is overdrawn to say that the racial war of the future, which must inevitably result from any policing of the world in white interests, will know such fury and devastation, as nations have never, even in 1940, known or experienced. I believe that that is true because I know what race is psychologically capable of. The utmost scourge that our present national factions can possibly produce, will probably prove but child's play beside the fury of an ultimate racial uprising against consolidated white supremacy. I accept that as the inevitable end of the way which Lindberg proposed and of the desire which seems to be behind all too much of the agitation for Federal Union.

The scheme for Federal Union in my mind constitutes a very great and supreme truth. The laying down of sovereignty is fundamental. But the laying down of supremacy and exploitation and the laying down of the superiorities and inequalities upon which these rest is far more fundamental. The federation movement's greatest embarrassment has been the personnel of its supporters. Lindberg found for a period a haven of security among these people—people who have everything to lose from the spread of the doctrine of racial equality. It is not improbable that Lindberg represented their case less diplomatically but more accurately than has been customary with propagandists of the movement for federal union. The answer to any world order which omits racial equality will be a new more virulent order of war and the certain extermination of the race itself which has refused equality. With all my regard for my own race, I would say that, if that way is chosen, it may well be that in God's providence, the well-being of humanity will demand the end of a great race. We cannot store the "grapes of wrath" with a vintage of blood-red death and not expect that, in the winepress of God's wrath, the full penalty will be exacted. I consider that I am dwelling upon far more than remote possibilities. I dwell upon the realities of racial fury which are already too well known to all students of human affairs. But with all

my agreement with these objections, I consider that the arguments from the present are more important than this from the future, however accurate such deductions may be thought to be.

I am interested the more, therefore, in advancing the thesis that the greatest barrier to any structure of world peace is racialism. It is this which stands in the road, right now, of a true democratic world order. I would be inclined to say that all our present futilities are deeply rooted in the susceptibilities which racialism (however unconscious) makes possible. My purpose is not to arouse racialism but to allay it in the only possible way, by pleading for the repentance which can set up its opposite—inter-racial spirit and accord. This is the most urgent step which mankind can take toward peace.

I want to illustrate the subtlety of our mental processes, and the way in which our sanity is often unconsciously betrayed by these age-old inherited susceptibilities. I will do this by referring to one of the most profound and least impassioned presentations of the case for Federation, that by Sir William Beveridge in the symposium on "The Deeper Causes of War and its Issues." Regarding India's place in such a federation, on page 173, he writes :

The logical immediate answer on the problem is to say that the federation would stand to India in whatever relation Britain stood at the time when Britain joined the federation ; whatever responsibilities for external defence or internal order of India remained to Britain then would be undertaken by the federation. But it would be equally possible for Britain within the federation to maintain special relations with India and the means of giving effect to them.

And, again, writing of the approach England should make to Germany, regarding colonies (page 200) he writes : "What we ought to say to them is rather this :.....our plan is that you with others should share with us these economic advantages in colonial lands which you think are unfairly ours." Whatever else these passages may be said to mean, and they are by no means unambiguous, they do *not* constitute a realistic facing of the causes of war. They seem to assume the inherent superiority of the white race and its right to continued domination of coloured races or other supposedly inferior and backward people. The proposal is simply to settle Europe's family quarrel by devising some new, more generous, basis of distribution of the spoils of the same old domination. This is the grave danger that inheres in any suggestion for a European federation. Such a European federation is likely to become but an instrument toward further domination. If it does, peace for the world cannot possibly be permanent.

The point I am making is that this racial conceit, deeply rooted in the mentality of so many Europeans, is standing in the way of any realistic application of intelligence to the question of the peace structure after this war. Besides that, it is utterly without any further reason for being maintained. My purpose is to suggest to my own race that we can well afford to view these common problems of humanity in chastened mood, in a world in which our white race is now revealing superiority at only one point, self-destruction. I wish to suggest to members of other races, that the same chastened thought and repentant spirit will become them also. For they have not been without their sin of inferiority, of cringing and fawning, of imitation and of false standards and ideals. Inferiority and servility inevitably produce their opposites, superiority and domination. The racial solution is not in answering arrogance with arrogance or hate with hate. It is in the mutual repentance which can draw races into an international

fellowship. It is in Oxenham's

One great fellowship of love  
Around the whole wide earth.

I have said that racialism already exists as one of the greatest barriers in the road of progress towards permanent peace. I want to be more specific with reference to the great racial sin.

Racialism exists as a psychological fact, wherever races dwelling side by side have not found equality and fellowship. In two places in our world, it exists in intensified form, like a great cancerous growth in the body politic, pouring out its steady streams of poison into the life current of each nation. I refer to the Southern States of the United States, and to South Africa. In both of these instances the man who defends racial purity does so, in part, because he wants to preserve an aristocracy of privilege which has been based upon the psychological fact of racialism. It is always enhanced by economic factors and made more fanatical by them. You can never separate the credal, social, and economic elements in racialism. They have to be studied in relationship. It is probably true that thousands of years ago the Brahmans made caste for the first time rigid, by setting up inter-fellowship barriers, only because of the racial consideration which contact with the original tribes gradually had produced. The interplay of race, creed and domination, within the psychological motivation of nations is nothing new in our world. The new fact is international fellowship and all that it implies. We ought to be getting a long way away from these age-old barbarisms. But I cannot see very much difference between the modern "untouchability" of South Africa and the Southern States and the untouchability of Hinduism. They both seem to me part and parcel of the same human tendency to exalt oneself at the expense of others.

But what we have to remember is that the race (in this case the white race) is not essentially different in these two lands. What has been brought out and revealed in these lands, exists psychologically in the race as a whole and must be eradicated in the way that such mind-sets have always been eradicated, by setting up its opposite of interracial fellowship and good will. Britain as a whole supports South Africa in all its injustices allowing them, through their Dominion Status, to write them permanently into the law of the land, that they might keep vast majorities in virtual servitude within their own native country. When the coloured troops of the United States were in France, the Army authorities were greatly concerned because the French people received them without discrimination. Regulations were then passed making it impossible for the negroes to have any relations with the French. These facts merely illustrate that, wherever the race goes, it carries this psychological fact within its heart. I know this does not apply to all but I am dealing with the facts of racialism as it exists and comes into play whenever and wherever there are the conditions, economic or otherwise which call it out. A white American engineer, partially under the influence of liquor, rudely insulted an American negro engineer on the steps of a dance hall in Russia. They were both employed in that nation's industrial reconstruction. But he was not in his own country. The Russian Government brought him to trial and imposed a heavy penalty for racial discrimination and later deported him. We have to admit that this racial conceit lies, like a disease, upon the hearts of the people of our race. I do not think there is much future for our race unless we can get rid of this fever of superiority and by breathing God's pure air again restore our race to the

normalcy of the divine familyhood of earth. This is our great task which lies before every true Christian in the West. But the pathetic fact is that many calling themselves Christians are not even aware that the problem exists. Some do not recognise racial superiority even when they practice it daily.

We have found this same tendency toward racialism existing even within missions. The mere fact of being missionaries placed us at once in the position of a favoured race. This self-favouritism we found rooted in a concealed and subtle superiority, so subtle as to be often unconscious. Yet it was working out into every detail of mission life. Unless one reacted violently against the pressure to conform, one had sooner or later to develop two very different systems of thought, one which operated with relation to his own race and another which operated in quite another sphere and applied to the race with which he was associated in labour. The result was that the missionary, however genuine his desire to love and serve, was likely to conclude that he could only find his society with those of his own race and, having sought that social life with English clubs and other European groups, allowed his ministry to take on the aspect of the benevolent paternalism of a superior being. I believe that the future contribution of missions in India is largely dependent upon the ability of the missionary to find social equality with Indians and to share with them as equals that which both have to give. The day is past when missions can advance, led by a group who hold positions merely as members of a favoured race. Race has always been false as a basis for place and authority. In a new and increasingly critical India such authority can never stand the test. But I am saying this only to show how universal is this tendency within our race, and what we have to face when we set out to eradicate it.

Our common problem is to find a cure for the disease of racialism wherever it may be found and in whatever degree it may exist. So, therefore, I want to conclude with a reference to what I firmly believe is the only possible cure.

The way of religion and of God is the way of absolute equality with all people. People who scare up the biological bogey, should remember the fact that biological intermingling of the races has generally been on the level of the grossest inequality and exploitation. And, secondly, they should remember that, whereas physical intermingling has often been accompanied with the utmost inequality, equality itself does not necessarily imply physical relationship at all. My honest opinion is that the biological aspect of race is a scare which has been effectively used now for thousands of years to keep vast peoples "in their place," and that untouchability is only one of the world's oldest examples of it.

From the point of view of men who are deeply searching for the universal Truth which belongs to all genuine faith, the answer to racialism is identification. This is our faith which must be made known to all men.

We have been taught and have practiced awareness of God, which was only individually experienced. As the result our faiths have not made us sufficiently sensitive to other people. I include myself because it is only within recent years that I have come to understand clearly my own unfolding experience of God-consciousness. It is now my firm belief that we become aware of God as we become aware of our fellow-men and identify ourselves with them in sacrificial self-giving. This, I now believe, is the great and significant gift of revelation through Christ.

### THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT AND BIGAMY.

(BY KOPERGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

"The Act XV of 1872 is very badly and clumsily drawn."

This was the verdict upon the Act by the judges of a Full Bench of the Madras High Court about 50 years ago, agreeing in this general indictment with both the contending Counsel before them in a case under the mischievous Section 68 (vide 1891 I. L. R. 14 M. 342, at P. 352). But no High Court seems to have specifically denounced as yet the culpable clumsiness of some of the grievous omissions in that Act harmful to Christians themselves.

The Christian community in India naturally values the principles of monogamy embodied in its Marriage Act and also the equitable law of inheritance embodied for the benefit of Christians and some others in the Indian Succession Act. It seems also to value the freedom which the former Act ostensibly gives to a Christian to contract a civil marriage with any non-Christian, though such marriages are not favoured from the religious or social point of view except as a possible means of converting the other party without too much delay. It, therefore, expects and fondly believes that the provisions of the Marriage Act which Government framed for it out of its own wisdom when public opinion was somnolent and dumb, were quite adequate to safeguard its interests in all these respects and under all circumstances. Unfortunately, however, the Act is but a broken reed on all these points. It gives no real protection to a Christian woman marrying under it either on the question of the validity of certain mixed marriages or as regards the prevention of bigamy on the part of her husband even if he was a Christian when he married her, or as to the law of inheritance under which she and her daughters may claim to succeed to his estate if he left any property undisposed by will at his death. But more unfortunate still is the amazing self-complaisance, wishful thinking, specious arguments and special pleading with which even learned Christian lawyers who knew that the Act was defective, have preferred to delude themselves and their community in support of their pet prejudices rather than face the reality with unbiassed vision and demand a suitable amendment of the Act from the Central Indian Legislature (vide "The Law applicable to Christians," written by the late Dewan Bahadur Paul Appasami, M.A., LL.B., sometime Vice-Principal of the Madras Law College and judge of the City Civil Court, Madras, for the National Christian Council of India, pp. 61, 72, 73, 75, 89 and 90.)

It, therefore, fell to the lot of *The Reformer*, as the national organ of Indian social welfare irrespective of creed or community, to sponsor a prompt exposure of their suicidal fallacies and urge the leaders of the Christian Community not to rest till the Act was made safe for them by an amending legislation. (Vide *The Reformer*, 27th April 1929.) But no one heeded the warning.

Nemesis, however, was steadily at work and demonstrated in less than two years the folly of a persistent wrong reading of the existing law in at least one particular. In September 1930, the Madras High Court reaffirmed their decisions of 1866 and 1910 which Mr. Paul Appasami and his followers made light of, and acquitted the accused in a bigamy case launched by his Christian wife. Some Christian organs which had too long hugged the belief that the right to convert was a Christian monopoly and that "a

Hindu is not made but born" could not contain themselves at the perversity of the judges in holding that a Christian could lawfully become a Hindu and even marry anew in the Hindu fold in spite of his first marriage under the Indian Christian Marriage Act, without being guilty of the criminal offence of Bigamy. *The Reformer* had once again to come forward with a disillusioning exposition of the defects of the Indian Christian Marriage Act not only on the question of bigamy but also mixed marriages and inheritance and to exhort the elders of the Christian community once more to face the problem manfully by compelling proper legislation. (Vide *The Reformer*, 11th October 1930.)

This time the response seemed to be promising. The (Christian) *Guardian* of Calcutta welcomed the criticism and approved of its suggestions. (Vide *The Reformer*, 1st November 1930). Even the earlier warning of 1929 was recalled with evident appreciation in the *National Christian Council Review* of 1930. The Right Reverend Bishop F. J. Western of Tinneveli, who was Chairman of a legislative Committee appointed by the National Christian Council of India, was pleased to ask for copies of the articles in *The Reformer*, and invite specific suggestions for amending Act XV of 1872. He was promptly informed:

1. That Section 68 should be so amended as to ensure, instead of negating (or seeming to negative) as it does now, the validity of Hindu-Christian Marriages solemnised under the Act;
2. That a new section must be provided, like Section 16 of the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) making it punishable for a man married under the Act (XV of 1872) to marry again in the lifetime of his first wife, even if he be a Hindu or Moslem from the beginning or a Christian who renounced Christianity before the second marriage; and
3. That a new section must be added, like Section 24 of the Special Marriage Act, making the Indian Succession Act applicable to the intestate property of every person married under the Act, whether he be a Christian or non-Christian, and to the issue of such marriage.

And Bishop Western was good enough to reply that he was grateful for the suggestions and that he and his Committee would certainly deal with these three amendments. (Vide *The Reformer*, 21st February 1931).

How then does it happen that ten years later, in the year of grace 1940, the Nagpur High Court found itself still constrained, in the Divorce case of the injured Christian wife commented on by *The Reformer* of 7th September, to hold that her Hindu husband who had first married her under Act XV of 1872 but subsequently married a Hindu woman, was *not guilty* of bigamy? Did not the National Christian Council of India and its legislative Committee take any action to induce the Government of India to add a section to the Indian Christian Marriage Act like Section 16 of the Special Marriage Act? It is really difficult to understand what stood in their way. Surely, no other community in India would have opposed such a bill in the Central Assembly! Why then was precious time wasted when the first and second warnings were given them so long ago? And why was the Government so indifferent to its own duty in the matter?

## THE SARDA ACT.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

*The Reformer* of July 13, 1940, commented on a report of a case which came before the Bombay High Court on appeal under the Sarada Act. That case is *Emperor vs. Tulabhai Joshi* and is now reported in 42, Bombay Law Reporter at page 858. The bride in the above case was above fourteen years of age and the bridegroom was less than eighteen, i. e., a child in the eye of the Act. The trying magistrate convicted the father of the bridegroom under *Section 6 of the Act* but convicted the parents and the priest under Section 5 of the Act. On appeal, the Sessions Judge took the view that Section 5 of the Act contemplates punishment only for those who solemnize a child marriage. The proper section which applies to parents is Section 6 only. He, therefore, set aside the convictions of the parents of the bride and acquitted them. On appeal by the Government against the acquittal, the High Court concurred with the Sessions Judge and upheld its decision.

The question before the High Court was whether the performance of Kanyadan constitutes "performing, conducting or directing a child marriage within the meaning of Section 5." According to Hindu Sastras, the marriage ceremonies have two aspects: One secular and another spiritual. The essential ceremonies are the (1) *the gift of the bride*; (2) *Vivaha Homa*; (3) *Saptapadi*. Now of these three ceremonies, the first, viz., Kanyadan, is purely a secular act whereas the second and third, viz., Vivaha Homa and Saptapadi constitute really the solemnization of the marriage. While the parent's function stops with the making of the gift, the bridegroom takes part in the Homa and Saptapadi i. e., solemnization of marriage. Thus looking to the wording of the section technically the parents of the bride cannot be said strictly to "perform, conduct or direct" the marriage.

The question in the case under discussion is whether they could have been convicted under Section 6 of the Act, which applies to parents or guardians having the custody of the minor who contracts the child marriage. In this case the girl is stated to be above fourteen years of age. So though she is not a "child" in the eye of the Act, yet she is nevertheless a "minor." For minor has been defined in the Act as a person of either sex who is under eighteen years of age. Clearly the parents of the girl in the case in which she is a minor, can be guilty under Section 6 of the Act. For it can be said that the parents having her charge negligently failed at least to prevent the marriage from being solemnised.

In the case under discussion it is stated that the boy Indulal was born on 28th January 1921. But the girl is stated to be only "above fourteen years of age." She is certainly not a 'child' but, as her definite birth-date is not given, she is below eighteen years of age, and hence a 'minor' in the eyes of the Act. It is submitted that the parents then would have been guilty under Section 6 of the Act. The words "when a minor contracts a child marriage" in Section 6 of the Act are understood to include a case where a child marriage is contracted not only by a minor but also by a major. In others the above expression includes even the case of a marriage to which both parties are minors as in the case under discussion or to which the one party only is a minor.

In the case under discussion the trying magistrate convicted the father of the boy under Section 6 of the

Act but convicted the father and mother of the girl under Section 5 of the Act. That was not correct.

Really speaking, the magistrate should have ascertained the exact age of the girl, as was done in the case of the boy. If she was found to be below eighteen years of age, i. e., a minor, in the eye of the Act, then he would have framed a charge under Section 6 of the Act against the father and mother of the girl and then convicted them under that section. It is submitted that the conviction then would have been upheld.

The High Court set aside the conviction passed against the parents of the girl under Section 5. It appears that the High Court could not have altered it to conviction under Section 6. For Section 5 and 6 are different and distinct offences. In this case the accused were not asked to answer a charge under Section 6.

It is submitted with great respect that the High Court should have at the most remanded the case to the trying magistrate with instructions to ascertain the exact age of the girl and if she was found below eighteen, i. e., a minor, the magistrate should have framed a charge against the parents under Section 6 of the Act. This certainly would have removed the popular impression that the parents of the girl who arranged her marriage with a boy under eighteen years of age and hence a "child" in the eye of the Act should be regarded as innocent under the Act, while the poor priest who merely acted professionally for a gain of some few rupees, should be regarded as criminal.

Satara City, } Yours etc.,  
September 28, 1940. } K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.

DR. KURTKOTI AND THE INDORE  
CONVERSION.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I wish to draw your attention to the following sentence in your last leading article (under the caption "Chaos in Marriage Law," in *The Reformer* of the 28th September, 1940):

The Shankaracharya of Kurtkoti was given a large sum of money by the ex-Maharaja of Indore for this purpose when the latter married his American wife after having her converted to Hinduism by Kurtkoti.

I regret to have to point out that this statement is incorrect and does not at all conform to the standard of accuracy in regard to facts one has a right to expect from such an esteemed paper as *The Reformer*. As the Editor of the *Hindu Herald* (a paper that was conducted under Dr. Kurtkoti's guidance,) before it ceased publication, I have had occasion to come in close association with the Jagadguru and I can, therefore, state the correct position in the matter. Dr. Kurtkoti did not take any reward from the abdicated Maharaja of Indore in connection with Maharani Sharmishta Devi's 'conversion to Hinduism.' What he did was to suggest that the Maharaja's gratitude, if any, was due to Hindu Dharma and not to him personally and further that, if he was at all anxious to do something tangible, he might make a suitable financial donation in aid of some institution for the propagation of Hindu Dharma, which Dr. Kurtkoti would recommend. The suggestion was promptly accepted on behalf of the Maharaja and, although these facts were reported in the daily press so early as 1929, nothing seems to have materialised so far in regard to the promised donation. It is not necessary for me to stress how unfair it is to Dr. Kurtkoti, in these circumstances, to say that he



"was given a large sum of money by the ex-Maharaja of Indore."

I should also add that it is not strictly correct to say that Shrimati Sharmishta Devi was converted by Dr. Kurtkoti. What he did was to give his verdict with all the authority of his name and position that, after careful consideration, he was satisfied that acceptance of Miss Miller (as she then was) into the Hindu fold, was not repugnant to the spirit of the Hindu Shastras and of the Hindu tradition. On the authority of this decision, she was converted in the formal way by Brahman priests.

As your statement that Dr. Kurtkoti was given a large sum of money for the conversion is not correct and as it is likely to cast a reflection on him, I hope you would do him necessary amends in your next issue.

Bombay, } Yours etc.,  
30th September, 1940. } G. S. S. AYYAR.

**Midnapur Floods:**—Terrible floods have devastated large areas of the Midnapur District, Bengal. The damage done to crops and property has been exceedingly great. Thousands of families are in a homeless and desperate condition. Feeling the immediate need of relief, the Ramakrishna Mission, in spite of the extreme paucity of its funds, has decided to open relief work in the Patashpur Thana of the Contai Sub-division, which is one of the worst affected areas. Arrangements have been made to send a batch of workers to organise the work. The first distribution of rice will be made as soon as the inspection is complete. Reports of the work will be published from time to time. Contributions, however small, will be thankfully accepted and acknowledged at the following address: The Secretary, Ramakrishna Mission, P. O. Belur Math, Dt. Howrah.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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### NOTES.

**Hindu War Ethics:**—The October *Aryan Path* publishes the paper read by Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Jhaveri at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, last month on the Ethics of the Mahabharata, with particular reference to state-craft. The great exponent of ancient Hindu ethics, Bhishma, said the Dewan Bahadur, "was a great advocate of fighting a righteous battle," 'righteous' not as to cause but as regards observance of the rules of war. Bhishma was himself the Commander-in-Chief of the Kaurava army in the battle of Kurukshetra against the righteous Pandavas piloted by Sri Krishna himself. He was mortally wounded but by his yogic power he was able to put off death until the sun had moved from the winter solstice, as it is considered inauspicious to die in the dark half of the year. Lying on his bed of arrows, the warrior sage instructed the Pandava King who had ascended the throne after destroying Bhishma's own army, on the ethics of kingship. His rules regarding war may be summed up as based on the principle of reciprocity. A fair foe must be fought fairly. An unfair one may be fought anyhow. The Dewan Bahadur added, "The institution of having spies in the enemy's camp and country is as old as the Mahabharata. Hitler's Fifth Column (not exclusively his) tactics are not an innovation, nor his other ways of fighting." Where Bhishma differed from Western war-lords was in his attitude to a defeated or fallen enemy. Hindu authorities are unanimous in holding that a conquered nation should be accorded full autonomy, the language, customs and culture of its people should be completely protected; and one authority at least lays down that when the conqueror himself assumes the sovereignty he should personally adopt the habits, manners and religion of the conquered people. To "invade territory belonging to one who is weaker" was a part of Bhishma's ethics of kingship, the Dasara being

the day to begin such operations. A horse was let loose and the king followed it with his army. Any neighbour who challenged the course of the animal across his frontier had to fight or submit to the invader, and acknowledge his suzerainty. This was strictly speaking a method of unifying a country. In view of the foregoing condition such invasion did not mean any interference with the life of the community. Another duty of the King was "to withdraw skilfully in face of danger" as, adds the Dewan Bahadur, the British forces did in Dunkirk and Gallipoli. Hinduism is not and never was a religion which repudiated war under all circumstances. But the war which it favoured must be a war to protect something which it possessed and not something which was promised at some indefinite future.

**Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier:**—The contrast between the position of the two men responsible for the sacrifice of Czecho-Slovakia, the starting-point of the present war, marks the difference between the British and French national temperaments. Mr. Neville Chamberlain resigned the Lord Presidentship of the Council, a sinecure which he accepted a year ago when he was obliged by Parliamentary pressure to hand over the Premiership to Mr. Winston Churchill, the most strenuous opponent of his policy whom he had reluctantly taken into his Cabinet. The Prime Minister in accepting Mr. Chamberlain's resignation is profuse in his expression of gratitude for the support which he had received from the latter since his supersession. The Press is equally enthusiastic in praise of the patience and courage of the retiring Minister. Even his bitterest critics during his Premiership, had some kind words for him. Much of all this might be insincere and even ironical, but the British, being believers in the method of "muddling through," are not disposed to be hard on one who has muddled, but has failed to get through. The man did his best and now he is finally quitting the scene, why be hard on him? It is this British habit of condoning the mistakes of agents of their own race, which encourages them to assume responsibility in critical situations. The French mentality is different. The French Premier who co-operated with Mr. Chamberlain throughout in the Munich episode and subsequent developments till the Belgian surrender, is now facing

a prosecution before a special tribunal set up by the Vichy Government. It has been suggested that the prosecution is undertaken under pressure from the Nazi Government. But there is no reason why the Nazis want the ex-Ministers prosecuted. Their conviction can not add anything to Nazi achievement nor can their acquittal detract anything from it. The more likely reason is that the Vichy Government want to make out that M. Daladier acted under pressure from the British Government, without regard to the interests of his own country. This to a certain extent is forced on them by General de Gaulle's attempt with British support to organise a "Free French" movement against the Vichy Government. The Munich Pact was signed two years ago on September 30 under pressure from the British and French Governments. On the anniversary of the event last month, the British Prime Minister sent a message to the provisional Czech Government in London recalling gratefully the great sacrifice which they made to preserve the peace of Europe! Had this piece of exquisite irony anything to do with Mr. Chamberlain's resignation at the present juncture?

**The Thailand Goodwill Mission in Bombay:—** The Thailand Goodwill Mission which is visiting India, would have learnt more of the Indian point of view in Bombay than in Calcutta, Simla or Delhi. This is entirely due to the happy choice by the Chairman of the local Rotary Club, Sir Sultan Chinoy, of the Right Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar who is spending the summer recess of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of which he is a member, in Bombay, to welcome on behalf of the Club the deputation at the weekly luncheon on Tuesday. Dr. Jayakar was in his best form and the short address with which he greeted the delegation is sure to have made a deep impression on them. Dr. Jayakar touched briefly on the centuries old relations between India and Thailand as a part of Eastern Asia where Indian cultural and religious influence had penetrated, on the non-exploiting character of Indian missions to those lands and the synthetic genius of Indian philosophy. He recalled an old Indian precept that missionaries to foreign lands should keep their eyes and ears open but their mouths shut—an ancient variant of Polonius' advice to his son, "Give every man thy ear but few thy voice"—and complimented the Deputation on their reticence. He nevertheless hoped that what they have seen had left a true impression of Indian conditions on their minds and, by way of refreshing them, summed up his own conception of the country's position. He said:

As an Indian I feel that today India is a pauper in scale of nations: disarmed, subjugated, humiliated and divided. It has nothing to give, it has no place in the scale of independent nations.

These words of Dr. Jayakar exactly convey our own feeling. During the year that the war has been in progress this feeling has been growing

every day. The Viceroy's announcement that India was at war without even the formality of a consultation with any representative body, the committal of India to the acceptance in a similar manner of the grotesque doctrine that her frontiers were on the Nile and Malaya and all the other war measures not less arbitrary, have each of them contributed to the growth of this sentiment. This has happened in greater measure in the case of those who have not grudged in their recognition of the beneficent incidents of British rule. Dr. Jayakar himself is not a disappointed place-hunter. He has risen to one of the highest positions in the British system open to subjects of the Crown including Englishmen. He has in many ways striven hard to promote good understanding between Britain and India. We trust that the force of his words will not be lost on the Viceroy and the authorities in London.

**What India Means by Independence:—** Although the Indian demand for political freedom is somewhat obscured for the time by the war situation and the Congress decision to accept the constitutional position while pressing for civil liberties, it is essential to have a clear understanding as to what Indian politicians mean by independence. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, perhaps realising an apparent difference between the use of the word, Independence, by Indians and the meaning applied to it by European writers and publicists, has at a recent meeting pointed out that even great nations cannot exist as separate entities and that some sort of Federation is necessary. The *New Statesman and Nation* has sought in a leading article in its issue of August 10 to present the Indian view of Independence to its public. It writes:

...in this jungle of a world India can be no more truly independent than Lithuania, until she can defend herself unaided. Independence implies the possession of a great mechanised army: in other words, it is a function of industrial and financial power. This Indians have been slow to understand. But at Poona they took the first step towards this realism, by rejecting Mr. Gandhi's unworldly faith that India could meet invasion by his pacifist technique. What in fact they mean by independence is not so much the right to act beyond their own frontiers as the fullest self-determination, the right to choose their own governors, and the ground-plan of their own future life and growth.

This is a notable attempt at understanding the Indian position but it is unfortunate that in doing so the *New Statesman* has approximated Indian independence to what is usually understood within the Empire as Dominion Status. On the standards laid down by the *New Statesman*, none of the European nations for whom Britain is waging war against Germany, can lay claim to independence—not even France. If the definition of independence given in the paragraph just quoted is accepted, there can be no honest objection to a power with a greater mechanised army overcoming a neighbour with a smaller one. The meaning of all that has been said for Britain against Germany, is clear: That political independence should be



based on something other than the maintenance of a great fighting force. This is what the small countries of Europe are asking for and it is this that Britain promises them when her spokesmen appear as champions of freedom and liberty. When India seeks independence, it is difficult to appreciate why an impossible meaning should be placed on the word. It is because of persistent British efforts to give independence a special connotation for India, that the Indian cause takes on the aspect of a struggle for racial equality. It is no answer to say that under any alternative domination India would have no future at all.

**Responsibility without Independence:—**If India cannot be independent unless she is first able to defend herself unaided, then it is all the more reprehensible to saddle her with a Western frontier in Egypt and an Eastern point at Singapore. Independent India will, of course, begin more modestly than Imperial Britain. This combination of circumstances, namely India's inability to defend herself and her undertaking at the same time imperial tasks which cannot but bring down on her the detestation of her neighbours, is scarcely calculated to add to her prestige. The *New Statesman* does not touch upon this point but it argues that, as Australia and New Zealand lack the population for an adequate army, a reconciled India is the best strength for the British Empire in the East. It remarks that an opportunity has already been lost :

If India possessed a modern industrial equipment, the prospect of defending not India alone but the whole Middle East and the South Seas would be incomparably more hopeful than it is today. This vast and opulent region, with Egypt, Iraq and the Dutch islands within its confines, could become from the army's standpoint self-sufficient, if the undeveloped resources of India could be fully utilised.

The *New Statesman* omits to mention why it thinks an industrially developed India which will presumably be independent, would take on all these burdens beyond its own frontiers. There is no justification for the view that India as an Asiatic power would follow the policies set down by the Government of India as an agent of the British Government. She shares now, let it be remembered, in spite of her being in the same Empire the many disabilities imposed on Asiatics by Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. It is true that a powerful India would have probably prevented Japanese aggression on China. But it must not be forgotten that Japan was not the first check on Chinese sovereignty and, if one considered solely China's interests, the others would not have had the preferential treatment which the weakness of Asia has given them in the past.

**The Burma Road Again:—**Mr. Winston Churchill announced this week in the House of Commons that, after the expiry on the 17th October of the agreement with Japan closing the Burma Road, it will not be renewed. It has since been announced

that this decision was arrived at with the approval of Canada and Australia. India was not mentioned as having been consulted or as having approved of the present decision. But Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who had relinquished the conduct of the international situation into the hands of Gandhiji, has hastened to volunteer the opinion that the opening of the Burma Road has his full approval and that not a single person in India would think otherwise. Even if the Maulana retains the right after the Bombay Congress resolution vesting the conduct of the war situation in the hands of Gandhiji, he is not entitled to speak for every individual in this country. So far as we are concerned, we regard the decision as a surrender to the United States after having resisted its pressure for eight years. It was at the instance of the United States and Canada that Britain denounced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which had worked admirably for several years including the trying years of the last war when Japan guarded India against German raids. Australia and India were opposed to the denunciation but they were overruled in deference to American pressure. In 1932, Britain stood out against the American invitation to intervene in the Manchurian dispute and it continued to do so until almost the other day. The speech of the British Ambassador, Sir Robert Craigie, which recognised Japan's special interests in Eastern Asia, followed by the Craigie-Arita Pact to the same effect, was resented by America. Great Britain can not very well repudiate the Pact which is only a few months old and though the closing of the Road may not be continued beyond the specified date, a way will be certainly found to respect the legitimate rights of both Japan and China. However that may be, it is not wise for the President of the Congress to rush where the Prime Minister of Soviet Russia who is more nearly concerned, prefers to keep his own counsel. The Maulana's unsolicited approval will no doubt be utilised in justification of the demand to throw on India the whole cost of the war East of Suez.

**The "Indian Witness" on Religious Persecution:—**We print elsewhere the *Indian Witness'* defence of its colleague, the *Dnyanodaya*, in making the father of the late Bishop Chitambar, the victim of religious persecution. The evidence it produces is not enough to hang a dog on. The elder Chitambar would seem to have been of an adventurous disposition swinging lightly from one extreme to another. Any sufferings he might have endured were, according to the narrative of the *Witness*, largely of his own making. The *Witness* writes that the question of religious conviction coming up against Government regulations is "not before us now." Surely the expulsion of a mission worker from Methodist Mission work the world over because of a liberal interpretation of a particular Government's regulations, not rejected by that Government, is very relevant to the question of persecution.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 12, 1940.

## INDIAN POPULATION FALLACIES.

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the distinguished Bengalee sociologist and economist, contributes to the September number of the *Calcutta Review*, an article which should give Indian population experts much food for thought. Dr. Sarkar points out at the outset two difficulties in assessing population trends in India, both rising out of defective statistics. First, while neither of them are exact in any degree, birth statistics are more inaccurate than mortality figures. There is a tendency to underestimate births owing to defective registration. While dead bodies have to be cremated or buried in cemeteries where they can be easily registered, births take place in the privacy of the family and easily escape notice. Secondly, statistics relating to the fertility of women are very incomplete. Dr. Sarkar strikes another warning note when he says that statistics relating to the standard of living of the people are equally inadequate. 'It is not permissible, he says, to judge whether the growth of population is outstripping available food resources. Dr. Sarkar goes on to place before his readers what can be said on the population question in India. Comparing increases in population for various countries for the past fifty years, Dr. Sarkar arrives at the conclusion that India "does not exhibit any extraordinary phenomenon." Here are his figures :

Country.	Percentage of increase.	
U. S. A. ...	...	186.0
Japan ...	...	74.1
Great Britain ...	...	54.1
Italy ...	...	48.8
Switzerland ...	...	43.5
Germany ...	...	42.2
India ...	...	39.0
Spain ...	...	36.8
France ...	...	11.8

Going even further back, Dr. Sarkar says that, accepting Moreland's figure of 100 millions as India's population in 1590, one sees that in 341 years the increase has been 3.5 times. This approximates to the population growth of Italy but it is very small in comparison to its growth in England and Wales, which in 136 years more than quadrupled itself. Dr. Sarkar next turns to the birth-rate in British India. In the thirty-three years after 1900, there had been a steady decline from 38 to 34, a fact which Indian demographers ignore. The decrease is perhaps even more for there is greater accuracy in recording figures now than there was thirty years ago as every Census Commissioner recognises. Unfortunately population studies which should be objectively carried out, have become of recent years strangely mixed up with birth control propaganda—the

last Population Conference was also a "Family Hygiene Conference"—and the result has not been beneficial to science.

Sir Alexander Russell, one time Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, read an informing paper at the East India Association, London, on the progress of public health in this country during the last forty years. In the course of the discussion which followed, Lord Lamington asked the lecturer "whether the improvement of conditions of living in India as regards health and sanitation generally, is likely to be followed by a decline of the birth-rate." That, added Lord Lamington, has been the case in almost every country of Europe. The point was not quite rightly put. Improvement of health conditions, even if it were possible to any great extent without adequate food and other necessities of life, has not brought down the birth-rate anywhere, whereas a rise in the standard of living has done so even before there was any provision for the maintenance of public health. In Great Britain, for instance, Sir Alexander pointed out that there was no public health organization before 1875. But the death-rate had already been falling and the birth-rate as well, in sympathy with the rise in the standard of living of the people due to the increase of wealth consequent on the Industrial revolution. The basis of all health activities is a sufficiency of food and, next to it, the wide diffusion of education. Sir Firoze Khan Noon, the High Commissioner for India who presided at the lecture, called forcible attention to the poverty of the people as militating against the success of health projects. He said:

I do not know if any other country even in the East, is as poor, where the income per head of population is lower than it is in India. Some people compute that this income in India is Rs. 63 per head per annum as against Rs. 1,160 in this country. With that low standard of living, and the provincial Governmental incomes almost rigid, provincial Governments find it difficult to look after our health affairs. What hope is there of our being able to supply our people with their health needs and their needs of better food and clothing?

Medicine is no substitute for food. With adequate food and universal primary education, the efforts of the State to maintain a high standard of physical efficiency among the people, will have better results.

As for the question whether a rise in the standard of living would of itself lead to a decreased birth-rate, Sir Alexander Russell expressed himself as being wholly in favour of it. He said that he had not dealt with the subject in his paper because it was a large one requiring more time than was available to them. He added that he had himself taken considerable interest in it while in India. He said that he was not pessimistic about the increase of population and the non-corresponding increase of the food supply, although some differed from him in that respect, because he believed that if the standard of living improved the birth-rate will begin to

fall. "In the last five years," he added, "India's population has increased by about twenty millions, the annual increase has, therefore, been between three and a half and four millions a year, but the figure will fall progressively as the standard of living improves." Without an improvement in the standard of living, the most effective birth control appliances will fail to have that effect as proved by the experience of Russia, which has led to the revision of the Soviet laws about abortion and kindred topics under the Stalin regime.

#### AMERICA AND ASIA.

(BY J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

The Americans are apparently nothing if not great propagandists of their own selves, their institutions, their achievements and their culture. Years ago, when I was a student, I heard a gentleman narrating to a drawing-room assembly at one of his friends' place, the story of how some Americans, visiting Paris and looking at a fine lofty building, quickly changed their appreciative mood on finding some people standing near them and watching their feelings of appreciation of the building, and, so changing, they remarked, purposely within hearing of the bystanders, that the Paris buildings were nothing compared to the tall sky-scrappers of America.

The story is typical of American eagerness to hold up their own things boastfully in contrast with those of others. And this they do so cleverly and persistently that they succeed in impressing others, often so deeply even, that many people in the world look upon America as a great freedom-loving country with human sympathies, which condemned injustice and championed the cause of the oppressed. That impression has made oppressed people and foreign dominated countries to look to America not only for a word of consolation, an expression of sympathy, or for genuine moral support, but even for some effective help given, though indirectly, by condemnation of the oppressors and dominators and withdrawal of friendliness from them.

India has similarly been influenced by America. Indian politicians have begun to expect results from appeals to America and from exposure to her of India's condition under Imperialist domination. They think that such appeal and exposure will excite a feeling of disapproval in the Americans at the selfish and conservative attitude of the ruling British towards Indian politics, and that the British are afraid of this feeling in America.

This Indian idea and expectation have outlived our continued contrary experience and have persisted directly in the face of the most discouraging facts filling the history of America's relations with other people and other countries. Indians have visited and travelled in America; they have with shame perceived the insulting discriminations against them and the other non-whites in general in America at the time of embarkation, while going about and travelling in that country; within a motorbus where "Is he white? Is he white?" are the sweet words of welcome from the fellow-passengers to a non-white, followed by a stern word of command from a bus official to him to remove to a back-seat (see an article under those words in the *Modern Review* of July 1940); inside a railway compartment; and at every turn of their life in that country. A high placed well-famed person may receive better treatment, though he too is not exempt from some of the discriminations against the non-whites incorporated in the American Immigration and other laws. But the general and even

legalised prejudice against all non-Europeans is so glaring in that land of so-called new civilisation that none but the blind and the insensitive can fail to feel its sting.

The Americans, indeed, have a very strong instinct against non-whites and non-Europeans, in spite of all their professions of democratic principles and human equality ideals. They are more so in this respect than even the Europeans. Look at their treatment of the Negroes, their attitude towards the Japanese, their unquestioning friendship and appreciative regard for the Imperial European Powers. See how Dr. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States during the last Great War, manoeuvred in the Versailles Peace Conference to defeat the proposal of Japan for the recognition of the equality of all races in world affairs and in international relationship. Read also the extracts from Army Orders of the United States in the last war quoted in *The Reformer*, August 17, 1940.

The eyes of the people of Asia and Africa, however, still remain unopened not merely to the deep-seated colour hatred in the Americans, but also to the grave dangers to the freedom, national growth and unopposed development of the peoples of the world other than the European and American whites. Of such peoples the Japanese have, in modern times, succeeded in raising their heads, and, therefore, see how America has become anxious and has been manoeuvring to suppress the rising power of Japan. America has nothing to say to European Powers, having no moral justification whatsoever on racial, cultural, or territorial-proximity grounds, acquiring land concessions and commercial exploiting privileges in China; but when Japan which lies within an arm's length from China and which has so many racial, cultural religious and traditional affinities to China, wants to oppose the commercial overlordship of those foreign Powers there, America warns Japan and raises the cry of open door, non-aggression, equal rights, etc., the cry by which self-interested people always seek to cover their anxiety to preserve an existing, advantageous *status quo*. When England, for subtle diplomatic reasons, withdraws troops from some places in northern China, America steps in and occupies them to keep Japan out, without any legal or moral right and without a reference to the Chinese Sovereignty, which America professes to recognise.

The places and settlements which America has been holding—on what moral rights, she alone knows—she indicates no intention of leaving, though she is ever keen and assertive to uphold her pet Monroe Doctrine, not only so far as her territory is concerned, but with regard to the whole of the western hemisphere.

As regards this Monroe Doctrine, which America justifies on all possible grounds, including territorial safety, if Japan enunciates a similar doctrine for the east, America shakes a threatening mailed fist at her. The *status quo* in the East must not be disturbed,—America says to Japan with undisguised threat of armed opposition in her voice; which means, in effect, that far off-France can own extensive territories in Indo-China, England can possess Hongkong and an empire in Australia and New Zealand, Holland can keep the East Indies, America can fly her flag over the Philippines, not to say of almost every European Power retaining "concessions" in China, but a non-white country must not protest, or aspire to dominate even in its own neighbourhood, or think of extending its political influence and territorial limits. Under that kind of dispensation of international justice Japan, or for the matter of that, all other non white countries must submit. To keep Japan enobained within the limits which America

and the other European Powers would allow her, see how America is feverishly working and manoeuvring. She is negotiating with Russia, conferring with Australia, and perhaps also, below the surface, is arranging with other Powers to check Japan by holding a threatening "club over her head," as a news report has very appropriately described recently.

The intense racial and colour prejudice, which is at the bottom of the mind of the European whites, and which forms the basic reason of their characteristic opposition attitude to all aspiration of the non-whites and of their readiness in joining hands and issues against a non-white Power having the temerity to assert itself, has a very significant lesson for all the coloured peoples of the world, namely, that they must look to their own selves for their salvation and that they must develop cordiality of feeling and helpful friendship among their fellow coloured people whether in Asia or Africa or in the wilds of America and Australia. In reading international politics and the trend of current world events they must have the discernment to perceive an underlying racial prejudice and a sense of superiority over the coloured people, which actuate the Europeans and the Americans. Most harmful to world peace and human happiness that such prejudice and such superiority-sense are, the antidote to them lies in developing an enduring esprit-de-crois among all the coloured peoples of the world and forming an unflinching resolution to stand up on their own legs. In that way alone the colour-proud Europeans and Americans, who flaunt their culture and their military and technical skill before the world, can be brought to sobriety and to a recognition of human equality and human justice. In that way arrogant words like "If Europe is still not worthy to fulfil her colonizing mission to the world, then the hour of her decadence is irrevocably sounded" (Signor Mussolini), can be silenced. *The Indian Social Reformer* has recently very rightly remarked that "Indians who regret the Japanese aggression on China, are obliged to concede that Japan is doing a service to human solidarity by establishing the capacity of a coloured race to master the military and industrial technique of the white man so as to meet him on his own ground."

But such mere conceding would not do. The present attitude of unthinking and sweeping condemnation of the Japanese policy in China should give way to an appreciative understanding of that policy, which has been to a great extent prompted by European and American encroachment in China. Left to herself, China would not have developed the strong anti-Japanese feeling, which is now proving dangerous to her own solidarity. While, therefore, counselling Japan to be compromising to China, the latter should not be wildly encouraged in her present attitude to her sister and neighbour, Japan, and in her leanings towards the European and American intruders. A far-sighted view of the Sino-Japanese conflict ought to be taken, and an earnest and persistent effort should be made by friendly counsel, moral support and educative propaganda to bring about peace and enduring agreement between the two countries. A solid Sino-Japanese understanding formed through the merging of the two States into a great Federation or otherwise, will be not only a bulwark against European or American aggression in the East, but will be an encouraging beginning of the political renaissance of the coloured peoples of the world and a great inspiration to them. World peace of a more lasting character would thereby come nearer to hand, and a new world order in which all people will walk abreast, in which political subjugation of one

country by another will be outlawed, and in which the Aborigines of Australia, the Negroes of Africa, or the Red Indians of America and the islanders of the farthest floating land of the world will not be deprived of their homes and driven to the wilderness, and slowly exterminated under the ravages of forcible imposition of the foreign culture of invading and usurping people. It is such a new order that the world needs and humanity is crying for, and not the sort of world order, which some European and American political thinkers are wanting to devise, by which the periodic wars among their own countries may cease and they may remain in undisturbed enjoyment of colonies, empires, concessions and possessions in the homelands of the coloured people.

I am one of those, who strongly believe in the essential similarity of human nature and in the likeness of innate human feelings and sentiments, though differently manifested in the not unnaturalised masses all over the world. In moments of danger, in moments of suffering, in moments of rage and, in fact at all times of great mental agitation, and American, or an Australian aborigine, a Pacific Islander, and others are all found to behave more or less similarly. But the trend of cultural evolution in different lands, as also the urge of self-interest have led to different mental attitude in the people of different countries, particularly among the higher classes, which gradually spread their feelings to the masses. In that way political America and political Europe, as distinguished from the simple peasantry, and the masses in those countries, have imbibed the prejudice referred to in this article. My observations, therefore, are directed against political America and political Europe, and not against the people in general in those countries.

One, therefore, hopes and despairs when thinking of meaningless colour-prejudice and the attitude of opposition and animosity towards the coloured people which is so much in evidence in America and which is a sign of that country's cultural degradation. But I hope to reach the true heart of that country and of Europe by addressing this article not only to the coloured people of all lands in the world, but also to the masses in America and Europe, whom I would ask to see how their political leaders are estranging them to fellow human-beings in other parts of the earth having the same human needs, desires and characteristics as they, and how thereby, their leaders are continually creating causes of bitterness, quarrels, unhappiness, destruction and wars of today, tomorrow and the day-after.

**Hindu Women's Property Rights:—**A bill relating to Hindu Women's Property Rights is shortly to be brought before the Hyderabad Legislative Council. This bill envisages certain amendments in the Hindu Law of Succession relating to women with a view to give them better rights of inheritance and to effect improvements in the course of devolution of property when a Hindu dies intestate. Further, there are provisions which entitle a step-mother and a maiden-sister to claim maintenance. Another feature of the bill is the right of married women to live apart from their husbands on certain grounds, specified in the bill, and demand maintenance from them. Regarding the right of adoption enjoyed by a Hindu widow a striking departure is made by creating a legal presumption in favour of the widow unless it could be proved that there are instructions of her deceased husband to the contrary.

## TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY IN U. S. A.

## I.—EVOLUTION OF THE JUVENILE COURT.

(BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the children and the adults committing any crime under the law were both treated alike all over the world though in the tenth century King Athelstane in Great Britain had enacted that 'men should slay none younger than a fifteen winters' man' and provided that 'if his kindred will not take him, nor be surety for him, then swear he as the Bishop shall teach him, that he will shun all evil, and let him be in bondage for his price. And if after that he steals let men slay or hang him, as they did to his elders.'<sup>1</sup>

The legal code of the colony of Connecticut of 1672 contained the following provisions which show how common the death sentence was for young offenders in U. S. A. for paltry offences :-

"If any child or children above 16 years old, and of sufficient understanding, shall curse or smite their natural Father or Mother, he or they shall be put to death unless it can be sufficiently testified, that the parents have been very un-Christianly negligent in the education of such children, or so provoked them by extreme and cruel correction that they have been forced thereunto to preserve themselves from death or maiming."

Further the code provided that,

"If any man have a stubborn or rebellious son of sufficient understanding and years viz., 16 years of age, which will not obey the voice of his Father or the voice of his Mother, and that when they have chastened him he will not harken unto them, then may his father, or mother, being his natural Parents, lay hold on him and bring him to the magistrates assembled in court, and testify unto them that their son is stubborn and rebellious and will not obey their voice and chastisement, but lives in sundry notorious crimes, such son shall be put to death."<sup>2</sup>

"Other crimes for which Connecticut children over 14 might be punished by death were rape, bestiality, blasphemy, witch-craft, murder, false witness, treason, arson, idolatry and man stealing."<sup>3</sup>

The suffering of the children, the brutal sentences given to them made a strong appeal to both commonsense and pity and their menace to the order of society too could not be ignored permanently. "Although Illinois is generally held to have adopted the first Juvenile Court Law in 1899, the origins of such legislation date much earlier. In 1863 the State of Massachusetts passed a law (the first so far known) separating the children's court cases from those of adults; it made the mistake, however, of entrusting the law to the state Board of Charities."<sup>4</sup>

Under such an administration the law proved inadequate and was abolished. Hence in 1872 a provision was made in authorising police, district and municipal courts to provide hearing for juvenile offenders separate and apart from other criminal cases at suitable times, to be designated by these courts, a separate docket and record to be kept

1. *Judicia Civitatis Londoniae* quoted in Dr. Manshardt's book, *The Delinquent Child* pub. 1939 D. B. Taraporewalla & Sons, Bombay p. 1.

2. *General Law 1672* p. 9. Sections 14, 15, quoted in "Children Before the Courts in Connecticut" U. S. Department of Labour Children's Bureau, 1918 Pub. 43. p. 10.

3. *The Delinquent Child* by Dr. Clifford Manshardt, p. 9.

4. Cf. "Origins of Juvenile Court and Laws for Retterment of Children" (Editorial) *Chicago Legal News* XL p. 177-78 (Jan 1, 1908).

for such sessions.<sup>5</sup> The Act, adopted by New York in 1892 dealing with children as offenders, also embodied the principle of separate hearing of children's cases apart from those of the adults. The law stated, "All cases involving commitment or trial of children for any violation of the Penal Code in any Police Court or Court of special sessions may be heard and determined by such court at suitable times to be designated therefor by it, separate and apart from the trial of other criminal cases, of which session a separate docket and record shall be kept."<sup>6</sup> In October 1893 in a meeting at Chicago of the Waif-Saving-Congress, J. J. Kelso of Toronto, Canada, urged the establishment of such courts and in the same year legislation to that effect was passed in the Province of Ontario. An act along the same lines providing for separate hearing of juvenile offenders was passed by the Rhode Island Legislature in 1897 and became law in 1898. Notwithstanding such prior legislation, the credit of establishing the first proper and complete juvenile court applying the chancery idea goes to the framers of the Illinois Juvenile Court Law. The state thereby assumed a protective role dealing with delinquent children as wards of the state. Now we may see in some details how this Illinois Act emerged and what it is.

The Chicago Women's Club was the first public organisation to prepare the background for the juvenile court in Illinois. In its early years the club did much to improve the police stations and the jails. They protested against the children being sent to Cook County Poor House and as a result their number was considerably reduced. The Jail Committee, appointed in 1892 to go into the jail administration and to suggest improvements for young offenders, suggested a juvenile court. Accordingly in 1895 a bill was drafted to that effect at the instance of the Chicago Women's Club providing for a separate court for children along with a probation staff attached to it. The Bill provides that when the court finds a child dependent, neglected or delinquent, it might commit the custody and care of such a child to any corporation organised for the purpose, for caring for dependent, neglected and delinquent children. This project was abandoned because of the adverse legal advice.

Agitation continued till 1893 when a general investigation was made by all the parties in the annual sessions of the Illinois State Conference of Charities held on November 16, 1893, under the Chairmanship of the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones. The entire programme centred round "The children of the State." The members of the Chicago Women's Club and notable nationalists took part in the discussion and stressed the necessity of a separate court for the young offenders. Their argument was that the common law concept "parens patriae" should be extended to criminal as well as civil law, that the immunities, privileges and disabilities which the State had already granted to children in the Civil Law dealing with property should be set up also as a barrier between the child offender and the rigours of adult criminal law. It was assumed that the child offender was handicapped by immaturity of body and mind and by lack of effective parental control so that the exercise of discretion and assumption of legal responsibility of conduct could not be exacted of him.<sup>7</sup> Almost all speakers agreed with the view of Dr. F. H. Wines who said, "We ought to have a children's court in Chicago, and we ought to have a children's judge." This conference had

5. *Conflicting Penal Theories in Statutory Criminal Law* by Mabel A. Elliot, the University Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, p. 32.

6. *Conflicting Penal Theories in Statutory Criminal Law* p. 83.

7. *Social Science Encyclopaedia-Ch Juvenile Delinquency* p. 529.



a far-reaching effect and American public opinion was roused to the urgent necessity of having a separate court for children where they may be treated as they would be by a wise parent in the matter of care, custody and discipline.

From this conference emerged the Committee which drafted the Illinois Juvenile Court Act. In the work of passing this Act Mrs. Lucy L. Flower, a leader in the Chicago Women's Club, made special efforts. She carried on extensive propaganda for rousing public opinion in favour of a juvenile court where the children may not be treated as criminals but as delinquent children needing the wise care and protection of the Court. She also stressed the necessity of establishing a detention home along with the juvenile court where the children may be confined awaiting their trial in the court. Another prominent person in this connection whose name needs special mention was Judge Harvey B. Hard, a jurist of distinction of his time. The Act in the form of a Bill was introduced in the Lower House of the Illinois Legislature on February 7, 1898 by Representative John C. Newcomer and in the Senate on February 15, 1899. In its passage in the legislature, no other influence aided so much as that of the Chicago Bar Association. At the request of the Chicago Bar Association and Mr. Ephraim Banning, a member of the State Board of Charities, a Bar Committee was appointed to go through the bill and its recommendations had very far-reaching effect. The Chicago Bar Association stated that "the fundamental idea of law is that the State must step in and exercise guardianship over a child found under such adverse social or individual conditions as develop crime...It proposes a plan whereby he may be treated not as a criminal or one legally charged with crime, but as a ward of the State, to receive practically the custody and discipline that are accorded to the neglected and dependent child, and which, as the Act states, shall approximately be as nearly as may be that which should be given by his parents."<sup>8</sup>

The Law was successfully passed by the legislature due to the continued public interest in the protection of helpless children which was aroused by constant propaganda. The Act received the assent of the Governor, John R. Tenner, and became law on July 1, 1899. The title of the original Act was "An Act to Regulate the Treatment and Control of Dependent, Neglected and Delinquent Children." The title is self-explanatory and amply shows the broad purpose with which the Act was passed. The Law was expressly framed to avoid treating the child as a criminal. The juvenile court took the child as the object of its protection and care in order to ascertain the causes of his wrong-doing and to prescribe the best method of overcoming those causes and guiding the youngsters towards a life of honour and usefulness. The object in view was to substitute public control for parental control.

The Act applied to children of 16 to 18 years. "Any reputable person, being resident of the county, having knowledge of a child in his county who appears to be neglected, dependent or delinquent, may file with the clerk of a court having jurisdiction in the matter a petition in writing, setting forth the facts verified by affidavit. It shall be sufficient that the affidavit is upon information and belief."<sup>9</sup>

The law provided for setting up a juvenile court with probation officers attached to it but it made no provision for the salary of these officers. Section 6 of the Act runs, "The court shall have authority to

appoint or designate one or more discreet persons of good character to serve as probation officers during the pleasure of the court; said probation officers to receive no compensation from the public treasury."<sup>10</sup> It was very difficult, rather impossible, to obtain honorary workers who would selflessly devote themselves to the work and be willing to take the requisite instruction and training. So the Juvenile Court Committee, composed of women representatives of the various clubs, then raised money for paying salaries to the Juvenile Court Probation Officers. Mr. Henry W. Thurston was appointed as the first Chief-Probation Officer with an Assistant Probation Officer and one or two clerks, all of whom were paid salaries by the Committee from the funds so raised. Later on, with the help of a reputed politician of Illinois, the Committee got a Law passed providing salaries for Probation Officers from the County. In addition to the regular probation officers, Mayor Carter H. Harrison offered his hearty co-operation by giving police probation officers in every police district who took charge of all children appearing in their police districts and the cases were properly prepared and transferred to the Juvenile Courts. The Committee frequently discussed with these officers their duties. In selecting Probation Officers, persons who were tactful, skilful, resourceful, firm, patient and endowed with commonsense were preferred.

Another ambiguity was that the law prohibited the detention of young offenders in police lock-up or prisons, but it made no provision for separate detention homes. Section 11 of the Act runs, "No court or magistrate shall commit a child under twelve years of age to a jail or police station, but if such child is unable to give bail it may be committed to the care of the Sheriff, police officer or probation officer who shall keep such child in some suitable place provided by the city or county outside of the enclosure of any jail or police station. When any child be sentenced to confinement in any institution to which adult convicts are sentenced, it shall be unlawful to confine such child in the same building with such adult convicts, or to confine such child in the same yard or enclosure with such adult convicts or to bring such child into any yard or building in which such adult convicts may be present."<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the Committee took the question of providing detention homes for these children pending their trial as they could not be kept in jails or police lock-up according to the Law. An old house in West Adams Street was being run as an Industrial Home by the Illinois Industrial Association but the Association was not in a position to meet its increasing expenses. The Juvenile Court Committee took over its charge in their own hands and the girls and dependent children were kept in it. It had accommodation for 50 children. The Committee maintained it for 7 years in co-operation with the City and the County, about 26 to 28 hundred children being protected every year. The members of the Committee took keen personal interest in improving the conditions of the Home and a teacher was employed to keep the boys and girls occupied. In spite of every effort the Committee was not getting any aid from the City or the County authorities. There was no services of a psychiatric for the juvenile court and so dangerous tendencies on the part of the children could not be detected. This tendency sometimes did great harm. Once a boy inmate of the detention home sprinkled kerosene over the beds and set fire to them.

The juvenile court was held in one of the regular court rooms of the county building and one or two

8. Social Science Encyclopaedia p. 529.

9. Section 8 Illinois Laws 1899, p. 138

10. Section 6 Illinois Laws 1899, p. 134.

11. Section 11 Illinois Laws 1899, p. 135.

members of the Committee always sat beside the judges to assist and advise them if required. The Court room was a dark one with practically no arrangement for light and air. It was always overcrowded with visitors. Later on the court was shifted to the top floor where there was sufficient light and air. Soon even this room was found insufficient and the Committee succeeded in persuading the city and County to buy land and to erect a juvenile court building with a Detention Home attached to it on the Evening Street. The City gave free land and the County spent 150,000 dollars for the building. This building was used till 1924 and then shifted to another better building. In 1909 the committee changed its name to the Juvenile Protective Association.

"Since the first law creating a juvenile court was passed in Illinois in 1899, such legislation has been enacted throughout the country; of the thirteen States represented, all have adopted some form of juvenile court legislation and have made some provision for probationary supervision and chancery procedure. In six States, California, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Massachusetts, and New York, informal or chancery proceedings are mandatory.

"The child is regarded as not one who has committed a crime but as one in need of special care, who must be shielded from unfortunate influences if he is to be kept from the career of crime. In the remaining seven States, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Texas and Ohio, chancery proceedings are the rule. These States have seen fit to adopt trial by jury." <sup>12</sup> All the States have also adopted provisions for penalising the adults contributing to the neglect, dependence or delinquency of the child. In nine out of the thirteen States, *viz.*, Colorado, Indiana, Ohio, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Missouri and Nebraska some form of a family or domestic relations court has been established in the larger cities, while in the rest of the States there is no such provisions for separate courts and the juvenile courts perform that function. The idea underlying the family courts function of the juvenile court is to have all the family difficulties adjudicated within the same court as, if a child is a delinquent, the parents may be aiding or contributing to his such condition and so they must be considered as a unit.

#### WHAT IS RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION?

What is religious persecution? It does not always or generally mean that physical torture is suffered. But there have been plenty of cases in India where such persecution has been inflicted. We believe religious persecution to be any sort of influence or pressure which is intended to prevent men and women from following their own desires and inclinations in matters of religious belief. We waive all reference to disputes regarding the conflict of religious convictions with government regulations. There may or may not be religious persecution involved. That is not before us just at present. We refer now to persecution which may come upon those who wish to change their religious allegiance from one honoured and respected religious faith to another.

We are informed that the senior Chitambar was a member of a Marathi Brahman family in Bombay. It was a joint Hindu family of which his father and several of his father's brothers were members. He was the only son of his father and his uncles had no sons. He was, therefore, a very favoured member of the joint family. He was a student in Wilson College and, like other students both before and since his day, was a staunch defender of his religious faith.

He often indulged in giving petty annoyance to Christian preachers as they carried on their bazaar preaching. This was probably more bravado than religious zeal. On one occasion a preacher referred to the Word of God as being a "two-edged sword." The young Chitambar bought a Gospel portion and tearing it to pieces threw the bits in the face of the preacher, saying, "Now what has become of the two-edged sword?" or words to that effect. It drew a big laugh from his friends and he felt very proud of himself.

Later on the "two-edged sword" cut its way to his heart and he made up his mind to become a Christian. For some time he kept his determination to himself. Then he ran away and made his way to Allahabad and there began his Christian life. His family was greatly wrought up over it and he was cut off from all connection with them.

We simply ask, "Why did young Chitambar imagine that he must run away from home if he became a Christian?" Was the attitude of his family in any sense persecution? He lost every right he had as a son in that joint family. Would he have lost those rights if he had remained a Hindu? We do not wish to refer to any particular thing that was done or to what the young Chitambar suffered in mind and body as he tramped and begged his way north from Bombay. We only ask why he did so. If religious persecution is all bunkum certainly this young member of an orthodox Hindu family would have known all about that. He was determined to become a Christian. He thought he must run away from home if he did so. Was that bunkum?

—The Indian Witness.

#### SHRADDHANAND ANATH MAHILA ASHRAM.

(BY T. V. PARVATE, BOMBAY.)

The 12th Annual General Report of the Hindu Women's Rescue Home Society which has been running the Shraddhananda Anath Mahila Ashram at Matunga, makes instructive reading for all those who are interested in the welfare of the poor and the deserted in Hindu Society. The Ashram was started twelve years ago to perpetuate the memory of the late Swami Shraddhanand. The object of the Ashram is to provide shelter for and render assistance to Hindu women and children in distress without any distinction of caste or creed, and it is remarkable that during the last twelve years, no less than 1,182 women and 729 children have taken advantage of the help rendered by the Ashram.

A rough classification of those in distress shows that nearly half their number might be called fallen, one-fourth destitute, one-sixth rescued, one-eighth deserted by husbands, one-third left their husbands and about 300 admitted for delivery of whom more than half are widows and others unmarried girls or married but fallen. It is the practice of the Ashram to reconcile as many of them as possible to husbands or send them back to guardians. A good many of them are found husbands and given work that suits them.

Prominent Hindu citizens have taken keen interest in the working of the Ashram and among them may be mentioned the Hon. Raja Bahadur Govindlal Shivalal Motilal, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Seth Rameshwardas Birla, Seth Mathooradas Vissanji, the Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. B. G. Kher, Dr. Mhaskar and several other distinguished people. Only in March last was opened a new extension of the Ashram Building by His Highness the Maharaja

<sup>12</sup> *Collecting Penal Theories in Statutory Criminal Law* p. 231

of Baroda, when he announced a donation of Rs. 5,000/- and observed:—

How is it that in our Society we get women who are thrown out without support of any sort? Was the problem purely economic—one of poverty—or were there other causes? Our present social system was at least partly responsible for this state of things. It would be an excellent idea, for the authorities of the Home, to study the question intensively so that public opinion may be roused in regard to changes needed in our society. Our social system has to adapt itself to changed conditions and the laws relating to marriage and divorce and the legal rights of women need to be liberalised. Only then will the women of India take their rightful place in our Society.

It is the practice of the Hindu Women's Rescue Home Society to publish about a dozen or more typical cases of those who seek shelter in the Ashram in every annual report. Here is a case from the report under review, which illustrates what useful work the Ashram has been doing:—

A Saraswat girl of 15 was serving as a domestic servant in a family in the Karwar District. She was kidnapped from that place and raped by a neighbour. She then became the subject of a Sessions case in which the accused was convicted. But the girl became ostracised by her family and caste. The Sessions Judge, therefore, recommended that she should be kept in a public institution. The girl had to seek shelter in the Shradhdhanand Ashram. She was fair, strongly built, and hardworking. She was illiterate when she came, but afterwards learned to read and write. After a few months she was married to a well-placed gentleman in the C. P.

About 150 typical cases included in the reports for the last twelve years provide ample material to social reformers and students of sociology with a view to formulating a programme of future social reform work, in the light of the study of this material. The idea might well be taken up by some students in the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology.

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THE

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*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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### NOTES.

**Educational Ends:**—Sir Shanmukham Chetty, speaking on Founder's Day at Annamalai University, declared that "the application of the utilitarian point of view in University education had created confusion about the ideals and objects of university education." In these days when the economic aspect of every problem tends, like Aaron's rod, to swallow up very other, it required some courage to maintain that University education should not be measured by utilitarian standards. This is emphatically our own view reiterated times without number. We are, therefore, surprised that Sir Shanmukham should have interpreted our reference to the selection of men who have succeeded in life to deliver addresses at Universities, to imply that the responsibility for unemployment rests with universities. What we said was that the men chosen to deliver addresses to students, naturally inclined to extol the system under which they have attained success, unmindful of the difficulties of those on the threshold of life, and that was the reason why convocation addresses nowadays, generally speaking, did not command the interest of those for whose benefit they were intended. How the insidious temptation to introduce utilitarian standards in the highest education, eludes the most cultivated intellects, is illustrated in the Convocation address which Mr. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University, delivered at the annual convocation of Mysore University. In the first half of his address, Professor Jha eloquently expatiated on the disinterested and dispassionate pursuit of Truth as the supreme aim of a University, and, in the second half, worked himself up to a pitch of fury against Non-violence as "the negation of wisdom and the height of logical imbecility." He condemned the hatred of fighting as pussilanimity and cowardice. There are many people who realise that in the existing circumstances war is an evil in which one cannot well shrink from

playing one's part, but who at the same time profoundly believe that the path of Peace and Ahimsa is the higher and truer path. Mr. Jha's diatribe against the plea for non-violence and his offensive characterisations of it, will not find acceptance among thinking men. There are no two pursuits more contradictory to each other than the pursuit of truth and the pursuit of war. We wonder if Prof. Jha has come across the story of the hectic Mutiny days, of the Sadhu who, when he felt the cold point of a bayonet on his body, opened his eyes, smiled and extended a friendly hand to his assailant, exclaiming, "Thou also art He." If he has, he has evidently not understood the profound significance of it. Philosophy in India is meant to be lived and not merely to be displayed in academic shop-windows.

**Propaganda for the War:**—We commented three months back (*Reformer*, July 6) on the dilemma in which Indian newspapermen found themselves in this war—caught between the Indian resentment at the status accorded to India and their anti-Nazi sentiment. We mentioned that the first emotion was the dominant one. When we wrote, however, we did not expect that the best example of this would come out of the Bombay War Publicity Committee which has a distinguished personnel of politicians and journalists. After reading the latest statement issued by this Committee, one wonders what it attempts to give publicity to. Whoever drafted it has certainly managed to put into it a very strong indictment of British policy in India. He has coated the pill with an admonition to Indians to support Britain morally, with money and with men in the interests of India herself. The statement begins with a complaint from a correspondent that there is a considerable feeling of "indifference and despondency" among the people. Whether this is so or not, the Committee ought to know better than any correspondent. The Committee by circulating the correspondent's complaint gives its support to it. There are apparently reasons for the Committee's not itself shouldering the responsibility for such an admission. The Committee again concedes the point by implication when it concludes with the remark that if India puts herself unreservedly "behind England," it will produce a great moral effect upon the world. Before it reaches this conclusion, the statement makes certain interesting observations

which deserve attention. We give below a fairly typical extract:

Some people are indifferent because they think that Great Britain with all her might will eventually win the war. It is a war she has brought on herself and why should the people of India worry about it? Let it take its course, and let the law of nature decide. They believe in the theory of the survival of the fittest. They forget that if this theory is applied to them, they would not be able to stand the test.

This rather involved argument is by no means easy to follow. Who are the men who will not stand the test? The people of India? Or those who are indifferent? If, as the statement would seem to do, survival is made the test of fitness, then the people of India have nothing to worry about. They may have grown worse after each test but they have certainly survived a good deal. If it is the indifferent to whom the statement refers, there is a grave error in the inference drawn by the Committee that they will not survive. Indifference and an appreciable distance between one and the scene of all conflict is as good a guarantee of survival as anyone could wish for.

**Publicity Committee's Indictment** :—The Bombay War Publicity Committee's statement enlarges upon the relations existing between India and Britain. Three things remain in one's mind after putting down the statement. First, that India has been dragged into this war without being consulted; secondly, that India, owing to Britain's bad policy, is thoroughly unprepared to enter on a major war; and thirdly, that, being in this war, India is as much belligerent as Britain herself or any other Empire country and, whether one likes it or not, India will be affected most seriously by the result of this war. It would be a strange thing if the Publicity Committee finds itself violating the Defence of India Act but this statement comes very near doing it. The only argument it puts forward against this imposing array of criticism is that Nazism and Fascism are seeking to put an end for all time to come to the ideas of democracy, freedom and liberty, and that we must so act ourselves that at the end of the war we may not find ourselves in a worse position than today. The first of these is not a forceful argument since unless you personally experience democracy, liberty and freedom, you are not likely to love them enough to fight for them. As for the second contention, we are glad that the Committee does not hold out false hopes of our improving our position by participating in the war but only desires that we may not get worse. Nevertheless the Committee has said enough in its statement to convince itself that the *status quo* is not worth preserving. And history has not yet shown how a nation can go through a war and yet be "no worse off than before." The Publicity Committee has some, if not all the, advantages of an official body. There is need for it to weigh its words carefully. When it says that "we have no well equipped modern army to help Britain" and

that England has not equipped India to defend herself, it is liable to create an impression which less responsible sources would not give. If there is no equipment, moreover, what is the use of asking for more men to join the army? Incidentally the allusion to the ostrich is incorrect. The ostrich is supposed in European literature since the days of Pliny, not to shut its eyes at the approach of danger and think the whole world dark; but to bury its head in the sand and think it is safe from its enemies. The Committee perhaps adapted the allusion—with no greater divergence from the truth than the original—to suit these black-out days.

**Muslim Law of Divorce** :—One of the excellences of the Muslim law of marriage is that it is a civil contract in which husband and wife are in a position of equality. The right of divorce belongs equally to both. While such is the law, the practice at the present day is very different. In practice the Muslim wife labours under the same disabilities as the Hindu wife, among middle class families. Nawabs and wealthy landholders' families are no better. In fact their condition is even worse. In order to minimise the hardships of unhappy wives, a Muslim Divorce Act was passed last year at the instance of a Muslim member of the Indian Legislative Assembly with the support of a majority of Muslim members. But the judgment given in a recent case, reported in the *Tribune* of Lahore of the 10th October, goes farther than the claims put forward by the most enthusiastic feminist. Umar Bibi, the plaintiff, applied for divorce from her husband, Mahommedin, in the Court of Diwan Harbans Rai Nair, Sub-Judge of Sialkote. The grounds alleged were cruelty, desertion, and non-performance of marital duties for three years. Another ground put forward was the plaintiff's hatred of the appearance, looks and manners of her husband. The learned Judge found that cruelty, desertion, and non-performance of marital duties, were not proved. But he granted the divorce on the last ground, namely, that the plaintiff hated the appearance and manners of her husband. Two main reasons were assigned by the Sub-Judge for his decision: one general and the other specially bearing on the Islamic conception of marriage. On the point of law, he observed that the wife is no more willing on account of her hatred to submit herself to her husband "thereby frustrating the fundamental object of procreation for which a contract of marriage is entered into under Muslim law." In support of this view, the Sub-Judge quoted the opinions of Muslim jurists, among them the late Syed Ameer Ali. On the general principle, the Sub-Judge expressed himself thus: "Marriage itself loses all significance where one party hates the other and the nexus of love is broken. Then divorce is the only remedy provided." What is love? "You marry those whom you love," explained a distinguished Indian to an Englishman who was curious to know the difference between Indian and British notions of marriage,

"we love those whom we marry." Love in the latter case is a habit of mind which is free from the vicissitudes of love in the English sense. There is no fundamental difference between Hindu and Muslim ideas in this respect. The Indian pattern is common to both. Dewan Harbans Rai is perhaps a highly Anglicised Indian in his ideas of love and marriage. His judgment seems to correspond little to the facts of Indian social life.

**Marriage Law Reform:**—In the September *Poona Law College Magazine*, Professor S. L. Abhyankar writes on "The Hindu Law of Marriage and the Special Marriage Act (1872)." By the Special Marriage Act, 1872, the Professor means the Act of 1872 as amended by Sir Hari Singh Gour's Act passed in 1923. The two Acts, entirely different from and in some essentials contradictory to each other, are cited as one, much to the confusion of the reader. Professor Abhyankar shows that a Hindu marrying under Gour's Act has little to gain and much to lose as he becomes completely severed from his ancestral family, as completely as if he were dead. His father can adopt another son to continue the family tradition. Notwithstanding this, the number of Hindus marrying under this Act is increasing as Mr. K. B. Gajendragadkar shows in another article in the same journal. In Bombay province alone there were in 1935 81 marriages performed under the Act. In 1938 there were 212. The advantage of monogamy conferred by the Act is no doubt held to outweigh the disadvantage of being cast out of the joint family, if it is considered a disadvantage which by many it is not nowadays. The Indian Succession Act to which the newly-formed family becomes subject, is more equitable and is free from the endless uncertainties of the Hindu law of succession. In order to overcome the confusion of the existing laws, we have suggested a simple Civil Marriage Act. Every religionist can add the religious rites of his faith after the registration. Professor Abhyankar wants to retain the restriction to Hindus including Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists in his amendment. Why should there be a law to permit the marriage of a Sikh from the Punjab to a Brahmin of Madras more urgently than one to solemnise the marriage of a Nair with his neighbour the Mopla? The social and family life of the Nair and the Mopla have more affinities than that of the Punjabee and the South Indian Hindu.

**Overseas Troops in Bombay:**—The *Bombay Chronicle* published on Saturday the texts of the correspondence between Mr. Mathuradas Tricumdas, Mayor of Bombay, and the Private Secretary to the Governor. The Mayor in very guarded language called His Excellency's attention to the behaviour of some overseas troops in Bombay which was causing unpleasantness. The two specific complaints he mentioned were, that eight or nine men huddled

themselves in a hackney carriage licensed to carry three passengers and the excessive drinking at foreign liquor shops. There was, however, a significant sentence in the Mayor's letter. "Confidence among women for free movement is also shaken," he wrote. In the *Harijan* of October 6, Gandhiji published a letter containing seven categorical allegations, three of which related to rough handling of women. A Gujerati girl was forced to dance with a soldier, while his comrades looked on; another "bit a high school girl on her cheeks and left her in a pool of blood;" and four soldiers were seen by the correspondent to drag away a Vaghari woman near the Prince of Wales Museum which is the most conspicuous part of the Fort area. Other allegations were of the same nature as those in the Mayor's letter. The Governor in his reply to the Mayor expressed his regret that the behaviour of the overseas men should have been such as to cause annoyance to citizens, and undertook to send copies of the Mayor's letter to "the competent authorities." The Governor, we should think, is the most competent authority to whom the people should look for protecting them from rude handling at the hands of men like the overseas soldiers. We should have expected His Excellency to assure the Mayor and the people that he would see that the men who are temporarily quartered in Bombay, behaved themselves with due regard to the sentiments of the public. This is not all. Mr. J. D. Irwin, the Governor's Secretary, went on virtually to condone the conduct of the men on the ground that "they are on their way to defend the western approaches to India!" India has sent her own troops to defend a country whose own Government prefers to remain neutral and it is hard in addition to have to put up with "a display of exuberance and spirits which in other circumstances would be out of place." It would be more correct to attribute the display to a desire to put out of mind the grim prospect which awaits the men at their journey's end. However that may be, the soldiers are less to blame than their officers and the officers of the Government here, who should have instructed the men that Indian sentiments and manners differ markedly from the free and easy ways of their own land. We have received two protests, one angry and the other surprised, from Northern and Southern India, for not having noticed this matter. The explanation simply is that conduct of the kind complained of did not come under our observation in any part of the city. On the other hand, the behaviour of the men in the market places and shops did not seem to call for special notice. This, of course, does not mean that the complaints made to Gandhiji—the first was, he says in the current *Harijan*, from "a college girl"—were baseless but only that they were not normal and might have been set right, as they have evidently been, by reference to the proper authority.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 19, 1940.

## INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA.

Satyagraha movements in India show a certain uniformity of pattern. Both in 1922 and in 1932 the movement started as a mass movement; showed the highest idealism at the outset; then, as leaders and tried workers were one by one arrested by the Government, degenerated in quality and swelled in quantity; then again paled off into apathy, and finally was converted by Gandhiji into individual satyagraha, restricted to a few chosen men. In the eight years that have elapsed since the last civil disobedience movement, the Congress mind, when it thought of struggle, favoured mass resistance while Gandhiji has increasingly turned to individual satyagraha. It is possible that Gandhiji feels that the period spent by the Congress in office has rendered it impossible for that party to initiate mass action. Certainly this was what we understood by his often reiterated remark that the parliamentary mentality had come to stay among Congressmen. No party which contemplates taking up the work of administration, could lightly launch on a general campaign of law-breaking. And the Congress—at any rate all the outstanding men in it, save Gandhiji—has made up its mind that it will have the future Government of the country in its hands. If the imprisonment of Congress leaders during its days of opposition left a following which was not sufficiently trained in the principles of satyagraha, then the difficulties have greatly increased after the brief exercise of power by Congress ministries which not only changed the loyalties of some of the leading figures but brought into the party as well a number of men, distinguished and otherwise, who were not of the Congress persuasion before. These probably are the reasons which influenced Gandhiji and the Working Committee to decide in favour of skipping the early stages of satyagraha and confining themselves to individual action under Gandhiji's leadership; no less than the consideration that Britain's war against Nazism imposed on the Congress the obligation not to embarrass her at the time by mass, or nationwide, disobedience. Gandhiji in a statement issued on Wednesday says that he had great difficulty in inducing two of his Working Committee members to acquiesce in his method and to promise the utmost loyalty to him in trying out individual satyagraha. The argument that this might be—Gandhiji says he feels that it will be—the last satyagraha movement directed by him, has, it is highly probable, greatly influenced the Working Committee as it will doubtless influence Congressmen all over the country. But it is, if we might so put it, only the grace of Gandhiji which allows Congressmen, whether in the Working Committee or not, any voice in the latest decision he has taken for the Congress. The All India

Congress Committee at its meeting in Bombay in September, surrendered all powers to Gandhiji making him solely responsible. The Working Committee resolution published on Monday offering full support to Gandhiji's plans is only valuable in so far as it pledges the members not to seek to raise themselves by repudiating the Gandhian method if it fails. Even from this small promise of joint responsibility, Gandhiji has deliberately released the two members of the Committee who pressed for mass action.

Gandhiji's statement on Wednesday explained his plan of action and gave the public an account of Vinoba Bhave, the man who has been selected to initiate satyagraha. The first satyagrahi will be succeeded by others nominated by Gandhiji. If the character of Mr. Bhave is any indication of the men who are to follow him, then it is obvious that they will all be men of unshaken faith in non-violence and in the constructive programme of the Congress. It is equally clear that this rules out most of the leading Congress politicians who so recently as two months ago were ready to repudiate non-violence in the spheres of external affairs and of internal order. The whole Working Committee, except for Adbul Ghaffar Khan who resigned because of his firm faith in non-violence, is tainted with the sin of unbelief. Thus have the tables been turned on the politicians who a short while ago had nearly turned Gandhiji out of the field. All Congressmen are asked to render implicit obedience and to concentrate on the constructive programme, leaving the assertion of the right of free speech to Mr. Bhave. Gandhiji has communicated to the District Magistrate concerned Mr. Bhave's intention to start his activities in the village Paunar, seven miles from Nagpur. In his statement Gandhiji explains why he did not start satyagraha himself. He writes:

A question has been asked why, if I attach so much importance to quality, I do not offer civil resistance myself. I have already said that, unlike as on previous occasions, I do not wish to do so for the very good reason that my imprisonment is likely to cause greater embarrassment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do. I want also to remain outside to cope with any contingency that may arise. My going to jail may be interpreted as a general invitation to all Congressmen to follow suit. They will not easily distinguish between my act and speech. Lastly I do not know how things will shape. I myself do not know the next step. I do not know the Government plan.

The position, so far as Congressmen, other than the selected satyagrahis, are concerned, is clear enough. The public, Gandhiji says, will be involved in so far as free speech is in issue and if the Government leave Mr. Bhave alone but decide to penalise those who listen to him or read his writings, they "will precipitate a crisis."

It is difficult to say what the Government will do and, if the voices raised in protest by conservative elements in the country are any guide, a crisis might be soon at hand. But it is clear to us that the Government have everything to gain by leaving Mr. Bhave and his

audiences alone. Thus they will secure the silence of all other Congressmen and, so long as the present position holds with Gandhiji as leader, the right of free speech will not be sought for others. The whole issue seems to us to have resolved into one of prestige rather than of principle. The right of free speech is the right for anybody and everybody to express opinions, however unpalatable they may be to the State. In the present instance, Gandhiji raised the issue with Lord Linlithgow not because it was an abstract point which had to be decided, but because several people had been taken up under the Defence of India Act. Gandhiji then claimed the right both for those who object to all wars and for those who protest against this war, provided they were non-violent. Now he has given up this claim for the narrower one of immunity to his nominees. The situation becomes more complicated by his candid admission that he does not see the next step. The people of this country, no less than Government, are placed in a position of uncertainty which is worse than any direct embarrassment of the Government could possibly be. The belief that one is writing on a clean slate is as disastrous in politics as in other walks of life, and Gandhiji has completely ignored the developments of the past year of war in working out his plan. The Bhave satyagraha looks very much as though it is an old project brought out for public consumption. Only, if it had been put through immediately war broke out, it would have been a test case and its success would have meant freedom of opinion throughout the country. Gandhiji's legal experience, we are sure, must have made it clear to him that the mere fact that Mr. Bhave goes unmolested is now no guarantee that others of like mind will be similarly saved. He says that it must not be forbidden for people to listen to or to read Mr. Bhave's speeches and writings. He does not claim this freedom for those who would repeat the sayings of the first satyagrahi whether in a newspaper report or to a friend. What will it profit the others if Mr. Bhave is left free by the Government? The weakness of the present movement launched by Gandhiji is so evident that the "next step" is bound to occur soon. In the very real difficulty which the Congress faces of not knowing its own mind, we think it would be wise for it to give up its confused political activities and, pursuing what is apparently so obvious a desire of its leading men, co-operate whole-heartedly with the Government. A large number of non-Congress politicians also favour that policy. In the absence of any strong desire for independence it is well to recognize the situation and to guide one's path by the realities before one. We trust that Gandhiji who has always refused to be ruled by considerations of prestige or of past commitments, will give the Congress the lead it so eagerly waits for.

### TEST-TUBE CALVES.

Mysore State has been following an intensive policy of industrial self-sufficiency of late years. The Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, declared not long ago:

We are very proud of the products of these factories, and, at the risk of being called provincial, try to set before all Mysoreans the ideal that they should wash themselves with Mysore soap, dry themselves with Mysore towels, clothe themselves in Mysore silks, ride Mysore horses, eat the abundant Mysore food, drink Mysore coffee with Mysore sugar, build their homes with Mysore cement, Mysore timber and Mysore steel, furnish their houses with Mysore furniture and write their letters on Mysore paper.

The Official Handbook and Guide to the Mysore Dassara Exhibition 1940, amply bears out this claim. All but one of the 54 articles in the Handbook bear testimony to it directly and indirectly. The one article is that entitled "Test-Tube Calves."

In this article, Mr. J. D. Sampath Kumaran, Manager, Palace Dairy Farm, Mysore, describes his experiment and its results on producing calves from "artificial insemination." The cow and the bull are not eliminated but the bull's sperm is intercepted before it reaches the cow's womb, collected in test-tubes and distributed by injection among several cows. In the words of Mr. Sampath Kumaran, "Artificial insemination differs from the natural process in so far as the semen is introduced into the genital passages of the female by means of instruments." One advantage of this substitution of instruments is, according to him, "since a small quantity of semen can be placed with accuracy within the cervix a higher proportion of spermatozoa gain access to the uterus, resulting in greater certainty of impregnation and considerable economy of spermatozoa." Also one single ejaculation of the bull can be used to fertilize several cows. He cites a recent Russian report that from one accredited bull in one year, 2000 calves were got and from one ram 18,000 lambs. The second advantage is that artificial insemination offers the possibility of transport of semen to distant places. The third advantage is that in dairy cattle breeding, the cow remains in heat for a short time. The farmer need not have a bull on his farm or vicinity. He can obtain the sperm just as vaccines are obtained, by post from a central laboratory. There are four methods of collecting the semen from the cow: one of them is illustrated in the Handbook. One man thrusts a tube into the cow's posterior, while an official, presumably Mr. Sampath Kumaran, holds what looks like a glass receptacle at the other end. This is said to be the most effective of the four methods. It closely resembles the *phooka* process used by milkmen in Calcutta and other places, now made penal as involving cruelty to the cow. Mr. Sampath Kumaran does not tell the reader what effect the process has on the cow.

Portraits of the first calves produced by the method of artificial insemination are printed with the article. Some years ago there was published the report of the production of "two test-tube" babies in New York. What happened to them and whether the practice has become popular, is not known. If the experiment with cows and bulls, is successful, we may expect some enthusiastic eugenic reformer to make artificial insemination an adjunct of birth control propaganda.

Mr. Sampath Kumaran suggests that his method of "artificial insemination" is referred to in the Vedas. Many things which are regarded as ultra-modern have had their counterparts in antiquity, justifying the assertion of the ancient Hebrew preacher that there is nothing new under the sun. But the Vedic generations were not given to looking beyond nature



for the means of advancing the well-being of the world which to them meant not only the human race but everything, animate and inanimate, from the dust beneath our feet to the distant stars over our heads. The entire universe was governed by the same law, and the seekers after truth were the seekers of the well-being of all beings. Darwin who so far from being a materialist had a profound sense of the Reality underlying the phenomenal world, has pointed out the distinction between human selection and natural selection on animals and plants. He observes :

Man can act only on external and visible characters : Nature.....cares nothing for appearances, except in so far as they are useful to any being. She can act on every internal organ, on every shade of constitutional differences, on the whole machinery of life. Man selects only for his own good ; Nature only for that of the being which she tends.

But what is the good which the writer expects will come from his scheme of "artificial insemination?" Will it be even a profitable addition to Mysore industries? Is it conceivable that in any future which can be contemplated, the whole world, or even India, will agree to eliminate their bulls and depend on the import of Mysore spermatozoa in test-tubes for the propagation of the bovine species? If that be not so, what advantage would it be to produce two or three thousand calves a year from the output of a single bull? Assuming that the test-tube calves will vary as to sex in the same proportion as the naturally produced calves—that is about half and half—what is proposed to be done with the male calves? The discarded bulls may be used for cultivation, says Mr. Sampath Kumaran. There will have to be a great extension in the area of cultivation to provide occupation for such a tremendous output of bullocks. Where is the land for it? In America scientists have discovered a method of cultivation of crops without contact with the earth. Is this discovery comes to be applied on a large scale, there will be no need for ploughs or plough bullocks. And what would be the number of surplus animals at the end of, say, a generation, under an "artificial insemination" scheme? The elephant is the slowest breeder of all animals. In sixty years—from the age of thirty to ninety, its reproductive period—it produces three pairs of young. Darwin computed that "at the end of the fifth century there would be alive fifteen million elephants, descended from the first pair." If the "artificial insemination" process be extended to elephants, it is easy to imagine that there will be so many elephants alive at the end of fifty years or even less that there will be no room in the model state for scientists, politicians, or indeed any human beings.

Mr. Sampath Kumaran says that only a few of millions of spermatozoa eventuate in an embryo and wonders why nature is so wasteful of her resources. His scheme is to eliminate this waste by utilizing all the spores. If we knew the secrets of Nature, we shall know that she has a definite purpose in everything she does, that she is the most frugal of housewives. In our ignorant haste to produce some small result of apparent benefit to our economy, let us not seek for short-cuts which in nearly every case have in course of time shown themselves to be attended with serious consequences. Lord Linlithgow's plan of stud-bulls is safer than Mr. Sampath Kumaran's "artificial insemination."

Expert opinion can be quoted in favour of the view that what is needed for the improvement of Indian cattle is not imported bulls and cows but the provision of sufficient pasture and an efficient and easily accessible veterinary service. The people of India mostly live in villages and are of small means and simple in their habits. The huge animals with

mammoth yields which have to be collected by machinery in highly mechanised central dairies and then distributed to consumers by similar mechanical means are not needed here. Small animals with enough yield of milk to feed the children and provide ghee and buttermilk for the family's daily consumption, which can be milked and looked after by the housewife herself, are what would be most in accord with the sentiments and circumstances of the Indian people. The cow problem in India is really a social problem. So many of the well-meant projects for promoting the well-being of the people miscarry because they are planned and carried out without reference to the sentiments and requirements of those whom they are intended to benefit.

#### AFTER THE STORM.

On Tuesday evening the family was out marketing. The clouds were gathering on the west and there was a rumbling. With great deliberation some showers were descending on the town. We made up our mind to finish with the night's routine of meals at a restaurant. Meals are always an annoying interlude. A Tamil poet apostrophises the stomach as the most difficult companion to live with since it will not forego a day's meal when begged to do so nor put in two days' stock to save time and trouble! This house is all doors and windows with bits of wall here and there to hold them together. They are usually kept open day and night. Even when closed they leave many loopholes for the wandering wind. The rain grew into a storm as the night advanced; wind and water had the time of their lives. I was uneasy in bed. Ageing men attribute any disturbance of physical being to old age. But, when at three o'clock in the morning I was still uneasy, I got up from bed and found a heavy gale blowing outside and the rain splashing into the rooms blowing past the verandahs. That was that, as they say. There was nothing wrong with me personally. Nature was in one of her worst moods and I was simply reacting to it in mind and body. Another member of the family was already up and closing doors and windows, while the third slept on completely oblivious of the raging storm. An hour or two later the lights went out. But the water and milk for the morning coffee had been heated and that was a great advantage to start the day with. The wind grew wilder. It reached its wildest about eight or nine in the morning. But the whole day the sun was hid behind clouds. I could barely see enough to correct some necessary proofs and to type out a paragraph in the lightest part of the house. Candles were got in, in expectation of a lightless night. But about 8 p. m. part of the house suddenly lit up. The hot water apparatus enabled me to have a bath before going to bed. This is my first experience of bathing at night and it was not an unpleasant one. It seems to soothe and stimulate at the same time. During the night the storm had spent itself. The morning broke clear and sweet. The air was absolutely free of dust. There were some patches of clouds alternating with the cool blue of the sky. I met a friend on the way to Bandra Point. What of the storm yesterday? I asked. Both the lights and the telephone, he said, had broken down in his house; the radio was dumb, and they had not revived up to the time that he left home that (Thursday) morning. But, he added, it was worth having that storm yesterday to have this glorious morning today. That set my mind going. Can it be that the disastrous storm now raging in European countries and threatening the rest of the world, may be followed by just such a glorious morning? I am

sure it will. It was of a similar world upheaval that Tennyson wrote a century ago :

And all is well, tho' faith and form  
Be sunder'd in the night of fear ;  
Well roars the storm to those that hear  
A deeper voice across the storm,  
Proclaiming social truth shall spread,  
And justice, ev'n tho' thrice again  
The red fool-fury of the Seine  
Should pile her barricades with dead.

K. N.

#### FOR A HEALTHIER INDIA.

(BY MISS LALITHA I. MOSES, BARODA.)

For a definite improvement in the living conditions of her people, India would do well to take a leaf out of England's book in the matter of administration of public health. Great Britain today is proud to possess a comprehensive network of public social services, which provides in the aggregate a vigorous and developing contribution towards social security and welfare. It consists of special health services for mothers, babies and school-children, and for those suffering from tuberculosis and other infectious diseases, in addition to basic sanitary services like water-supply and the disposal of sewage and other waste products.

A similar organized effort towards the improvement of public health and welfare is indeed an urgent necessity in our country, where it is to be feared the health and physique of the great bulk of the population is far below the average of other civilized countries. India has her own particular problems in this respect which are far more complex than elsewhere in the world and which demand new adjustments and fresh regulations. These essential adjustments are long overdue and further delay will only mean more complications and greater human suffering. But thanks to the virility and strength of her present-day national leaders, the lead has already been given by the introduction of appropriate social measures to help national progress. Notwithstanding this, however, there is still more that remains to be done, and in such fields of service as rural sanitation, maternity and child-welfare, etc., there is yet extensive scope for legislation.

One of the aims of public health legislation should be to emphasise the truth, that prevention is better than cure, upon the minds of both the general public as well as the professional men. A well-developed constitution is a definite protection against disease ; to ensure this, nothing is more urgent than to devise ways and means of improving the national dietary. The obstacles in the path of the social reformer in this direction, are innumerable, for our country is one in which "dietary customs have often a religious bias by which certain food stuffs are prohibited and others included, where people are ignorant of the actual food-values of various foodstuffs easily available and where both agriculture and animal husbandry are in a primitive stage of development." These difficulties, however, are not insurmountable ; our politicians must sink all differences to unite in evolving a policy which will provide the right food to enable the people of India to attain their full inherited capacity for physical fitness. There is an urgent need for Government to introduce a definite and far-reaching agricultural policy aimed at ensuring not only an adequate food supply but the right kind of food. First, there must be deliberate measures taken to arrest the alarming process of soil impoverishment, and secondly there must be the institution of a

proper system of crop production to replace the present haphazard and uneconomic lack of system. Existing varieties of food-producing plants ought to be improved and new ones introduced ; this will involve the setting-up in each province, of a special institute of applied Botany to study the adaptability of vegetable foodstuffs in particular localities to suit particular consumers.

The provision of pure and abundant water-supply is another dire necessity in India where open sewers, stagnant pools and animal pollution of drinking water have given Malaria, Influenza and Elephantiasis a terrible grip on her millions. India would do well to take a leaf out of Egypt's book in the matter of rural sanitation. The Egyptian Parliament had before it a measure providing for the filling in of birkas or stagnant pools everywhere. These birkas are said to be prominent features of almost every village in the country ; they could hardly be more prominent than the Indian tank or talao, inhabited by buffaloes and ducks, in which the village clothes are commonly washed. Egypt has decided that stagnant pools are one of the many causes of Malaria, and has proved to her satisfaction that when they are filled in, the health of the village community improves vastly. In India conditions are parallel, and there is no doubt that the tank, picturesque feature of the countryside though it may be, is a menace to public health. More centrally situated, drinking-water wells and fewer tanks is just what the village needs.

Another important health service of Great Britain that can with effect be introduced into India, is the 'Milk in schools scheme.' Milk is the supreme health food, and this scheme which provides hundreds of thousands of school-children with a daily ration of milk at half the usual rate, and in necessitous cases free, helps, together with special arrangements for school meals and physical recreation, to lay a sound foundation in the growing child. In this country there are many million heads of cattle ; yet how few of the agricultural populace are in the habit of drinking milk ! Lord Linlithgow is known to advocate more milk-drinking—in an old Christmas card, the Viceory is seen looking on approvingly at a lad drinking milk through a straw ! Experiments carried on in Simla sometime back, showed that schoolboys who were able to have a glass of milk everyday, kept better health than other less fortunate lads.

A big chain of milkbars would be a boon to the working classes, now that Salem and other corners of India have gone 'dry.' In Britain, milkbars made their first appearance some four or five years ago, and have been multiplying till their numbers run into four figures. Of more interest to India is the fact that Ceylon is becoming milk-minded very rapidly. All over the island, milkbars are springing up, and are being well patronized. In contrast with India, these Ceylon bars are to be found in the smaller towns in considerable numbers. In the little old town of Negombo, which is probably the size of a suburb in Bombay, there are no fewer than three places which offered passersby milk and various drinks made from milk. And the patrons of the bar were drawn not only from the middle, but also from the working classes. Women with loads on their heads may be seen entering a Colombo milkbar and treating themselves to a five-cent glass of milk before a long trudge. They are, of course, doing themselves a good turn. The movement is largely the result of a campaign to make the people drink more milk, for which the Marketing Commissioner of the Ceylon Agricultural Department is responsible. The success of his

efforts means money for the dairying industry and an improvement in the diet of the people who previously did not care for milk. And India, too, might very well note what Ceylon is doing. If milkbars were to spring up in the rural areas, gradually a demand would arise for better milch cattle, and breeders would set about turning India's cattle into a real asset. At present carelessness and failure to prevent useless animals from breeding make the numerous beasts one sees in every village very much of a liability in the long run.

The public health of our villages and the health of our rural folks have yet to be attended to. So far the Public Health Acts have not embraced in their purview our villages to any appreciable degree. An active and nationwide campaign against Tuberculosis, Venereal, Elephantiasis, Cholera, Plague, and Leprosy, in our countryside is an urgent necessity, for their ravages have been seriously on the increase, year by year. In Great Britain, to take Tuberculosis alone, there is now a network of over 500 public dispensaries, linked with about 35,000 beds, which in the brief 30 years that have passed since the public service began, have helped to bring down the death-rate from Tuberculosis by over half. In India, Tuberculosis, the greatest killing disease, caused nearly 555,000 deaths per year. Generally the people contracted the 'tubercle bacillus' from the cows, which are 'the family friends' here. And the joint-family system, which is the vogue in India, gives a further impetus to a rapid spreading of the disease. The great awakening that is found among the intelligent public in respect of Tuberculosis is solely due to the keen interest taken by Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow. In every district attempts are now being made to establish T. B. institutions.

Among the institutions essential to fight Tuberculosis the chest-clinic is the most important. The function of this clinic is the detection of cases and the sending out of such cases to other institutions for proper treatment. Places like South Canara where Tuberculosis is a very common affliction, are in urgent need of well-equipped chest-clinics and sanatoria. Prevention of infection from patients is of paramount importance, and this ought to be done by extensive propaganda; in truth the amount of propaganda that is being done today has borne fruit in an almost miraculous way, as shown by the erection of more and more institutions to fight against this scourge of the nation. Other preventive measures are proper housing conditions, cleanliness in environment and food, attention to general fitness, regulated town-planning and the avoidance of slum conditions in towns and cities.

Anti-mosquito work is yet another important step towards the betterment of public health. Immediate attention must be paid to the collection and disposal of sewage, utilization of refuse matter, and the prevention of mosquito breeding.

#### ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

The Third Annual Conference of the Dadar-Matunga Sub-Constituency (A. I. W. C.) was held on the 11th and 12th October when Prof. Miss Sulabhabai Panandikar, M. A., M. Litt., presided.

In her presidential address, Prof. Panandikar reviewed at some length the position of women in the national life of European countries and notably that of Russia. "Women," she said, "should agitate for civic amenities and for all facilities for children's education. They should also further explore fresh fields of activities. Anything that would contribute to the national progress had a prior claim on their attention. They should endeavour to strike a balance between their interests at home and their activities outside."

Mr. B. G. Kher addressed the conference in Hindi. He was specially requested to do so as this branch is conducting classes for the teaching of Hindi. He urged the audience to work for the women's uplift movement. He asked them to follow earnestly the programme of constructive work as laid down by Mahatma Gandhi before the Indian public. "Indeed," he added, "women could contribute more substantially to this programme than men. The learning and propagation of Hindi, spinning, the removal of illiteracy and untouchability and an earnest attempt at Hindu-Moslem unity, should be at once the inspiration and goal of every movement of emancipation and uplift in India. Nor should the women ignore the bringing up and education of their children along right lines, because the future of the country depended upon the younger generation." He deplored the abandoning of prohibition as in his opinion, the experiment of prohibition had succeeded beyond expectations and had brought great relief to many families. He also advocated the use of Khadder as a measure which brought real economic relief to millions of villagers and he for one was convinced of its soundness on an economic basis apart from any ideological motives.

The Conference in its two days' session passed the following resolutions:—

(1) That in the opinion of this Conference it is undesirable for young children under sixteen to see all the Cinema films which are at present produced and exhibited. This Conference therefore requests the Government to prohibit unsuitable films from being shown to such children and further to direct the Board of Censors to give special recommendations to those films which are suitable for youngsters.

(2) That the progress of the individual and society is interdependent and that women by their inherent qualities are more suitable for undertaking social welfare work. This Conference therefore recommends that Women's associations should organise regular courses in social work wherein training in social services in all its aspects would be imparted.

(3) That it is highly necessary for every mother to understand the psychology of the child. Women's associations should therefore institute classes for imparting experimental education in this very vital subject.

(4) That propaganda for the spread of Hindi as a national language should be undertaken as knowledge of Hindi is very essential from the point of view of inter-provincial communication and unity. That further, women should not rest content with merely attending Hindi classes and reading Hindi books but should encourage speaking in Hindi at Conferences, meetings, debates, social gatherings, etc.

(5) That in some of the present-day writings and picture films, there is an implication suggesting that the modern Indian woman has become more weak-minded on account of her education. This Conference strongly condemns such literature as in its opinion it is a mal-propaganda against women's education and may hinder the progress of women's education.

It has been decided that the managing committee should take steps to give practical effect to the above resolutions.

Mrs. S. Chaubal was elected a delegate to the forthcoming A. I. W. Conference to be held at Bangalore in December.

MRS. INDUMATI JOSHI,  
MRS. KAMALA GUPTA,  
*Jl. Hon. Secretaries.*

## TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY IN U. S. A.

### 2. PURPOSE AND JURISDICTION OF THE JUVENILE COURT.

(By J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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It was expected by the sponsors of the juvenile court that the children in the eyes of the community should be regarded as wards, not criminals. The setting up of such a court symbolises an effort on the part of Society to protect and treat the neglected children with the same consideration that the family did in earlier times. From the preamble of the juvenile court acts of almost every State in U. S. A., it is clear that, as the welfare of the State requires that children should be guarded from association and contact with crime and criminals, and as those who, from want of proper parental care or guardianship, may become liable to penalties which ought not to be imposed upon them, it is important that the powers of the Court in respect of the care and treatment and control of dependent, neglected, delinquent and incorrigible children should be clearly distinguished from those exercised by it in the administration of the criminal law; it is not for the punishment of the offenders, but for the salvation of the children, and points out the way by which the State undertakes to save, not particular children of a special class, but all children under a certain age, whose salvation may become the duty of the State in the absence of proper parental care or disregard of it by wayward children. No child under the age of 16 years is excluded from its beneficent provisions. Its protecting arm is for all who have not attained that age and who may need its protection.<sup>13</sup> Thus it is an assertion on the part of the state of its right to exercise its powers as *parens patriae* for the welfare of such of its minor citizens as are deprived of proper parental control and are disposed to go astray. The purpose of the court in dealing with the child is to ascertain not only what the facts are in respect to the specific act or incident which brought the child into the court, but also to find out the causes which are responsible for such conduct of the child whether these causes be physical, mental or emotional handicaps, deficiencies, or difficulties, or whether they be environmental influence such as parents, home, school, associates, neighbourhood conditions or other causes; having ascertained these causes to work out a solution for the correction of those causes. The policy underlying the law is thus protection and not punishment. The purpose of the law is not to restrain criminals for protecting the society but it is definitely to prevent the making of criminals.

This can be clearly understood by the following view expressed by Schoen, Edward, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Essex County, Jersey:—

"My idea of the field of the Juvenile Court is that it is a social agency set up by the State for the adjustment of such social ills in the community as are disclosed by an act or by repeated acts of minors whose conduct gives us the objective symptoms of the unwholesome social conditions. The field is the maladjusted child, whom the State is in duty bound to look after. It is the business of this tribunal to follow up the case by ascertaining all the facts and circumstances in the life of the child to determine in what particulars that child has been deprived of the essentials for a full moral and physical development. And if, as common experience, it is found that certain

13. Juvenile Delinquency Manual and Handbook by Walter A. Lunden, Pub. University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 1936 pp. 152-153.

essentials are lacking in the environment in which the child is being reared, the State *in loco parentis* acting through its instrumentality, the Juvenile Court, must provide the essentials; there is otherwise no justification for the substitution of State-control for parental control. The State then is as delinquent as was the offending parent. The State is the *parens patriae* and natural guardian of all those children."<sup>14</sup> In the words of Judge Mack the court is fundamentally interested in the child, "what is he, how has he become what he is, and what would best be done in his interest and in the interest of the State to save him from a downward career."<sup>15</sup>

Thus we may define "that a juvenile court is a court having special jurisdiction of a parental nature over delinquent and neglected children. It is not, as it is often thought of in its popular conception, a sort of simple tribunal dealing with minor and petty offences committed by the youth of the community. It is rather a court of chancery and parental power to protect the erring and unfortunate child. The term 'juvenile court' is a general descriptive term for convenience and for lack of anything more explicit, designating a court exercising chancery, or at least quasi-chancery, jurisdiction over delinquent, neglected and, in some instances, dependent children, holding separate hearings for children's cases and having the power to put children on probation."<sup>14</sup>

In order to have a clear understanding we may define and explain the term delinquent, dependent and neglected as below.

The child offender with whom the juvenile court deals is in law known as the delinquent child. A complete idea as to who is a delinquent child can be better understood by the picturesque definition given by H. H. Lou from the Court Statutes of a number of American States:

"A delinquent child is commonly defined by Statutes as any child under a certain age who (1) violates a state or local ordinance (offences which, if committed by an adult, are punishable by death or life imprisonment are often excepted); (2) is wayward, incorrigible, or habitually disobedient; (3) associates with thieves, criminals, prostitutes, vagrants or vicious persons; (4) is growing up in idleness or crime; (5) knowingly visits a saloon, pool-room, billiard room, or gambling place; (6) knowingly visits a house of ill-fame; (7) wanders about streets at nights; (8) wanders about railroad yards, jumps on moving trains, or enters any car or engine without authority; (9) habitually uses or writes vile, indecent or obscene language; (10) absents himself from home without just cause or without the consent of parents or guardian; (11) is immoral or indecent; or (12) is a habitual truant.

"The inclusiveness of the definition of delinquency differs in different States mainly for the reason that some States classify a condition as delinquency which other States consider as dependency or neglect. The definition of delinquency given above is comprehensive enough to include all children who deport themselves in such a way as to injure or endanger the morals or health of themselves or others."<sup>16</sup>

The child turns to be delinquent on account of the following factors:—environment such as poverty, defective family relationship as clash

14. Proceedings of the Conference of Juvenile Court Standards Milwaukee, Wis. 1921. U. S. Department of Labour, Children's Bureau 1922, p. 35-36.

15. Mack Jullian W., Legal Problems involved in the Establishment of the Juvenile Court Charities. Pub. Com. N. Y. 1912. p. 193.

16. Juvenile Courts in the United States pp. 53-54 quoted in The Delinquent Child by Dr. Clifford Manshardt, 1933 Pub. D. B. Taraporewala & Sons, Bombay. p. 15-16.

between father and mother, defective discipline, broken or vicious home due to death or divorce of parent or exploitation, etc., outside influences such as of companions, school conditions and work conditions, personal, which may be psychological and physical.

A dependent child means a needy child under the age of sixteen who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent, and whose relatives liable under the law for his support are not able to provide adequate care and support of such child without public assistance and who is living with his father, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, step-father, step-mother, step-brother, step-sister, uncle or aunt, in a place of residence maintained by one or more of such relatives as his or their own home.

A neglected child is one who is "abandoned by his parent, guardian, custodian or legal representative, a child who lacks proper parental care by reason of the fault or habits of his parent, guardian, custodian, or legal representative who neglects or refuses to provide proper or necessary subsistence, education, medical or surgical care, or other care necessary for his or her mental condition; a child who is found in a disreputable place or associates with vagrants, vicious or immoral persons; or a child who engages in an occupation, or in a situation dangerous to life or limb or injurious to the health or morals of himself or others."<sup>17</sup>

The adults contributing to the delinquency, dependency or neglect of the child are also punishable but they are tried under the common law and the usual court procedure in the criminal cases is followed.

Further extensions have been made in the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts and it has been extended to desertion and non-support cases, mother's pension, adoption, bastardy cases, cases arising under the compulsory school attendance laws and the child labour laws, divorce, separate maintenance, annulment of marriage, etc. The indication is that the jurisdiction of the juvenile court will still broaden in the direction of making it the adjudicator of all cases where the welfare of children is involved—abandonment, desertion, divorce, adoption, paternity, mother pensions, etc.

17. The Municipal Court of Philadelphia by Frank S. Drown, pub. 1937. Statistical Department, Philadelphia. p. 3.

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THE

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**War Satyagraha:**—On Wednesday the 16th October, the British Broadcasting Corporation in its evening broadcast announced that Mr. Vinoba Bhave who had that day made his first speech in pursuance of Gandhiji's programme at a village near Wardha, had been arrested. The morning papers next day contained a different report. Mr. Bhave was not only not arrested but he was to deliver other addresses at other villages. As the B. B. C. may be presumed to be in consultation with the India Office in respect of important events in India, it was not an illegitimate inference that the India Office expected that Mr. Bhave would be arrested for carrying out the satyagraha programme which the Viceroy had declined to overlook in his correspondence with Gandhiji as the latter had requested. That Mr. Bhave was not arrested showed that the Government of India had not concurred with the India Office's expectation. Mr. Bhave was allowed to make two or three more speeches on subsequent days at different villages and was arrested on Monday when he was to make his fourth speech and was tried and sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment. So far as the speeches of the satyagrahi were reported, there was little in them which but for the correspondence between Gandhiji and the Viceroy would have called for notice. His arguments were mostly general propositions about war such as, that with modern weapons war would mean the extermination of the human race and that war was an inhuman and irrational method of settling international differences. Even as regards the ethics of the present war, Mr. Bhave's opinion was not more likely to impress the public than certain statements in the Bombay War Publicity Committee's manifesto which we noticed last week. In fact, many persons were wondering what purpose Gandhiji intended to be served by propaganda like this except perhaps to show that the Congress was keeping its end up. Not only were Mr. Bhave's speeches exceptionally

mild but in every speech he expressed his determination to make the next still milder. War efforts would not have suffered in the least if Mr. Bhave had been left alone. His imprisonment was the occasion for the closing of the Stock Exchange and the adjournment of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The Madras and Karachi Corporations followed the Bombay example.

**The Two China's:**—In February a Chinese Goodwill Mission consisting of Buddhist monks headed by the Rev. Tai Hsu Sayadaw, "Archbishop of the National Government of China," visited this country. A reception was given to them by the Buddha Society in Bombay. In reply to the address presented to him by the Society, the Archbishop, a very dignified and cultured representative of Chinese Buddhism, dwelt on the ancient connection between India and China, deplored the outbreak of war in Europe, alluded to the Buddhist doctrine of peace to all beings, and suggested the sending of missions to Europe to convey the message of the Buddha. His Holiness presented to the Mahabodhi Society in Calcutta a silver pagoda from Marshal Chiang Kai-shek as a token of China's goodwill. Another Goodwill Mission from China has just arrived in this country. The leader is Mr. T. Z. Koo. Mr. Koo's mission is arranged by the Young Men's Christian Association. Mr. Koo arrived in Calcutta last week and on the very first occasion he had to speak, criticised the non-violence of the Congress as a mistake. Pointing to the example of his own country, Mr. Koo said that, because they failed to resist Japan, they lost Manchuria and they would have also lost China but for the resistance that they are now putting up. As India is not called upon to fight for her independence, the inference to be drawn from this analogy is not clear. However that may be, the sharp contrast between the message of the Buddhist Mission and that of the Koo Mission which, according to the *Student Outlook* of Lahore, organ of the Student Christian Movement in this country, is a Youth and Religion Mission, the one proclaiming the Buddha's message of peace and ahimsa and the other opposing it as futile, is illustrative of the existence of two Chinas. Buddhist China is the largest as it comprises the mass of the Chinese; the militant Christian group to which General and Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek,

Mr. Koo and others now constituting the Chinese National Government belong, is a small one. Mr. Koo is very confident that the use of force by China would ensure her victory, but he has to admit that China is dependent on foreign countries, especially the United States, for the essentials of war, namely armaments and oil, without which the enormous man-power of the country will be helpless. As India does not desire or expect similar help from the same or another source, non-violence is the policy dictated to her both by principle and expediency.

**Religious Persecution:**—In his letter on persecution which we publish this week, the Rev. R. C. Das of Benares places the question of "religious persecution" in its proper perspective. Particularly noteworthy is his reference to the "freely aggressive nature of the missionary impact." When one reads further down in his letter of the "wonderful spirit of toleration and patience that Hinduism inculcates," the question naturally rises whether there is not something wrong with a method of propagating one's faith which has to be aggressive even in confronting a wonderfully tolerant and patient people. It is not in any way strange, either, if one's mind inevitably contrasts the treatment meted out by Christian countries to those who preach another way of life the moment that preaching constitutes a challenge to the Church. The instance of Communism is very much in point here. The *Indian Witness* has entirely shifted its ground in commenting on Mr. Das's letter and its remarks are valuable in view of the predominant place it occupies among Christian religious journals. In effect it agrees that much of what it calls religious persecution is not religious persecution but then it goes on to say that it amounts to religious persecution. To clarify the situation further it adds that men who have not changed their religion are also subject to this "religious persecution" because of their interest in education or economic uplift. Nevertheless it thinks it irrelevant that we should mention this aspect of the case. If any sense can be made out of the *Witness*' remarks on persecution, they can mean only this: that it claims special immunity for those whom it converts to Christianity. In its claims the *Witness* is living in the days of the gunboat propagation of its faith, when it was sufficient for the foreign missionary to allege persecution of himself or his proteges to bring down the might of the preacher's home country on the people and the government of the land. China which is today the darling of Western nations, suffered long from this nuisance. According to Chinese non-Christian writers, the Western missionary was looked upon by both officials and common people with dismay. The only parallel today seems to us to be the attitude of the small nations of Balkan Europe towards the emissaries of Herr Hitler, and to the Germans residing in their midst. The part of the world to which we all belong, Christian preacher as well as the preached to, claims to have repudiated

those methods. We are today at war with the nations which still pursue the discarded tactics of a barbarous period. The quotation about the seed of the Church and the blood of the martyrs, is singularly inappropriate in the pages of the *Witness*, the official organ of the Methodist Mission, and it is with some surprise that we learn that this exponent of comfortable religion, always careful of not offending the powers that be, considers itself in the line of the martyrs. For while the Church has good reason to congratulate itself on the capital it has made out of martyrdom, the martyrs themselves have little reason for rejoicing in the knowledge that their sufferings have been the foundations of Christian imperialism, not to say Christian Nazism. The *Witness* ought to know only too well at whose hands those who practice a too faithful devotion to Christ's teachings suffer in this country. Is it seeking a scapegoat to divert attention from the guilty quarter?

**The War:**—The situation in regard to the War during the week has been more conspicuous for diplomatic than for military developments. The duel between Germany and Britain is still very much of a conflict between London and Berlin. The onset of winter has apparently not made much difference. Science, no doubt, has discovered the means of making war in wintry weather. The adhesion of Yugoslavia to the Axis side and the struggle of Spain to maintain her neutrality while professing friendship for Nazis and Fascists have been the most intriguing feature in European diplomacy. In Africa the chief event has been the destruction of an Italian warship in the Red Sea. No explanation has been given as to how it managed to get there evading the close guard which the British Navy has been maintaining over the Suez Canal. In the Far East, Japan and the United States, with Great Britain round the corner, have been exploring each other's strength on the Pacific.

**The Burma Road:**—The Burma-China Road was opened to traffic on the 17th October after its closure under the Anglo-Japanese agreement for three months. The Associated Press message regarding Burmese opinion on the event was to the effect that nationalist Burma was unanimously in favour of the opening. The United Press message, however, was to the contrary effect. "The decision of the British Government," it said, "has aroused considerable interest in political circles here. Burmese opinion on the whole seems to be against the decision of the British Government, while Indian, Anglo-Indian and European opinions are in favour of this decision." The speaker of the House of Representatives in a Press interview suggested that the Governor should call a meeting of the House to ascertain its opinion. Two ex-Ministers supported him. A member of the Senate while defending the re-opening of the road, also recommended consultation with the Legislature. Mr. S. A. B. Tyabji representing the Indian point of view said that there was nothing else to do but to re-open the road, support

China to the utmost, expand trade right into the heart of the Far East and right to the north where the Chinese and Russian borders meet. The *New Burma* explaining the reasons for which the Burmese object to the opening of the Road, points out again that a road operates in two directions and that at the moment the great problem is to check the influx of Chinese refugees. A road is a civilising agency and, as such, opposition to the opening of one altogether is unlikely to find sympathy from disinterested people. But Burma is entitled to insist that the road should not be used in a way which would involve her in disputes with neighbouring nations with whom she desires to live in peace.

**Sources of History :—**We publish this week an informative article by Mr. Balasubrahmanyam on the importance of Hindu temples as a record of historical events. He mentions the inscriptions on temple walls commemorating the important events of a reign and he remarks that South Indian temples have more complete records of this kind than the temples of the North. Northern India suffered heavily from the ravages of invaders and one does not know how much historical data was destroyed. These inscriptions are more important than any other form of noting down events as it is hardly likely that there could be any falsification of a document which could easily be mutilated or defaced by people who knew the facts. Mr. Balasubrahmanyam complains that for want of adequate appreciation of this, no attempt is made to preserve these memorials of earlier ages. This is unfortunately the case all over the country. In Sopara, an ancient Buddhist centre some twenty-five miles out of Bombay, a fragment of an Asoka edict was recovered from the side of a tank. It is difficult to say whether more damage is suffered by a sacred shrine which is of interest only to the casual picnicker or by a shrine still used for worship. The first of these is disfigured by the scrawls of modern pleasure-seekers; the second is often in a filthy state, as in the case of the Jogeshwari Caves, where though a number of sanyasis are always on the spot nobody seems to care about keeping off the bats or about maintaining the place clean. The work of the Hyderabad State at Ellora and Ajanta is a model for archaeological departments in other parts of India.

**Inter-communal Relations in the Punjab:—**The recently announced marriage of a nephew of the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, with a Sikh lady, goes to show that more ardent spirits among the younger generation are turning away in disgust from communal rivalry and seeking escape by repudiating their religious beliefs. Mr. Mahmud Ali Khan and Miss Satnam Charan Singh were married under what is reported as "the Civil Marriages Act." This can only be the Special Marriage Act of 1872, the pre-Gour Act which relates to marriages in which one party is neither Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh or Jain and neither is a Christian. Under

this Act both must have declared that they did not profess their ancestral faiths.

**Storm Damage :—**The loss in lives and in property due to last week's storm on the Bombay Coast has much exceeded the first estimates. Not less than 400 lives have been lost in Bombay City alone. The loss of property is now placed at Rs. 50 lakhs. In Bassein, the old Portuguese capital of Salsette and nowadays the centre of a flourishing and extensive plantain and betel-leaf trade, the storm has had a devastating effect. The plantations have all been laid low and the loss is estimated at Rs. 40 lakhs. The storm raged over the whole Konkan coast and the losses all together can not be less than three crores. This is a grievous setback to the province at a time when business is dislocated by war conditions. It will take at least three or four years for Bombay to recover completely from the consequences of the calamity.

**Village Industries in India:—**We have before us the annual report of the All India Village Industries Association for 1939. The Village Industries Association begins rather woefully with a complaint against the apathy of educated people in India. As a matter of fact there seems to be rather greater interest now than at any other time. Partly this is due to the work of the Village Industries Association in the five short years of its existence. Partly it is also accounted for by the better villages presented to educated men and women by the industrial policies of some of the leading Indian States. There are two difficulties: The first of these is the fact that marketing of village products is hopelessly disorganised and very often with the best of intentions one is unable to obtain articles which are needed from the supply centres. Secondly, it is not a day's work for persons who are used to urban products to acquire a taste for village articles, and, in cases where the article is foodstuff, adjustment is a long process. In matters of food people's habits take long to change. In perusing the Village Industries Report, one must bear in mind that these new industries have had to compete in the open market with dumped goods from other countries as well as machine-produced stuff in India. It had some support from provincial governments when the Congress was in office, but nevertheless it has been uphill work and the Association subsists largely on donations from its supporters. The Report carries at the end a list of shops stocking village products. It is useful to know that Bombay City with seven centres dealing in every variety of village product is well represented on the list. The promoters of the village movement should set about to manage the distribution end. As regards the financing of village schemes, there is a great deal in the Chinese Co-operatives Movement which has its lesson for us.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 26, 1940.

## MARRIAGE LAW AND CUSTOMS.

The *Baptist Missionary Review* for October devotes much space to comment on the draft Bill which it is proposed should take the place of the present antiquated Indian Christian Marriage Act. The part of it which to our mind needs to be cut out is that which provides for the marriage of non-Christians with Christians. This part has given rise to much confusion and hardship and we should have expected that Indian Christians and Christian Missionaries would be the first to press for its omission. We are surprised that this is not the case. On the contrary, there seems to be a distinct feeling that this part of the present Act is rather a good thing in the interests of the Indian Christian community. Mr. Thomas writing in the *Indian Christian Messenger* throws some light on this attitude. "The law," he says, "removes the hardship of a person who does not want to renounce Christianity when marrying a non-Christian." Mr. Thomas suggests that many Indian Christian girls in ignorance of this provision of the law have renounced Christianity in order to marry non-Christian husbands. He tells prospective candidates for non-Christian alliances that they need not change their faith for the law is kind enough to allow them to marry non-Christians remaining in it. But what if the non-Christian whom the Christian girl wants to marry, insists on her changing her faith? The Act does not provide any penalty for a man insisting that his bride should profess the same faith as himself. There is also the fact that in most cases the girls themselves had lost faith in Christianity before they thought of marrying non-Christians. When the Act was passed seventy years ago, proselytism was unknown to Hinduism and it would not have been possible outside the Act for a Hindu, with a wife of his own faith living, to contract a second marriage with a Christian girl. The promoters of the Act evidently thought that there should be facility for this sort of alliance. Now, however, Hinduism proselytes as freely as Christianity and, except in the case of a highly conscientious man who recoils from asking his would-be wife to change her faith, the Christian girl would have become a willing convert to Hinduism before the marriage was settled. The promoters of the Bill seem to think that if all marriages under it are declared to be monogamous, it would have added attractions as an act enabling inter-marriages. But there are other Acts for this specific purpose. Making the Bill monogamous will mean that in every case where a Christian girl contemplates marriage with a non-Christian who has a wife living, she will renounce her faith before the marriage. The framers of the Christian law may well co-operate with other communities in working for a civil marriage act,

restricting the Christian Marriage Act to marriages within the community.

The part of the draft Bill on which the strongest attack is made in the *Baptist Missionary Review* is the inclusion of a schedule of Prohibited Degrees. The Rev. F. W. Harding, a missionary working in the Garo Hills, Assam, points out that there is no agreement as to prohibited degrees in marriage among the different sects of Christians in Great Britain and the United States. The schedule of such decrees of the Church of England which it is proposed to incorporate in the new law, does not find acceptance among all Protestant sects and will work great hardship among Indian Christians. A specific instance of such hardship is given in an editorial supporting Mr. Harding's protest:—

A pastor of many years' experience and high standing was invited to solemnize an uncle-niece marriage. He had never done the like and had serious doubts about the proper attitude to take. A few of the elders of the church, rather exceptionally intelligent men, and the local missionary were asked to consider the matter and advise him. It came out in the inquiry that the girl was of full marriageable age and her uncle not greatly her senior. There was no objection on the ground of difference in age. The relatives on both sides were set upon the marriage as in every way suited to their family convenience, and in point of fact fully intended that the union should be consummated. Both bride and groom were Christians, the groom's family being newly converted people in a church of new converts. If a Christian marriage was refused them, they would carry out some form of contract not acceptable to Christians and constituting practical reversion to Hinduism. The two churches involved would be confronted with the necessity of disciplinary action or the tolerance of an irregularity. In either case the morale of the new Church especially would be damaged. One thing was clear, the churches would have, whether or no, a consummated uncle-niece marriage on their hands. Under the circumstances it was decided that the pastor had better go ahead and marry the couple while carefully explaining to the community that the arrangement was not of a preferred sort.

Marriage of a girl to her mother's brother is very common in the Telugu country. Efforts are being made to wean converts to Christianity from this custom but as new converts are being constantly made it is not possible to enforce the ban except at the cost of losing the converts who prefer their old custom to their new religion. The incident narrated by the *Baptist Missionary Review* throws an interesting sidelight on the methods of conversion. The Pastor had to pocket his conscience and to solemnise the marriage in view of the dilemma so candidly described by the *Review*. If the schedule of prohibited degrees were included in the new law, Andhra Missions will have to forego many converts. The tribal customs of the Garo hills present even more formidable difficulties than those of the Andhras who have stable institutions and a settled status. Mr. Harding contends that they have got on for decades without a schedule of prohibited degrees in the Christian marriage law and that they can very well do without one now. Alternatively he demands that, as in the case of the Roman Catholics, exemption from the schedule

should be allowed to Protestant sects other than the Church of England. The same problem confronted the Hindu law-givers when they had to deal with the varied cultures and civilisations which had been brought within the pale of Hinduism. The way in which they solved it, is a masterpiece of juridical courage and ingenuity. They let the written law remain where it, was but laid down that custom overrode the written law. Every caste and tribe was thus secured the practice of its ancient customs while owing a general allegiance to Hindu society. The establishment of British courts had at first the effect of extending the Shastraic law to many tribes who were entirely outside its jurisdiction, evoking the just comment of Sir Henry Maine that the main influence of British rule has been to extend the application of Brahmanic law and the influence of Brahmanical ideas. The other day the Bombay High Court disposed of a case involving the law of adoption applicable to Kolis on the basis of texts of Shastras. The old Rishis, if they had to deal with the case, would have agreed with the learned Chief Justice and upheld the adoption as the best way of saving the child from the stigma of illegitimacy. There is no principle more conspicuous in Hindu jurisprudence than that children should not be made to suffer for the folly, indiscretion or vice of their parents.

#### TOWARDS A HEALTHY INDIA.

(BY MISS LALITHA L. MOSES, BARODA.)

In *The Reformer* last week, I concluded my article "For a Healthier India" with a reference to the ravages of malaria. To break the terrible grip of malaria on India's millions, the importance of cheap quinine as a remedy must be emphasized. India produces only 70,000 lbs. of quinine, but consumes 210,000 lbs. and, therefore, imports 140,000 lbs. mainly from Java. India's real need of quinine, however, has been estimated at 600,000 lbs. Hence it is very necessary to extend Cinchona cultivation in India. There is every evidence to show that India contains enough first-class land for an early resumption of Cinchona growing. In Cinchona-growing, elevation, aspect and soil are of primary importance. Most important is the finding that Cinchona is a delicate crop requiring good plantation management comparable with orchard cultivation. If Cinchona is to succeed, there must be properly organized nurseries putting out healthy seedlings which will grow into healthy trees.

In an Imperial Council of Agriculture Research bulletin, details are given of a seven-year planting scheme which would bring Indian production upto the present level of consumption. While no great reduction in the cost of quinine is foreshadowed, the figures show that in suitable areas quinine can be produced in India at world market prices. Among the stock of Cinchona plants at present existing in the country, there are undoubtedly strains of superior plantation performance containing a much higher percentage of quinine than the commercial mixed crop. By suitable methods these could be isolated and multiplied. Further experimental work is also required on the improvement of cultivation methods and in the reduction of the cost of extraction and distribution of quinine. There are one hundred million sufferers from malaria in India

calling for an annual supply of some 600,000 lbs. of quinine. Immediately, 33,000 acres of first class Cinchona land are available, and this is distributed in Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Bhutan, Sikkim, Madras, Travancore, Cochin, Mysore and Coorg. Much of the hill-land which is not yet fully explored shows promise.

Leprosy is yet one more disease that takes a distressing toll of India's rural populace. Leprosy is found chiefly in insanitary villages. The problem of leprosy relief has been approached from two angles, the 'humanitarian' and the 'sanitarian'; each of these is complementary to the other. The humanitarian effort has always been first in the field, and has been carried on almost exclusively by religious bodies, chief among whom may be mentioned the Mission to Lepers. In India the villagers were in the beginning superstitious about the disease, which they regarded as the dreadful manifestation of divine displeasure. Now the situation is entirely altered; the rural folks come gladly to the clinics with their complaint. At Madras, the two clinics run by the Council, at Perambur and Triplicane continue to be popular, and 2474 patients were treated as against 2124 in the previous year. Not only does the well-run leper settlement care for lepers and provide treatment but it acts as a model of sanitation and industry in the district, and from it, as a centre, the villages are visited and surveyed and the people instructed in the precautions necessary to prevent the spread of infection.

More of these 'humanitarian' institutions is necessary in other parts of India. In Gujerat, for instance, among the untouchables of the province this malignant disease is rampant; and without proper treatment and medicine they carry the disease from generation to generation. In South India too, there are still places where leprosy work has not yet been undertaken.

#### VACCINATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In your valued columns last week an article is published under the caption of "For a Healthier India" in which the writer thereof, Miss L. I. Moses, says that in regard to tuberculosis we should adopt England's method, but I suggest it in regard to smallpox also. The English people have rejected vaccination and abolished smallpox by cleanliness and sanitation. The English people say that vaccination is a bad thing seeing it has caused numberless cases of injury and entirely failed to protect the public during the great epidemic of smallpox in England in 1880 when 42,000 deaths from smallpox occurred in two years and during recent years vaccination has caused more than twice as many deaths as the disease it is supposed to prevent. "In England and Wales in the 33 years ending December 1937, only 118 children (under 5) died of small pox but 291 died of vaccination." (Report of Ministry of Health 13th July, 1938). In Mesopotamia in 1915-16 there were 287 cases of smallpox in British soldiers who had been successfully revaccinated within three years of their attack and of them 29 died. Over seventy percent of the people of England refuse to have their children vaccinated because of the risk and danger which that horrid process subjects them to and amongst them are thousands of doctors. This being so, we in India should, like England, abolish compulsory vaccination and stamp out smallpox by sanitary measures.

Bombay. }  
October 22, 1940. }

Yours etc.,  
ZOROASTRIAN.

## HISTORY FROM TEMPLE RECORDS.

(BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

The temple in the past played many parts and had many attractions to the people. Though it was chiefly a place of public worship, it was also a centre of varied social activity—a beehive of communal enterprise. It was a centre of learning. Colleges and schools were conducted, and Vedas, Puranas and religious hymns were expounded therein. Libraries called *Sarasvati Bandharam*—were located in it. Hospitals were in some cases attached to it. Music—vocal and instrumental—was practised therein. The people displayed their artistic skill in temple architecture. While most of the secular buildings of the past have perished, religious monuments have miraculously survived. Sculpture and painting were mostly confined to religious subjects and the temple was thus truly a museum of ancient art. The temple managed public trusts by controlling gifts of land and money endowments made to it. It lent its surplus funds to people in times of distress and in return arranged for religious services to the deities. Above all, it was a public record office. This is how it is historically of incalculable value. The royal orders, the grants and decisions of public bodies like the village assembly (Ur or Sabha), the merchant-guilds (Nagarams), Provincial assemblies (the Nadu), and the gifts of private individuals were all recorded and engraved on temple walls. The original documents were generally on cadjan leaves or copper plates and these leaves or copper plates for the sake of safe custody were deposited in the temple treasury—the *Bandharam*. While most of these original documents have perished in the various revolutions that have taken place, the temple walls have wonderfully preserved what were merely the copies of the originals; and great is the value of these records to the historian.

## PRASASTIS AND THEIR VALUE.

It has been said that India has no recorded history. This is only true in a very limited sense—namely, that there are very few professedly historical works, like the *Rajatarangani* or the *Harsha Charita*. But almost all ancient Hindu kings had maintained elaborate records of every important public transaction. Yuan Chiang the Chinese pilgrim has recorded (7th century A. D.) how in Harsha's kingdom official records of all events were kept up in each province by special officers. This is no isolated phenomenon. Indian inscriptions—chiefly South Indian—reveal the existence of an active and able body of bureaucracy, which had been carrying on in an efficient manner the work of maintenance and preservation of all public transactions of the land, like charitable grants, revenue collections, remission of land revenue, land survey, dealings between central and local bodies, etc.

But in one respect South Indian inscriptions are unique. While only a few *prasastis* (records of praiseworthy deeds of kings) are available about the kings of Northern India like the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, every inscription of South India from about the 10th century onwards is a chapter of South Indian history. Every public transaction is recorded on the walls of the temple in whose neighbourhood the endowed property was situated or where the assembly met for making the grant or carrying out the transaction.

Sometimes when a gift in one village is made to the temple in another village, or when the transaction relates to more than one temple or village, it is recorded in more than one place. In very many cases full astronomical details of the day of the transaction are furnished which enable us to find

out their exact equivalents in the modern Christian era with the help of the Ephemeris. Every transaction is recorded to have taken place in a particular regnal year of a king. Before his name we have a long historical introduction generally in verse, which recounts all the important achievements of the reign. The *Prasasti* (in Tamil it is called *Moykkirthi*) grows in length along with the passage of time and progress of events in his reign. The *prasasti* of one is different from that of another. The introductory part of this historical introduction varies from king to king. The *prasasti* of Rajaraja I begins with the formula "Tirumagal pola" and that of his son Rajendra I, "Tirumanni Valara," so that by a perusal of the beginning of the historical introduction, we can declare at once the name of the king to whom it belongs. It is this part of the inscription that is of the utmost value to the historian.

Thus it will be clear that every temple was a public record office and every epigraph a page of history of the land and it is amazing how much of recorded history there is in our South Indian temples.

## SCIENTIFIC RENOVATION.

The old stone structural temples of the Pallavas and Early Cholas—Hindu, Jain or Buddhist—were massive structures strongly built and they could stand many centuries. There was ample and systematic provision in the past for their careful preservation and maintenance in good repair. If, on account of neglect or old age, any monument needed repair, it could be reconstructed with the old materials without the addition of a single stone. The Dutch archaeologists of Java employed this method of scientific renovation in the case of the renowned Buddhist monument of Borobudur and the Hindu-Javanese monuments of the Dutch East Indies. The example of the Dutch was followed by French archaeologists of Indo-China and in 1930 M. Marchel was deputed to Java in order to acquaint himself with the methods followed by the Dutch Archaeological survey. Here is a description of the method adopted by M. Marchel who tried his newly learnt art in the case of the temple of Banteay Srei:

It was in a ruined condition—but practically all the stones were in existence around the foot of the building....Among the three towers forming the central group, the one to the south was the first to be attacked. Marchel began by making an accurate survey comprising drawings and photographs. Then he reconstructed on the ground the upper stories which had collapsed long ago. This part of the work having been accomplished, he proceeded to demolish the portions of the structure still standing, carefully assorting and numbering each separate stone. Then, after having strengthened the foundations by means of a layer of concrete, he rebuilt the successive storeys of the tower one after the other.

Such is the care and reverence for the monuments of the past and the method of scientific renovation followed by enlightened people who value historic relics. It is with pleasure that I record here that this wise method of renovation has been followed by my friend, Mr. K. V. Raju, former curator of the Pudukotah Museum—by himself and without any inspiration from the practice of Dutch and French archaeologists—in repairing the valuable temples of the Pudukotah State. The Subrahmanya temple at Kannanur, the Vijayalaya Choleswaram at Narttamalai, and the Muvar Koil shrines at Kodumbalur have been thus scientifically treated. But look at the ruthless and wanton destruction going on in our midst in British India.

## TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY IN U. S. A.

### 3. PROCEDURE.

(BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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Proceedings in the juvenile court against the young offenders are instituted in several ways. "(1) Any resident may petition the juvenile court that a child is in need of care, guidance and control. (2) A police officer may bring an offender to a local magistrate, alderman, or justice of the peace, who, in turn commits the child to the juvenile court for attention. (3) Parents or relations may request the court that the child be taken into custody much in the same manner as a citizen. (4) The schools board acting through the truant officer may assign the case to the juvenile court for hearing."<sup>18</sup> The largest number of cases are generally sent up by the police. In 1932 before 68 courts in U. S. A., 65% were reported by police, 13% by individuals and the rest by parents, Probation Officer and other services.

When a child is taken into custody in a great majority of cases, he is left by the officer in the custody of his parents with surety that he will be brought to the court on the day of hearing of the case. If, for any reason, whether because of the condition of his parents or undesirable condition of the home or for fear of his not being brought to the court on the day of hearing, when the child is brought to the court it is felt necessary to hold him in custody, then from the court he is sent to the detention home but in no case to the jail or police lock-up. The principal object of detention is to secure the appearance of the child before the court. The principle is that the number of children detained and the length of detention is kept at the minimum and practically no children are detained in jails or police lock-up.

The purpose of keeping young offenders in detention homes is well expressed in the United States Children's Bureau Publication Number 141, "Juvenile Courts at Work:" "The primary purpose of detention is safe-keeping pending disposition of the case, and both for the child's sake and for the community which bears the expenses of detention, it should be limited to those children for whom it is absolutely necessary. Such children include run-aways and homeless children, those whose home conditions are so bad that immediate removal is necessary, those beyond the control of their parents; those whose parents cannot be relied upon to produce them in court, those who have committed offences so serious that their release pending the disposition of their cases would endanger the public safety; those who must be held as witnesses."<sup>19</sup> Regarding the programme in the detention home, the committee appointed by the United States Children's Bureau points out: "There should be specialised school work for the children detained and recreational facilities should be provided. The daily programme of activities should be full and varied in order that constructive interest may supplant morbid tendencies and undesirable companionship."<sup>20</sup>

The method of retaining juvenile offenders pending hearing will be all the more clear from the following figures in 68 juvenile courts in U. S. A. in 1939:<sup>21</sup>

Method.	Boys.		Girls.	
	Number	Percent.	Number	Percent.
No detention ... ..	28,269	64	8,766	52
Detention ... ..	15,934	36	8,459	48
Boarding Home ... ..	249	1	108	1
Detention Home ... ..	10,677	24	2,234	31
Other institutions ... ..	3,628	8	980	14
Jail or Police Station ... ..	1,150	3	87	1
Other places ... ..	230	1	48	1
No report ... ..	1,083	...	202	...
Total ... ..	44,203	100	1,225	100

As soon as the boy is taken into custody, the case is entrusted to one of the Probation Officers attached to the juvenile court for enquiry and report to be submitted on the day of hearing of the case. The probation officer makes a study of the child including his physical and mental examination and the study of his home life, school career, religious background and his environment. If he had been employed he may have a talk with the employer. The probation officer also meets the child's parents and such other persons who may prove helpful. Where psychiatric study is necessary it is also obtained. "The object of all this investigation is not to secure evidence against the child, but to seek to understand the various conditioning factors which have entered into his conduct."<sup>22</sup>

The purpose of this preliminary investigation is to give a history of the case to the magistrate. The proceedings are of a civil nature as opposed to the criminal one. In the proceedings of a criminal nature, the offender is charged with an offence, sufficient evidence is adduced by the Prosecution to prove the crime, a charge is framed and the child is asked to plead guilty or not guilty. If he pleads guilty, he is punished. If he pleads, "not guilty," further evidence on behalf of the prosecution is taken and the offender is given an opportunity for the defence and, finally, if he is found guilty he is punished with imprisonment, or fine or both. On the other hand, the procedure of the juvenile court is of a civil nature, it being a court of chancery. The emphasis is laid upon the circumstances which led the offender to commit that particular act abnormally instead of the act itself. The particular offence is thought as one of the many factors which led him to appear in the court. No punishment is awarded but, on the other hand, care and protection is provided to the child in order to free him from that abnormal tendency which persuaded him to act in that way so that he may be turned into a useful member of society. "The purpose of the proceedings here is not punishment, but correction of conditions, care and protection of the child, and prevention of a recurrence through constructive work of the court. Conservation of the child as a valuable asset of the community is the dominant act."<sup>23</sup>

The juvenile court does not need the traditional furnishing of the court-room, they being detrimental to the children brought there. Those who come there are not criminals; customary legal procedure, its rules of evidence, its insistence on categorical answers of "yes" or "no" have no place here. The court-room is a smaller one with no separate railings of the lawyers or the offenders. The child, parents, judge and probation officer are present in the court in the shape of a conference. In some juvenile courts where there are many cases, a referee is associated with the magistrate to assist in the hearing and disposal of the cases. The public is not allowed and even newspaper reporting is prohibited. The object of such a simple atmosphere is that the child's mind may naturally and readily respond to the questions put to him. The court-room is filled with the spirit

18. Juvenile Delinquency Manual and Handbook. p 135.

19. The Juvenile Detention Home in relation to Juvenile Court Policy by Savilla Millis. Pub. University of Chicago p. 61.

20. Juvenile Court Standard. Children's Bureau Publication 141. pp. 3-4.

21. Compiled from U. S. Department of Labour, Children's Bureau, Pub. 220, Juvenile Court Statistics, 1932, Washington D. C. 1935, pp. 35-36.

22. The Delinquent Child by Dr. Clifford Manshardt. p. 119.

23. Juvenile Courts and Probation by Mr. Bernard Flexner and Mr. Roger Baldwin. p. 21.

of welfare for the child and the society. The child is not brought as an accused person with a complaint filed against him but on a petition filed on his behalf. The petition alleges the occurrence of the crime, the age, nature, physical peculiarities, circumstances and family and surrounding, etc., which led him to commit that abnormal act. Summons instead of warrants are used and the police officers, if any, appear in plain clothes. In such a calm atmosphere, an enquiry is made by the court from the young offender and his relatives and associates. The school representative and others having an interest in the child including the family physician, are also heard by the court. They are heard one by one. Since these people do not hear each other they are not likely to be influenced and so state only what they themselves know, and the judge or the referee usually asks most of the questions. Before enquiry from the child and his parents, the judge receives a report of the probation officer on the case in the form of a social history.

The court has a record system which provides for the filing of necessary legal records and of social records covering the investigation of the case and study of the child and a record of the work done by the probation officer with the case on probation. So that in future it may refer to such record, if the child again commits an act which may bring him before the court. This record fills another purpose of help for the social investigator and the statistician.

"The court is thus enabled to render a decision which in the end is designed to serve the best interest and permanent welfare of the child. The trial judge takes into consideration all of the valuable information gathered by the probation officers and the diagnosis of the medical department concerning the physical and mental condition of the child."<sup>24</sup>

Taking all these facts into consideration the court may dismiss the charge, or discharge the offender and place him under the supervision of a probation officer, or commit him to one or any other fit person; send him to an industrial school or reformatory and order the offender or his parents to pay a fine, or commit him to a place of detention specially provided for the purpose. In 1932, 234 juvenile courts in U. S. A. handled 44,640 official cases (68 per cent of the total). In 45 percent of the official and 11 percent of non-official cases, the court retained its supervision through its probation officers or agency, etc. In 44 percent of the official and 87 percent of non-official cases the court passed supervision to other authority such as reformatories, industrial schools or other penal institutions. Dismissal constituted 25 percent of the official cases and 72 percent of the unofficial ones.<sup>25</sup> This shows that of all the methods the most common method of disposing of such cases is to place the child on probation.

No order made by any juvenile court imposes any civil disability upon the child such as is imposed upon those sentenced under the criminal law, nor he is deemed as a criminal or as having been convicted of any crime by reason of any such order. The evidence given by the child in the juvenile court cannot be used against the child in any proceeding in any other courts.

To sum up, "the central idea in the juvenile court procedure has been consideration of the delinquent child, a friendly attitude towards the child for his delinquency. It has refused to consider the delinquent child as different and apart from other children. It has freed itself from the impediments of the doctrines of total depravity, individual responsibility, freedom

of choice, the magic of authority, and the divine rights of parents, teachers and others in positions of authority. It has accepted with their implications the newer sociological and psychological ideas, that where there is delinquency, there is a delinquent situation; that individual responsibility is completely overshadowed by parental and social responsibility in cases of delinquency; and that authority must be respectable, intelligent and sympathetic. It is quite significant that the juvenile courts have not had to change this central idea during these times of new orientation".<sup>26</sup>

#### THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT AND BIGAMY.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I regret that there was a printer's mistake in the second column of the article on this subject which appeared in *The Reformer* of the 5th October. The first of the three suggestions noted therein as made to Bishop Western in 1931 was for the amendment of Section 88 of the Act, not Section 68.

It is Section 88 of the Act XV of 1872 that seems to support the view urged by the late Sir V. Bhashyam Ayyangar as expert witness in *Chetti v. Chetti* that the Hindu law bar to a mixed marriage holds good even if it is duly registered under the Christian Marriage Act. The High Court of England no doubt could get round that objection and decree maintenance, as desired by the discarded English wife and her daughter, by stressing that the mixed marriage in question before them had not been contracted under an Indian Act but under the law of England where the bride was born and domiciled (1909 Probate 67.) In the similar case of *Lendrum v. Chakravarti*, however, where the displeased Scotch wife of a Hindu, married in Great Britain, sued for a declaration of nullity, a Scotch Court of Sessions granted her prayer holding that, under the law governing the husband in India which was the matrimonial domicile contemplated by the parties such marriage was null and void.

No question of the validity of a Hindu-Christian marriage has yet arisen before any Indian High Court. Even in the recent Nagpur case commented on in *The Reformer* of 7th September, the aggrieved Christian wife sought for divorce from her bigamous Hindu husband but was too self-respecting to ask for a decree of nullity *ab initio*.

If she had, however, claimed maintenance and the Hindu husband had been unscrupulous enough to take shelter under his personal law, the over-riding authority of which is recognised by Section 88 of the very Act under which she married him knowing him to be a Hindu, the result might have conceivably been disastrous.

The matter is thus fraught with deep uncertainty, to say the least, and the Indian Christian community is wilfully taking grave risks every day in spite of the warning conveyed by Section 88. Bishop Western was very much in favour of a general civil marriage law for India as in England and had planned with the Secretary of the National Christian Council to meet the Law Member of the Government of India to discuss the matter. But before they could carry out their good intention the learned Law Member committed himself to an adverse opinion in dealing with Dr. Gour's last, and perhaps final, attempt in the Central Assembly to convert the Special Marriage Act into a general Civil Marriage Law for India by

24. The Municipal Court of Philadelphia. p. 9.

25. Based on Juvenile Court Statistics 1932 Washington D. C. 1935. Children's Bureau Pub.

26. Andrew B. Steele: 1932-33 Year-Book, National Probation Association.



deleting the religious and unreligious clauses in it. And, curiously enough, one of the reasons urged by the honourable spokesman of the Government for opposing the Bill was that the Indian Christian community did not want such a law!

Of course, Section 68 too needs amendment. In fact, it was pressed upon Bishop Western and the National Christian Council of India as our suggestion No. 4. But they were frankly not interested in it. The misuse to which that section, as it stands, has often lent itself in some parts of the country for terrorising dissentient Christians and their Hindu priests, though not in upper India where the Allahabad High Court's ruling of 1918 in the case of Maha Ram holds the field, may have its attractions still to some "religious" minds. But it may be hoped that the publicity which this mischief has received since 1928 in the columns of *The Reformer* has minimised the zest for it in responsive Christian hearts and also awakened the Harijans who are its usual victims, to the ease with which this formidable gun of the zealot can be effectively spiked with a little forethought.

I wish also to add that the *National Christian Council Review* which contained an appreciation of the previous timely warnings of *The Reformer* on the insecurity of the Christian wife married under the Indian Christian Marriage Act against her husband's bigamy, was issued in November 1930.

Aska, } Yours etc.,  
October 12, 1940. } KOPERGAM RAMAMURTI.

#### PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS IN INDIA.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In the 8rd October issue of the *Indian Witness* in the leading editorial article there are ideas and comments to which no reasonable man would take exception. But as far as India is concerned, there is another very important side to the whole question of religious persecution. Persecution is as old as history and is most universal. Within the borders of the Christian Church there have been bloody events and they are not over yet. Apart from physical violence, mental persecution is not less painful or inhibitive. And, again, persecution may be very indirect and yet very deterrent. In my humble opinion persecution of Christians in India has been so little, insignificant and out of proportion to the freely aggressive nature of the missionary impact, that we ought to be thankful to God and grateful to the country in which we have been allowed to grow and serve so peacefully. Part of this situation has been due to the protection of the impartial British system, part to the humanitarian work of Christians, but no less the happy condition is due to the wonderful spirit of toleration and patience that Hinduism inculcates.

I am definitely against any public discussion of the trifling persecution we receive at the hands of our non-Christian brethren. Any parading of our persecutions or grievances either in India or abroad in America and England will lead to a stiffening of the communal feelings of jealousy, selfishness and hatred. It has done so in the case of Islam. India is inevitably lowered in the eyes of good men and women in foreign countries who cannot have a proper perspective to view the situation aright. These political repercussions are seriously harmful both for Christians and non-Christians. We may like it or not, our political and social destiny is inextricably bound up with that of the other communities in the country. In these

days, one should take extreme care that no sentiments be spread as will have the effect of tightening up the Christian community against the major communities. Imperialism, political or religious, may feel happy over new divisions being created in our midst but Christianity cannot rejoice over such an iniquity. The day is gone when missionaries or the British governmental policy should protect Christianity in India. Let the Indian Church lean on God and the superlative excellence of her divine faith, and utilise persecution, if and when it comes, for the spread of truth and the glory of God. A fresh outbreak of persecution will cleanse the church of much of its dross and weakness.

The reference (and repeated question) to the running away of the father of the late Bishop Chitamber is inconclusive and is an example of too sweeping generalisation. Many a would-be convert runs away from home through sheer nervousness or fear, through lack of sufficient manliness and they do not become very zealous or strong Christians. Then again what was true a hundred or fifty years ago, no longer holds. Why should not Christians cite and publish cases of the wonderful general fraternity and good relations and even of helpfulness subsisting between Christians and others in order that Christians and good tolerant non-Christians may be encouraged and a feeling of solidarity increasingly induced? I hold it to be wrong for Christians to make any political capital of their sufferings. Let us make spiritual capital out of them. I can understand why *The Indian Social Reformer* exhibits that temper. I can also see that if Indian Christians would make any representation of their complaints and would appeal to men's reason and heart, the question would assume a slightly different aspect. But are they really free and uninspired to do that in a proper way? Public agitation over religious persecutions, in the present political conditions of India at any rate, is not helpful to the growth and consolidation of true Christianity and the emergence of a strong and united India.

Benares, }  
October 9, 1940. }

Yours etc.,  
R. C. DAS.

#### THE "INDIAN WITNESS."

We deeply appreciate the wholesome words which the Rev. R. C. Das, of Benares writes on the subject of persecution. There will be general agreement with what he says regarding "trifling persecutions" and "parading of our persecutions."

The word which he speaks in appreciation of the "wonderful spirit of toleration and patience that Hinduism inculcates," is in season. Probably no place on earth presents so wide a variety of religious beliefs with so little religious persecution, as does India. This we gladly acknowledge. But that very fact makes any tendency toward such persecution all the more noticeable and unlovely.

Very wisely Mr. Das says that any persecution that does come should be used for the spread of truth. In this he has history on his side for always, "the blood of the martyrs has been the seed of the Church." But this is a counsel on the use of persecutions that may come, and does not suggest that persecution be courted or that it is justifiable.

Our position is that among reasonable and tolerant men there should be no such thing as religious persecution. It is for Christians or others in India who may be persecuted, to accept it in a Christian spirit. But it is also necessary that the source of such persecution be discovered and corrected. Simply to deny its existence is not the part of fairness or toleration.

Our concern is not mainly with individuals whose religious decisions have forced them to leave home and their social surroundings. They generally have some education and strength of character to make easier their adjustments in new surroundings. The greater problem is the village groups who are practically at the mercy of the landlords for their daily bread. The persecution here is generally more from economic fears than because of religious concerns. The landlords are afraid that if their tenants change their religion it will mean they will get ideas of independence and will demand a large return for their labour. A number of landlords have frankly confessed to us that this was their reason for calling in religious agitators who stirred up trouble. The same has been true in the matter of starting schools for village groups. Landlords have said that they opposed these schools because educated boys would refuse to run their plows. It may be that present tendencies will make landlords hesitate openly to instigate persecution for economic reasons, but most of rural India is a law unto itself and the landlords are that law.

Some will say that this is not religious persecution. We agree that the motive is not religious but it becomes religious persecution so far as these village groups are concerned. Perhaps they are stronger because of what they must endure. But those who say there is no persecution in the villages that is real and terrible for the village groups, simply do not know what goes on. And matters are not helped much by saying that these groups were persecuted about as much before they became Christians.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Dr. Deshmukh's Divorce Bill:**—On the Congress decision last September to instruct its members not to attend the sessions of the Central Legislative Assembly, and later the provincial Assemblies, several social reform measures relating to Hindu marriage and divorce were left at whatever stage they had reached. The two most important of these were in the Central Assembly, Mrs. Subbarayan's Divorce Bill and Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Divorce Bill which was lost on a motion to refer it to Select Committee. The Central Assembly is to meet again next week and, in the event of Congress lifting the ban, Dr. Deshmukh will return to the charge. He has given notice of two Bills. The first and more important of these is the Hindu Judicial Separation and Divorce Bill which is the old Bill completely revised in the light of criticism. It is obviously an attempt to improve the 1939 Deshmukh Divorce Bill to meet the criticisms, many of them superficial, raised in the Assembly debates of 1939. It is unfortunate that Dr. Deshmukh should have followed this method, particularly as there are other drafts in the field which have been more carefully thought out. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar's draft bill (*the Reformer*, August 6, 1938) was easily the best in regard to clarity of expression. It is a model draft by an eminent lawyer on which marriage reformers could well have worked. And it is more than a divorce bill in so far as it makes Hindu marriages monogamous as well. Hindu society is ripe for such a measure. Dr. Deshmukh's new Bill is concerned, as was his old one, with divorce alone. There are radical alterations. Impotency which figured in the 1939 Bill has been dropped. His Divorce Bill of 1940 falls into three main sections. The first of these provides the right to separate residence to the Hindu wife or husband if the other party suffers from loathsome disease or incurable lunacy, or turns

recluse or changes religion, or commits adultery. The second gives the wife the right to separate residence and to maintenance if the husband marries again, is guilty of cruelty towards her, or deserts her. The third section, contained in an innocent-looking last clause, provides that the Court may grant dissolution of marriage two years after the decree of judicial separation. Dr. Deshmukh's inclusion of the husband in the first part—to meet the criticism that his previous measure was one-sided—gives a peculiar twist to the phrasing. One reads with surprise, for instance, of the husband's "right to claim separate residence." Nor does it seem reasonable that the remedy for adultery should be just separate residence for the aggrieved party with a two years' wait for dissolution of marriage. The confusion caused in marriage acts by vague phraseology is incalculable. Dr. Deshmukh, one feels, might have been more precise in telling us what constitutes "desertion" and what marital "cruelty" is. As a surgeon he is probably more certain than ordinary laymen of what is loathsomeness in disease or incurability in lunacy. These are details which can be remedied. The main purpose of Dr. Deshmukh's Bill will appeal to all reformers. What is needed, however, is something which will meet the needs of Hindu society today rather than a measure which will somehow pass through the legislature. Hindu opinion is moving rapidly in the direction of monogamous marriage. Hindu women in general stand solid for this reform. Even if a divorce law is passed, few women will resort to it, in view among other things of the publicity involved. Dr. Deshmukh wishes to make a second marriage one of the grounds of divorce. This is putting the cart before the horse. The Bill would in effect sanction second marriages. Even where an aggrieved first wife decides to seek relief, she will have to bring two suits before the court at an interval of two years to obtain it. It should be the husband who seeks divorce before he marries again. Nor should his obligations to his first wife be lost sight of.

**The Right to Separate Residence:**—Dr. Deshmukh's second Bill is one which he evidently intends to use as a reserve on which he will fall back if the Central Assembly rejects his Divorce Bill. The Separate Residence and Maintenance



Bill is, in fact, the Divorce Bill watered down to meet orthodox opposition. It seeks to confer on the Hindu wife the right to separate residence and maintenance in circumstances similar to the ones set out in his Divorce Bill—adultery being omitted in the recital of grounds for action. It is, in brief, a provision for judicial separation not leading to divorce and as such a half-way house between marriage and divorce. Dr. Deshmukh has sought here to confer on the Hindu wife an equality with the Hindu married man. The extreme conservatism of the Bill is shown by the clause relating to the custody and education of the children. Though from the grounds of action it is clear that the Hindu married woman is given relief only where the husband is not discharging his duties as the head of the family, still questions relating to the care of the children are left to the discretion of the court. The absence of impotence as a cause for separation shows that Dr. Deshmukh is more concerned with the responsibilities of a married man to his family than with his capabilities as a husband. Surely, if it is good for a woman to live separate from her husband it must be equally necessary to remove the children from his influence. The onus should rest on the husband, in the event of a wife being granted separation, to prove that she also is not suitable as a guardian for their children. Children are the one purpose of marriage and measures aiming at placing marital relations on a healthier footing, should predominantly care for the welfare of the children of separating couples. Apart from the fact that the conservative might vote for it, there is little to commend the Separate Residence and Maintenance Bill. Dr. Deshmukh's Divorce Bill, in spite of its limitations, is more worth fighting for. In the copies circulated by Dr. Deshmukh to the press by an unfortunate mistake the clause relating to divorce has appeared as the last clause of the Separate Residence and Maintenance Bill and the Statements of Objects and Reasons of the two bills have been transposed. This has led to a certain confusion in comments in the press. In consultation with Dr. Deshmukh we have made the necessary alterations and the corrected bills are printed on another page.

**Gandhiji Suspends the "Harijan":**—Gandhiji announced last week that he had decided to suspend the *Harijan* and the Gujarati and Hindustani counterparts of it in view of the notice served on Editors of newspapers requiring them not to give publicity to Mr. Vinoba Bhave's satyagraha activities. The text of the notice was as follows :

I am directed by Government to advise you that no account of incidents leading up to satyagraha by Mr. Vinoba Bhave and no report of his speeches or any subsequent developments should be published without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser, Delhi. I would like to bring to your notice that this is in your own interest, to avoid prosecution under Rule 88 of the Defence of India Rules.

The terms of the notice are so vague and

wide that they may be made to cover even a bare allusion to Mr. Bhave's activities. As a matter of fact, both the Associated and the United Press Agencies sent out reports of his speeches, arrest and conviction, and these have been published in the newspapers. The Chief Press Adviser at Delhi has probably edited their reports, omitting some parts, perhaps modifying others. But the main facts were widely published as also the reactions of the public to them. The Indian Press as a whole has shown admirable discretion both in its presentation and comment on war news and Government might well have refrained from issuing this circular which reflected on the judgment and competence of its conductors. At any rate, the notice might have been couched in terms which showed that Government appreciated the restrained attitude of the Indian Press. No other journal has thought fit to follow the lead of Gandhiji and for a good reason. Gandhiji is the leader of the satyagraha movement. Every detail of Mr. Bhave's programme was planned at his instance, if not by him personally. No one knows the facts about it so accurately. The Chief Press Adviser in Delhi was not in a position to revise the *Harijan* reports so as to make them more factually correct. Any change that he felt advisable to make in them, must only detract from their veracity. To publish a report thus modified would be lending the weight of Gandhiji's authority deliberately to mislead the public. Under the circumstances, Gandhiji did the only thing possible for him and his action is not open to criticism.

**The Motor Industry in India:**—By a strange coincidence we received Sir M. Visvesvarayya's report on the latest phase of the project of setting up a motor industry in Bombay at the same time as the report of the All-India Village Industries Association which we noticed last week. Sir M. Visvesvarayya explains how the project suffers from the official tendency to drag out negotiations. The Congress Government of Bombay agreed to grant a subvention to the motor industry subject to certain conditions. It was also expected that the war needs of the British Government would bring about a change in the attitude of the Government of India. From Sir M. Visvesvarayya's account, it is clear that so far as official support is concerned, there is no great measure of it likely to be forthcoming in the near future. As for the public, its apathy towards automobile manufacture is even more than it is in matters relating to village industries. Sir Visvesvarayya mentions that cars made and sold in India would be considerably cheaper than the automobiles imported in normal times. The initial expenditure which even the cheapest car entails on the purchaser naturally makes consumers cautious in investing in a new untried product. The Government is peculiarly equipped not only to undertake the risk but to see as well that standard requirements are not ignored in the search for cheapness. But what is first essential, as with village

industries, is to impress on the public mind the importance of industrial development. Village industries for all the organisation and vast sentiment evoked in their favour by Gandhiji's propaganda, do not seem to offer, on the lines followed by the Association, any prospect of self-sufficiency. The case with industrial enterprises like the automobile industry is very different. There is another aspect. The *New Statesman* in a recent article commented on the interdependence of national freedom and industrialism. The British system is based on this belief and the least that the administration can do in the present conditions is to help the development of industries. In his inaugural address to the Eastern Group Conference, Lord Linlithgow paid a glowing tribute to the support which the bureaucracy had received from Indian industrialists. Unfortunately there are not wanting signs to show that the Government of India is as little capable in the industrial field, of utilising the existing goodwill to the best account as it has already shown itself incompetent, in the political field, of applying India's opposition to Nazism to any progressive purpose.

**The Indian Paradox:**—Several war aims have been put forward but the one on which all of them hinge is the defeat of Nazism. Now, Nazism is itself a complex creed but its basic idea is the supremacy of force. It follows that the destruction of Nazism can be brought about only by the exposure of the futility of force as a means of international adjustments. In other words, by an anti-war propaganda. The Government of India, along with the Governments of Great Britain and the Dominions and Colonies, is engaged in the war to destroy Nazism. Gandhiji and the Indian National Congress under his leadership are pledged to promote among the people of India a strong anti-war sentiment as the best means of counteracting the Nazi glorification of violence and war. The aims of both are the same. Government is endeavouring to kill Nazism by its own weapon, namely, war; Congress is intent on effecting the same end by propaganda, another weapon of Nazism. There is no reason why Government and Congress can not co-operate in the war against violence. No doubt the propaganda against war can not distinguish between one war and another. The war to end war is as obnoxious to it as the war to end peace. It was Gandhiji's purpose to get over his difficulty by a friendly understanding with the Viceroy. The Viceroy cannot, of course, give in writing an undertaking to overlook attempts to interfere with war efforts in the shape of collecting money and material. If we have understood Gandhiji aright, he was prepared even in the face of the written refusal to carry out his part of the undertaking in as innocuous a manner as possible if Government showed its appreciation of his goodwill by exercising forbearance in dealing with his propaganda. For a few days it seemed that this might be a solution of the paradox. Mr. Bhave was not arrested until after four days' speech-

making. The fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested only on the last day of October for a speech which he is said to have made in the first week of the month, seems to lead to the same conclusion. We yet hope that the essential identity of the aim of the Congress and Government will be realised and a friendly undertaking reached before matters go too far.

**General Smuts' Platitudes:**—Some months ago General Smuts broadcast a bombastic statement of his views on the supreme value of free institutions and the part which South Africa was resolved to play in the vindication of the right of all men to be free and equal under democratic institutions. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Chairman of the Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, sent a message to the General welcoming his world broadcast and expressing the earnest hope that the people of South Africa, without distinction of colour or race, will in future have the full benefit of government in accordance with the great principles enunciated by him. Sir Purshotamdas made no specific reference to Indians in South Africa but General Smuts understood the message to be a reflection on the treatment of South African Indians by the Union Government and replied in a peevish tone alleging that Indians in South Africa were happier than in their own country. This interesting exchange of messages was commented upon by Indian newspapers but it passed unnoticed in the Anglo-Indian Press. But it has had its effect. The General set another of his grandiose messages to the Eastern Group Conference in which his Government is represented. This was too much even for the *Times of India* which on Friday plainly tells the General that "fine words and the fighting they encourage are of little use unless they produce, not at the war's end but now, the proof of South Africa's own intention to help to rebuild the free world to which the Premier aspires."

**Union of Ireland:**—The influence of the United States had much to do with the creation of the Irish Free State, now known as Eire. The same influence has enabled Mr. De Valera to extend the bounds of Dominion status to the status of independence, entitling Eire to declare and maintain herself as a neutral in the present War. The greater dependence of Great Britain for war supplies on the United States and the closer approximation of the aims and objects of the two Governments make it likely that the union of the two parts of Ireland will be accomplished at no distant date. The writer of the article on Ireland in the current number of the *Round Table* points out that in Northern Ireland itself there is a growing volume of influential opinion against Lord Craigovan's die-hard opposition to Union. Some of his colleagues have resigned in protest against his obstinate preference for the *status quo* in Northern Ireland to the safety of the British Empire. The writer refers to Lord Craigovan as the last of the die-hard Ulsterites.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 2, 1940.

### THE EASTERN GROUP CONFERENCE.

From the first we have been distrustful of the holding of the so-called Eastern Group Conference in Delhi. There has been for some months past a tendency in British Parliamentary circles to throw a large part of the burden of the war on India on the pretext that the safety of this country is a primary object of the war. On this ground India has been required to accept the defence of Egypt and Malaya as her strategic frontiers. What new burdens may be foisted on her on similar grounds is a matter of apprehension. The constitution of the Eastern Group is not calculated to allay this apprehension. Although there is a large, almost unwieldy, number of members attending the Conference, the principals are only five. India and Burma are controlled from Whitehall. So are the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies are members of the British Cabinet. The three Dominions, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, on the other hand, are represented by men who are responsible only to their own Governments. The Ottawa Conference unmistakably showed that the Dominions are not amenable, where their interests are concerned, to the Imperial Government's influence. Viscount Snowden in his autobiography says that the British delegates to the Ottawa Conference with whom he had talked, conveyed to him the impression that they had "a hell of a time." Mr. Neville Chamberlain is quoted by the same authority as having declared that he found that the bonds of Empire had worn very thin. Lord Snowden himself observes that the Conference was saved from a breakdown only by the British delegation making last minute concessions to the Dominions. Sir Arthur Salter commenting on the Ottawa Conference, significantly said that the interests of the Colonial Empire received a very subordinate consideration. Canada is not in the Conference but Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are there and they are by no means more disposed to abate a jot of their claims to considerations of Empire. And they are in a stronger position today than at Ottawa *vis-a-vis* the British Government. Their participation in the War is appreciated at a higher value than the sacrifices of India, because it is voluntary while the latter are not. Australia and New Zealand, moreover, are no longer looking to Great Britain as their sole defender against Japanese aggression. The United States has been holding out hopes of its willingness in case of need to take upon itself the defence of the two Dominions as also of South Africa which lies on the route to them. They will, therefore, not only enforce their claims

but will greatly reinforce the group of British politicians who maintain that India must bear the whole burden of the war East of Suez. The Governments of India and Burma will no doubt be directed by the Secretary of State as to their proper attitude. And so will be the Colonial representatives. As between the two, the Colonial Secretary is more likely to protect the interests of the colonies for which the British Exchequer is responsible in the last resort, than the Secretary of State for India who is out of sympathy with the nationalist aspirations of this country.

The Viceroy opened the Conference on Friday. His Excellency's address on the occasion carefully avoided probing below the generalities which formed the staple of his observations. The present Conference, he said, was a logical sequel of the Imperial Conference. At the same time he said that the only matter before the Conference was the pooling of resources with the object of rendering the most effective assistance to Great Britain as promptly as possible. His Excellency added as an after-thought that some visiting delegates are known to desire to make use of the facilities available in this country for the discussion of wider economic issues and that the Commerce Department of the Government of India would be most ready to undertake discussion with them on those issues. Economic issues include not only the import and export of goods but the free movement of population. The three Dominions which are now honoured guests in India will not admit their hosts, the people of India, to acquire citizenship in their countries. In one of them, South Africa, measures are constantly under contemplation to segregate the Indian population, to restrict their already restricted rights of trading and owning land. The Commerce Department is in the charge of an Indian. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudliyar feels as intensely as others of his countrymen about such discriminating treatment but will he be free to discuss them with the delegates of these Dominions? It is idle to expect a man suffering from ulcer in the stomach to discuss with his dyspeptic neighbours a scheme for co-operative digestion. Before India can cooperate with the Dominions, she must be recognised as an equal in all respects and her relations must be placed on the same footing as those of the Dominions to one another. The distinction which Lord Linlithgow made between kindred and affiliated peoples of the Commonwealth, was, to say the least, maladroit. As the spokesman of India, which he professed himself to be, he should have identified himself with the Indian point of view. If he had done so, there may be some hope of our guests and visitors being impressed momentarily at least by the anomaly of their attitude towards India. The exclusion of non-official Indians from regular membership has considerably weakened the authority of the Conference

as an exponent of the Indian attitude towards the Empire and the war efforts. Sir Mohamed Zafarullah and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliyar are able and patriotic men but they are parts of the machine and must revolve with it in the direction set by the operators six thousand miles away.

Lord Linlithgow compared past empires with the British Empire and concluded that the latter had no inherent defects such as the former had, which led to their decline and fall. The question should be left to the historian to pronounce opinion on. Meanwhile, it is obvious that the European system as a whole has collapsed. This system includes the whole life of Europe, its religious, moral, economic and political life. The British Empire as part creator and part product of the European system cannot absolve itself of the faults and failures which have brought that system to its present plight. Complacency on such a question is itself a symptom of malady in the body politic.

#### PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

(BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, CHIDAMBARAM.)

I shall cite a few famous cases of wilful destruction of our ancient monuments. The Buddhist stupa at Amravati was built of marble by the Andhra Kings in the 2nd century A. D. In the 18th century (1797) a petty local raja razed this marble monument to the ground and used parts thereof as building material. The sculptured pands and pillars were demolished and even partly burnt to lime. Seven pieces of this Stupa are kept in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and 160 pieces were sent to the British Museum. In 1881 J. Burgess examined the site and collected 400 pieces more and they are now preserved in the Madras Museum.

Let me take another instance, that of Gangaikonda Cholapuram—the creation of Rajendra Chola I as the new Chola capital in commemoration of his victory of the region as far as the Ganges. In his new capital he also built a temple on the model of that built by his illustrious father at Tanjore. Here is the account which appeared in a local publication of 1885:

Speaking of the noble temple of Gangai Kondapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower colerum *anikat* was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures, which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their best to prevent this destruction and spoliation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it, but, of course, without success; they were only punished for contempt. A promise was made indeed that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone wall, that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed.

What a commentary on the ignorance and arrogance of those engineers! Fortunately the main temple was not touched.

The temple of Tiruvidaimarudur in the Tanjore District is a place of great antiquity. It had nearly 151 inscriptions on its walls and on those of the mandapas close to the shrine. They related to the kings of many dynasties—Chola, Pandya, later Pallava and Vijayanagar, ranging over a period of

nearly 700 years.\*

This temple has undergone renovation and most of these valuable records have been lost for ever. It is the same sad tale whenever a modern renovation of an ancient temple takes place.

A temple that is threatened with a similar fate in the near future is that at Tiruvaiyar (Tiruvadi) in the Tanjore District. The Vishnu temple in this locality has been completely reconstructed. Next will be the turn, I understand, of the Saivite shrines in the place. There are two shrines in this compound. The older is called the Dakshina Kailasa and perhaps it was one built in the days of Aditya L. (acc. 871 A. D.).

It contains many inscriptions of early Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagar rulers. The other is the foundation of a Chola queen of Ranga Raja I called Lokhamahadevi who lavished many costly gifts of jewels and ornaments and made innumerable endowments for the upkeep of various temple services.

#### EFFORTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

In the year 1935, the Archaeological Department of India issued a very important communique on the subject of "Preservation of Ancient Monuments." They pointed out that Southern India has "a rich heritage in its large number of temples, remarkable alike for their size and the wealth of sculptural and epigraphical material," that "the importance of the inscriptions which are veritable mines of information regarding the life and times of the princes and peoples in the past ages cannot be exaggerated, that well-informed public opinion should range itself on the side of those who are making efforts to preserve these priceless materials for posterity." At the same time they condemned the baneful practice of white-washing the walls which resulted in considerable damage to sculptures and inscriptions, and the indiscriminate burning of lamps on sculptures, pillars and panes and inscribed slabs and the practice of modern renovators—chiefly, the Nagarattar community—of chiselling out old inscriptions on stones and using them as ordinary building materials without regard to the records and carvings found on them.

There is also need for greater co-ordination between the departments of Epigraphy and Archaeology so that we may derive the fullest benefit by their collaboration. Is there not a case even for unification of these two departments under a single officer?

* No. OF INSCRIPTIONS.	DYNASTY AND KING'S NAME.	REGNAL YEARS RANGING FROM.
CHOLA.		
24	Parakesarivarman	2-16
9	Rajakesarivarman	8-17
83	Parantaka I	7-38
8	Parakesarivarma (who took the head of Vira Pandya)	4-14
1	Uttama Chola	18th year
6	Rajaraja I	2-16
4	Rajendrachola I	8-20
1	Rajadhiraja I	32nd year
9	Kulottunga I	4-49
29	Vikrama Chola	8-10
1	Kulottunga II	8th year
4	Kulottunga III	12-28
3	Rajaraja III	2-27
LATER PALLAVA.		
1	Kopperunjinga	18th year
PANDYA.		
1	Vikrama Pandya	8rd year
VIJAYANAGAR.		
1	Achyuta deva Raja Saka	1456-1534 A. D.
1	Sadashiva Raja Saka	1466-1544 A. D.
15	Miscellaneous	

#### OUR DUTY TO PRESERVE THIS RICH HERITAGE.

A renovated temple can boast of a new structure but not an architecture. The historical association, the epigraphs and works of art of the past have a charm of their own. It must be our duty to preserve as far as possible the ancient character of our old temples. In case temple renovation is indispensable, it should be done on scientific lines, as indicated above. If not, careful plans and diagrams have to be prepared, photographs taken of these old shrines before destruction of each part. All the inscriptions have to be copied fully. Then the stones of each wall should be numbered and after careful dismantling should be reassembled in a part of the wide quadrangle of the temple under the guidance of Archaeological officers, so that they may be a source of inspiration to future generations and an object of additional attraction to the temple. The cost of these inscribed stones as building material is insignificant to a charitably minded benefactor who, at considerable cost, renovates a temple, but their value from an historical, archaeological or aesthetic point of view is considerable.

The Archaeological Department has rightly emphasised the need for a well-informed public opinion to range itself on the side of those who strive for the preservation of these monuments; secondly, on the good sense and cultural conscience of renovators; and, thirdly, on the timely help that may be rendered by the Hindu Religious Endowments Board.

India is a vast country. Workers are few and their voice is feeble. The cultural conscience of the people has not yet been stirred. The monuments are being demolished in hundreds every year without our knowledge or even a protest from the public. Let the department and the public concentrate all their attention on one monument and save it. If we succeed in one place we shall succeed in others. Tiruvayar offers such an opportunity. Will the public rise equal to the occasion? The Hindu Religious Endowments Board has no greater cause or nobler end to serve, or more sacred duty to discharge, than this. The Collector of the district has vast powers and personal influence. He can by persuasion try to save the monuments in his jurisdiction from the ravages of an ignorant renovator who in the name of religion and piety unwittingly destroys what the iconoclast has spared. If we do not save them now, they are lost for ever and the future awakened India will blame us for our neglect and we shall have to take upon ourselves the full share of the blame for our failure to preserve them for posterity. If we fail, the labours of Cunningham, the first Archaeologist of India, and Lord Curzon, who, by an Act, laid the foundation for the preservation of our ancient monuments, would have been in vain and the hands of the clock of progress will be reversed by about a hundred years.

#### TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY IN THE U. S. A.

##### 4. PROBATION.

(BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

(ALL RIGHTS RESERVED BY AUTHOR.)

We have seen in our earlier articles that the young offender is not a criminal to be punished, but he is a ward of society in need of help. The probation officer gives him this help. "Probation is a form of treatment for persons considered capable of being restored to well-ordered law-abiding lives without the extremity of shutting them up for a longer or shorter period. It is a method of dealing with a person who has been found guilty of an offence by which he has been released under the supervision of a probation officer and allowed live in a community under certain conditions imposed by the court as to his conduct. It is a

method of supervision of extra-moral discipline intended and designed to give the offender an opportunity to demonstrate that he is capable of so ordering his conduct as to avoid further conflict with the law and to be in future a law-abiding citizen; and it is the responsibility of the probation officer to give him such aid by way of counsel and planning as he may need to that end to see that he does so adjust his life in the community and, if he fails to do so, to bring him before the court for further dispossession. In the case of persistent or serious failure, such further dispossession will generally involve imposition of sentence."

"Probationary treatment for children, likewise originated many years before the Illinois Juvenile Court Law. Indeed Massachusetts passed an Act in 1869 requiring the governor to appoint a 'visiting agent' to investigate all cases in which a child was brought to court, this nine years before the law of 1878, which had provided adult probation. California in 1883 also adopted probation for minors, the law remaining in force until 1901 when it was amended."<sup>28</sup> But the methodical treatment by probation system dates from the setting up of the first juvenile court in Illinois in 1889.

The treatment of an individual case depends upon the study of each case separately and so the probation officer works out a plan of treatment for each individual probationer on the basis of his social case history. In making out the plan of treatment he takes into consideration good home, atmosphere, good school record, child and parents co-operating, on the assets side, while physical defects, traditional delinquency in neighbourhood, lack of wholesome leisure-time activities are set down on the liability side.

The responsibility of the probation officer begins with the investigation of need and continues until the relief is discontinued or the person has passed from the supervision of the probation officer. When a child is placed on probation, the probation officer makes frequent contact with the probationer by visits to his residence and carries out a programme designed to meet his needs. A large number of children commit offences on account of the ignorance of the parents in the method of child training and character development, as also of bad associates and bad neighbours. The duty of the probation officer is to visit the family and associates of those put under him and to bring about a homely atmosphere in the family. He also makes arrangements for curing the ignorance of the parents in the method of child-training and character development as also of bad associates and neighbours. The final aim of the probation officer is to rehabilitate the child and adjust him to successful social living in his home and community. For this purpose he takes the help of various other agencies such as church, school, recreational and character building agencies. He makes arrangements for the education of his ward and helps him to get a job or some training leading to employment. In short, he becomes a friend and helper of the boy. During the period of probation the probation officer submits weekly reports, regarding the conduct of the probationer under him. It is only on a satisfactory report that a probationer is released from the vigilance and control of the probation officer when the court is satisfied of the goodness of the child so as to be safe to himself and his neighbours.

The duties of the probation officer are varied and considerable. He has to tackle community resources, to visit homes, mental clinics, schools office and court, and has to attend to the correspondence and to educate the staff under him.

(28) *Conflicting Penal Theories in Statutory Christian Law* p. 38.



## RELIGION AND LIFE.

(BY RALPH T. TEMPLIN.)

How are we to interpret our awareness of God? To me personally, awareness of God has been most complete and dear in those moments when I have been most actively engaged in some specific, redemptive concern for some portion of the great human family. The strength of the awareness seems to have been in proportion to the need for redemption in the particular groups and the measure of my love and my desire to lose all sense of distinction between them and me. There is a continued awareness, of course, which is increasingly real and precious; but these experiences stand out for their stabbing consciousness of God, in an almost indescribable way. They are important to my mind, as revealing a very important fact about the awareness of God. Strangely enough several of these experiences have come with a rush of the sense of sin on the part of my race against another. Though they are very intimate, and not experiences which one ordinarily relates, yet I wish to recount a few of them in order to make my point very clear.

The earliest I remember occurred when I was a boy, riding on a train across the state line between Kansas and Oklahoma. The latter state has what is called the Jim Crow Law, which enforces the segregation of Negroes in all public places—a species of untouchability. I had been enjoying a visit across Kansas, with a Negro gentleman with whom I had deliberately seated myself. The porter came through and tapping my friend on the back muttered a few words which I did not hear. Excusing himself, my friend abruptly rose and went to the rear of the car. I thought nothing about it for I knew his family were seated there. But soon he came again towards the front of the train, this time loaded with luggage. His wife and children followed each carrying all they could hold. He spoke pleasantly as he passed me, but there came to me a sudden overwhelming sense of the wrong and I had to hang my head to hold the tears with which my eyes had filled. They came from other cars, a procession of men, women and children, bowed down with their luggage. I could only see them dimly and they symbolised for me the patient plodding of the oppressed of all the world, bowed in humility under the cruel discriminations of their making. I had a strange desire to take my place with them and almost simultaneously a sense of being wholly lost in God, and an indescribable joy which strangely hurt in my heart. I have never been able to forget that experience, but I have recognised its recurrence many times. It came to me when I refused the Phi Delta Cappa Key because the application form read, "National Educational Fraternity for White males only." It happened when I walked home one night after a class party in New York City, only a few years ago, with a negress of beautiful character who was my classmate. She lived in a negro section only a few blocks from our home. I could see glances cast our way and her sensitive soul shrinking within her. Again a sense of the sin of my race rose within me and that same stabbing consciousness of God rose within me.

I will recount one other experience. It occurred in India. We had a beautiful fellowship in a common mess at our annual Conference the year before. But that year, when I arrived, I discovered that a false propaganda of condemnation of the common mess had been put through to stampede the membership back into the old way. The local committee's arrangements were worse than ever before. The missionaries were in the bungalows with their European arrangements. The Indians were out in

the dust and the flies without even the provision of a covering for over-head, until later in the week. After sizing up the conditions, I lodged my protest in writing with the Secretary and went home. I went up to the upper room where I determined to fast and pray without ceasing for that Conference as long as the sessions continued. The next day I got a telegraphic order from the Conference to attend without delay. To this I replied with a second letter making my position more clear. Then they sent a member to interview me and bring me back. Fortunately the member was Stan Clemes. Mrs. Clemes was with him. We had a long talk in which they later expressed themselves as thoroughly converted. But Stan Clemes said that neither letter had been read. The men were enraged but they had been falsely aroused. They had no chance to understand the protest. He guaranteed me an opportunity for a hearing to explain the protest. We went to Conference with that understanding.

A night session was given to the matter. At first the Bishop refused to allow the letters to be read. But the Clemes's insistence that they be read prevailed. Then the interpreter—the letters were in English—began to misinterpret the meaning. I could see that the attitude was hostile. In the middle of the second letter, weakened by several days of fasting, I broke down and wept. There had been a reference to my father who had just died and my protest had invoked a feeling of deep kinship with him. He was a man whom I had known to suffer deeply for his convictions. Instantly, Mrs. Templin was on her feet, took over the reading of the letter and then herself addressed the Conference. A strange and sudden thawing took place in the Bishop, in the members, in us all. In Stan Clemes' closing prayer the meeting became a Pentecost which I am sure many of us will never forget. The Conference since then has not gone back again to the segregated mess. All through this strange experience, in the motor on the way home, in the upper room in prayer and in that meeting that night, God was particularly real and near and there was no conscious effort on my part to seek an awareness of him.

Such experiences have led me to the view that Jesus's consciousness of God grew out of his sense of identification with men in need and that it was perfect because this was perfect. There are many clear passages in his teaching which indicate that his deeds among the needy people whom he served not only revealed his inner oneness with God, but were the very source and essence of that oneness. As Kagawa expressed it, "Jesus lived God; he lived redemptive love." That love was God. One passage not only makes this clear for Jesus but indicates that our consciousness of God will be of the same essence: in the deeds of redemptive love outgoing towards men. If, as Kagawa has said, the Holy Spirit is absolute consciousness of God within, it must mean the consciousness that we are being used by redemptive love in ways that are similar to Christ's own deeds. Is this expecting too much? Quoting from the passage (John 14. 8-12) we read:—

And in the morning rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place and there prayed. And Simon and they that were with him followed after him. And when they had found him, they said unto him, All men seek for thee. And he said unto them, Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also; for therefore came I forth.....

Jesus virtually says in this passage: You have the right to recognise God in the very deeds I do. In fact I do not do them. God uses me to do them. In the same manner you are to put yourself at God's disposal. You too will know God within you by

the deeds he is able to perform through you. Does this mean that for Jesus, and for us too, full consciousness of God (the Holy Spirit within life) is inseparable from the redemptive awareness of human life and need? I believe that it does. Let us take a very different passage from one of the Synoptic Gospels for the purpose of this interpretation (Mark, 1: 35-39):

Phillip saith unto him, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works. Believe me that I am in the Father; and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake. Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do...

Obviously his early morning prayer was not for awareness of God at all. He prayed to become aware of the needs of the whole of Galilee, that they too might become aware of their need. Thereafter, we are told, the powers of his life in ministry and message were so great that he was forced out of the towns into the open country. The villages would not hold the people that thronged about him. No one doubted his awareness of God, least of all could Jesus doubt it.

The implications of these experiences of mine—and I am sure they can be matched by similar incidents in the lives in the lives of others—are obvious. It is sheer nonsense to say that the consciousness of God can be limited to certain spheres of life, that it can be rigidly excluded from some class of activities. Wherever the sense of identification with men in need is suppressed or inhibited, we have an injustice, an act against religion. And least of all can those who call themselves followers of Jesus and preachers of his message submit to such suppression.

#### THE PERSECUTION STUNT.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have read with interest and appreciation the letter in the last issue of the Rev. R. C. Das of Benares, which goes some way to expose the stunt about the persecution of converts to Christianity by their family. But it does not touch the root of the matter. The religion taught by Jesus may be summed up in a single word, Love, love of God and love of man. No convert has been or ever will be persecuted for manifesting this message in his life. But the converts do not do this. In fact there is little of love in their behaviour and much of hatred and vindictiveness towards their relatives who do not approve of their adoption of habits of eating and drinking which have nothing to do with the religion of Jesus. Jesus was supremely indifferent in these matters. He did not lay down that eating meat, drinking liquor was a necessary part of his religion. If a convert insists on his freedom in these matters he can not complain if his people insist on their freedom to adhere to their old ways. Christianity has been a great deal prejudiced in the eyes of the people of India, Hindus and Muslims, by its association with drink. Those who did not offend their people by adopting obnoxious practices have continued to remain in their families despite conversion. That such cases have been few,

only shows that conversions, generally speaking, have not been conversion of the heart.

Bombay, }  
October 27, 1940. }

Yours etc.,  
FAIRPLAY.

#### THE NARAYANA WEAPON.

An engine of destruction which no army can withstand but which becomes entirely harmless the moment the army lays down its arms—such a weapon is the Narayana to which reference is made in the Mahabharata and which, if it can be recovered, would put an end to all wars and violence.

The Commander of the Kaurava forces in the battle of Kurukshetra, recommends on his deathbed Karna as the one most competent to take his place. But Karna, when the high command is offered to him, declines on the ground that his choice would lead to dissensions among the other Chiefs and Generals. He suggests Drona, the Brahmin Master of Military Science to both Kauravas and Pandavas, as a leader who would be acceptable to all. Drona on taking over the command makes such terrific onslaught on the enemy that the Pandava chiefs are driven to despair. They resolve somehow to bring about the death of Drona as the only way of averting catastrophe. Drona's favourite son, Asvathama, is fighting in another part of the field. If Drona comes to hear that Asvathama was killed he would lose heart and give up fighting. But Asvathama himself was a redoubtable warrior and he was endowed with miraculous power. The Pandavas resort to a subterfuge. An elephant also named Asvathama has fallen under the shafts of the enemy. One of the Pandavas, Bhima, loudly proclaims that Asvathama has been killed. Drona hears but refuses to credit the news unless it is confirmed by the eldest of the Pandavas, Yudhishthira, famed as a man of truth and righteousness. Yudhishthira for a moment wavers between the love of victory and the love of truth. He compromises. He says in a loud voice, "Asvathama is killed," adding in an undertone, "the elephant." Drona does not hear the last word. It was not intended for his ears. He believes and throws down his arms. A soldier rushes forwards and cuts off his head. When Asvathama comes to hear of the fraud by which his father had been made away with, he resolves to avenge it. He lets loose the Narayana weapon. Sri Krishna notices the release of the terrific weapon first, and shouts orders to the Pandava army to get down from their chariots, horses and elephants and to throw down their arms. The Narayana is irresistible by armed men. But to the unarmed, it is completely harmless. One of the Pandavas, the impetuous Bhima, refuses to obey and is soon caught in a whirlstorm of deadly missiles. His friends force their way to him and pull him down, and disarm him. The situation is saved. The Narayana has spent itself. When the Kauravas appeal to Asvathama to launch it again, he sadly shakes his head. The Narayana can not be launched twice. To attempt to do so would recoil on his own head.

The belief is gaining ground that these old stories are not mere idle inventions but that they embody some ancient experience in language the key to which has for the time being mislaid but which will be forthcoming when the occasion calls for it. An Italian antiquarian some year ago found the clue to the foundation of the city of Rome in the Vedas. Cannot some scientist investigate the secret behind the Mahabharata legend? If we can revive the Narayana, it will be the shortest way to end wars.

K. N.

**DR. DESHMUKH'S DIVORCE BILL.**

Whereas it is expedient to provide for Judicial Separation and Divorce amongst the Hindus under certain circumstances it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This act may be called the Hindu Judicial Separation and Divorce Act 1940.
2. It shall apply to the whole of British India.
3. It shall come into force on
2. Notwithstanding any Law or custom to the contrary, a Hindu wife or husband shall be entitled to claim separate residence from the married partner, and may bring a suit for the same in a court of law on one or more of the following grounds, viz.,
  1. If the husband or wife is suffering from any loathsome disease, leprosy, venereal disease;
  2. If the husband or wife is an incurable lunatic;
  3. If the husband or wife turns a recluse or changes religion;
  4. If the husband or wife commits adultery;
3. A wife may claim separate residence and maintenance from her husband,
  1. if the husband marries again;
  2. if the husband is guilty of cruelty toward her;
  3. if the husband deserts her.

Every suit under this act shall be instituted in the Civil Court within whose jurisdiction, the husband and wife ordinarily reside.

The amount of maintenance given by the Courts to the wife shall not be less than one-fifth of the income of the husband.

The custody, maintenance and education of the children shall be as the Courts decide.

The Court may grant a decree of dissolution of marriage, two years after the decree of Judicial Separation.

**STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.**

The institution of marriage as interpreted and practised to-day amongst the Hindus is very unfair to the wife and gives all the advantages to the husband.

The conscience of the Hindu community is very much stirred against this injustice to Hindu wives, as was seen in the recent discussion on the bill to give Hindu women the right to divorce, and the public opinion collected on the Bill.

The present bill removes some of the inequalities and puts the institution of Hindu Marriage on a more natural healthy basis.

**HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHT TO SEPARATION.**

Whereas it is expedient to provide for separate residence and maintenance under certain circumstances in the case of married Hindu women, it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Hindu Married Women's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance Act 194 .
- (2) It shall apply to the whole of British India
- (3) It shall come into force on
2. Notwithstanding any custom or law to the contrary a married Hindu woman shall be entitled to claim separate residence and maintenance from her husband on one or more of the following grounds, viz.
  - (1) If the husband is suffering from leprosy or any loathsome disease.
  - (2) If the husband is suffering from venereal disease.
  - (3) If the husband is an incurable lunatic.
  - (4) If the husband is guilty of cruelty towards her.

(5) If the husband deserts her.

(6) If the husband marries again.

(7) If the husband turns a recluse or changes his religion.

Every suit under this Act shall be instituted in the Civil Court within whose jurisdiction the wife ordinarily resides.

The amount of maintenance given by the Courts shall not be less than one-fifth of the income of the husband.

The custody, maintenance and education of the children shall be as the Courts may decide.

**STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.**

Even with regard to elementary rights of human beings, the position of a Hindu married woman is deplorable. This Bill intends to give her the right of separate residence and maintenance under unbearable conditions.

As to giving a Hindu wife the right of divorce, there might be some slight difference of opinion in the Central Assembly, but as regards the right to give them separate residence and maintenance under certain inhuman conditions there was no difference of opinion. The House was unanimous in giving a Hindu wife this right. Accordingly, a Committee was appointed by the Central Assembly but unfortunately the Committee could not meet.

The Bill merely proposes to carry out what was unanimously agreed to in the Central Assembly.

**INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.**

With reference to restrictions on the emigration of Indian women and children to East Africa, the *Colonial Times* of Nairobi blames the Indian public for not interesting itself in the fate of East African Indians. This complaint is untenable. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association had taken up the question of restriction on the emigration of women and children. The following press note was issued by the Association last week:

"It was brought to the notice of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association that authorities had placed certain restrictions on the return passages from India of Indians domiciled in the East African Colonies (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar) now in this country on holiday or business. It was reported that though they were in possession of valid passports, they were required to obtain a special permit from the Government of India before they could return to their business in the Colonies and that in certain cases such permits were refused. It was also stated that under no circumstances would authorities allow women and children to proceed to East Africa. The Association wrote to the Passport Officer to the Government of Bombay and also the Government of India asking for information. The following is a reply from the former:—

With reference to your letter dated the 16th October 1940, I have the honour to state that in view of the existing international situation passport facilities for British territories bordering on the Italian colonies in Africa are not granted without special examination of particular cases. Applications from persons who can produce evidence that they have legitimate interests of some importance in these countries are either disposed of by the Government of Bombay or are referred to the Government of India for orders before passport facilities are granted.

2. It is not true that women and children are prohibited from sailing to Africa. As a rule they are discouraged from proceeding to British East Africa, but exceptions are made in the case of the families of persons who are normally resident in East Africa and also of persons who are employed by the Colonial Governments or by private firms or who are proceeding there on Government duty."

## THE ARYAN PATH.

EDITOR : SOPHIA WADIA

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THE

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:**—The sentence of four years' imprisonment passed by the Gorakhpur Magistrate on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is felt by many who do not all share his political views, as excessive to the point of vindictiveness. The three speeches for which he has been punished in this way, contained nothing more objectionable than was contained in the Independence Declaration which was read at meetings held all over the country by Congressmen. In fact, they were, compared to it, mild. The speeches were made in the first week of last month. The Pandit was arrested, tried and sentenced in the first week of this month. The charge against him was that his speeches were calculated to impede the war efforts of the Government for the collection of money and the recruitment of soldiers. The Government Prosecutor strained his ingenuity to the utmost to prove this but it never occurred to him to put into the witness-box a single person who as the result of hearing or reading the Pandit's speeches refrained from contributing a rupee or offering himself for enlistment. The Government Prosecutor knew this, for he declared that offers in money and men were flowing from all sides. We think ourselves that neither Mr. Vinoba Bhave's speeches nor the Pandit's nor even Gandhiji's writings have any influence on the classes who are in a position to contribute money or can join the army as fighting units or camp followers. Further, as we remarked last week, there is no difference between the purposes for which the war is being waged on the British side and for which Gandhiji has instituted an anti-war campaign. Both want to destroy Nazism. The Pandit did not confine himself, in the speeches on which he was indicted, to denunciation of war as Mr. Vinoba Bhave did. But, as we said, the Independence Pledge went much farther and the effect on the public mind was equally impercepti-

ble in both cases. We do not think that the confinement of the Pandit will be of much help in promoting war efforts. It will certainly enhance the difficulties of administration by converting the willing co-operation of the public into a grudging acquiescence in the decrees of authority. The Government at Delhi may not feel the impact of this change. But the vast army of Indian officials in every grade and scale through whom the administration has necessarily to be carried on, belong identically to the same class as the politically-minded section of the population. Governments in India should always try to shape their policies so as to foster the self-respect of their officials and the esteem in which they are held in their families and in society. There is one other remark which seems appropriate here. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the one Indian who has had opportunities of imbibing the British tradition and outlook to an extent given to few others. And he is the man who has refused to withdraw a word of what he said in his speeches and indeed claimed them as his right and privilege. The Pandit is, indeed, the foster-child of British culture. There is food for thought in the fact that he it is that has stood forward as the most doughty opponent of the present system.

**The "Harijan" to Close Down?**—Early in the week it was announced that Gandhiji proposed to issue the *Harijan* and its sister weeklies only for the coming week-end. The special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*, however, reported on Thursday morning that as a result of correspondence between Gandhiji and Lord Linlithgow, in which Gandhiji expressed his fears that without the right to freedom of expression life would not be worth living, the *Harijan* has been assured of non-interference from the Government. It is difficult to believe that a "gentlemen's agreement" has been arrived at in this manner so far as Gandhiji's journals are concerned when it was not possible to establish it in the matter of Gandhiji's satyagrahis. If it is true, the immunity will have certain curious consequences. We suppose that it will force Gandhiji to assume the editorship of the three *Harijan* journals in law as in fact. The case of Mr. Vinoba Bhave has proved conclusively that the sanctity which surrounds Gandhiji, does not extend to his followers. Gandhiji may find himself left with no editors. For the same reason the burden of writing the

bulk of the material will fall on him but this has been almost a normal feature of the *Harijan*. Gandhiji has so far hesitated to resort to copyright laws to protect his writings in the *Harijan* and in its predecessors. As a result many Indian newspapers have relied heavily on the leaders and other articles of the *Harijan* to fill their columns. This perhaps they may not be able to do in future, since Gandhiji will at the outset be given certain liberties not enjoyed by the rest of the press. The correspondence which has passed between Gandhiji and the Viceroy, has not been released and it is all a matter of conjecture. We hope, however, that any agreement reached between the two will be the basis of Government's policy towards the press as a whole, rather than a special concession to Gandhiji. We have ourselves remarked in commenting on Gandhiji's decision to suspend the *Harijan* publications that, as the leader and originator of the individual satyagraha campaign, he was in a special position, entirely different from that of other editors. But after all, the editor of any other newspaper will have the facts as recorded in the privileged *Harijan* at his command and he cannot be expected persistently and completely to ignore what, at the very least, would be a point of view. As we go to press Gandhiji's latest statement has been released intimating that the *Harijan* will appear on Sunday as a valedictory issue. This conclusively settles the matter. The reasons for the decision to close down the *Harijan* altogether will be made clear on Sunday.

**The Press and the Public :—**Considering the possibilities of the Defence of India Act and the differences that exist between political India and the Government of this country, the relations that have subsisted between the administration and the Indian press during the past one year of war have been on the whole free from red-tape and restraint. Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member to the Government of India, himself remarked on the friendly relations that had grown between Government and the press. This should be an occasion for revising the whole situation and for modifying the stringency of some sections of the Defence of India Act in favour of the press. It would be particularly desirable for Government to look into the usefulness of the Press Advisers set up in each province and it could easily do this by searching the records of work done in the past year. What has actually happened is that there has been an apparent tightening up of control. The suspension of the *Harijan* and the issue immediately thereafter of a Government order under the Defence of India Act warning editors, printers and publishers of the penalties attaching to the printing or publishing of any matter calculated directly or indirectly to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion, have in combination done much to undermine public confidence in the reliability of the press. This is a most deplorable development, particularly so in view of

the critical times we are passing through. It is essential that the public should be in the fullest possession of facts and as quickly as possible. Newspapermen should be allowed not only to work in the greatest freedom but to feel that they are unhampered in their work. A local contemporary suggests that a government which is national, can impose greater restrictions on its press. There is no foundation for this belief. The moment a government begins imposing limitations on freedom of speech and writing, it invariably becomes non-national and very often anti-national. There is an urgent necessity today for a journalists' conference which will clear the way to a better understanding with the Government on the one hand and with the public on the other. We trust that the editors' conference to be held at Delhi on Sunday November 10 will be able to achieve this end. What is now needed is that the obscurity which hides the relations between Government and the press, so far as the general public is concerned, should be lifted in large enough measure to dispel the vague suspicions it has given rise to.

**No Fast :—**The decision of Gandhiji not to undertake a fast at the moment, though it might have been worded in more reassuring terms, will be received with a sense of relief throughout the country. There are at the moment enough things to perplex the people of India without the addition of this danger to the life of the only man who seems to know where the Congress is heading. The Working Committee has shown itself incapable of deciding between conflicting policies and has solved the dilemma several times by throwing the responsibility on Gandhiji, who has readily accepted it. The country no less than the Congress party must look with dismay at the prospect of its being by an ill chance left to the guidance of these leaders.

**The Congress Raises the Assembly Ban :—**The news that the Congress Party has decided to allow members of the Central Assembly to attend the present sessions, will be welcomed by all sections of the country. The national cause has to be advanced on all fronts and much advantage has been lost by a year's abstinence. The Central Government has, as a concession to the Congress members, put off the discussion on the Finance Bill from Saturday to Monday. If it had been known at the time that the Congress would a year later decide on individual satyagraha and leave the bulk of its members to pursue constructive activities, there would have been no enthusiasm even for giving up the cabinets in the provinces. The decision of the Congress may lead to striking developments in the near future. The Congress Assembly members have added at the very least a strong weapon of protest to their party and they may exercise a healthy restraint on the administration. The Muslim League which in the absence of the Congress members has shown a certain sense of responsibility, will be strongly tempted to change its attitude.

**U. S. A. Presidential Election:**—The dates of the different elections in the U. S. A. for the Legislature, the President and the Vice-President as well as the procedure, a highly complicated one, are prescribed by law. There is no room for manipulating, as is often done in other democratic countries, to suit the party in power. Unfortunately, however, while this saves the country from one abuse it gives rise to others more serious. Log-rolling is a term of American politics which has found its way into all languages. The chances of the re-election of President Roosevelt for a third term and that of the Republican candidate, Mr. Wendell Willkie, have been the subject of surmise for the last two months. At one time, the latter's chances were said to be negligible. Straw votes by the organisations which run them, showed this clearly. Then, it was found that Mr. Willkie was likely to have a stronger backing, and still later that the candidates' prospects were about equal, that they would run neck and neck and that the result was unpredictable. The elections began in this temper on Tuesday. The first State to publish the result gave a considerable majority for Mr. Willkie. In British elections some importance is attached to the first results as likely to be the forerunner of subsequent ones. In the United States also it has a certain significance. The behaviour of New Hampshire stirred the Democratic partisans to strain all the resources of political strategy to turn the tide. About midnight, so the reports say, there was a landslide. The Republican boss of the key-state of Ohio appeared before his Committee and announced that it had been lost to the Democratic candidate. Mr. Willkie appeared at the microphone and made a gallant attempt to stop the rout. But he failed. The President has been re-elected. The unbroken tradition of the Republic has been broken. What happened to bring about the landslide on midnight on Tuesday, will be known after the third term of President Roosevelt is over. In the United States these things are never kept secret for long. For the present the public can only guess with the aid of such light as is thrown on presidential elections by books like Mr. Agar's revealing one on American Presidents from Washington to Harding. It has been noticed that the extension of term has not as a rule been a success in the case of Indian Viceroy's—we trust that the extension given to Lord Linlithgow may falsify that observation—and the re-election for a third term of the President may not prove quite a royal road to prosperity. A man who breaks a tradition has to justify his action by extra wisdom and consideration for opponents.

**The War Spreads:**—Following conferences between Herr Hitler, Marshal Petain, General and Signor Mussolini, Italy delivered a three-hour ultimatum to Greece and followed it up by an attempt at invading Greek territory through occupied Albania. Greek resistance for the past fortnight has been a determined one. The British guarantee has come into force. The

two countries are practically divided by the whole European continent and any help which is sent will have to circle round Africa. This new development has given the news agencies occasion for a revival of the early surmises as to the possible attitude of Russia, the intentions of the United States of America, the reactions of Turkey and the dissensions that are expected to break out among the Axis partners and their supporters. False reports, it is said, are being circulated in the Balkans stressing alternately the landing of numbers of British troops in Greece and the absence of any active help from Britain with the sinister object of driving the British Government to disclose its plans.

**Indian Women and War:**—The Central Punjab Branch of the All India Women's Conference, held in Lahore last week-end under the presidency of Miss K. Sircar, passed a long resolution appealing to the women of the world to combine and work to prevent wars. Similar resolutions are, it is understood, to be passed by other branches and by the Central Conference to be held next month in Mysore. The late British Ambassador to Germany, Sir Neville Henderson, in his book "Failure of a Mission," says that in the first speech which he made in Berlin he had quoted some lines which were popular in the United States during the last war. The Berlin papers omitted them from reports of his speech next day, because it did not suit the Nazi mentality. They were:

I did not raise my son to be a soldier,  
I brought him up to be my pride and joy:  
Who dares to put a musket on his shoulder  
To kill some other mother's darling boy?

American women have a more effective voice in their family and national affairs than European women who are the most effective recruiting agents in war-time in their own countries. It is the sentiment of American women so accurately if not poetically voiced in the lines quoted by Sir Neville Henderson, that is chiefly responsible for the determination of all parties in the United States not to send over soldiers to fight in Europe while rendering the utmost assistance in armaments, warships, and airplanes to the British who are fighting against the Nazi-Fascist combination in Europe. We can not agree with the mover of the resolution that Indian women having inherited the tradition of Ahimsa are never liable to become violent in word or deed. They can be and are as violent as it is possible for them to be. They are also the chief cause of violence on the part of their menfolk. Nothing is gained by glossing over facts and it is the fact that the men of a country are very much what their women make them. The converse is also true. But, in respect of war, women are certainly greater sufferers than men as the loss of a husband or son causes deeper gashes in their emotional as well as economic life. The Lahore Conference was addressed by Sikh, Muslim and Hindu women.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 9, 1940.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND  
THE STATE.

The *Aryan Path* for November publishes the third and last of a series of Mysore University Extension lectures by Madame Sophia Wadia, its talented Editor. The first two lectures were published in the September and October numbers. Together they constitute an eloquent exposition of a theory of the State in relation to the individual derived largely from ancient Indian literature and tradition. A theory of the individual in relation to the State necessarily requires a theory of the individual by himself. What is the individual on this earth for? What is his purpose? The totalitarian conception (common to the Catholic and the Fascist organisation) is that the individual exists for the Church or the State. His whole duty consists in breeding children, paying tithes or taxes and going to war to kill and be killed whenever the Church or State requires him to do so. The rival conception, the democratic and Protestant conception, allows certain fundamental rights to the individual but the individual is expected to surrender all these rights when war is declared. In other words, in a state of war totalitarianism alone holds the field. In the place of the State apotheosized by the Totalitarians, freedom of conscience and national independence become the great objective of individual existence in times of peace. In the theory which Madame Sophia Wadia expounds in these lectures the individual has an end in himself and the State exists to help him to fulfil this end. The search after Truth in all its aspects is the one supreme purpose of man. As a Church is not only unnecessary but an obstacle to this purpose, there is no Hindu Church in the western sense. Family, Society, and State, are rightly constituted in so far as they help each individual man and woman to live up to the highest of which he or she is capable. The high and the true here are synonymous. If the family or society or State is so organised that its members have not this motive and impulse to Truth, it stands in need of reform so as to make it more compatible with the pursuit by its members of the supreme end. Needless to say, a system which penalises the expression of truth and insists on and even rewards the acceptance and propagation of lies supposed to be needed for its safety or prosperity, lacks the elements of a dharmic or moral system. In an editorial in the November *Aryan Path* the question is discussed, how far politics are reconcilable with moral principles. It is almost universally assumed that the two are incompatible. Politics is essentially a field of compromise between right and wrong, God and Mammon. A Bishop of the Church of England once declared that you can not rule a country on

the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. Owing to such declarations by persons who are supposed to set the standards of conduct and behaviour, it has come to be almost an axiom that politics is not a field fit for men of principle. Men of principle have also accepted this and they keep clear of politics if they are not prepared to compromise with their conscience. Hence, politics shows a progressive decline in morality and ultimately if nothing is done to arrest the process, it will deteriorate as it has done already to a large extent into a game of gangsters.

The value of such lectures as Madame Sophia, Wadia's is that they remind the public that there, is a higher ideal of politics, that it should be steadily kept in view by national leaders, and that it can be realised though but slowly by the persistent effort of men and women of intelligence, character and public spirit to illustrate it by example and precept to the masses who follow their lead. The Hindu ideal was never realised. Even great spiritual heroes like Yudhishthira swerved from it in quest of some immediate gain, and they suffered for it. Hindu legends seldom fail to point out that the adoption of crooked ways even by the very eminent was always attended by disaster to themselves. Even Sri Krishna himself, an Avatar though he was, was not exempt from the inexorable law of Karma. Madame Sophia Wadia quotes Sri Krishna's dictum that for the sake of a family, an individual may be sacrificed, for the sake of a village a family may be sacrificed, for the province a village may be sacrificed and for the sake of one's Self the whole earth may be sacrificed. The lecturer rightly spells Self with a capital letter. The Self for which the whole earth may be sacrificed is the highest Self. The family, village and province exist for that Self which pervades and overflows the world, and for it they must be sacrificed. The word, sacrifice, here is synonymous with fulfilment. The family fulfils its highest purpose when it loses itself in the service of the universal. Sri Krishna was not proclaiming the Benthamite philosophy of the greatest good for the greatest number, and we are surprised that Madama Wadia holds that "the very essence of democracy is the greatest good of the largest number." If that be so, democracy (which she seems to regard as synonymous for the dharmic state) cannot be the ideal form of government which it claims to be. The doctrine that "it is meant that one should suffer for the many" is an immoral doctrine. The ones who have suffered by it have always been the salt of the earth. Yudhishthira would not enter heaven unless his dog was also admitted with him. In the ideal State for which all should strive, injustice done to one man will be felt as injustice done to all. The curse of modern politics is the superstitious respect attached to the verdict, often illogical and absurd, of the majority. The majority had no meaning in the Hindu political system.



Panchayat decisions had to be unanimous in order to be binding. The idea of closing the debate and taking votes was absolutely foreign to it. This belief in unanimity as the safest guide to wisdom, has become imbedded among Indian instincts. The average Indian Chairman of a committee will never hustle his colleagues into a quick decision on important and complex issues. He allows patiently all sides of a question, relevant and irrelevant to be explored, in the confidence that when this is done and only then will the essence of the question under discussion manifest itself and impose unanimity on men discussing matters which come home to them. This is a truth which should be kept in view in any constitution which lays claim to be national.

#### AWARENESS OF GOD.

Mr. Templin's article in the last issue of *The Reformer* headed "Religion and Life" starts a train of thought which may interest readers. His central idea is contained in three sentences in the opening paragraph:

To me personally, he says, awareness of God has been complete and clear in those moments when I have been most actively engaged in some specific, redemptive concern for some portion of the great human family. The strength of the awareness seems to have been in proportion to the need for redemption in the particular groups and the measure of my love and my desire to lose all sense of distinction between them and me. There is a continuing sense of awareness, of course, which is increasingly real and precious; but these experiences stand out for their stabbing consciousness of God in an almost indescribable way. They are important to my mind as revealing a very important fact about the awareness of God.

It is only recently that I came across the word "awareness" as a link between man and God. To be aware, I have always understood to mean bare cognition of a fact or thing without implying any sense of relationship to it. I am aware of many things which do not interest me as having a bearing on my life or conduct. I am aware of the existence of a country called Japan, of a man named Stalin, of a tree known as teak, of an animal confined in the Zoo in an enclosure labelled Rhinoceros. I am aware of these facts but the awareness does not in the least affect my behaviour in any way of which I am conscious. Surely to be aware of God is something far different. Awareness in the case of God surely means the recognition of an overwhelming obligation to shape one's behaviour in accordance with one's idea of the will of God. Mr. Templin speaks of "the continued awareness" of God, as a matter of course, and of specific redemptive actions for the benefit of particular groups of men making it complete and clear and standing out in their stabbing consciousness of God. He illustrates this from three incidents of his own experience, which came "with a rush of the sense of sin on the part of my race against another."

Is there a necessary connection such as that postulated by Mr. Templin between awareness of God and the impulse to redeem oppressed and depressed groups of humanity? The greatest and most comprehensive movement for the redemption of the human race from the sorrows and miseries of life, was that of Gautama Sakyamuni. He not only showed no sign of "awareness" of God himself but regarded such awareness as a bar to redemption. Other principal movements also for the effacement

of distinctions of race, creed, and property, not only do not profess to be aware of God but in some cases declare to be aware of there being no such entity. The leaders of the French Revolution of which the Russian Revolution is the historical corollary, and Totalitarianism the inevitable reaction against it, laid no claim to rest on awareness of God even as a remote possibility. Many are "the little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love" done by people in their daily lives without any conscious thought of God or intention of pleasing him. The social reformer when he agitated against sati or enforced child widowhood or child marriage or for the education of women, was not thinking of God but of the inhumanity to his own mother, sister, wife and daughter. In fact, it was the opponents of reform that advanced the religious sanction as Christian clergymen did against the abolition of slavery in Britain and the United States, and as the Catholics do against Prohibition. The worst crimes and cruelties, the bloodiest wars, have been waged by those who professed to be moved by their intense awareness of God. None has a right to doubt Mr. Templin's statement that his awareness of God was quickened by revolting against discrimination against Negroes in his country and Indian Christians in his country. But so did the burning of Jews and heretics at the stake to the medieval Christians.

The influence of religious belief on human behaviour has been admirably stated by Frederic Harrison in his brilliant study of Oliver Cromwell. He writes:

The ecstatic communion with God in practice resulted in a hyperaesthesia of the conscience and the will. The zealot who felt himself in hourly communion with the Divine will was really consulting his own highest standard of the Just, the True. When he sought God, he was probing his understanding to its depths. When he had found assurance, his resolve was fixed down to the very roots of his soul. And thus it depended very much on the Zealot's own nature whether the result was good or bad. A great and wise man had his greatness and his sagacity intensified, for his own soul was transfigured to himself. A man of self-reliance had his will heated to a white heat, for he knew himself to be the chosen instrument, in working out the decrees of the Almighty. The brave man became insensible to any form of danger; the unselfish man became the type of self-devotion; the compassionate man boiled with hate of whatever was unjust, whatever gave pain. And so the cruel man lost all trace of human pity; the selfish man lost all shame; the self-sufficient man treated all who opposed him as the enemies of God; the hypocrite found ready to his hand a whole apparatus of deceit; the traitor found current a complete code of villainy.

Harrison is positive that not awareness of God but the "zealot's own nature" decided whether his behaviour was good or bad, kind or cruel. But he does not tell us, what the formative processes are in making the zealot's nature. As a Positivist he would perhaps have maintained that it was the absence of enlightenment, ignorance. The remedy was education, the training of the rational processes in the religion of Humanity.

This Positivist attitude approximates to the Hindu except at one point. But that point is fundamental. The Positivist and the Hindu agree that there is no sin only ignorance. Enlightenment dispels mental darkness and ensures rational and virtuous behaviour. But Hindu and Positivist differ in the meaning of enlightenment. The Positivist's horizon like that of Mr. Templin and most Christians, is bounded by humanity. Jesus Christ himself did not draw any hard and fast line between man and the rest of the universe. He drew lessons for man's edification

from the birds of the air and the flowers of the field, from the sun and the rain which fall on the just and the unjust. But Christianity has placed man in a ring fence following its parent, Judaism. The so-called ethical religions are based on the assumption that God's sole business is to police the human world. Even in the West thinkers have revolted against this dogma of the supremacy of the human race. One philosopher declared that the dog had more loveable qualities than his fellowmen. Before him there was a regular school of cynics whose leader went about with a lamp in midday seeking for an honest human being. Earl Balfour in his philosophic younger days described man as the poorest creature on the least of all planets.

Europeans and Americans who write on questions of moral and spiritual import, will avoid many pitfalls if they take pains to acquaint themselves with the enormous mass of experience recorded in Oriental literature. Hinduism avoids both extremes. It regards the universe as an organic whole every part of which has a function the due discharge of which constitutes the reign of universal law. The ancient seers did not shrink from the conclusion that the orderly procession of night and day, of the seasons, as also peace and harmony in human society, depended on the due performance of every part of the universe of its proper function. "Awareness of God" was infinitely more than a cognition of the fact that there was some one called God somewhere in the universe. God was within and without his Universe. Mere intellectual acceptance of this as a fact leads nowhere. It must be sustained by ceaseless effort to realise it and such attempt incidentally but inexorably moulds the conduct of the seeker in forms beneficial to himself and to society. Morality which has no basis but copy-book maxims will fail at a crisis but not the morality which is the concomitant of the Search after Truth. The Seeker after God will necessarily be a moral man. He will be also the world's benefactor. To live up to the highest one knows and feels, is itself the greatest service to the world of which one is capable. God consciousness is not a means to an end. It is an end in itself. The world would be a perfect place if all men were God-conscious.

K. N.

#### NATIONAL DRESS.

Professor F. Correia-Afonso has written two articles in the Catholic *Examiner* on the subject of suitable clothing for Indians. They are primarily addressed to Indian Catholics, who are said to sacrifice economy, comfort and aesthetics to the craze for westernisation. Catholics in the South are not open to this charge. They not only retain their habits in dress and deportment but they even retain their old caste names. One of the most distinguished and devout of them, a scholar of great repute, Swamikannu Pillai, did not discard his caste suffix. Thambu Chetti is the name of another eminent Indian Catholic who rose to be Dewan of Mysore. In the West Coast owing to the fanatical proselytising zeal of the Portuguese rulers, Indian Catholics have largely adopted Spanish and Portuguese names. The first Portuguese Governor-General actively promoted intermarriages between Portuguese and Indian Catholics and some of these bearers of ancient Portuguese names might be able to trace their ancestry to some such alliance. The large majority, however, are pure Asiatics on both sides. Along

with the names, they have adopted the European style of clothes also. The working classes like fishermen who still retain their vocational dress, array themselves on occasions such as a wedding in the uniform of a medieval Portuguese Commander with cocked hat, while the nether garment remains a short triangular dhoti. Professor Afonso's articles, therefore, are specially meant for Catholics of the west coast of India. The Southern Catholic has no need for any admonition on this subject. Government in the bestowal of titles do not recognise the Portuguese surname. Dewan Bahadur Periera or Rao Bahadur De Souza is not an uncommon combination, however incongruous it may sound to the common ear.

Professor Afonso's suggestions for a national dress for all India are of interest not only to Indian Christians but to men and women of all communities. As regards women, Professor Afonso quotes with approval the Rev. Father Hull's remark that "female fashions in Europe changed constantly while they did not change in India, because the European woman was ever seeking for perfection in dress, whereas the Indian woman has found it." The sari, Professor Afonso fervently adds, is a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. The sari is not only a thing of beauty but it has also many practical advantages. Dr. Besant especially commended it as suitable to young and old. The sari also effaces the distinction between fat and thin. From the economic point of view, also, it is a leveller. (C) of the most notable services of Gandhiji is that, <sup>and by</sup> has reduced the expenditure on saris in innumerable <sup>of the</sup> middle class homes. Where twenty years before, the housewife would not think of a sari costing less than twenty or twenty-five rupees, the fashion now is to prefer the hand-woven one worth about six or seven rupees or less.

That disposes, so far as a considerable section of the Hindu middle class women is concerned, of the need for Professor Afonso's admonition, that every woman is a Maharani by the dignity of her womanhood, but she need "not dress like the Maharani of Cooch Bihar, when she is only the Maharani of Cooch nahin." Apart from this sample of rather infantile humour, if girls realised how obnoxious an overdressed person, man or woman, looks, they will cease to try to create an impression by their clothes and jewellery. Bacon's advice, "let your clothes be such as will give your face leave to speak," may well form the text of weekly lessons in girls' schools. Professor Afonso is more indulgent in the matter of what is called make-up than of clothes. He would not altogether ban make-up. Only he would advise women to make-up sparingly. "There is no moral objection to make-up," he observes, "unless a woman deliberately turns herself out to be a 'painted Jezebel.' There is no harm in women seeking to enhance their beauty or to hide the ravages of time by the aid of art." It is doubtful if make-up enhances beauty except by way of deception. It is only by producing on the mind of the man whom a young woman is after the impression that the painted beauty is natural beauty which will not suffer on closer acquaintance, that she can hope to engage his admiration enough to entice him out of the fears entertained by normal young men of matrimony. Disillusionment is bound to come and with it disgust. The Indian girl is, generally speaking, averse to such deception. She rather likes to present herself as plain as Nature made her. Very few men would care to consider as suitable wives the women whom they admire on the film. Besides it has been shown by analysis that most of the articles required for make-up have deleterious effects on the skin. There have been cases in which

women have been awarded damages against conductors of "beauty parlours" for irreparable damage to their features. Professor Afonso talks of hiding the ravages of time. Time works no ravage on the features of any man or woman. Ravages are due to faults of temper, indulgence in sensuous pleasures beyond moderation, envy, jealousy and hatred of one's fellow-creatures. There is a gracious beauty of age as of youth which make-up can but destroy. Though he allows that make-up is moral, he deprecates it on the ground of it being expensive. In other words, he would allow those who can afford the expense to make-up. Unfortunately the example of the well-to-do is what prompts the poor to make-up.

Turning to men's dress, Professor Afonso is "positive only about some negative principles." But on one thing he is not only positive but dogmatic. He would not have the dhoti on any account to cover Catholic Indian nakedness. "The dhoti does not appeal to me," he says, "whether from the aesthetic or practical point of view. Though many carry it quite well, it seems to me somewhat improper, and must be rather embarrassing." The aesthetics of the dhoti is exactly the same as that of the sari. Both are in fact interchangeable in an emergency. From the practical point of view, those who habitually wear the dhoti do not find it in the least embarrassing. On the other hand, the European trousers seems to them not merely indecent but obscene. The fact is that the dhoti is associated with the Hindu and the Hindu at this moment is obnoxious to several groups of Indians for widely different reasons. It is also a point of honour with a class of Indian Christians not to adopt anything which reminds them of the faith which they have forsaken. The Catholics of South India have no such prejudice. Most of them wear the dhoti and carry it as well as the most conservative Hindu. The dhoti, Professor Afonso does not seem to know, has a highly respectable origin. It is the exact counterpart of the Roman toga and European observers have noted the resemblance to ancient Romans of learned Shastries and Pandits clad in dhoti and shawl. The art of tailoring in India was a Muslim introduction. There is no tailoring caste in the Hindu socio-economic system. Tailors in northern India are mostly Muslims. The dress of men and women in the pre-Muslim period were unstitched. The tradition has come down to the present time because the dhoti has many practical advantages—notwithstanding Professor Afonso's embarrassment—over the trousers. It is easily washed and has no buttons to be broken at each washing. Professor Afonso who is so particular about the economic aspect in other things, completely overlooks it in this. Then the dhoti can be used for various domestic purposes. It may be used to contain things without an expensive suit-case. With a pair of dhotis, a man may travel from the Kashmir to Rameshwar halting at the temples in the towns and villages on the way and obtaining board and lodging at a trifling charge or none at all. But the greatest advantage of all is that a dhoti can be used by men of all heights and widths whereas trousers can fit only those for whom they are made. Professor Afonso must reconsider his opinion of the dhoti.

**Ramakrishna Mission Cyclone Relief:—** The Ramakrishna Mission Centre at Khar, Bombay, took the earliest opportunity of sending out a few batches of workers to reconnoitre the seriously affected villages in the Suburban District. Any contribution, in kind or coin, will be most thankfully acknowledged by the President or Secretary of the Ramakrishna Mission, Khar, Bombay 2L.

## TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY IN U. S. A.

### 5. INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT. (BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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From the beginning of the nineteenth century so-called reformatories for juvenile offenders existed in America even before the establishment of the juvenile courts. The New York House of Refugees was the first of these institutions which was opened on January 21, 1825 in New York. These reformatories were quasi-monastic and quasi-parental. It is only with the establishment of the juvenile courts that they have been well organised with an all-round definite programme of reforming the young offenders. With the juvenile court legislation, the legal commitment to such an institution means the transfer of guardianship from parents to the school through the court. Thus these institutions are houses of correction based upon the necessity of giving special care and treatment to the young offender.

Such institutions are known by various names as reformatories, reform schools, republics, protectories, parental schools, homes and schools bearing the name of some person. They provide the right condition not merely for the inmate's physical and mental well-being, but also for fitting them socially and vocationally according to their special aptitudes. "The all-round character of the education which is furnished, with its correlation of physical, moral, intellectual and vocational training, is the rock of our faith in the possibility of remoulding of young lives".<sup>29</sup> Training is provided in pottery, dyeing, weaving, handicraft, metal work, carpentry, painting, millinery, dress-making, agriculture, etc. Thus effort is made to interest them and fit them for earning a fair living and to avoid their again falling into bad association leading to arrest. Another service rendered by these institutes is personality adjustment of the delinquent child entrusted by arousing interest and lessening irritation. The devices employed are camp-life, a well planned daily routine, separate periods of work and play, ample rest, etc. "Handcuffs, tying up, straight jackets, immersing in cold water and various other forms of torture described under the name water-cure, whipping, dosing with drugs to produce nausea, solitary confinement in dark cells, semi-starvation for weeks on a diet of bread and water, or bread and milk, are punishments still inflicted in some state schools for juvenile delinquents. Some schools maintain special discipline houses which are little more than prisons: where 'inmates,' because of youth, suffer perhaps more indignities than adult prisoners would. The occasion for these measures is practically always some trivial beginning, an insolent answer to a superior, or failure to respond punctually to command, although running away or attempting to do so, smuggling sweets or tobacco, acts of sex perversion are frequently the reasons given."<sup>30</sup>

Thus we may define such an institution as an interlude in the young offender's community training to change the direction of his development in order to bring about a better attitude on the part of the delinquent. It brings about the industrial and social rehabilitation of the delinquents entrusted to it by the courts of juvenile delinquency jurisdiction or from other sources. The method used is re-education as we have seen above. In 1931 in 145 Public Institutions

<sup>29</sup> Penology in the United States by Louis N. Robinson. Pub. The John C. Winston Co. Philadelphia p. 99.

<sup>30</sup> Youth in Conflict by Miriam Van Waters. Pub. Methuen & Co., Ltd. 36 Essex Street, W. O. London. p. 165.

for Juvenile Delinquency in the United States the total number of children entrusted were 25,329 out of which 18,807 were males and 6,522 were females. The largest proportion of these children came from the juvenile courts *viz.*, 17,017 (13,153 boys and 3,864 girls.) The rest came from transferred, parole violators and other classes.

"Re-education here means something much broader and deeper than any amount of improvement or increase in the academic instruction or vocational training which the individual child is to receive. It means reshaping his behaviour patterns. It means giving thoughtful attention to his personality difficulties to the end that he may achieve healthy emotional development as well as growth in mental equipment or manual skill. It means giving the child an opportunity to meet and experience life under controlled conditions, in order that he may be more readily re-directed and guided into behaviour channels that will gratify him and be acceptable to others. It also implies making quite sure before he is released that he has acquired sufficient re-education, to enable him to make those personal and social adjustments that will be necessary if he is to lead a fuller, happier, more productive life and if he is to avoid those conflicts which had previously brought him, and would again bring him, into conflict with society and its laws. To imply that all these things can be done for all boys would be to sidestep reality flagrantly. Realistically the institution's task is to discover each boy's assets and liabilities relation to the social scheme, and then to go as far as possible in each case towards building up a personality capable of satisfactory self-direction."<sup>81</sup>

#### A LIBERAL LOOKS AT INDIAN POLITICS.\*

(BY A. B. LATTHE, BELGAUM.)

Sir C. Y. Chintamani, the author of the book before me, "Indian Politics since the Mutiny" has for years occupied a high place as a distinguished journalist as well as a Liberal leader. He has done a great service to his younger countrymen who wish to be posted with the facts of the history of the national movement in India by publishing his review of that history. It is written in the attractive style of which Sir Chintamani has been known to be a master. The history of the Congress is the history of nationalism in India and naturally the book traces the history of that great institution introducing as it does the political aspirations of the Indian intelligentsia. There are references to the Liberals and the Muslim League after their split from the Congress. Sir Chintamani at one place even betrays the Hindu Mahasabha influence in his thoughts. Mainly, however, the book is an attempt to present an account of Congress activities with such criticisms of these activities as one would expect from a Liberal leader. That being the case, the attempt made by Sir Chintamani is successful in a limited sense. The narrative given by him is concise and interesting. But the book lacks the impartiality which one expects from a historian as distinguished from a journalist wedded to a political party. In fact, the book has all the merits of newspaper articles on current topics. But it has also the defects of a partisan view which is almost unavoidable in the leading member of a Party taking active part in political controversies. In the writer of a history,

one hopes to find very much more readiness to take a broad and comprehensive view than is met with in Sir Chintamani's book.

I will take only one instance to illustrate my point. Sir Chintamani is naturally angry with Gandhiji for forcing the Liberals to secede from the Congress which they had built up by many years of labour. The causes of the split manifested themselves first at Surat when the Congress broke up without doing any business. The Liberals captured the Congress machinery and remained in exclusive charge for years thereafter until Gandhiji came into the field and swept everything before him in the Congress arena. Then came the non-co-operation movement and with it the exit of the Liberals from the Congress. In the sense that the movement did not succeed in ousting the 'Satanic' Government, it failed and was succeeded by the Swaraj Party which again admitted failure and led to the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930. But all these years, the influence of Gandhiji's politics over the Congress and the country steadily grew and the Liberal influence on Indian politics waned more and more until it became, as now, a negligible factor in our public life. How does Sir Chintamani, the historian, explain this? "It is a common place of mass psychology," says he, "that a complicated argument cannot be intelligently followed by the man in the street, that a simple categorical statement is more easily appreciated, that a simpler and loftier ideal attracts the heart more than one which requires explanation, and also, that impassioned appeals to passion, prejudice and vanity are more effective as propaganda than the calm, cool, informed and learned arguments of moderate leaders." That is why, in the opinion of Sir Chintamani, the Liberals have completely lost ground and had to leave the field entirely to Gandhism.

I was never a non-co-operator myself but, it is very hard to swallow the calm, cool, informed and learned argument which Sir Chintamani puts forward in explanation of the Liberal rout from Congress politics. The argument is nothing more than an assumption that the Liberal standpoint is the result of the calm, cool, and informed thinking while that of Gandhiji is a mere categorical statement, more easy to understand because of its being a simpler and loftier idea. Sir Chintamani's argument would also imply that Mr. Gandhi succeeded because of his impassioned appeals to passion, prejudice and vanity. Assuming for argument that all this is true, where is the faith in Democracy by which the Liberals have always sworn? It must be admitted even by the Liberals that it is not only the mass mind which has responded to the Gandhian appeal. Even the bulk of the educated Indians, including some whose intellectual accomplishments cannot be doubted, have accepted the Gandhian lead during the best part of the last 20 years. If 'the calm, cool, informed and learned arguments of moderate leaders,' could not influence that bulk of educated India, one is driven to the conclusion that either even the educated Indian is unfit to exercise judgment in matters on which every member of a democratic country must have a decisive say or that the so-called calm and cool arguments of the Liberal leaders are vitiated by some fundamental defects which they have become incapable of realising even after successive failures, for years and years. And, after all, what are the calm and cool arguments of the Liberals? So far as the goal of Indian political agitation is concerned, there is hardly any difference of substance between the Liberals and the Congress. That the response of the British Government to Indian agitation has always been very unsatisfactory has been admitted even

81. U. S. Department of Labour, Children's Bureau, Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys, Part I, Publication No. 228 Washington, D. C. 1935.—p. 8.

\* *Indian Politics Since The Mutiny*. 7s. 6d. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

by the Liberals. What is the course open to India in these conditions? The real difference between the two schools arises in answering this question. There is no alternative to constitutional methods, says Sir Chintamani and, with his fellow Liberals, he condemns non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Apart from the question as to whether Gandhiji chose the right moment for launching his movements in 1920 to 1930, did not Mr. Gokhale, perhaps the greatest of the Liberals, consider that civil disobedience would be constitutional under certain circumstances? The fact of the matter is that the Liberals have been as discontented as the Congressmen, but while the latter attempted new experiments in effective agitation, the former were content with verbal protests, followed by a masterly inactivity. The Liberal theory of constitutionalism is nothing more than a cloak for impotency under trying, almost provoking, circumstances. When Sir Pherozeshah Metha, with his three Liberal followers left the Council Hall at Poona because the Government would not listen to their protests, against a certain bill, was it not non-co-operation in principle? Why, should the Liberals then find fault with Gandhiji's non-co-operation, as unconstitutional or on any conceivable principle. The Civil Disobedience in South Africa, by our fellow countrymen, under Gandhiji's leadership was defended by every Liberal in India; and yet the same weapon tried to be used in this country, has been condemned outright by Sir Chintamani and his friends.

In his concluding pages Sir Chintamani pays a fine and generous tribute to the personality of Gandhiji who has directed the Congress during the last twenty years. In politics, however, Gandhiji is not infallible, contends Sir Chintamani. No one has ever made that claim. Much less has Gandhiji done so. No one had admitted his mistakes as frankly as the Congress leader and herein lies the answer to the question as to why the Liberals have completely lost their hold on the public mind. Sir Chintamani's answer is obviously one-sided and, therefore, defective. If he were to exercise his power of introspection, he would find that those who feel the pinch of political dependence and aspire to freedom that it may become possible for them, to remove all the grievances from which India is suffering, can never be satisfied with the methods and policies of the Liberal leaders. They had the chance of their life, when they fell way from the Congress, to take advantage of the Montagu Reforms. Sir Chintamani laments, that the Congress did not stand behind them. What was the result? In a way non-co-operation failed, but what became of the Liberal experiment as Ministers under the Montagu regime? They were able to do nothing which would beneficially affect the life of the people in the country. If non-cooperation also failed, it had at least the merit of being a weapon, whose efficacy was at any rate keenly felt by those against whom it was used. Those who later felt that it had failed, realised that it should have been wielded with stronger hands and with greater unity. They also felt, that those who used it were not mere armchair politicians, like the Liberals, but they had done their best and had suffered seriously in their attempt. That is the test of sincerity, which appeals to the public mind. Even after the failure of non-co-operation, therefore, the people have more faith in Gandhiji, than in the Liberals. The same thing could be said of the subsequent resignation of the Swaraj Party, or the Civil Disobedience of the latter years. Sir Chintamani describes Mr. Gandhi as the greatest of living men, and yet the calm and cool judgment of the Liberals fails to convince him of

the futility of his methods. In fact, Sir Chintamani writes like a journalist, wedded to a party, writes as if under the pressure of the compositor in a daily press. He has no time to think, to look back and to look forward. Like the Liberals, if not like the Bourbons, he has learnt nothing by the experience of over thirty years and is ready to be satisfied with the presumptuous thought, that his little school possesses wisdom if not infallibility, which he denies to Gandhiji, and his followers. Whatever one may think of individual activities of the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership, the historian of Indian politics will have to give full credit to that great leader, for having led the movement from strength to strength and for having inspired the people with at least a part of the indomitable faith, with which he himself is endowed. Sir Chintamani's review of Indian politics is a failure and a disappointing failure, for those who expect that the writer of such a book should be able to rise above the influence of petty party affiliations, and must apply himself to the deeper currents that move the people, and to the sum total of the results of the activities, some of which may be mistakes or failures.

#### MODERN RACIALISM AND THE CASTE SYSTEM.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have read the article on "Racialism and World Order" by Mr. R. T. Templin in your issue of the 5th October with interest. If more Americans and Europeans would think as Mr. Templin does, and if they could spread their feeling among their countrymen so effectively as to influence their politicians, the complexities of the desired world order, in which peace, harmony and fellowship will replace suspicion, bitterness and wars, would be automatically simplified. The prospects of that, however, would seem to be very remote. So long as the white races are politically predominant and possess economic advantages in the world and so long as they remain blinded by their material successes, Mr. Templin's realisation will not come to them. They must be dispossessed of such predominance and advantages before that realisation could go home.

I shall not, however, write more at length on that matter here, but would draw your reader's attention to some unnecessary remarks against Hinduism and the Brahmans by Mr. Templin. These remarks are, no doubt, based on ignorance and misconception of the Hindu social psychology and structure, which are very common and even natural among westerners, because of their very different mental outlook and cultural development. For Mr. Templin, I take it, entertains no die-hard prejudice against Hinduism or, like so many missionaries and scholar-imperialists, is not interested in misrepresenting Hindu ideas and institutions.

To compare the arrogant racialism prevalent in South Africa and in the Southern States and in fact everywhere where the Europeans have come in contact with simple, unresisting people, with the caste system of Hinduism, is altogether to misconstrue the genesis of the two. For, while the former springs from arrogance produced by existing political superiority, material prosperity and other comparative advantages, the latter originated from division of labour in accordance with inherited nature and inclination and from the wise idea that skill and perfection in anything, material or spiritual, evolve through continued application (sadhana) in life after life.



Mr. Templin himself remarked that, "whereas physical-intermingling has often been accompanied with the utmost inequality, equality itself does not necessarily imply physical relationship at all." If he understands that, he should have no difficulty in understanding some aspects of the caste system, like prohibitions against inter-dining and inter-marrying which are always criticised by unthinking people.

Indiscriminate inter-dining and inter-marrying lead to degeneration, loose principles, lack of restraint and easy conscience in self-indulgence. The Brahmans believed in restraining impulses, and they took marriage and eating and drinking more seriously as affecting our moral and physical welfare in the present and in the future than a weak-minded man is inclined to; and, therefore, they imposed prohibitions against wilfulness and capricious indulgence. But thereby they never developed arrogance and the spirit of exploitation or feeling of contempt among the castes. For their own selves, though they wielded enormous moral influence over all, even over kings, who came down from their thrones to wash their feet, they prescribed the simplest living, the strictest self-discipline, and the hardest self-renunciation. Was the idea of exploiting the other castes ever in their mind? Did they despise them, or did they always think of their welfare? Whenever people were in grief and distress, it was the duty of Brahmans to give them solace, to give them good advice, their blessings, even their physical body, (what did Dadhichi do?) And far from generating any inter-caste hatred or superiority and inferiority sense, the Brahmans actually always preached and instilled in the mind of the masses that God was in everybody and that to look down on anybody, was to despise God Himself. To suppose that these Brahmans set up "inter-fellowship barriers" and to compare them with the arrogant, exploiting white imperialists of South Africa, South America and elsewhere, will not injure them in the least for they are too high to be touched by our petty and short-sighted criticism, and their lofty character, thoughts and ideals will always draw the adoration of all deep-thinking people of the world—but will be doing injustice to our own wisdom and judgment and will be blinding us to a correct appraisal and proportion of things we want to study and draw lessons from.

If, therefore, Mr. Templin is interested in approaching the Indian masses and studying the culture regulating their thoughts, their living, their customs and institutions, he should altogether free his mind from all prejudices against the caste-system and other age-old customs and institutions having evolutionary value and significance, and make his approach with an open and even appreciative mind. He will, of course, find that difficult to do, for prejudices die hard, particularly when those prejudices show one's own things to comparative advantage, but should he be able to do so, he would be delighted to find many instructive things in the Hindu cultural evolution, which he has so far overlooked.

Calcutta, }  
14th October, 1940. }

Your etc.,  
J. M. GANGULI.

[Mr. Ganguli is thinking of the ideal caste which probably never existed. Regarding the actual working out of the ideal, there is not much to choose between the Hindu caste and the Anglo-American colour prejudice.—Editor.]

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THE  
**INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.**

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*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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**NOTES.**

**The Editors' Conference:—**The conference of Editors convened in Delhi last Sunday met with a spontaneous response. The immediate occasion was the issue of a Government ban on publication of news relating to opposition to the war effort or to open support of any movement designed to that end. As soon as the session commenced, the President, Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu*, told the Conference that the Government proposed to withdraw the order. The Government communique announcing the decision pointed out:

As the result of friendly conversations in Delhi with representatives of leading newspapers, who have given them an assurance that they have no intention of impeding the country's war effort and that any deliberate or systematic attempt by newspapers to do so would be viewed with disapproval by the Press as a whole, Government now feel that the matter may well be left to the discretion of editors, in consultation with Press Advisers in cases of doubt. They are, therefore, pleased to withdraw the order in question. They are further pleased to accept a suggestion that a small Advisory Committee of representatives of the Press, resident in Delhi, shall be set up to advise Government on any matters affecting the Press and they will recommend to Provincial Governments the constitution of similar Advisory Committees in the Provinces.

Mr. Srinivasan remarked in his address that the Chief Press Censor in Delhi got in touch with him after he had prepared his speech and communicated to him that the order was being withdrawn. Mr. Srinivasan drew a sharp distinction between putting down activities calculated to impede the Government's war effort and suppressing all political activities under this pretext. "Our sole concern," he said, "is to conduct a newspaper free to express opinions frankly, and to that end factual representation of events in the widest sense must be allowed." There is nothing either in the President's lead or in the Conference resolution to show that the "assurance," if any was given, goes beyond this limit. As the President emphatically said,

"we must make it plain that we cannot and will not be parties to the suppression of all normal political activity in the name of the war."

**The Press and Civil Liberty:—**The position of Indian newspapers has been changed for the better by the Government communique. The editor is now left to use his own discretion, with the Press Adviser functioning only in case doubt arises in the editor's own mind. If his judgment is wrong, the matter will be referred to an advisory committee of editors, both in the provinces and at the Centre. And deliberate and systematic attempt to impede the war effort has to be proved before official action can be taken. In short, a body of fellow-editors is now interposed between the journalist and Government. The standing committee of the Editors' Conference has taken steps to set up a Central Advisory Committee and it will be submitting through the Conference President the names of the Provincial Committees. A machinery is now available which will enable the administration to keep more closely in touch with public opinion than it has been able to do during the past year; and the Press Adviser's duties are restricted in the matter of advising the press. A resolution of the Conference suggests to the Government that Press Advisers should also advise the Government. A further step forward is the resolution of the Standing Committee seeking to establish a permanent all India newspapers association to guard the liberties of the press. All these are not small achievements and the Conference is to be congratulated on the advance it has made. It also emphasises that restrictions on the press still continue and has appealed to the Government to extend its policy of co-operation with the press by further modifying these measures. The Delhi Conference was called not solely to remedy the grievances which arose out of the Government order which is now withdrawn, but with the larger object of protesting against Government's policy towards the press. That is a matter requiring constant vigilance and a great deal will depend on the Advisory Committees and their functioning. While one can safely expect that there will be no repetition of the official order which has been withdrawn, the fact remains that the

press as a whole continues to function under difficult conditions. Too much has been left by the Conference to be inferred and it is not impossible that less liberal interpretations might be placed on the letter of the withdrawing order. It was lost sight of at the Conference, for instance, that, for both Government and for the general public, the best corrective against executive abuse is a press open to assertion and rebuttal by both sides.

**The Closing of the "Harijan" :—**In the issue of the *Harijan* last Sunday in which Gandhiji announced his decision to close the journal and its allied publications until the restrictions placed on journalism in India are removed, there was one brief article communicating the decision and the rest was devoted to the index for the previous year. The relations existing between the *Harijan* and the Government are but a part of the relations between the press as a whole and the State. Even in normal times it is idle to pretend that the press operates in the fullest freedom. The individual, whether his duties involve writing regularly or not, has to work under limitations and all of us submit to them. Gandhiji has, generally speaking, been free from the usual restrictions. Even when his *Harijan* entered into political discussions, it was not bound by considerations of party loyalty, for one thing. The decision to close the journal at the first hint of any control is not difficult to understand so far as Gandhiji is concerned. The ordinary journalist, however, owes his reading public something which he can refrain from discharging only if he can prove his inability to carry out his duties. The official Congress organ, the *National Herald* of Lucknow, has, we are glad to note, resumed the editorials which it had suspended on the issue of the Government order which is now withdrawn. The *Harijan*, however, seeks a special understanding with the Government. That is an issue between Gandhiji and the Viceroy which does not now concern the rest of the press. That probably was the reason why the *Harijan* editor, Mr. Mahadev Desai, who was present at the Editors' Conference at Delhi and played an active part in its work, did not urge the *Harijan* case before the Conference. Gandhiji has declared that if his journals do not resume publication in six months, they will not be resumed at all. In the event of the journals being revived we would suggest that they should be revived under the title "Ahimsa" rather than *Harijan*. For Ahimsa is the cardinal principle of Gandhiji's activities today.

**The Congress in the Assembly :—**The Congress Assembly members decided to give up their policy of abstaining from the Central Legislature with the object of opposing the policy of the Government of India the more effectively. On Monday the discussion on the Finance Bill commenced vigorously and for the rest of the week Congress speakers devoted their energies to enunciating the Congress attitude towards the present war. To those in the Visitors' galleries

it was evident that most of them were enjoying their newly won freedom from the restrictions placed on their oratory both by the regulations of the Government of India and by Gandhiji's resolve to restrict satyagraha to a few chosen by him. The complete political stalemate which now exists in the country, removed any little leaning to moderation which Congressmen might otherwise have felt. It was an occasion for demonstration and each speaker tried to rouse the Government benches out of the indifference which absolute power conferred on them. In the circumstances the debate was an unfortunate and futile exhibition both from the unofficial and official points of view. The Government supporters appealed to the Congress to "face the realities of the situation" which was the fact of the war so far as they were concerned; the Government in their turn were asked to strive towards a genuine unity in India. When Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar spoke, his utterance was not so much a defence of the Government as a denunciation in the intemperate language which has distinguished this session, of all those who were less enthusiastic for the war than he was. Both sides seemed to forget that there was a neutral body of Assembly members who had, at the very least, not to be alienated. In the year that has passed since the Congress withdrawal from the legislatures, though in the country itself negotiations between Government and Gandhiji have been almost continuous, the party has isolated itself from all other groups. There is no common ground between the main body of the opposition and the administration, and speeches on both sides serve only to accentuate the gulf between them. The Congress decision to withdraw its members from the Assembly after the finance debate is a deplorable one and leaves little time to work for an understanding. The Government has shown in one direction, in its dealings with the press, that it can conciliate opponents. We trust it will carry this spirit into other fields of activity as well.

**Molotov in Berlin :—**The event of international import which has given rise to much speculation, is the visit of M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, to Berlin. M. Stalin's recent actions have been mystifying. Japan and Russia have been regarded as traditional enemies whom nothing can reconcile to each other. There has been a notable change or at least there has been a desire on the part of the two countries to show that this belief is no longer true. The decision to effect a change of Japanese Ambassadors in Moscow was made the occasion of a demonstration to this effect. M. Molotov with other eminent Soviet functionaries attended for the first time since the Russian revolution a state banquet at the Japanese Embassy and the new ambassador was received directly by M. Stalin. The Russian attitude towards Berlin has evidently undergone a similar change. For the first time since the revolution, the Foreign Commissar of Soviet Russia



crossed the Russian border to pay an official visit to the Reich Chancellor. Herr Hitler had denounced the Bolshevists in unmeasured terms in his "Mein Kampf" but he is not the first statesman to seek alliances with foreign nations which they had previously denounced. The failure of the British Government to win over Russia to its side when it could have easily done so prior to the Nazi invasion of Poland, is the most conspicuous instance of the breakdown of British diplomacy which is one of the most unaccountable features of the international situation. The withdrawal of a portion of the Japanese Army from China simultaneously with the signs of growing friendly relations with Russia, is interpreted as meaning that Japan is now seeking other spheres of expansion in conformity with the requirements of the Berlin-Rome Axis to which she is linked as the principal Asiatic partner. Italy has not cut a brave figure in her fight with Greece if the reports available in India are to be relied on. The accession of Russia to the Axis will enormously add to its prestige, through there are doubts about the military strength of Russia being as great as it has been proclaimed to be. The old legend that Russia intends to invade India is being revived. Unless Russia enters the war as an Axis partner there is no reason why she should look for expansion in this country which offers the least favourable soil for Soviet propaganda. Russia has expressly declared that she does not wish to enter into the present war.

**Mr. Neville Chamberlain:—**The death of Mr. Neville Chamberlain which occurred early last week has brought into relief an excellent feature of British public life, namely, generosity in condoning the worst failures of a public man who honestly and without any ulterior purpose of his own acted in what he believed to be the public interest. This charity, it should be noted, is confined to fellow Britons. For men of other nationalities there is no such leniency. It was a tragedy that at a grave crisis such as that which confronted Great Britain two years ago she had at the head of its Government a parochial politician like Mr. Neville Chamberlain. That he was sincere in his love of peace, need not be denied. But he did not realize that peace for Britain with her world-wide interests can be secured only by espousing the cause of peace in all countries. His betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia led to the subsequent events which made Nazi control supreme over the greater part of Europe. The story has been often told. Mr. Chamberlain forced France to withhold from Czechoslovakia her promised help which would have brought in its train the support of Soviet Russia to that country. The one thing Herr Hitler dreaded was to have to fight on two fronts and Mr. Chamberlain obligingly relieved him of it. His second great blunder was the light way in which he treated Russia facilitating the Nazis' efforts to get

Russia on their side. The Norwegian blunder cost Mr. Chamberlain his Prime Ministership. He accepted a sinecure under the man whom he had kept out of his Cabinet until forced by accumulating failures and an exasperated public opinion to take him in. Mr. Winston Churchill's treatment of his ex-Chief was chivalrous. Mr. Chamberlain resigned a few weeks ago as he was not sure how long his convalescence would take. Perhaps he knew that the end must come soon. He made the same mistake as President Wilson in the last war in undertaking peace-making directly himself. After making his deal with Herr Hitler, Mr. Chamberlain treated the request of Czecho-Slovakia to be allowed to present her case with scant courtesy. The incident of the British and French ambassadors calling upon President Benes at two o'clock in the morning to sign away the fate of his country, will long remain an extraordinary episode in the annals of international diplomacy. As for India, it is doubtful if Mr. Chamberlain cared anything for the country or its people. He left the whole business in the hands of Lord Zetland who let the political situation drift, contenting himself with occasional uninspiring speeches in the House of Lords.

**British Assistance to Moslem Culture:—**The announcement this week that the British Government has decided to give a grant amounting to £ 100,000 for the construction of a mosque and a centre of Moslem culture in London, will be welcomed as a belated recognition by Britain of her duty towards the religion and culture of her non-Christian population who form by far the largest proportion of British citizens. It is obvious that the immediate object of this liberality is the advantage of attracting Muslim sympathy and support in the war but there is a deeper significance behind it. The British people are too insular and self-centred to recognise the value of any culture but their own but circumstances are forcing them out of their shell and making them broader-minded as befits their world-wide responsibilities. The building of the mosque and other centres of Asiatic culture must wait until the destructive raids of the Nazis cease. But we hope that the support now extended to Muslims will also be extended to other cultures. There is bound to be some show of opposition from bigotted Christians who recently started the cry of a crusade in connection with the present war. But the large majority of the British people, we are sure, will recognise that if the British Empire is to be not merely a commercial concern but that it should have a soul, achievements of the several nations within the Empire in these directions must find concrete expression in the heart of the Empire.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 16, 1940.

## DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

In the course of a broadcast from the Madras Radio Station, the Right Hon. S. Srinivasa Sastry spoke of the powerful fascination exercised on the imagination of Indian youth by the triumphant careers of the dictators who held sway over a great part of the civilised world, as an alarming form of the prevailing distemper. This is the first time that the existence of such a fascination among Indian youth, has been publicly denounced by an Indian leader of distinction. We had not suspected its existence. There is, of course, a revulsion among thinking people against the wholesale denunciation of dictatorship as an unredeemed and irredeemable evil. This is not confined to young men. We rather think that it is less common among young than among elderly men. We can think of instances of eminent men intent on some important project and impatient of the delay incidental to bureaucratic circumlocution exclaim, "We should have a Hitler at the head of affairs in this country!" These men do not want the whole of Nazism, lock, stock and barrel, imported into India. They only want its expeditiousness adopted here especially in respect of their cherished projects. President Franklin Roosevelt some months ago acknowledged that for efficiency dictatorship must be given the palm over democracy. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has certainly no love for dictatorship, noticed in one of the speeches for which he has been indicted, that Herr Hitler had effected a sort of federation of Europe and eliminated unemployment among his people. General Smuts in a famous broadcast some months back granted that Hitler might unify Europe and may then even grant the populations dominated by him some semblance of liberty. And there is another point, Dictatorships need not always and invariably involve the evil incidents associated with them in some notorious cases. There is for instance, Dr. Salazar's mild dictatorship in Portugal. In a publication entitled "Portugal, the New State in Theory and Practice" the democratic systems of the last century are criticised as ignoring family life, fiscal interests, professional activities and the spiritual aspect of things. "The State," it is observed, "is in this way built up alongside the nation, like an arbitrary rationalization, instead of expressing, as it rationally should, the essential juridical aspect of a national community." Democracy postulates equality, but it has done very little to bring about economic equality among citizens. Without it democracy tends to degenerate into plutocracy from which a dictator is needed to redeem it. In the concluding chapter of his 'Study in Democracy' in which he surveys the careers and achievements of American Presidents from Washington to Harding,

Herbert Agar observes :

Democracy normally culminates in dictatorship: the money-anarchy makes way for the tyrant-state. The reason is obvious. Discipline, subordination to the common good, can only be imposed in two ways: in the name of religion or in the name of the state. But no country decays into plutocracy until its religious faith is waning. Recovery, therefore, can only come by demanding sacrifice and subordination to the state. This pre-supposes a state whose will has moral worth, and whose rulers compel obedience even at the cost of obliterating the individual. To build a state on the ruins of democracy is work for a dictator.

Must such work be the next stage in America, asks Agar, adding that the time is coming when no man can be so shameless as to defend the present system. This observation gains point from the reply of Mr. Wendell Willkie, the Republican Presidential candidate who lost the recent election to President Franklin Roosevelt, to the suggestion for the formation of a coalition government. Mr. Willkie said in effect that the adoption of the suggestion would convert the United States Government into a totalitarian regime and the President into a dictator.

Mr. Sastry himself is profoundly disturbed by the working of the democratic system which has led to gross abuses. "It is common ground," he observes, "that popular elections have degenerated into Augean stables. Is it possible that the wit of man may invent some method of ascertaining the general will, more trustworthy and less liable to abuse than a general election?" This is the very problem which confronts the United States. Agar divides the political history of the States in three periods. The five first presidential regimes are classified under the head, Oligarchy. The next five ending with Lincoln's assassination, is given credit for true democracy. Since then, plutocracy has been dominant. Agar apprehends that the next step must be some kind of authoritarian regime unless a bold effort is made by the conservative elements to recapture the spirit of the early days of the Republic when the State was served by its best men. To go back on the present system is impossible. History suggests, Agar observes, that once the franchise has been given it can only be withdrawn by revolution. The enormous increase in the material wealth of the States under the plutocratic regime, has made the revival of the old republican spirit in all its strength and purity exceedingly difficult. In India we have jumped from a bureaucratic regime into a quasi-democratic one. Our short experience with it has not been uniformly encouraging. Our principal political organizations themselves are organised on the authoritarian model. Any attempt to change this system would be opposed as anti-democratic by the British people and Indian political parties and if it succeeds it will be of short duration.

Mr. Sastry's suggestion that a certificate or diploma of citizenship may be made a necessary qualification for candidates for municipal councils and houses of legislature, will not mend matters.

It will not succeed, as Mr. Sastry expects, in excluding dolts and nincompoops from these responsible positions. These certificates and diplomas will be obtained by the same means as seats are secured in the legislative and municipal bodies at present. Nothing but the creation of an elite which will regard the preservation of the health and integrity of the body politic as its principal business, and making it the custodian of national interests, can provide an effective solution to the problem confronting democracy and dictatorship alike. The circle of the elite may and should be progressively widened until it will, let us hope, embrace the whole population. In this work of creating a new order, the mistake of nineteenth century democracy of ignoring completely the importance of heredity in human affairs should not be repeated.

#### WHAT IS THE MISSIONARY PLEDGE ISSUE?

(BY RALPH T. TEMPLIN.)

The editorial on "Recall of Missionaries" in the August 29th *Indian Witness* (organ of the Methodist Church in India) came into my hands just as we were leaving India. It is a statement which sadly perverts the truth and is calculated to mislead the Indian public. The Editor is one in a peculiar position to know very much better. I cannot believe such careless disregard of the facts was intentional. But it has resulted in unfairness both to the Kristagrahis and to the Indian Christian Church which has first claim to all the truth. For this reason and in the interest of fair play, I trust this statement of mine may be allowed as wide circulation as it can command.

The editorial first refers to the two Methodist missionaries who had already left India. This was because "they styled themselves pacifists and were opposed to India having any part in the present war. They felt that their pacifist position forced them to break their pledge and that their recall naturally followed." He then adds what he should know to be false that, "A third missionary and his wife have taken the same position regarding the pledge." The Editor knows well, and has himself often made the point, that it is not true that that position was ever taken by us.

Going back through the correspondence, the first statement I find of the position from which I have never swerved was in a letter to the Editor himself, written on the 18th of November 1939 just twelve days after the First Manifesto was sent. This letter partially shaped the second manifesto which was sent later. It held that the Kristagraha stand was not a violation of the pledge because it coincided with Britain's own aims of freedom through Dominion Status for India, and a new order in Europe which would make impossible all such aggression as that of Germany in Poland, for all the future. The church authorities were making their own interpretation and wrong use of the pledge, and in so doing were imputing less worthy motives to the Government in their assumption (on which they based their action, and their charge against us of violation of the pledge) that the Government were not sincere in those aims. It was unfair to the Government for them to assume that they would consider the Kristagraha stand to be against them. It should have been left to the Government to decide.

We have made not the slightest deviation from this stand. The only point raised was that of the interpretation of the pledge. The matter of procedure was not raised.

The Editor of the *Witness* cannot say that he did not receive this letter because he replied at once saying, "I could not publish what you wrote for the *Witness* did not contain your other published statement nor my letter to you. So your present statement would be Greek to all readers." It was this attitude which made it necessary, even to represent their case before fellow Methodists, for Kristagraha missionaries to give their statements to the secular press. But it is also clear not only that the Editor well understood the position we had taken but at that time also agreed with the view that it was for the Government to decide the interpretation of the pledge as it should effect the Kristagraha missionaries. On December 18th 1939, after a talk with Bishop Badley about the same position, he wrote, "He (the Bishop) said you have written him that you are prepared to resign if the Government decides that your activities are not approved. Of course, if Government is not concerned, there is no reason why others should be."

It is difficult to understand how the same Editor, in August 1940, could now write: ("Mr. Templin *latterly*... has taken the position that it is not for the church authorities or for himself to decide whether his pledge has been broken." Earlier in the same paragraph he writes, "There has been no question regarding Mr. Templin's attitude to the pledge, and *earlier* in the controversy he specifically told the Editor that he would not even consider the possibility of remaining in India when two others had voluntarily left because of attitudes and actions in which he shared equally with them." (Italics mine.) The words italicised, 'latterly' and 'earlier', should be carefully noted.

The only discussion of the kind which ever took place with the Editor was about March 1940 and centred on a letter which I sent to the Bishop on February 19th, in which I resigned unconditionally and put myself in the hands of the authorities to effect my recall or not as they saw fit. The portion, which was under discussion because of the Editor's objection to my resignation, was as follows:

I have not changed in my desire to remain in India and at my work. This must not be interpreted as consenting to recall. My position remains exactly as before.... I do not see my way clear to continue under a leadership which for the sake of expediency prefers maintenance of *status quo* to the revolutionary witness of God's love to men. In the action on the cases of Smith and Keeue, as well as in the correspondence with me, the mission authorities have shown an insistent desire to act without invitation from Government and thus in repudiation of the stand taken by the Board. I, therefore, feel it no longer possible to maintain between us the confidence and understanding essential between mission workers and their heads in mission fields.

I feel strongly, moreover, that by remaining in India I would be appearing to be subordinating my deep conviction to the policy of expediency pursued by the mission—particularly since disciplinary action has been taken against two of my colleagues. Confronted with the alternative of submitting to your decision or evading a clear issue, I cannot but choose the former. I, therefore, surrender the advantage which the Diffendorfer decision gives me in India against the mission authorities.

My protest throughout was against the mission transforming itself into the agent of the Government. In his straining to make a particular case, the Editor has even misrepresented his own position

in the discussion. Since it was in correspondence none of which has been destroyed, we can get at the facts. The Editor's whole letter was taken up with making the point that my stand was entirely different from that taken by Smith and Keene and there was, therefore, no need for me to follow their example and resign and go home. The assumption that I was following their example was false, as the statement shows. But that was only a matter of lack of clear thinking. But the present twisting of facts and the false case with a misled public which results from it, is serious. First of all the Editor's statement about sharing attitudes and actions of the others was not true and no such statement ever made. But even worse is the fact that the discussion referred to took place not "earlier," as the Editor claims, but about four months after the other and consistent position, which he has referred to as "latterly." In each case this wrong arrangement of sequence was against the Editor's own personal knowledge as confessed in earlier writings. He was in a better position to know the facts than anyone else in India. It would be difficult for me to believe that this strange juggling with events could have occurred, had it not stared at me out of the *Witness* columns. Such irresponsibility cannot be passed over lightly.

One cannot but wonder whether the Editor has really ever changed from these earlier, personal views. There is no indication that he has. The whole editorial serves one purpose only, to pretend that the matter is now ended and that it has never constituted an issue which concerns the church in India. How much of this is due to the necessity for rationalizing his own neglect of an issue vital to the future of Christianity in India, the reader will have to judge for himself. There is something plaintive, if not pathetically senile, like the passing off of a bad dream :

The matter has naturally taken some time, for the Board in New York rightly desires to give every missionary a full hearing.

In the light of the above how much has the *Indian Witness* helped the Board, or the Methodists in India, to know anything of the case other than the side of the authorities? Its reporting throughout has been grossly one-sided and unfair. Its defence of its silence in the following words adds further inaccuracy to its admission of unfairness :

Since it has been an issue between a missionary and the Board in New York we have felt that these columns have not been the place for its discussion.

Not only does this contradict his own statement explaining his first refusal, which has already been quoted in this article, fourth paragraph; the refusal referred to came at least three months before the matter had been placed in the hands of Board and before they could have known that there was such a case. Besides, nothing has ever been clearer than that the issue was always one between a missionary and the mission authorities on the field, in which finally the Board was called as arbitrator, by both sides, in the controversy. The *Witness* was the Church's organ, responsible for presenting the issue to the Church. The Church has a right to demand why it failed in its task. If the *Witness* is but an instrument of the bishops, in which the Editor cannot express even his own convictions on an important issue, it is already dead.

The evasion of the real issue becomes finally clear in the last three paragraphs of the editorial. Referring to certain publications in India "which

have defended these missionaries and condemned the Church authorities," the Editor holds that they "have consistently refused to consider the fact that Americans, who are foreigners in India, are not expected to take an active part in Indian politics. This is the real issue." It is *not* the real issue. Nor has the matter of procedure ever been the issue. In this the Editor is right. It is the *Witness* and not the *Indian Social Reformer* (to which he makes veiled reference) which has never yet dealt with the real issue. *The question all along was the one whether the Kristagraha stand was against Government.* If it was not, as I have always maintained and as we jointly set forth in our Second Manifesto, then the question of procedure could not arise. The content of the Kristagraha stand has never been presented to the Methodists, nor has it ever been allowed to be considered as the basis for determining whether the pledge had in fact been violated. Even if the stand could have been proved to have been against Government, such neglect of the issue, with the refusal to give any hearing to the position we had taken, was unfair and inexcusable in any Christian publication. The *Witness* quotes the *Pacific Christian Advocate* with approval because, like itself, that paper also completely evades the issue. What these papers say regarding Americans keeping their pledge is true enough but it is off the point. The question which they leave unconsidered remains as the issue un-dealt-with, the only issue there has ever been between the authorities and myself: Was the Kristagraha stand such a violation of the pledge as they would like to believe?

The pledge says nothing about participation in politics. The "memorandum," under which it is entered into, makes provision for 'influencing' politics under proper conditions which are specified. It is easy to prove that missions have never withheld their people from political acts so long as those acts suited them, and that they have always been with the encouragement of the Government. The mission expulsion of members against whom Government has taken no action nor expressed any disapproval is itself a political action, entirely aside from any question of procedure. Then what was the controversy about?

What is the missionary pledge issue? I would state it as follows: Our Christian ministry becomes impossible in a time of great crisis if we surrender our right of conscience in advance on any matter of human versus property rights and interests. Like Christ, we must stand at all cost with the human interests, whether or not it takes us into politics, or prison, or exile. This is the issue. If out of the Church's official neglect of this issue in this controversy, it is allowed to stand that the pledge constitutes a mission extraterritoriality within which the missionary is expected, as a condition of his service, to barter away his 'mission' for his privileges, the whole of Christianity, and India as well, will tragically lose from this institutional triumph. Not only that, England and all other western nations, who first shared in their gift of Christianity to the orient, will have suffered a grave disservice in this depicting of Christianity as an over-eager instrument of the secular state. Again and again I have warned the mission authorities that the British officials would be the last to appreciate such making of the church and its spiritual claims over life secondary and subservient to all secular claims. They are not so much enamoured with Hitler's idea of totalitarianism and his denial of the right of the freedom of conscience, as Britain's stand in the war has revealed. They would be the very last so to

interpret a pledge "to do nothing contrary to or in diminution of the lawfully constituted authorities."

It would be wrong for the Christian to adhere to any pledge if in so doing he surrendered his right of conscience to stand for fundamental human rights, specifically applied, such as freedom, equality and world-peace. Only an utter lack of moral sense could have led the Church to absolve Government from their responsibility for interpreting the application of the pledge to this controversy, and to assume the same for themselves. Such an attitude has already rendered the church impotent and voiceless in the face of a crisis which involves great moral and spiritual values. The surrender of moral right or condoning of wrong for sake of security of lives or institutions will prove fatal, if allowed to continue. It has not, however, been proved that the Government of India have ever made any such demand on the non-British missionary. I think it is rather quite clear that they have not.

At any rate, whatever the pledge may mean, to ask religion to abdicate its essential mission—to reveal what God can do for life when He is in life—by forcing the acknowledgment that any part of life is political or otherwise outside its responsibility, is a demand that cannot bear the light of Christian theology or morality.

#### HINDU SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.\*

"Hindu Social Institutions" represents the research work of the author, Prof. P. H. Valavalkar, for the Ph. D. degree of the University of Bombay. The studies in Hindu Social Institutions are an institutional approach to the basic social psychology of the Hindus. Would this unearthing of the past be of any use in the present times when the old ideals and practices have undergone a vast change and all new problems as they present themselves have to be tackled and solved in a manner befitting the present? Yes, if nothing else, a knowledge of the old would at least go to show how the ancients dealt with similar problems in their days, how far they succeeded, how far they failed, and why they failed, and that would help the present generation to take advantage of the ancient's experience and be wiser and avoid mistakes in adapting themselves to the new conditions. In these days when "Indian Social heritage is being displaced by western cultural ideals and institutions," it is more than necessary to know how we stood in social matters in ancient times so that we should be able with proper appreciation of the past, to imbibe only what is best in the present and take care to see that contact with the new is neither disruptive nor violent. "Hindu Social Institutions" is mainly based on the Dharma, Artha and Karma Shastras. The book is divided into seven chapters. The first deals with the problem of Existence. Some of the others are Psychology of Education, Marriage, Woman in Hindu Society. In a review of this kind it would be impossible to give even a cursory idea of the contents of these chapters. Prof. Valavalkar has carried out his work with thoroughness, involving though it must have done a vast amount of reading, research, thought and sympathy. Every page of the book shows that the author has approached his laborious task with a sincere desire to be absolutely just and accurate. The subject matter is carefully arranged, deductions are impartially made and nowhere is visible even the least sign of exaggeration or understatement. Interpretations of original texts are impartial and will be found helpful by those who are engaged on the task of

solving the many social problems which face the Hindu Society today. Every social reformer and student of sociology will find the book a valuable aid to his attempt to renovate and invigorate the Hindu Society. We heartily congratulate the author on his patient, laborious, sympathetic and successful attempt at a careful and accurate interpretation of the original texts.

V. S. S.

#### TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY IN U. S. A.

(BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

##### 6. PAROLE.

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Parole is the application of modern methods of treating difficult or erring human beings at a time when they are making a transition from an artificial life to a normal life. Only children who have been in an institution can be let off on parole,—i. e., when the authorities of the institution think that the inmate has become self-reliant and responsible, the boy is sent to his own home where the supervision and direction of the parole officer continues. Thus the offender is not released outright when he leaves the institution but is placed under the authoritative supervision of a parole officer, and in this way he is offered an opportunity to work out his or her own salvation in terms of self-development or service. If justification arises he can be brought back to the institution without a trial for violation of parole.

It has been seen that the boys from poor homes find it more difficult to readjust themselves when they are paroled to their own home than the boys from good homes and they frequently come back, which seems to be due to the poor conditions of their home.

The Parole Officer is the friend and guide of the parolee. He is to rehabilitate his ward and to get him employed and adjusted so that he may get on in life as a normal member of the society. This officer is to do all that he can to make the offender a law-abiding citizen and to bring the best out of him. For this purpose the Parole Officer makes frequent visits to his parolee and takes the help of his family, relatives and public agencies. In actual practice these officers have not performed their duties well. "The data obtained from the records together with the statements made by the boys, gives the impression that in most States relatively little effort was made to give the boys genuinely friendly personal service while they were on parole. There were outstanding exceptions, of course, and some States seemed slightly superior to others in this regard; but for the most part the parole reports were of deplorably routine character, and some reliance was placed on the mere receiving of written reports from the boy or on many times without seeing the boy at all. There is small wonder that many of the boys seemed to assume that parole supervision existed solely for the purpose of checking upon them to see whether they were getting into any further trouble. Some of the boys even expressed the belief that this checking up was a distinct handicap."<sup>26</sup>

It is only very recently that the court has begun to commit the juveniles to the Foster Homes. Behind the young offender we see an array of such neglect

\* By Prof. P. H. Valavalkar Ph. D., LL. B., Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. Price, Rs. 7-8-0.

<sup>26</sup> U. S. Department of Labour Children's Bureau Pub. No. 230 Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys. Washington D. C. 1936. p. 55.



factors as economic deprivation, inadequate anti social or unloving parents, unstable or incomplete homes and abnormal social settings. So, when these children are put in organised families their treatment is quite clear. There were certain things wanting in their own homes and when they achieve them along with security and opportunities for achievement, they return to the society as normal and useful citizens.

Before the inmates are put in Foster Homes their physical and psychological tests are taken and the Foster Home is selected according to the individual's requirements. The Foster Homes are selected by the social care worker after careful study of all circumstances. The foster parents are given some sort of training in the work by lectures and discussion courses, by radio talks, by suitable reading materials, by visit to nursery, vocational schools and so forth. As the foster parents show an interest in their work, they have become a valuable addition to the staff of juvenile workers attached to the juvenile courts.

The main function of the juvenile court is reforming the young offenders. As we have seen above, the entire work of reforming the child rests with the judge and the probation officers attached to his court. When the problem of altering human behaviour is entered upon, we are in a different and more difficult sphere. The art of helping people out of trouble requires a training and skill still unknown to the amateur. If the children are really to be helped out of their abnormalities it requires a careful selection, both of the judge and the probation officer, as they are just like the two wheels of a carriage.

The judge in addition to his legal training should be a trained social worker, specially acquainted with the technique of social work as in the treatment and trial of juvenile offenders more emphasis is laid upon the socialisation of the child than upon the infliction of punishment. Moreover, the judge should be whole-time and permanent and not rotating as at present, for the juvenile court cases. If he is burdened with criminal work as well, the work of the court will be reduced to a mere administrative and routine grade due to pressure of work of another nature. The practice of appointing women assistants to sit with the judges to hear and pass sentences upon all girls' cases started in several cities such as Chicago, St. Louis and Denver, should be extended to all juvenile courts as women can better understand and question the girls brought in the court.

In selecting Probation Officers not only their training as social workers should be taken into consideration but tact, attractive personality, resources, sympathy and ability to deal with and influence people should also be accounted for.

As we have seen in an earlier article, most of the juvenile cases are brought before the court by the police. This means that a special course in juvenile delinquency and child psychology should be given to the police.

The court fixes a number of cases for a certain date with no exact time for their individual hearing, the result being that the young person and others connected with the case have to wait for hours and for their turn. It would be better if separate times are fixed for individual cases so that there may be no congestion and unnecessary waiting.

The repeating of the story by the child before the judge is unnecessary as it has been given before the probation officer, and so only such questions should be put to the child by the judge about which the report of the probation officer is not satisfactory or

clear. If the whole story goes on, it leaves limited time for the actual consideration of the case and its treatment.

Lastly, it may be suggested that the use of Foster Homes should be increased as they have a very salutary effect upon the rehabilitation of the child. The child wants to be loved by some one and cared by some one which were lacking in his own home. When he finds these factors in a Foster Home he readily responds.

#### THE UNENDING TALE OF WOE.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

A friend writes: "A Brahman girl, now twenty was got married at ten only, and was rejected by her husband untouched. Now she wants to lead a family life. Is there any way for her to do according to her desire? Is there no hope under Hindu law for such unfortunates as she?"

There seems to be no end to the tale of woe which such cases represent. A great deal of it is suffered in silence. Only a few dare to look about for a remedy. Most sufferers dare not even to think of it. The position of Hindu law on the point is well-known. The parents of such girls writhe under the agony as much as the girls themselves. But Hindu law continues unmoved and immobile because Hindu society is lifeless and supine except for finding pretexts to afflict its distressed members.

There were a member of Hindu Divorce Bills placed on the legislative anvil sometimes ago. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill was killed in the Central Assembly by the Hindu Law Member of the Government in his voluble zeal for perfection, but he himself did nothing to perfect it. What has become of Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan's Bill in the same House and two other Divorce Bills introduced in the Council of State? How long is this evil to continue unchecked and unremedied in the bosom of our community? Would mere maintenance mitigate the agony of a ruined life?

Aska, } Yours etc.,  
9th November, 1940. } KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.

#### INTER-COMMUNAL MARRIAGES.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The marriage of Mr. Yubal Larkin, a school teacher with a Hindu girl, the marriage of Mr. Mohammed Ali Khan, as reported in *The Indian Social Reformer* dated October 26, with a Sikh girl and the marriage of a Buddhist, whose father starved to death, with a Catholic girl, which have not long ago been contracted, are obvious and living proofs that inter-communal marriages can no longer now be checked or frustrated.

The more religious toleration is exercised the more higher education, emancipation and social life given to the boys and girls, the more inter-communal marriages will be favoured by them.

It is, therefore, useless for us to wail or lament over such unions on religious discriminations. The only remedy that I suggest to avoid possible catastrophe in the lives of such married couples, is to extend legal protection to all girls, irrespective of religion or nationality, who marry men of other religion than their own.

Bareilly, } Yours etc.,  
October 20, 1940. } SETH W. HOWARD.

### THE LATE MR. C. B. NANAVATI.

(BY ONE OF THE MANY WHO KNEW HIM.)

In the death of Mr. Chandulal B. Nanavati, not only Bombay or the Suburban District but the whole national cause has sustained a loss which it would be difficult to make up. His name hardly ever flashed across the newspaper columns. He shunned publicity. All the same, every one connected with public work in the suburbs and organisations, big or small, making for the upbuilding and solidarity of the nation in whatever field, may be found to have shared his munificence. No public endeavour, however tiny, be it a reading room, a library, a gymnastic club, a co-operative society, a scavengers' union or a union of friends went unsupported in its appeal to him, and more often than not he surprised those who approached him with his generosity. But even more than his munificence, he endeared himself to all public workers and organisations by the personal touch which he brought to bear upon every one of these contacts. In him they all found their best friend and ready supporter.

He mixed freely with all and expressed himself without mincing his words, yet without ever offending anyone. He was exceptionally genial in temperament and his sweet reasonableness won him a host of friends and admirers. Economic in speech, precise in response, downright, honest and upright, there was a catch in his unaffected manners which left an indelible impress even on a casual visitor. Unlike the many commercial magnates of our modern cities who in their craze for money-making seem to have hardly any time or scope for social or even domestic life, there was a serenity and a composure about his life and his demeanour which was all his own. A businessman with numerous branches spread out all over the country and beyond India's shores, he was a punctilious time-keeper. There was no ado and no haste about any item of his business at any time, no shouting and no perspiring and no running of hot-haste errands. His life and work, both business as well as private, flowed its even course that reminded one of the noiseless sliding of Shikaras on the vast expenses of Kashmir lakes. This tranquillity and this peace of life were indeed no gift of the Gods with which he was born. It was an accomplishment and an achievement attained after a hard personal struggle, in forging life's values.

For, Mr. Nanavati was a self-made man in the fullest sense of the term, and whatever eminence he rose to was the fruit of his own labours. The son of a prominent State official in Baroda, he had his schooling in that city and put in the first half of his college years also there, after which he migrated to Bombay in company with his brothers and graduated at the age of 21 from Wilson College in 1902. The father and other elders in the family naturally expected him to take to one of the learned professions, to law, medicine and the like—though business was not ruled out—or wanted him to enter a course of apprenticeship in one or other department of State service. His own urge, however, was in the direction of business and he preferred to respond to that inner urge. He worked successively as an apprentice at a firm of jewellers, of cotton dealers, and later as a partner in a firm of import and export merchants in which connection he went to China and Japan to manage their branches.

Wherever he went he made his mark with his ability, industry and integrity, but he was too honest even in business to prosper in company with less scrupulous men and he had to encounter reverses

which virtually drove him to the streets. Much against his will he had to live for a time on an allowance from his devoted father. All the same, he would not give in. He had struck his own course of life and would not reconcile himself to bask under the parental patronage. He stopped accepting the father's allowance on the day which was for him the darkest, and persisted in his chosen course with a determined will. He took a solemn resolve to pay every pie of his obligations which ran into six figures and counselled patience to his creditors. At one stage, he worked as a laundry man, a household provision supplier, a commission agent for petty supplies, and tried his hand at half-a-dozen odd jobs. In the course of this checkered career he had stumbled upon a Parsi youth who was a bird of the same feather and who would look upon no honest vocation as too low, even that of shoe-making. He had turned out to be an old chum of his school days. A partnership had thus been formed which was to endure through life.

He continued to struggle hard. The firm of Nanavati, Vevaina & Co. were suppliers of coal for steamships and grew steadily. He was one of the principal founder promoters of the Eastern Bunkers and other subsidiaries of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., and "guided their deliberations with his sober judgment, robust commonsense and practical wisdom which contributed largely to the success of the Companys." He also became a partner in Messrs. Kantavala, Nanavati & Co., a firm of mill-stores, industrial chemicals, etc.

He had scored. After a few years' struggle, Fortune smiled on him and he prospered steadily. At the very first turn of the fortune he had started repaying his liabilities and he paid up every one of his creditors and every pie of his debts with full interest.

All through the changing vicissitudes of life he was actuated by a passion for clean, truthful, moral life and refused to modify his attitude for what in common parlance is known as 'business morality' as distinguished from the individual one. He had no compartments in his life, no obverse and no reverse sides. And, I believe, it was this moral rectitude as the guiding principle that brought him all the laurels of his life and made of him a humble, devout, unostentatious patriot and a broad humanitarian who knew no caste, colour or denomination. Ever since he began to prosper he had made it a point to devote a very substantial portion of his income to philanthropic use in furtherance of good causes. His charities during life must have amounted to many hundred thousands much of which must remain unknown. His latest substantial charities extend to a couple of lacs of rupees in the shape of a philanthropic trust with widest scope of a most non-sectarian character.

He took the initiative and organised relief during natural calamities such as floods, famine, earthquake or epidemics and would himself contribute liberally. Both during the Gujrat floods as well as the Bihar earthquake his contribution was not meagre, and he was responsible for large collections. He also sent relief in the shape of large consignments of clothing and material. Apart from contributions and collections he made, if my memory serves me right, he bore the entire expense of the batch of about 40 workers of Sabarmati Ashram which was sent out to Bihar under Mahatma Gandhi's instructions and which worked there for nearly six months. Nor were his sympathies confined to the four corners of India. He sent help to Japan during the great earthquake

of 1935. He would also send small amounts to anti-war, no-war and other peace movements and organisations as a token of his appreciation.

His private charities were equally extensive, most of which must remain unknown. The well-known saying, "Let not your left hand know what your right hand gives," may be said to apply to him literally. This writer remembers an instance in which he quietly gave away several thousands of rupees in taking over a few pieces of art, with a view to help a public worker's large family, and the beauty of it was that the worker in question hardly knew the source of the windfall. This was not all. Immediately after remitting the amount this wonderful customer offered to sell away the collection if a buyer could be found and remit the entire proceeds to the family in question in addition to what was already sent! The number of students, widows, middle class families in strained circumstances, etc., helped in lump or periodically by him must indeed be legion.

#### ALL INDIA EDITORS' CONFERENCE, NEW DELHI.

The following resolutions were put from the chair and passed unanimously at the Editors' Conference held at New Delhi on Sunday the 10th November.

I (A) This Conference desire to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that ever since the declaration of war when the Defence of India Ordinance (now Act) was promulgated, the press in this country has on the whole exercised a commendable degree of self-restraint even in the face of irritating circumstances.

The Conference, therefore, viewed with surprise and regret the uncalled-for change in Government's attitude as evidenced by the series of notifications issued to the press after October 1940.

(B) This Conference, however, is now relieved to learn from the President that the Government of India has agreed to withdraw the latest order issued under the Defence of India Rules seeking to exercise drastic control over the publication of news and views and be advised by Committees of the Press at Delhi and Provincial Headquarters in any action they may take, should need or occasion arise hereafter.

(C) This Conference welcomes the change thus indicated in the attitude of the Government of India towards the Press and desires to point out that even from the point of view of the Government the results they seek are best achieved by a policy of trust and co-operation instead of minatory directions.

(D) This Conference, therefore, urges on the Government of India that they withdraw such other regulations or restrictions as bearing heavily on the press in the discharge of their legitimate duties to the public in order to revive and restore the atmosphere of confidence that prevailed between the Government and the Press until recently.

(E) This Conference desires to stress that it is the duty of the Press Adviser also to advise the Government on the best way of ensuring cordial relations with Press and to this end it is his duty to see that orders to journalists in the mofussil are communicated with due courtesy and consideration.

II. This All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference appoints this Subjects Committee as a Standing Committee to represent their interests in relation to Government for the duration and authorises them to appoint Sub-Committees at the Centre and in the Provinces as and when required for the above purpose, including recommendations to the personnel of the Advisory Committees.

The convener of the Standing Committee will be Mr. J. B. Sahni. The President is authorised to co-opt members to the Standing Committee at his discretion.

The following will constitute the Committee:—

The President (Mr. K. Srinivasan), Mr. T. K. Ghosh, Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Messrs. Devadas Gandhi, C. S. Rangaswami, B. Shiva Rao, K. Rama Rao, Desh Bandhu Gupta, Samaldas Gandhi, P. D. Sharma, A. S. Iyengar, S. Natarajan, Pothan Joseph and Jagannath Rawath.

The following members were co-opted:—Mr. Francis Low, Mr. S. W. Bustin, Mr. Kali Nath Ray, Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta and S. N. Mazumdar.

III. This Conference urges that the various punitive measures taken against certain newspapers such as the "Sainik" and the "National Herald" be reviewed by the Government in consultation with the Committee appointed in pursuance of the previous resolution.

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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will no excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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### NOTES.

**World Order or Anarchy?**—Mr. Ralph T. Templar as often argued in these columns that, if Britain would declare herself in favour of a progressive international policy, the United States would very probably find herself beside the British Empire. In a remarkable article he urged that if the stigma of inequality was removed from the British Commonwealth, the United States ought to return to this great association of nations. (*The Reformer*, March 30, 1940). Dr. W. B. Foley of Manila in his article which we publish this week, looks to the United States for such a lead. He visualises a great block of the Dominions of Canada, New Zealand and Australia, under American leadership, uniting with China and India for a new and effective internationalism. It is noteworthy that both writers are Americans who have an acute realisation of the inequalities which exist within the United States herself. Apparently Dr. Foley's plan was conceived as a compensatory force on the breakdown of the British system. The resistance gallantly put up by Britain all these months has altered the situation which faced thinking people on the collapse of France. The United States has today a living organism to consider instead of the scattered fragments of an Empire to bring together. The determined stand of Greece brings Europe once more into the international picture. On the other hand, the Axis Powers have been adding to their numbers. Hungary has now joined the combination and the Kings of Bulgaria and Belgium are interviewing Herr Hitler with a view, it is reported, to reaching agreement on the position of small States. While Britain is still talking largely in terms of saving European civilisation and hesitates to launch on any boldly conceived step which might satisfy Indian aspirations, the Axis has set up an Asiatic end in Tokio. The Japanese are, according to press reports, preparing for aggression against Thailand. Something has to be done to meet the spreading menace of Nazism. What would be an effective counter even

now to Axis diplomacy? Mr. Stephen King-Hall in one of his letters touches on the central issue but fails to appreciate it as clearly as Dr. Foley has done. He writes describing Nazi intentions towards Africa:

Africa, being an undeveloped continent, peopled by barbarians and uncivilised tribes, must recognise its complete subservience to Europe.....In the new order Nazi Europe will be the absolute master.

Africa has always recognized its complete subservience to Europe and there is nothing new in the order which Mr. King-Hall depicts—at any rate for the African. If we are to look forward to something worthwhile, the distinction between Nazi domination and British imperialism must be more clearly made. As the *Times of India* remarked in an unusually outspoken leading article recently on Indians in South Africa, fine words and the fighting they encourage are all of no use without proof of intention to apply the principles set forth in the administration of Empire countries not after the war ends but now. It must not be forgotten that aggressor nations pursue their tactics not because of some inherent national defect but rather because they have seen these tactics pay in the past and they too wish to win advantageous positions for themselves.

**Extension of Satyagraha:**—With the decision to bring in all Congress legislators and members of the All India Congress Committee into the satyagraha campaign, the movement initiated by Gandhiji with the pacifist speeches of Vinoba Bhave has entered on a new phase. According to reports, it is expected that five thousand leading Congressmen will be in prison by December 31st. And the satyagraha is to be restricted to shouting slogans. Though it seems rather ridiculous that men who have held responsible positions in the provincial governments should go about shouting anti-war slogans, the restriction on speech-making is a salutary one and it will go far to secure a uniformity among the satyagrahis. No one can stray far from the Gandhian position in slogans and probably what slogans are to be shouted will also be settled by Sevagram. The Congress agitation with the hartals that follow on the arrest of every prominent Congressmen, has the effect of dislocating markets with consequences going far beyond India. It was inevitable that the insipid Bhave phase would resolve itself into some such form. The whole satyagraha from the Bhave incident to the present day is an agitation for

freedom of expression of opinion. The difference between the Government and the Congress is incredibly small. Both are opposed to Nazism. Gandhiji's repeated insistence on his desire to avoid embarrassing the Government can only mean that once the principle of free speech is conceded there will be very little official agitation from the Congress. We are not ourselves much enamoured of "gentlemen's agreements" of this nature, but to an administration which has to face the embarrassment of putting national leaders, who were yesterday in the Government and may be there tomorrow, in prison, we should have thought the solution was a readily acceptable one. So far as freedom of expression goes, we would point out the significance of the Editors' Conference held recently at Delhi. More than the resolutions, the Conference has opened up a new way out of a position which seemed wellnigh insoluble. But for the Conference, the public would not today be able to read news of the selected satyagrahis. If the anti-Nazi policy adopted by the Indian press as a whole has induced the Government to remove certain restrictions, we do not see why the anti-Nazi attitude of distinguished Congressmen who control the organization, should not bring about a similar change in the political field.

**The Viceroy's Address:—**His Excellency the Viceroy delivered an address to the Indian Legislative Assembly on Tuesday. Every sentence in it testifies to the high conscientiousness and sense of responsibility with which Lord Linlithgow is facing the unprecedentedly weighty and complex problems which confront the Indian Administration. The burden is aggravated by the fact that much of the task of decision vests personally on the Governor-General. The long record which His Excellency unfolded reflects credit on his administration. It is, however, in the field of politics that his Government has failed to rise to the occasion. No great imagination is needed, one would think, to realise that, when Britain is fighting single-handed against practically the rest of Europe for her own freedom and the freedom of other countries which have recently lost or surrendered it, the people of India can not remain unmoved by the same aspiration. We are greatly disappointed that the Viceroy's address shows not a trace of such realisation. In fact, Lord Linlithgow seems to hold that the love of national freedom is a special prerogative of the people of Europe who, even against their acquiescence in authoritarian regimes, should be restored their lost liberties. An indication of this discrimination on the part of Lord Linlithgow was given in his address to the Eastern Groups Conference when he spoke of the kindred and affiliated peoples in the Empire. We are stressing this distinction because it is our deliberate view that no British statesman can make any worthwhile contribution to the solution of the Indo-British problem, unless

he approaches it without racial bias, in the spirit of the golden rule, Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. Let His Excellency ask himself whether the offer which he made to the Indian people of an expanded Executive Council and an Advisory Council, would have been received by any British community outside India.

**Cast Aside Racial Bias:—**In passing, while the Viceroy's belief that the constitution of these bodies would have invested responsibility on Indians is perfectly true, his belief that it would have conferred real power on them cannot be reconciled with the present constitution of the Government of India, even excluding the Emergency Powers. On the other side, Gandhiji, on behalf of the Congress, had asked for nothing more than to carry on his lifelong propaganda against violence and war, which has in the past been the most efficient factor in eliminating violent political offences, and it has at all times been a powerful aid to the maintenance of law and order which is the first duty of every Government. As we have repeatedly said, the difference between the Congress as represented by Gandhiji and the Government is trifling. As a fact, it is now largely a matter of prestige on either side. The Viceroy says that the offer of an expanded Council still stands. We do not expect that any responsible political leader in this country would make haste to get up a movement to accept and work it. The Federation scheme held the field and blocked the way to any alternative that may have proved acceptable for a long time. It was first suspended, then declared definitely open to complete revision. The present offer is likewise best withdrawn. The Congress is not in a hurry to find a solution to the constitutional problem. This may wait till the end of the war. What will ease the situation is some bold and impressive gesture to mark the equality of status of India and Indians in the Commonwealth, at least until what is called "the duration." What it should be it is not for us to say. But we can say this: no such gesture can be formulated by any one who does not honestly feel that in the present world crisis all pretensions to racial supremacy are foolish and futile.

**Mr. Amery on Indian Reform:—**A day after the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India spoke in the House of Commons on the Indian situation. Mr. Amery said that he had conceded what his predecessors had refused that the Indian constitution should be framed by Indians. The Round Table Conference in London, this implies, was a mistake and, as it has turned out, a waste of time and money. But we have a suspicion that in making this concession not to Indians but to commonsense, Mr. Amery had the mental reservation that Indians will not be able to agree upon a constitution. However that may be, he postulated that the constitution framed by Indians should leave out foreign policy as foreign policy depended on military defence.

This is surely putting the cart before the horse. The military arrangements of a country depend on its foreign policy not its foreign policy on its military defence. Mr. Amery's dictum would make Indian self-government a mockery by making it subservient to a military oligarchy controlled from Britain. This is another and a very serious deduction from the rights of the Dominions under the Statute of Westminster, the first being Professor Berriedale's warning about the right of neutrality now enjoyed by the Dominions. It would be more straightforward to say that India will have neither Dominion status nor Independence if Mr. Amery had a voice in the matter. The only original contribution in the debate was by Earl Winterton (of all persons), who pertinently pointed out that, if Indian resources in men and material had been fully mobilised with India's co-operation as an equal partner, Britain might have had a position comparable to that of the United States. For our part we regard the reliance on the States as of doubtful wisdom. Public opinion in the States is liable to sudden fluctuations as happened at the last war. Joint bases for military and naval purposes even otherwise are inexpedient. If two must ride a horse, runs the old saying, one must ride behind. The American will not be the man to be content to ride behind.

**Students and Politics:**—The Government of Madras in a recent communique expressed its disapproval of student demonstration on matters with which the college or institution is in no way concerned. On the undesirability of students participating in political demonstrations there can be no two opinions. Mr. Rajagopalachari himself during his premiership discussed in one of his speeches the propriety of students entering into politics. He looked upon the student days of a youth as a preparation for service in later life as brahmachari was, to use his picturesque phrase, a preparation for marriage. The immediate occasion for the demonstration was the sentencing of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to four years' imprisonment. Generally speaking the Principal is able to handle such situations without much difficulty and any outside intervention is regarded as an admission of failure. We do not know whether the Madras situation was uncontrollable but the communique leaves the worst impression on the public mind. It concludes:

Those who take a leading part in the organisation of interferences with the proper working of a college are neither fit to be members of the college nor to enter Government service. The Government, therefore, desire to make it known that the authorities of all colleges, whether under public or private management, will be asked to send a list of the names of the students who have taken a leading part in organising such demonstrations and, if such demonstrations should occur hereafter, the Government will call for a similar list. The Government will then issue orders debarring such students from appointment in Government service, and if they are members of Government colleges will also order their expulsion from the college.

We fail to see why the students should be made to suffer for what after all is the

weakness of the college authorities. Even college students are easily swayed by emotional appeals and, when their feelings reach a pitch where they wish to stay away from college, it is obviously the part of wisdom to declare the college closed for the day. In most cases the personality of the college staff who are in daily contact with the boys, is sufficient to counteract any desire on their part to indulge in theatrical protests. Where it is not and where the college authorities are not to blame, then it is foolhardy to resort to threats. The *Times of India* warns the students that had they been in France demonstrating against their German invaders, they would have been executed on the spot. This is a childish and contemptible argument. Does the *Times of India* imply by this that the British in India are in a position analogous to that of Germans in France? Is British rule to be judged in India by the standards of Nazism? And lastly does the fate that befell the French students make their action less commendable? Such comparisons cannot but aggravate the trouble which all responsible men would like to see ended.

**"Kagawa in Prison":**—With this heading the *Dnyanodaya* has an editorial paragraph holding up the "pagan totalitarianism" of Japan to public obloquy for putting the famous Japanese Christian social worker, Kagawa, in prison for "violating the military code." The *Dnyanodaya* surmises that Kagawa's offence was to oppose the nationalisation of Japanese Christianity making it independent of foreign missionary control. The establishment of a national Christian Church independent of foreign control is not unique in the history of that religion: It was done in England and Scotland some centuries ago. Opposition to the establishment of a Japanese Church does not directly affect detrimentally any military activity and even a "pagan totalitarian" Government is unlikely to imprison an international figure like Kagawa for it. It is more likely that Kagawa who, if we remember, is a Christian pacifist believing that war is contrary to the teachings of Jesus Christ, has been cast into prison for activities likely to hamper the effective prosecution of the Sino-Japanese war. But why should the *Dnyanodaya* go far afield to find an object on which to lavish its sympathy? "Let those who have imprisoned this Christian," warns the *Dnyanodaya*, "beware. Kagawa in prison may be stronger than Kagawa free could be."

**An Indian Ivory from Pompeii:**—Prof. V. C. Mulvany writing in the current number of the *Hindusthan Review*, Patna, draws attention to the discovery at Pompeii in 1933 of an Indian ivory statuette about ten inches high. The statuette is regarded by Prof. Zanotti-Bianco as one of Lakshmi with two attendants. Prof. Mulvany describes the image to be of exquisite workmanship but he suggests that "the artist's theme is of a dancer wholly pre-occupied with the last touches to her toilet."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 23, 1940.

## THE FINANCE BILL IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

On the 8th November the Congress Working Committee decided that Congress members of the Indian Legislative Assembly should attend and participate in the discussion on the supplementary Finance Bill introduced by Government to meet war expenditure. The debate was to begin the next day but Government considerably postponed it till Monday the 11th, in order to enable the Congress members to attend. The discussion which began that day continued over the whole week and ended last Tuesday. The division showed that Government had secured 53 votes and the Opposition 55. Analysis of these figures yields interesting results. There are twenty-five officials, members of the Assembly, who, according to the established convention, forfeit their offices if they fail to vote with Government. Thirteen non-officials are nominated by Government. Thirty-seven of the 53 (Mr. N. M. Joshi probably abstained from voting or voted with the Opposition) who voted for the motion, are thus accounted for. Of the remaining 16 members who voted with Government, 8 were Europeans, who as usual supported Government. The Government were able to muster only 8 votes of Indian elected members as against 55 by the Opposition. The Muslim League members numbering about 30, remained neutral. What is the significance of this division? It was common ground among all sections of the Assembly that Hitlerism was an intolerable evil and that it must be destroyed for the peace of the world. Congress members were as emphatic on this as Muslim League members and Government officials. The difference between the Opposition and the Government was simple. The Opposition maintained that the country has been led into the War without consultation with the Legislature. This has been regretted by several Englishmen including members of Parliament. The Hon. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Minister for Commerce and Labour, speaking on behalf of Government, declared that it was the constitutional position that the moment the British Government declared war with a country, that moment the whole Empire including the Dominions was at war with that country. Sir Ramaswami ignored the fact that Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa had to obtain the assent of their respective Parliaments for declaring war after the declaration of war by the British Government. He forgot that Eire remained neutral and persists in maintaining her neutrality. A high authority on constitutional law, Professor Berriedale Keith, warned the British Government last week that, with its experience of the inconveniences of Eire's neutrality, it should make it clear to India that Dominion status will not in her

case include the right to neutrality in a war between Great Britain and another country. His argument implies that the attitude of Eire is correct under the Westminster statute. His plea as regards India, therefore, amounts to a plea that Dominion status should not be conferred on India or that that Westminster statute should be so modified as to withdraw this right from all the Dominions. This latter course is out of the question. The Dominions have gained immensely in stature since the outbreak of war and they have been further assured of the protection of the United States. Professor Keith's plea, therefore, only means that India should be distinctly excluded from the right to remain neutral when she is granted Dominion status, in other words, hers would be an inferior form of that status. Dominion status has been rejected as unacceptable by the Congress whose position will not, therefore, be affected by Professor Keith's suggestion. But the Liberals still cling to it. But they have been particular about Dominion status for India being identical with that of the other Dominions under the Westminster Statute, including the right to secede which is a far stronger claim than the right to remain neutral in war. Sir Ramaswami's misinterpretation of the constitutional law of the Dominions embodied in the Westminster Statute and illustrated by the example of the Dominions, notably, Eire, is surprising.

In his opening remarks Sir Jeremy Raisman, the Finance Member, pointed to the large sum, about Rs. 32 crores, which India has so far contributed to the several war funds as proof of the sympathy and support of the country. Making every allowance for official influence which may account to some extent for the largeness of the contribution, there can be no doubt that it is proof that the people of India are desirous of giving their utmost to help Britain in the war. We see no inconsistency between private individuals making voluntary contributions and their representatives in the Legislature refusing to vote public funds demanded by Government. "Grievance before Supply" is the basic principle of constitutional Government, and Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah Khan, Law Member of Government, and Leader of the House, was not on constitutional ground when he pleaded that, whatever the past misdeeds of Government, popular representatives should overlook them and grant the demands now made because the Nazi wolf was round the corner waiting to devour them if they voted against Government. Still less are the public likely to be impressed by the parody of Sir Jeremy Raisman of a hackneyed admonition that a vote against the Government demand was a vote for Hitlerism. The majority of two by which Government was defeated, if viewed in the light of the composition of the Government minority, is not so narrow as it seems. Sir Ramaswami lost his temper and hurled the epithet "traitor" against those who did not share his opinion. Some of these "traitors"

will sooner than Sir Ramaswami thinks be occupying the places occupied by himself and his colleagues, as has happened in this and other countries. Expletives which change their meaning with every turn of events, are inappropriate for use by men to whom words are more than empty sounds. Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah's speech struck a conciliatory note but it cannot wholly undo the effect of his colleague's indiscretion.

#### CULTURE—SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS.

Culture has a very wide significance. There is culture of bacilli in medical science. There is culture of plants and vegetables, commonly known as agriculture. There is culture of animals, domestication. And there is human culture. In all these varieties we find a common factor. Culture is the modification of beings which are endowed with life so as to serve man's ends. The endowment of life itself is as yet beyond man's capacity. It is Nature's secret. Every individual or species is to Nature an end in itself. Through culture—cultivation, domestication, education—man tries to make living things serviceable or agreeable to himself. Another feature of culture may be noted. The process of adapting living things to men's use, involves their diversion from the lines which serve their own natural ends. It reduces, for instance, their vigour and vitality, their power of reproduction. Grafted plants are a good instance. They cannot reproduce themselves. Sometimes, as in seedless grapes and oranges, man deliberately destroys the reproductive capacity of the plant for his pleasure. Castration of bulls and stallions is another instance. Many wild animals will not breed in captivity. Those which are long domesticated, produce offspring which are completely differentiated from the original stock, and cannot be re-assimilated by it.

When we turn to man, the fundamental process remains the same. The child brings with it no culture. European children brought up among Hottentots acquire the behaviour of the Hottentots. There are stories current even of children brought up by wolves acquiring the qualities of their foster parents. We imbibe much of our culture unconsciously from our environment, comprising religious, social, economic and political. Education is meant to be a conscious and deliberate training of youth to ends which transcend the day-to-day uses of society, to leadership. Leadership is the quality which marks out one person as capable of taking his people out of the rut of inherited ways, into higher ways with a broader and more extended outlook. Unfortunately, however, the latter which is the highest end of education is lost sight of and education also tends, consciously and unconsciously, to aim at producing a dead level of conformity. Indeed, a very high official authority in this country has recently declared this to be the principal object of education. Cardinal Newman's famous description in his "Idea of a University" of a gentleman, may be taken to be an apt description of the cultured man. Newman wrote:—

It is almost a definition of a gentleman, to say he is one who never inflicts pain. This description is both refined and, as far as it goes, accurate. He is mainly occupied in merely removing the obstacles which hinder the free and unembarrassed action of those about him; and he concurs with their movements rather than takes the initiative himself. His benefits may be considered as parallel to

what are called comforts or conveniences in arrangements of a personal nature: like an easy chair or a good fire, which do their part in dispelling cold and fatigue, though nature provides both means of rest and animal heat without them. The true gentleman in like manner carefully avoids whatever may cause a jar or a jolt in the minds of those with whom he is cast,—all clashing of opinion, or collision of feeling, all restraint, or suspicion, or gloom or resentment; his great concern being to make every one at their ease, at home. He has his eyes on all his company; he is tender towards the bashful, gentle towards the distant, and merciful towards the absurd; he can recollect to whom he is speaking; he guards against unseasonable allusion, or topics which may irritate; he is seldom prominent in conversation, and never wearisome. He makes light of favours while he does them, and seem to be receiving when he is conferring.

He never speaks of himself except when compelled, never defends himself by a mere retort, he has no ears for slander or gossip, is scrupulous in imputing motives to those who interfere with him, and interprets everything for the best. He is never mean or little in his disputes, never takes unfair advantage, never mistakes personalities or sharp sayings for arguments, or insinuates evil which he dare not say out. From a long-sighted prudence, he observes the maxim of the ancient sage, that we should ever conduct ourselves towards our enemy as if he were one day to be our friend. He has too much good sense to be affronted at insults, he is too well employed to remember injuries, and too indolent to bear malice. He is patient, forbearing, and resigned, on philosophical principles; he submits to pain, because it is inevitable, to bereavement, because it is irreparable, and to death because it is his destiny. If he engages in controversy of any kind, his disciplined intellect preserves him from the blundering discourtesy of better, perhaps, but less educated minds; who, like blunt weapons, tear and hack, instead of cutting clean, who mistake the point in argument, waste their strength on trifles, misconceive their adversary, and leave the question more involved than they find it. He may be right or wrong in his opinion but he is too clear-headed to be unjust; he is as simple as he is forcible and as brief as he is decisive. Nowhere shall we find greater candour, consideration, indulgence; he throws himself into the minds of his opponents; he accounts for their mistakes. He knows the weakness of human reason as well as its strength, its province and its limits. If he be an unbeliever he will be too profound and large minded to ridicule religion or to act against it; he is too wise to be a dogmatist or fanatic in his infidelity. He respects piety and devotion; he even supports institutions as venerable, beautiful, or useful, to which he does not assent; he honours the ministers of religion, and it contents him to decline its mysteries without assailing or denouncing them. He is a friend of religious toleration, and that, not only because his philosophy has taught him to look on all forms of faith with an impartial eye, but also from the gentleness and effeminacy of feeling, which is the attendant on civilization.

Along with the above let us take Cardinal Newman's definition of the "Safe Man", that is, the gentleman above described in the sphere of religion:

Mistiness is the mother of wisdom. A man who can set down half a dozen general propositions which escape from destroying one another only by being diluted into truisms: who can hold the balance between opposites so skillfully as to do without fulcrum or beam; who never enunciates a truth without guarding himself against being supposed to exclude the contradictory; who holds that scripture is the only authority, yet that the Church is to be deferred to; that faith only justifies, yet that it does not justify without works; that grace does not descend upon sacraments, yet is not given without them; that bishops are a divine



ordinance, yet that those who have them not are in the same religious conditions as those who have,—this is your "safe man" and the hope of the Church; this is what the Church is said to want, not party men, but sensible, temperate, sober, well-judging persons, to guide it through the channel of no meaning, between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aye and No.

The two things which are fatal to this type of culture are conviction and character. These are likely to give rise to what are called angularities and are to be avoided. In a system where this type of culture holds sway, difference of opinion is the mortal sin and dissent is suppressed with the utmost severity. Any variation from routine is "bad form" and "bad form" is worse than positive wickedness. Adultery and drunkenness may be tolerated so long at least as they do not create a public scandal and as long as they do not threaten the established order. But speaking inconvenient truths is a mortal sin. This type of culture is the sure sign of decadence. And the present disastrous plight of civilisation is to a large extent the outcome of the ascendancy which it has gained in society and the State. The culture which we have been speaking of, is what may be called secular culture. It is skin-deep. Often it does not extend below the clothes. It has no reference to character. "A man may smile and smile and yet be a villain." Some of the greatest villains in history were men of high accomplishment. Culture of this sort is important to diplomats whom Disraeli described as gentlemen who are sent to lie abroad for their country's good.

While this spurious and superficial culture should be sternly discouraged in every educational and social system, the true culture which springs from what may be called the fountain-springs of our spiritual being, the soul, should be assiduously cultivated in every manner possible. This culture of the soul, will have all the superficial graces of secular culture, but, as it is rooted in the inmost centre of our being, it will never be abused for selfish ends. The truly religious man will be a gentleman as a matter of course. He will never give pain to anyone not because it is good policy but because by giving pain he would be antagonising a kindred soul whom it is his duty to harmonise with his own universal ideals. He would never swerve from truth but his presentation of it in his personal life and conversation will be such as to attract and not to repel people from it. It is a curious fact that, while objective and secular truths can be grasped only by minds trained to do so, moral and religious truths appeal directly to the hearts of all men in every stage of intelligence. Many highly educated men show little trace of culture. Among unlettered people we do not seldom come across men and women of true culture, the culture of the heart. There is a line in Robert Browning's "Death in a Desert" which precisely describes this type. "He could neither read nor write, but only loved." He is the Bactrian boy who kept watch outside the mountain cave where St. John lay dying.

I hold, therefore, that there can be no true culture except that springing out of and having its roots in religion. By religion I mean the awareness of the existence of a Universal Intelligence and of our individual selves as functions of it. On each one of us fulfilling his appointed function faithfully and truthfully, depends the harmony of nations and peoples which is the greatest desideratum of the world at all times, and never more than in our own. To regard ourselves as organic parts of the universe with each his particular function assigned to him is the greatest help to man in his struggle to keep himself from temptations to sloth and self-

indulgence. Every one of us has a purpose and a great one in life. To quote Browning again:—

Partake my confidence! No creature's made so mean  
But that, some way, it boasts, could we investigate,  
Its supreme worth; fulfils, by ordinance of fate,  
Its momentary task, gets glory all its own,  
Tastes triumph in the world, pre-eminent, alone.

K. N.

### AMERICA'S DESTINY.

(BY WALTER BROOKS FOLEY, MANILA.)

The question of Philippine Independence will not be settled by any speech or action of a Philippine politician. Quite obviously there are forces at work which make it certain that, in the old sense, there will be no longer a single independent nation in the world. We are to have "union now," but not Streit's union. Inter-dependence has come to stay for a long time. There will be co-operation of two kinds— one compulsory, the other voluntary. But actually, all co-operation between countries will be compulsory, as witness the combinations of the United States and Canada and the United States and South American countries, voluntary on the surface, but basically compulsory. Or as put recently by an American editor, "Neighbours can make friends but only enemies can make allies." Philippine independence is mentioned only as a starting point to call attention to certain co-ordinated events which have gone into the making of great historical episodes and eras.

We do not know yet what vital, activating powers drove Genghis Khan and his immediate successor out of the Gobi Desert to conquer the world of his day, from Lake Baikal to Bengal, and from Vienna and Smyrna to the Pacific Coastline of China. But the forces may be likened to the energy of a great earthquake of the physical world, shattering age-old patterns and bringing together, literally, people from the ends of the known world.

Mohammedan science and skill were carried bodily into the Far East. Chinese inventiveness and administrative ability entered the West. Genghis Khan the destroyer became a kind of deliverer for it may be said that he disbanded the Dark Ages. He opened up great new human highways. Europe met China. Armenian princes and Persian nobles and Russian leaders met together. Europe's interest in Asia was stirred, and has never ceased down to our times. Marco Polo visited Kubla Khan in Peking. And the Marco Polo Bridge became in 1937 an important landmark in our generation. Vasco da Gama went around Africa to find his way to the Indies. And the same route has become one of the most important to be kept open in our own day. Columbus sailed, not to reach America, but the land of the great Khans. America today has become, to a large degree, the agency linking European former greatness with the gripping power of an awakening Asia.

America is the one factor which will make it impossible for the world to subside into another Dark Age. Gathered among the 131,000,000 of Americans are the urges of the ages and the drive of generations of delvers into the unknown. In America is to be found the significant of the centuries. As Egypt and Assyria and India laid foundations for Greece, as Greece was drawn upon by Rome for culture and language and art, as Europe seized the glory that was Rome, as England harvested for herself the greatness of the old world, so the United States has entered upon her heritage of all the ages that have gone before.

Isolation is over. The real forces are greater than any pact between Japan and Germany and Italy.

In fact that very treaty is a symptom and symbol of world togetherness. Not unity yet, but close inter-relationship.

America cannot help being a spear-point of this new world movement. She has tried to avoid leadership, but it has been thrust upon her. She refused to join the League of Nations and the League collapsed. She refused to be a party to a World Court arrangement and nations have gone to war instead of to Court. She refused to agree to an international economic set-up and world trade moved toward primitive barter. She refused to carry burdens in many circumstances of world importance, and advance was stalled.

But the inexorable world drive is too great for America. America is now being compelled to make choices. And "Choices," as Edwin Markham once said, "are the hinges of destiny." For over three years America sold war materials to Japan to help that country destroy China and to build Japan itself into a totalitarian power. Now, at last, America is awakened sufficiently to stop sending Japan the instruments of death.

America is on the march again, driven by fears and hopes and desires and motives of service. Actions are being taken of which we know little or nothing, just as Dewey was appointed in October 24, 1897 as leader of the Asiatic squadron to fight in the Philippines if need arose.

America is on the highways of the Asiatic world. Ralph Waldo Emerson, in the first half of the nineteenth century, recommended that Americans work out their destiny in the place allotted to them by history for the fulfillment of their capacities. Those capacities and that place have been presented to Americans by thousands of years and millions of men and women. Horace Greeley's advice, "Go west, young man, go west and grow up with the country" is resounding again. The west of his day has now extended to Asia.

The ancient cultures that rose and flourished and fell in the Mediterranean area, will be counted great as long as history endures. But the new culture being grown around the Pacific will be as much beyond Europe as Europe was beyond the Mediterranean nations. There will be a "new order in Greater Asia" far beyond the limited dreams of Japan's militarists.

Gunpowder had a good deal to do with setting large forces of men free for other things than war. Before gunpowder was used in Europe every man had to carry his sword and spear. Gunpowder limited the number of men required for war, and released millions for peaceful pursuits. Great branches of knowledge were then developed. The old feudal aristocracy living in walled cities died. There was the first beginning of a new world outlook.

In our time the dynamo of the electrical world quite possibly has given us the beginnings of a new moral and intellectual order.

Certainly, whether we all like it or not, the great army and navy we are constructing will be used to extend our geographical and political and economic frontiers. If our ideas are greater than our mechanics of warfare we will be able to assure the development of democratic procedures.

Charles A. Beard wrote in 1927, "Conceivably it might be better to be wrecked on an express train bound to a destination than to moulder in a freight car sidetracked in a well-fenced lumber yard." We are now getting ready for a stream-lined ride to a world of tomorrow. America will be the driver. Methods and ideas of the dictators are only the fuel which will be used to charge American engines.

The United States will take the power of the human totalitarian rivers and turn it through dynamos into international projects of human welfare, even as the waters of the Colorado and the Columbia are being directed and harnessed for millions.

Why do I believe that? Because the energy and the brains from the old world are in America. Much of what is left in Europe is only the residue of ancient effort. Moreover the great nations of India and China have stirred to new life, and they are more nearly akin to America in human idealism than any other countries.

Not Japan. For Japan is like Europe, in that she is using only the European and Asiatic ways of life that are helping her to commit suicide. Japan thinks she is advancing. Instead she is rapidly going down to defeat.

Where Russia fits into the picture is as yet not clear. To be a great power she must have larger frontage on the Pacific. Russia could probably advance through Manchuria now if she wished to do so. She is developing her resources and will move, that is certain.

European seekers after gold did not make America great. That greatness came through sweat and labour directed by brains. The colonists who cut their way across three thousand miles of forest, plain, desert, and mountain to the far end of the continent were the advance guard of a world movement that started in central Asia. That movement is coming full circle in our day. America's destiny is definitely to be found in the Orient.

Captain John Smith early caught the basis of American advance in his life with the Virginia Colony. He wrote to his parent company in England, when he got tired of seeing fortune-hunters landed, "When you send again, I entreat you rather send thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots," and added later, "nothing is to be expected (in Virginia) but by labour." Americans may have been soft for the last decade. They have made bad mistakes for a quarter of a century. But that time is over, though quite probably new mistakes will be made. There is work ahead, and Americans will be the labourers with brain and brawn. For work is a part of "the American dream."

It was my privilege to grow up in the atmosphere of New England, perhaps best typified by two illustrations, one the reminiscences of old clipper-ship days, and the other the New England town meeting. Both were co-operative undertakings of free men adventuring at home and at the ends of the earth. Such co-operation is now to be applied on a larger world scale with American initiative.

There was a convinced belief in America's future in that New England atmosphere. It was democracy in essence. Now that democracy is to be extended. Our great collaborators will be India and China, with the Philippines serving as a vantage point, or a platform from which to preach the message, and with Russia possibly moving on eventually from dictatorship to democratic deliberation. Canada will be linked increasingly in the development. Australia and New Zealand will be partners on the periphery of the Pacific.

In January 1904, Homer C. Stuntz wrote these words after several years' residence in Manila, "(God) has made America for a mighty destiny. He has set her in these seas not for her own aggrandizement, but that she may work out His sovereign will of righteousness among these nations." We today may state the enterprise in different terms, but we are still facing the responsibility. Those of us who are

Americans and who live now in the East have an obligation to assist in the setting free of great forces exemplified to some degree in the United States and awaiting development in Asia.

Winston Churchill, ten months after Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, told the House of Commons, "You cannot be the saviours of Europe on a limited liability." America's liabilities are now world wide. The cost will be terribly high. We will all pay part of the price. That price is interlocked with our destiny. We will lose much of our present democracy. Our hope is that the new international democracy built on illimitable human sacrifice will be greater than our dreams.

I close with a quotation from Professor A. Whitney Griswold's book, "The Far Eastern Policy of the United States," probably the best book written on this subject. "History," he wrote, "offered no reason to believe that the United States was running away from its Far Eastern destinies, or that it should do so. It offered many reasons for believing that the United States should understand those destinies, in their true proportions."

The basic situation is a more and more closely knit world. The spectacular organic unity of the United States created by voluntary co-operation, I am convinced, will be a deciding factor in creating a decent world society. The peace and freedom of the Pacific will be produced by America.

#### WAYSIDE JOTTINGS.

The supervision of His Holiness the Pope extends to the smallest details of the arrangements in the Church as in the community. The Catholic *Nai* Leader of Madras announces that "in view of present circumstances due to the war, the Holy Father, at the request of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, has issued a decree permitting, as long as these circumstances exist, the use of other oils (vegetable oils if possible) in sanctuary lamps before the Blessed Sacrament. As a last resort electric lights may be used." Electric lights were introduced in many Hindu temples before the need for economising oil arose, as a measure of convenience to worshippers.

Dr. J. M. Kumarappa contributes to the Sunday last *Hindu* an article on Desertion in Marriage. He tries to explain why there are more cases in India of wives abandoning their husbands than of husbands deserting their wives as in Western countries. He gives reasons which on the face of them render desertion by wives more difficult in India than in the West. Still he says they do so and he is puzzled to know why. Professor Kumarappa admits that there are no statistics available of the number of desertions in marriage. His impression does not rest on any data. It is merely an impression formed from cases within his knowledge. It is dangerous to rest any conclusion as regards social trend on mere impressions. So far as Hindus are concerned, and Dr. Kumarappa's references to Hindu Law show that he is chiefly concerned with them, we are not altogether without materials for forming a definite conclusion about the tendency of marital vicissitudes. There are institutions like the Shradhanand Anath Mahila Ashram in many towns and their reports uniformly show that the vast majority of cases of abandonment are by husbands and not by wives.

The Catholic *Examiner* has reproduced large parts of the article on "National Dress" which was published in the *Reformer* of the 9th November

and it has on the whole expressed its approval of the views expressed in it. In regard to the *dholi* which Professor Afonso had considered improper, the *Examiner* agrees with the *Reformer* that it is as aesthetic as the sari. As for the sari itself, the *Examiner* thinks that it is not so useful as it is ornamental but there are many ways of wearing the sari. The drawing-room manner is not the same as, for instance, the manner adopted by the fisherwoman of Danda carrying her wares to market in a basket poised on her head. The point is that the same sari can be used for both purposes, which can not be done with European clothes. Nevertheless the sari, it must be admitted, has proved a fatal disadvantage to its wearers in connection with the use of the primus stove. The Bombay Coroner has more than once declared that all the cases which came before him of accidental burning on account of the primus stove are not accidental. At the same time he has had several primus stoves destroyed as being mainly instrumental in facilitating the self-immolation of the victims. The sari was quite safe so long as Indian women adhered to the old chula or sigri. The intrusion of the primus stove upset the kitchen economy. It was a question whether the sari or the stove will go. The stove has been improved so as to dispense with the inflammatory, methylated spirit.

The *Examiner* writes, "It is very nice to think that time works no ravage but unfortunately it is not true." It depends very much on what the *Examiner* means by ravage. The "Why-grow-old" advertisements would smooth out every wrinkle, cover every bald patch, and dye every grey hair. One often wonders as one looks at the "before" and "after" photographs which are intended to drive the argument home, why anyone who has acquired all the personality which the "before" face shows, should go in for a course which reduces his facial expression to one of vacuous imbecility. The *Examiner*, forgetting in a momentary fit of enthusiasm and sympathy, that Prof. Afonso's advice was to Indian women, offers excuses for "white women" using artificial means for repairing the ravages of "climate," which it says no one can dispute. It is very difficult to say what are the ravages of climate and, in the absence of widespread as well as isolated experiments, it is not likely that we shall reach any definite conclusion.

The fact of the matter is, as an inadvertent remark of the *Examiner* shows, we are all of us conscious of our social shortcomings. "Happy are they," it writes, "who need no artificial aids to make themselves agreeable." There is not one of us who does not remember some social function at which things went wrong. And while we are blushing at the recollection, the advertisers catch us with the admonition to put something powder on our noses, or some other lipstick on our lips, and the more audacious of them win a greater success by more intimate attacks on our social inferiority-sense.

The *Examiner* is wrong in attributing the thought that trousers are not only indecent but obscene to ultra-orthodox Hindu notions. Sir Richard Burton expressed his preference for the Oriental manner of encasing the unsymmetrical nether form of man in the skirt, while the trousers were used to cover the symmetrical feminine figure. The reversal of this in Europe struck him, as it must any impartial mind, as ridiculous and indefensible.

### THE LATE MR. C. B. NANAVATI\*

(BY ONE OF THE MANY WHO KNEW HIM)

Mr. Nanavati's refinement and culture did not in the least suffer from neglect or exorcence due to his busy life on the mundane plane. Till his eyesight deteriorated he read considerably. He was a careful student of newspapers and of current events. It was a treat to converse with him. Right from his college days he had formed studious habits which remained with him. He had regular hours for study, exercise, social affairs, domestic and for his personal hobby which was gardening, and he followed his time-table scrupulously. He spent lavishly on the small garden round his house and would spend a fixed time in studying catalogues and magazines on gardening, botany and allied subjects. He was a prop to the Nationalist Press and to struggling publishers, authors and men of letters. He built a house for his residence which was a model of his refined tastes and his keenest sense of cleanliness and hygiene and he wanted his household to be a perfect model in that respect. Even as regards the daily round of household functions he had an ideal before his mind's eye which he constantly strove to attain and exhorted all members of the household to reach. He was among the earliest members of the Bombay Swadeshi Co-operative Stores and remained a staunch protagonist of Swadeshi all his life.

In the social sphere, though Jain by community label, he was an ideal Hindu householder. Every one of his actions was permeated with his utter humility. He never remembered his birthday or allowed any one else to find it out, much less to celebrate it, though he heartily participated in celebrating those of others. He was a lavish host and his table was ever open to one and all. In fact he was never happier than when he was at the table with his guests. He had no caste scruples and would eat strictly vegetarian food from or with persons of all castes, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Europeans and all, without any ado. In fact, he regarded caste as the bane of Hindu Society and a great disintegrating factor. He was a model husband, a fond father, a dutiful son and a practical reformer in social matters. He married his daughter outside his sub-caste, discountenanced purdah and gave his wife the most liberal training including a tour to the European Continent in order to equip her for social and public service. He let her take part in the Satyagraha movement of 1932, in which she picketed liquor shops and courted imprisonment while she was in a delicate condition. He financed her constructive projects such as a Khadi Mandir, a women's institute, periodical exhibitions of Khadi and other handicrafts, annual gatherings of ladies and celebration of seasonal festivals on an absolutely cosmopolitan basis.

He took the keenest personal interest in the upbringing and the education of his children. He did not believe in imparting education to one's children by retaining a staff of educationists and putting the children in their charge. He did not believe in leaving any considerable patrimony to his children beyond providing just enough for a liberal education and a thorough good grounding in business or profession.

He followed keenly contemporary events and studied carefully day to day currents of public affairs and happenings in India. In the field of business he was deeply conscious of the foreigner who wanted India to remain a close preserve for himself; who manipulated budgets, currencies and

tariffs, placing at a single stroke of the pen the entire Indian talent and enterprise at a hopeless disadvantage. He looked upon non-violence which eschewed competition and exploitation as the only sovereign panacea for India's economic ills and for her deliverance from foreign yoke and no amount of casuistry would dislodge him from his well-considered position. He was thus a confirmed believer in the Gandhian way as the only one for the present world by which to remodel her economic, social and political structure and he had the profoundest faith in the unique technique which Mahatma Gandhi had evolved as the only adequate weapon to achieve this,—a moral equivalent of war.

During the Satyagraha struggle of 1930, he considered it his natural duty to help the campaign. At one time he insisted on accommodating a large number of Satyagrahis in his own residential house and actually did so for a long time at great risk. The part his good wife played has already been mentioned. His own arrest was imminent but did not come about owing probably to the suspension of the campaign. He continued visiting prisons, inquiring after the meanest worker and volunteer jailed in course of the campaign and looking after his and in many cases his family's needs.

During the following years of constructive and parliamentary effort, he quietly helped the nation's endeavour in every constructive project within his sphere. Through the Gandhi Seva Sangh and other organisations he donated fairly large amounts periodically for various items of the constructive programme and for removing the hardships of the Harijans. His sympathies for the Harijans and for the aboriginal forest tribes were of a most intense nature. He almost entirely financed for years a centre of work devoted to their service in the forest district of Thana in the neighbourhood of Bombay. He, more than once, offered to have in his household Harijan cooks and domestic servants on handsome salaries even as they are taken up in Parsi and European households and to finance any scheme for imparting to them the necessary training.

He had an equal reverence for all religions and respected the religious susceptibilities of all persons. He could count by the score personal friends among Muslims, Parsis and Christians, even Europeans. He had Christians, Parsis and others as partners or co-directors, or branch managers, departmental heads, etc., in his business, besides his principal Parsi partner whom he took from the start and who remained an esteemed colleague of his to the end. He firmly believed in communal unity and much deplored the recent growth of aggressive communalism and minority complex which had, he used to say, ruined our politics.

Nothing in his life could equal his reverence for the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. He and under his influence the whole family were devoted to Gandhiji and to all that he stood for. Yet, he was too shy or considerate to seek more than a meagre personal contact with the great man by encroaching upon his time which he regarded as the nation's. He was content to read the Mahatma's *Harijan* and other writings and to associate freely with some of his immediate co-workers. And it was his living contact with the latter, and more truly still, the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings which, in the opinion of this writer, were the mainsprings of all his urge and activities for doing good and for living intensely throughout his after-life.

His last years were years of a protracted and agonising illness. Over two years ago he got into the grip of a fell disease, the exact nature of which

\* This is the concluding half of an article, the first part of which appeared last week.

could never be sufficiently diagnosed. It was intestinal ulcers or some such thing. The best medical aid of all kind—Allopathic, Homœopathic, Holiotherapy, Ayurvedic etc., was requisitioned in vain. He went to Switzerland, returned without benefit and again passed months after months of intense physical suffering. He bore it all with an amazing degree of self-control and resignation. The end came at an almost measured pace. It was indeed a deliverance.

Such was the life of one who, like the good Abu Ben Adam, preferred to devote himself to the service of God's creatures rather than to the God of shrines and temples. May his tribe increase! A patriot and a gentleman in the highest sense, without ill-will towards any one, friend of all, compassionate, self-effacing and generous to a fault, he was a precious asset to the nation and a silent bulwark to all good causes. He was a rare gem in our public life. Not only the suburbs and the City of Bombay but the country is poorer today by his loss. May his soul rest in peace!

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THE

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**China and India:**—His Excellency Tai Chi Tao, President of the Examination Yuan of the Chinese National Government, is at present in India leading a Goodwill Mission. The visit is by way of a return visit to the one paid by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to China before the outbreak of the European War. His Excellency, however, has not allowed this circumstance to affect his mission to India. Wherever he has gone, he has maintained contact both with the Government and with representatives of the people. He has not spoken much in public but what he has said, has been instrumental in bringing home to many Indians the problems of the Chinese people and the dignity with which they are facing up to them. His Excellency presided over the anniversary of the Buddhist Vihara at Sarnath and he has in many ways proved himself a worthy messenger of ancient and modern China to this country. In an interview with Gandhiji, he bore witness to the long vision which inspires some at least of China's leaders in their struggle with Japan. In a striking passage he observed:

Victory is not enough; future peaceful relations between nations must also be established.

After the fulminations of Western belligerents against their enemies, this attitude of quiet detachment comes as a welcome relief. Dr. T. Z. Koo, another distinguished Chinese publicist, now in this country, also stressed the necessity of a settlement in peace. In his speeches in Bombay Dr. Koo who heads a Student Christian Movement mission, has repeatedly brought out the need for the economic satisfaction of Japan which even a smashing Chinese victory will not remove. The absence of bitterness and the almost studied understatement of China's sufferings, are an example to third party propagandists who spoil their case by proving too much. If the attitude so ably represented by the two visitors is general in China, the Chinese people have recaptured the real meaning of the words, righteous war.

More, they have given a new content to the words, Ahimsa and Non-Violence. Gandhiji in a cryptic message on the fall of Poland remarked that Poland's violence will count as non-violence. The observation was inaptly applied to Poland which had not departed from the traditional methods of pursuing a war either in armed or unarmed resistance. Poland fell before a power more developed than herself, not differently developed. But it certainly appears relevant in connection with Dr. Tai Chi Tao's attitude to the war his country has been forced into. Non-violence is an attitude of mind more than a method of resistance. The ability to see the world as a whole has evidently not deserted China in her time of crisis, even in the fourth year of the Sino-Japanese War. Consequently neither of the two leaders indulge in the usual clap-trap about "the war to end wars," "the war for democracy," "the war for the freedom and independence of small nations" and the other slogans which sicken one by their unctuousness. It is not any war but the peace that follows which decides whether the old feuds are to be kept up or whether a greater sanity will descend on the belligerents. If the breadth of vision shown by Dr. Tao and Dr. Koo wins the day in China, there is a great chance of the world settling down to a new internationalism. European intellectuals who face a similar problem in their continent, realise similarly that their difficulties will have to be faced together after the war. But as the European War drags on, bitterness is rapidly increasing and the voice of the few who see the dangers inherent in the mental attitudes of the belligerent peoples, is growing steadily feebler.

**Constitutional Reform in Baroda:**—Readers of *The Reformer* would have noted that we have been repeatedly urging that the future constitution of India should be based on a careful study of Indian conditions, religious, political, social and economic, and should take note of the deep-rooted sentiments of the Indian people, using western experience principally to avoid mistakes. Progressive Indian States have in recent years introduced constitutional reforms. Many of them have had for several years past representative bodies to serve as media of contact between officials and the people. The practical working of the institutions in the States affords valuable guidance to All-India reformers. Early this month a reformed constitution was inaugurated in Baroda.

Simultaneously it was announced that one of the elected members of the new Assembly has been nominated "People's Minister" in the Executive Council. Two points are worth noting. The new Baroda constitution has steered clear of the complications of communal electorates. Once these are introduced, it is not easy to get rid of them, and the demand for extending the communal principle to every phase of the administration grows more insistent every year and every month. The Baroda scheme has avoided this pitfall. The second is that the function of "People's Minister" is not restricted to any single portfolio. As we understand the scheme, the idea is that he should bring the popular point of view to bear on the whole sphere of administration. All the transactions of the Administration will come within his purview and he will be entitled to express his opinion on them. The method of choice by nomination of a "People's Minister" does not accord with the theory of democracy but in practice it may prove not less efficacious as a safeguard of popular interests than the vagaries of the ballot box. The working of the Baroda and other Indian States schemes should be studied carefully by students of Indian politics. We trust the authorities will afford full facilities for such study by the publication of the proceedings in English.

**Students and Politics:**—There have been demonstrations of students in different parts of the country which have mostly taken the form of absenting themselves and picketing to prevent others from attending classes, to express their sympathy with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the sentence of four years' imprisonment imposed on him. That sentence had been severely criticised. It was described as savage in the House of Commons and the Secretary of State did not defend it, only pleading that the prisoner was placed in the A class which admitted of many privileges and was in practice no more than a restraint on his freedom of movement to keep him from preaching his political doctrines. In India also the sentence, especially as it came after a long interval of immunity of even stronger sentiments, came as a shock. The Pandit is held in high admiration by the youth of India who regard him as a model for their own behaviour as far as their means permit. It is inevitable that there should have been among them an upheaval of sympathy and resentment and it is desirable that such ebullition should find an outlet if it is not to have worse consequences. Every responsible leader has deprecated student strikes for political reasons, as did Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, before he was arrested last week. But youth are prone to emotional outbursts and we seriously suggest that to repress them by rustication or disqualification for Government appointments will only worsen matters. The Tsarist regime tried to stave off revolution by transporting students by trainloads to Siberia, but it did not succeed. The special

feature in India is that the Governors and other high officials who control policy, have their children educated in their own country, and so they are without the means of feeling the effect of their measures through the channels which connect political with social and family life in every normally-governed country. We remember Mr. Asquith, when he was Prime Minister, had his hat smashed at a ragging demonstration by students at his own University of Oxford, but not a single student was rusticated or made to suffer in any other way for his exuberance. The other day the Government of Bombay sought to exonerate the conduct of some overseas soldiers who had misbehaved towards citizens by pleading exuberance of spirits. The rustication and disqualifying orders will be revised as a matter of course by the next Government or will fall in abeyance without any express repeal in a short time. But the resentment created by the promulgation of such orders by authorities who are entrusted with the administration, creates a prejudice which it is the part of true statesmanship to avoid, particularly at this critical time.

**Sind Affairs:**—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, is to be congratulated on the agreement he has brought about among Sind political parties and on his decision that Sind Congressmen will be asked to remain outside the satyagraha campaign with a view to restoring peaceful conditions in the province. This is a recognition of the fact that the unity he has been able to achieve has to be maintained by Sind leaders themselves. The main problem in Sind today is the restoration of law and order. Had Maulana Abul Kalam Azad not succeeded in bringing about an understanding among the various political factions in Sind, it is obvious that the Governor would have had to suspend the constitution and carry on with Advisers as in the other provinces where it has not been possible after the withdrawal of the Congress to form ministries resting on the confidence of the people. If even then it had been found difficult to administer the province according to the laws of the land, then the only solution would have been to unite Sind with some other province where the administration is able to command the respect of the people. Either Bombay or the Punjab would serve this purpose as in both these provinces, though there are political grievances against the party which had risen to power, things have not come to a state in which murder and arson take place with the police helpless to check it. Sind leaders have now an opportunity to set their province on its legs again and we trust the reformed Cabinet will show itself as able to enforce respect for human life, as its members have proved themselves ready to subordinate personal and even party considerations in order to achieve agreement among the provincial leaders. Political unity in Sind is only a means to an end and the leaders will do well to bear it in mind.

**The Italian Collapse :—**The Italian defeats in the war with Greece have surprised the public. Greece was never a first class political or military Power and much of her administrative and social life is medieval. Italy, on the other hand, had under Signor Mussolini created the illusion, as it now seems, of a Great Power and has been recognised by other Powers as an equal. The conquest of Abyssinia fostered this illusion among the Italian people themselves. The real cause of the Italian collapse is that the German alliance has made the Fascist regime extremely distasteful to the Italians. In character and temperament, the two nations are the antithesis of each other. Even a military dictator cannot succeed against the ingrained prejudice of a whole people. The Italian soldiers are not wanting in courage or endurance but they have no heart for the unprovoked war against a people it up from Italy owes a great deal for her culture and civilisation. Italy's intellectual heritage is largely derived from Greece and though Dictators may disregard such considerations the common people never forget them. The Fascist regime in Italy is near the end of its tether, and if it goes, the Nazi regime in Germany loses its principal support.

**British Finance:—**We commented some weeks back on Professor Keynes' startling declaration that the national wealth of Britain had increased since 1937 in spite of (or because of?) the War, pointing out certain obvious difficulties in the way of accepting the Professor's conclusion. Lord Lothian, the British Ambassador to the United States, returned last week to the States after a short vacation in Britain. He was interviewed in New York by journalists. He told them that Britain was beginning to come to the end of her financial resources. "Available gold and securities had been virtually used up and this factor figured in the calculations for 1941." It is plain that Lord Lothian was indulging in a good bit of exaggeration in order, perhaps, to stimulate America to further efforts by way of help to Britain which was fighting for the freedom of the States no less than of her own. British resources are by no means exhausted or anywhere near exhaustion. We have not heard much since the first announcement of Professor Keynes' extraordinary thesis. It may be that Lord Lothian had in mind the need to counteract the impression produced by the Professor's optimism. For if Great Britain's wealth had increased, there will be no need, as we pointed out, to ask help from others less fortunate than herself. The United States, of course, has immensely profited by the War without incurring any of its risks.

**The Pope's Fast:—**His Holiness the Pope started a week's fast on Sunday evening as an act of penance for the sins of mankind which has set Europe on fire and as an incident of it the part of the world which has been passively instrumental in facilitating them. A penitential fast is an intense form of prayer and its efficacy is directly proportionate to the

sincerity of the faster as shown by complete renunciation of complicity with the sinner. If the Pope's fast succeeds in bringing about Peace, it will be irrefragable proof that His Holiness's repudiation of the war mentality is without taint in the eyes of the Ruler of the Universe who sees into men's hearts. Incidentally the Pope's action will convert the Catholic community which has been markedly sceptical about the views and methods of Gandhiji.

**Indian Workers for England:—**Mr. Bevan's scheme for transporting Indian workers to Britain, there to be trained to work in factories, would have better prospects of success if it had come in normal times. It requires to be worked out with care if it is not to miscarry and become a source of more misunderstanding. It will be desirable to confine recruitment for it at present to the Anglo-Indian community as its ideas and habits as well as aspirations most nearly approximate to those of the British proletariat. The introduction of Hindus and Muslims of the working classes into British workers' home after a month's probation in a special hostel, will involve a radical readjustment on both sides. For one thing, the question of food will present difficulties. Hindus do not take beef, and Muslims will not tolerate the sight of pork. The two articles play an important part of the working class dietary in Britain. It is hard to expect the average British workman to overhaul his habits for the purpose of accommodating his Indian guests. If, on the other hand, the Indian renounces his prejudices and takes to the forbidden articles, he will find it impossible on his return to his native land to fit in into his social environment. Then there are ideas regarding relations with women which have always given most trouble in racial contacts.

**Irish Union in Sight:—**The death of Lord Craigovan, announced early this week, removes the most serious barrier to the union of Eire and Northern Ireland, which several notable Irishmen on both sides have begun to feel to be of vital importance to the security of Ireland. The writer on Irish affairs in the September *Round Table* described Lord Craigovan as the last representative of Northern ascendancy, and cited some incidents to show that his intransigent attitude had estranged members of his own party and led even to some resignations from his Cabinet. Mr. De Valera stated recently the terms on which Ulster and Eire may reunite in an interview with the representative of the *New York Times*. He said that Eire was not prepared for any proposal to join in a Defence Committee while Ireland was divided. The increasing collaboration of the United States with Great Britain, however, may bring about a similar collaboration between Britain and Ireland. It will be a step forward in the movement for world peace if Ireland and Britain, forgetting their ancient feuds, join hands through America in establishing permanently friendly relations in their corner of the globe.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 30, 1940.

## AN INDIAN MUNICH?

The Secretary of State for India made a long statement in the House of Commons last week on the Indian situation. Sir N. N. Sircar, late Law Member of the Government of India, in a press interview on Mr. Amery's statement, criticised the omission in it of all reference to the Pakistan project. "It is up to him (Mr. Amery)," observed Sir Nripendranath, "to give as unequivocal a condemnation of the Pakistan scheme as he has employed in the case of Independence." The criticism was premature. Though Mr. Amery did not refer to the Pakistan project in the House of Commons, he spoke of it at a luncheon of the English-speaking Union the very next day. He did not in so many words express an opinion on the scheme but permitted himself to think aloud on some possible alternatives which he thought might largely meet the fears of the Moslems. He said :

May be the fears of the Moslems might be largely met by a further increase in the powers of the provinces, possibly rearranged and regrouped, subject only to a minimum central control necessary to secure some measure of unity in foreign, defensive and economic policy. A change in that direction would no doubt also largely meet the hesitation of the Princes. It would still, of course, involve some central Executive, some central legislature, empowered to vote and levy the necessary expense. May be some other form of representation, for example, functional representation such as has been tentatively established in some Indian States might greatly help to get over the communal difficulty. Lastly may be that our whole conception of Parliamentary Executive is, for the Central Government of India at any rate, less suited than an Executive more on the American lines, that is independent of the Legislature for the term of its office, whether directly elected or nominated by provinces and States, and with a definite proportion allocated to different main elements.

In his statement in the House of Commons Mr. Amery claimed that he had gone far to meet the Indian position by conceding that the future constitution of Indians should be determined by India. The next day at the luncheon he was throwing out suggestions for the appeasement of Moslem fears by measures to be adopted by the British Government ! The fact is, and it is strange that Sir N. N. Sircar does not realise it, no British statesman is at present in a position to bestow consecutive thought on the settlement of the Indian problem. They are all pre-occupied with the war, failure to win which would deprive Great Britain not only of her freedom but of the elementary necessities for sustaining life. Next to the help and co-operation of the United States, they rely on the support of the Muslim world to help them to destroy the Nazi peril. The Muslim countries, Turkey, Egypt, Iran and Afghanistan, have so far preferred to remain neutrals or non-belligerents in this war. It is not without significance that the attitude of the Muslim League bears a striking resemblance to that of

the Muslim States. British statesman believe—at least an influential section of them—that by securing the goodwill of Indian Muslims they will ensure the goodwill of the Muslim world. They have also been led to believe that by conciliating Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League, they will be securing the goodwill of all Indian Muslims. Much can be said to show that every one of these premises rests on questionable bases. But they are at the moment the corner-stone of British policy. Whether the fears professed by Mr. Jinnah are real or political, whether they are supported by history to which Mr. Amery made a passing reference, British statesmen cannot be expected to consider now.

So far as these fears are real, they are not likely to be met, as Mr. Amery believed they might be, by any of the alternatives which he mentioned at the luncheon. The fundamental grievance of Mr. Jinnah is that the Hindus and Muslims form the majority communities in India. He wants a slice off the country in which the Muslims will be the majority. In a recent press statement Mr. Jinnah warned the Hindus that at present he was asking only for a fourth of the country. If they did not agree quickly to his demand, they would have to part with more, perhaps the whole country. Mr. Jinnah expects that he would be able to secure this through the instrumentality of the British Government, as he himself is, so far as is known, without any mechanised army at his back to enforce his demand. The British Government has all along professed to be moved by the ideal of Indian unity. The Viceroy in his address to the Legislative Assembly the other day again stressed the idea of Indian unity. To endorse the scheme of Pakistan would be a violent departure from these professions. Mr. Amery's luncheon speech is the first sign that the idea of a single India is no longer an axiom with British statesmen applying their minds to the Indian question. Mr. Amery's reflections are the most favourable sign which Mr. Jinnah has so far had that his pressure is beginning to tell. The further attrition of the Powers of the Central Government and the re-alignment of provincial frontiers, is as detrimental to India's unity as Pakistan would be. The weakening of the Central Government, already much weakened by the Hoare scheme, will deprive the country of the only agency which exerts a consolidating influence. We are at a loss to understand why Mr. Amery thinks that this will remove the hesitation of the Princes. The main point to remember is that, whatever the constitution of the provinces, non-official movements, social, economic and political, are all organised and will be increasingly organised on an all-India scale. The Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha are all All-India organizations. Every Province and every State has to reckon on agitation within their borders developing into an All-India agitation with which only a strong Central Government can deal with sympathy and

firmness. Mr. Amery's reservations greatly neutralise his professed object. Foreign Policy and Defence will be in the hands of the Central Government. So will be Finance, Currency and Commerce. One word about the American system of irremovable Executive. Mr. Amery forgets that the President is elected and the Governor-General is not and will presumably not be. Conflict between the President and his Secretary of State is not unknown. President Wilson and his Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, differed on every point during the Peace Conference in Paris and there was no way in which the President could get himself another Secretary of State more sympathetic to his views, because the Senate should approve of his nomination and Mr. Lansing refused to resign. It is no good picking out a single feature of a highly complicated system such as that of the United States and holding it up as a solution of the Indian problem.

#### THE PRESS AFTER THE DELHI CONFERENCE.

Owing to considerations of time, the Editors' Conference which met on November 10 at Delhi, dispersed without working out details, such as the constitution and functions of the Provincial Press Advisory Committees which were contemplated by the Conference. In this and other matters, the organisers of the conference were somewhat obsessed by a sense of the shortness of time. The Standing Committee was expanded on the day following the Conference meeting to allow for representation of all the provinces and for each province one Standing Committee member was appointed as convener. It was suggested that the Conveners bring together their leading provincial newspaper editors and proceed to elect a panel of members from whom Mr. K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu*, the President of the Conference, was to appoint the Advisory Committees and communicate the names to the Provincial Governments. These provincial committees, according to the Government order, were only to come into existence after the provincial Governments accepted the procedure recommended and followed by the Central Government. At the Centre itself, the system came into effect immediately and the Conference appointed a Committee of five advisers. It is now a fortnight since the Conference met and nothing of importance seems to have been done by the provinces either from the Government or the Conference side. We trust that the provinces are not going to sabotage the agreement reached at the Centre though it looks ominously probable.

The system of Special Press Advisers with whom the Advisory Committees are to work, is centrally controlled. When, therefore, news came through that the Editor of the *Nagpur Times* was warned for publishing a "prejudicial account" of the trial of Mr. Bhiyani, a leading C. P. Congressman and the first satyagrahi of

that province, the question naturally arose whether the Delhi Committee of Advisers had approved of the warning. The report of the Bhiyani trial as published in the *Nagpur Times*, judged by any journalistic standard, seemed a fair report. It contained the evidence of the prosecution witnesses as well as a statement of Mr. Bhiyani explaining his position. If the Government does not want the press to publish even a fair report of the trial of satyagrahis in open court, its course is obvious. The public and the press can be excluded from all such judicial proceedings. The method adopted of seeking to suppress press reports is tortuous and, to say the least, misleading to the public. If this is the position in the Central Provinces, it is much worse in Bengal where the Governor not only has prohibited by order all news or comment on any hungerstrike in jails in British India, but has even forbidden any comment on his order. In the United Provinces the Government has demanded a security of Rs. 3,000 from the *National Herald*, Lucknow. What might have been regarded as acts of bureaucratic intolerance before the setting up of the Advisory Committee, becomes now the more reprehensible after the creation of this body. The Convener of the Central Advisory Committee has dissociated the Committee from the order served on the *National Herald* and the gagging order of the Bengal Governor, by calling a meeting of the Committee on Wednesday to protest against these breaches of the understanding "implicit in the Government's order withdrawing its earlier order." The Committee, of course, will also consider the case of the *Nagpur Times*.

All these encroachments on the freedom of the press have raised doubts in the public mind as to the value of the Editors' Conference. The real gain was little. Government withdrew an order without in any way abandoning any part of its powers. What was achieved was the guarantee that a newspaper would not be proceeded against for one article or one news item but that any action taken would be based on a long range which took the policy of the newspaper into consideration; and that the freedom of the press would be safeguarded by interposing a body of working journalists between the Government and journal whose writings are called in question. Whether this result is worthwhile, depends largely on the Government. Indian journalism, apart from its relations with the Government, advanced several steps forward by setting up an organization for collective negotiation on questions of civil liberty. The prompt action of the Delhi Convener gives promising proof of this healthy development. A press report mentions that a meeting of Nagpur editors has raised some questions about the assurance said to have been given by leading representatives of newspapers in India to the Government. The assurance, if any assurance was given at all and by whomsoever it was given, was not put before the Conference and it can commit no one except those who gave it. If the press continues

to work under the difficulties which the Conference was convened to resolve, it will be necessary to convene another Conference to discuss the whole issue of freedom of the press. And we would suggest as the venue of the Conference some centre where Indian journalism has a longer and stronger tradition than Delhi.

### THE FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

(BY WALTER B. FOLEY, MANILA)

Tens of thousands of dollars have gone from the Philippines to help China build a new economic base for her future life as a great new nation. The money is loaned to groups wishing to organize co-operatives through the International Committee (Chairman, Bishop Hall of the Church of England in Hong Kong) at 6 to 9% interest. When repaid other loans are made to still other groups. Thus the money revolves in the field of productive relief.

Incidentally and yet significantly many who give the money are being educated into seeing the value of the co-operative principle and helped to recognize that it can be a most successful business practice.

This illustration is in line with what a leading Filipino Editor and Publisher said to me recently, "The Philippine Islands can be a distributing centre for American ideas and ideals." This will require considerable attention on the part of thoughtful Americans. All too few of us have spent time on the subject of our responsibilities in the world.

United States troops fought three years and took the Philippine Islands away from the Filipinos. Legally it is true that America paid Spain \$20,000,000 for the Islands after the close of the Spanish-American War. But the Filipinos had revolted against the Roman Catholic controlled Spanish government and only the little walled city of Manila was left in Spanish hands when American troops finally landed.

Yet American soldiers immediately began to teach Filipino children in little classes. The very publisher I mentioned was so taught his first words of English. And America has never exploited the Philippines, until the best sugar interests and the American banking interests owning Cuban sugar blatantly and selfishly combined with inadequately informed Filipino politicians, with American altruists without facts, and with misinformed dairy interests to form a majority to "set the Philippines free." First there was to be a Commonwealth period from 1935-1946, then an independent Republic was to follow.

The proponents of that first bill refused to face the fact that such a programme would destroy the whole economic base of the Philippines, for 85% of the Islands trade is with America. For in 1946 full U. S. tariffs were to be levied against Philippine products. Incidentally that would also cut off a market for \$100,000,000 worth of American products.

The whole idea was philosophically sound in that it carried out the "self-determination of small nations"—even though Filipino politicians had used the slogan of "complete independence" only because they did not realize the consequences or because they thought independence would not be secured. But the idea was the first attempt of Americans to destroy all that had been built up in thirty-five years.

In reality it was not an extension of democracy but has led directly during the past month to the granting of dictatorial emergency powers to President Quezon. As the floor leader of the National Assembly said on September 8, "the finances of the government have been dropping, the purchasing

power of the people has decreased, prices of imported commodities as well as staple products have gone beyond the reach of the poor and social unrest is bound to follow unless proper steps are taken to improve conditions." The speaker went on to say, "These powers were granted not for the President's own benefit, nor yet for that of a few; but for the greatest benefit to the greatest numbers."

Forty years is quite obviously not a long enough period to take people from slavery to an exercising of the full responsibility that goes with freedom. Dictatorial powers over people and property cannot be granted to one man and have anyone maintain that there is a semblance of democracy left. This situation has been forced in the Philippines because American congressional leaders, urged on by selfish lobbyists, felt they could relieve themselves of world responsibility by cutting 16,000,000 people adrift in a world of economic and political chaos.

Fortunately the evil done can perhaps be remedied if enough Americans acquaint themselves with what their leaders have done or tried to do to this Oriental people with an Occidental culture. If the present Congress will indicate its willingness to work out an agreement between Filipinos and Americans whereby a political and economic connection is maintained, such a proposal would, in all probability prove acceptable here.

Otherwise the few will definitely dominate the many until Japan or some other stronger power steps in to take over these seven thousand fertile Islands.

Many Americans have complained about what England did to Czecho-Slovakia. We are doing the same in the Philippines with considerably less excuse. That is not extending democracy, it is assisting in its decrease even in our own country.

Right now these Islands can indeed become a great centre to promote the best of American idealism in the Orient. Fragmentation of nations will not give us the co-operative commonwealth that we must have. A voluntary union, and *union now*, is what is highly desirable.

So Americans are granted once more a chance to have a vision of a future development of realistic democratic practice in the Orient. Anything we can do as Americans to assist China and the Philippines will be of great value to them—and to ourselves. Co-operation is the key according to "the American way" rather than either ruthless competition or aggressive compulsion. It may cost us something in dollars and diplomacy, but we will get returns in terms of democracy.

The whole set-up requires the finest kind of Christian appreciation and wisdom, with experiments and convictions, with creative ability and everlasting faith in working out the truth of personal dignity and worth that must be the bases of a decent, livable human existence.

### INDIA AND THE WAR.

(BY RAMANBHAI L. PATEL, BOMBAY.)

The conviction of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the speeches on the Finance Bill in the Central Legislative Assembly have focussed the attention of the political world on India's attitude to the war. The Government of India and the British Government have no reason to be pleased with the support they are receiving from India, for the fact can hardly be concealed that the Indian support to the present war is far from being whole-hearted and spontaneous. Our contribution in men, money and material to the war is much less than it can be. Though our sympathies are wholly on the side of Britain, most Indians are curiously indifferent to the war. We are more or less like the crowd watching our favourite

in the ring. We do not feel that this is India's war as much as Britain's. We would not willingly make sacrifices in order to win the war. The proposed measures of war taxation were received by the Indian mercantile community with a glum "we-have-no-choice-but-to-pay." Bombay's contribution to the War Fund is a disgrace—if the present war is believed to be the war of India. Why is it that the heart of India is not in the war, though our interests are heavily involved?

When the long-expected and long-deferred war broke out in Europe, India was half-way through a momentous political and constitutional experiment. The Government of India Act of 1935, which was the legal basis of the experiment, was an embodiment of the British Government's distrust of the progressive forces in Indian political life. The first fruits of democracy in the shape of Provincial Autonomy were bitter. Without appreciably lessening the distrust between the rulers and the ruled, it extended the realm of distrust among the communities and political parties of India. The sordid side of parliamentary democracy—the systematic misrepresentation of the motives of the party in power by the opposition parties and groups—had a demoralising effect on the untried political outlook of the Indian people. The rough-and-tumble of Provincial Autonomy led to the political overgrowth of India with a consequent undermining of the national movement for Independence. The prospect of Federation emphasised the distrust and fear which dominated the political relations of Hindus and Muslims, the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, the Princes and the Congress. As a result, the intentions of our rulers became an object of suspicion and doubt to all the elements in the political life of India. And then came the war.

The Viceroy, acting upon orders from Whitehall, declared that India was at war with Germany. Nobody who can reasonably claim to represent the Indian people was consulted. This was not an egregious blunder, nor a deliberate insult to India. It was a result of well-calculated policy guided by prudential motives. The British Government could not trust the accredited leaders of India, who would certainly have raised unpleasant questions. Hence India had to be presented with a *fait accompli*, and Indians left to react to it consistently with their open abhorrence of Hitler and Nazism. Because our sympathies were with the Allies, because there were political differences among Indians and also because the public expected that the Government of India would be authorised to take a generous step in the political advance of India to win Indian support to the war, no question of opposition to the war could for the moment arise. This gave the British Government a chance of declaring for the purpose of propaganda that India spontaneously supported the war, that the heart of India was with Britain, that the splendid loyalty of India was a measure of the political merit of the British Empire. The Government of India did not make any generous gesture, and the Indian political situation rapidly deteriorated. Yet in the nature of things there could not be organised opposition to the war. The Government of India was left in comparative peace for one full year to organise India for war.

The political parties and interests in India came to have different attitudes to the war. The Indian National Congress chose passive non-co-operation and called out the Congress ministries. The Muslim League also balked and took up an ambiguous position to have the best of both the

worlds. It took the credit for the loyalty and co-operation of the Muslim provinces but denied the Government whole-hearted and official co-operation for political reasons. Only the Princes pledged the resources of their States without making any public demands as a price of their help. The irony of the situation was not lost upon the Indian people. The war is supposed to be fought for democracy and national independence; but the Princes have no liking for democracy and they hate the idea of Indian Independence which would lead to the abolition of princely privileges. And those Princes, of all the political leaders of India, offered their whole-hearted support to a war for a noble cause—in which they did not believe. They excuse themselves by pleading loyalty to the person of the Emperor of India. This, however, deceives nobody. It is not at all surprising if the Princes hope to be rewarded for their loyalty in the future political settlement of India.

This state of affairs did not please the British Government. The political co-operation of Indians had to be won if Indians were to make a contribution to the war in proportion to her resources and man-power. The Viceroy was, therefore, authorised to make promises of granting Dominion Status as early as possible after the war and of giving the Indian people a substantial voice in framing the new constitution for post-war India. These promises, however, were made in the first instance in such a vague and unimaginative manner that later when the Viceroy explained what they meant, the event was hailed as a distinct political advance. In this way the British Government roused Indian suspicion about their sincerity in making the promises. It seemed that their aim was to buy the co-operation of India at the lowest price. They gradually raised the price they were prepared to offer to win their end, but without any positive result. The Viceroy proposed various schemes to associate Indian leaders with the Government of India for the whole-hearted and efficient prosecution of war. At first he wanted them merely as advisers; later they were offered places in the Executive Council. All this has come to naught, with the result that it is more appropriate to say that Britain takes as much help from India as she can, than to say that India gives help to Britain.

Throughout the year and more of war, Britain conducted worldwide propaganda commending to mankind the noble causes for which she was fighting. In the initial stages of the war, the Allies were fighting only on the sea where they had a very strong position; and hence her grandiose claims were not believed in. In a desperate attempt to be everything to everybody who was not with the enemy, Britain was compelled to speak with different voices in different quarters of the globe. To the small states of Europe, she declared that she was fighting for the principle of national independence and in defence of the age-old European civilisation. To the United States of America, Britain declared that she was fighting for democracy, freedom of the individual and the decencies of civilised life. To India she declared that she was fighting to preserve the hope of democratic freedom for non-European civilised peoples. To the natives of the Colonies, she declared that she was fighting to save them from the clutches of the Aryan brutes of Nazi Germany. Lord Halifax claimed that the world was being fought for the preservation of Christianity against the pagan atavism of the Nazis; this, of course, was meant for Christian ears. To the British people, however, it was a patent fact that they were fighting primarily and above all for their very life. All these claims were made when

the Allies were doing nothing active to defeat the enemy who was gloating over Polish blood. Hence the normal Indian tendency to doubt the motives of Britain had a good basis to build upon. Influential and popular leaders in India declared that Britain was fighting an Imperialistic war, that her sole aim was the preservation of the British Empire for the benefit of the British people. Britain's unwillingness to concede the demands of any political party in India lent point to this view of her intentions. Now that the totalitarian war in earnest has brought out the best and the noblest in the British people, her claim as the champion of humanity does not at all look ridiculous; but the mischief done cannot be undone. Politically dissatisfied India is all the more ready to believe that Britain is not fighting for any idealistic ends as she professes to do, but for selfish motives.

The Government of India and their supporters in the whole-hearted prosecution of the war have taken great pains to argue the Indian people into enthusiastic and earnest support for the war. All the means of propaganda have been pressed into service, with hardly encouraging results. Appeals made to Indians do not rouse them to mighty efforts, on the contrary, they stir the devil in them who promptly exposes the faded and strained air of the appeals. Unfortunately for those who are responsible for war propaganda, there is no reason they can advance for India's fighting wholeheartedly, which cannot be answered by a people who are inclined to chop logic rather than to be up and doing. Hence it is that illegal and spasmodic anti-war propaganda is more successful than war propaganda which when conducted by Indians has an apologetic air.

### EVOLUTION OF THE JUVENILE COURT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

(BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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We can trace back the evolution of the juvenile court in Great Britain to over a thousand years to the times of King Athelstan, long before the idea of such a court struck the U. S. A. We see the seeds of juvenile court and probation in the following proclamation of King Athelstan (kept in the British Museum) regarding the treatment of young offenders:—

The King said now again at Witlan-burg to his witan and bade tell to the archbishop by Theodrede bishop, that to him seemed pitiful that men should slay men so young, or for so little as he heard that everywhere was done. Said that to him seemed and to those with whom he took counsel that men should slay none younger than a fifteen winters' man, unless he would defend himself or flee, and would not yield, then let men force him, the greater as the less, whoever it were. And if he then will yield, let him be set in gaol, and so let him be redeemed.

If his kindred will not take him, nor be surety for him then swear he as the bishop shall teach him, that he will shun all evil, and let him be in bondage for his price. And if, after that he steal, let men slay him or hang him as they did to his elders.<sup>1</sup>

In the above quotation the care and teaching of the church can be compared to our present-day probation system where the bishop performed the office of the probation officer.

Even in the middle ages discrimination between adult and young offenders was made as is recorded in the year book of Edward I that "judgment for burglary was spared to a boy of twelve year."<sup>2</sup>

1. *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniae Sub rege Aethelstano Edita*, in British Museum.

2. Year Book 82 Edward I Rot. 13.

But such occasions were rare and young persons were hanged, transported and imprisoned even for trivial offences.

More than 800 years after the time of Athelstan, upto 1780, the death sentence might be inflicted for two hundred different offences, and children as well as adults were hanged for theft, often very trivial ones, and for many other misdemeanours. Felling a tree, stealing five shillings, robbing a rabbit warren, pick-pocketing and associating for a month with gipsies were all capital offences and in 1831, death was still the punishment for coining, forgery and horse or sheep stealing.<sup>3</sup>

The young offenders were kept with adult and incorrigible offenders in gaols and bridewells which were run by the gaolers as private business. The conditions inside the jails were very terrible. The inmates were kept chained like cattle and were half starved and mercilessly beaten.

In 1754 Sir John Fielding was appointed Chief Magistrate at Bow Street. He always hated the idea of committing young offenders to prisons; "when two boys, eldest twelve years old, came before him, charged with pilfering meat, he made the parents correct them in his presence rather than imprison them."<sup>4</sup> In 1756 at the request of Lord Harry Paulet, Commanding H. M. S. *Barfleur*, Sir John Fielding sent thirty boys to act as Officer's servants on the ship. On their way those boys were met by Mr. Fowler Walker of Lincoln's Inn who took interest in the work and put a scheme before Fielding offering his first subscription. Enough subscription was raised for 300-400 boys. The demand for boy servants from the captains of the ships increased till it could not be coped with. Then the "Marine society for the redemption and reform of younger criminals" was formed with Lord Romney as president. "The society was generously supported by the king and city companies and between 1756 and 1762 5,451 young men and 4,787 boys were clothed and sent to sea at a cost over £ 22,000."<sup>5</sup>

At this stage it was realised that while steps were being taken to rescue the boys from turning to hardened criminals, the crimes of girls were on the increase. So through the efforts of Sir John Fielding and others a reformatory for girls was founded in August 1758 in Whitechapel. It was called Magdalen Hospital. It now exists at Streatham and is an approved school under the Home Office.

In 1788 the Philanthropic Society was founded 'for the protection of poor children and the offspring of convicted felons, and the reformation of children who have themselves been engaged in criminal practices, that they might learn the happiness and benefit of home.' The society boarded out children in cottage homes.

In 1814 Peter Bedford formed a society of 50 persons for investigating the causes of the alarming increase in juvenile delinquency in the metropolis. This investigation revealed that a large number of young boys and girls were living with hardened criminals.

The state recognised such reformatories, and a youthful offender on being convicted was given the option of either undergoing a term of imprisonment or placing himself under the care of some such institution. This was so successful that the Government by its Parkhurst Act established the principle of separate treatment for young offenders

3. *Young Offenders Yesterday and Today*, by Geraldine S. Cadbury Pub. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London pp. 16-17

4. *Young Offenders* pp 18.

5. *The Making of Criminals* by Charles E. B. Russell and L. M. Rigby.



upto 18 years of age. In 1840 an "Act for the care and education of infants who may be committed for felony" gave powers to the High Court of Chancery to give any such infant up to 21 years of age in the care and custody of any suitable person willing to take charge of him in order to save him from vicious parents.

Somehow this principle of discrimination was later on slackened and as a consequence there was an enormous increase in juvenile crimes in the early part of the 19th century. In 1849, 10,703 persons under 17 years of age were sentenced to imprisonment or transportation.

On account of these alarming conditions a Royal Commission had already been appointed in 1836 to consider whether it was advisable 'to make any distinction in the mode of trial between adult and juvenile offenders, and if not whether any class of offenders can be made subject to a mere summary proceedings than trial by jury.' The commission did not suggest any distinction in trial but advised increasing the summary jurisdiction of magistrates. In 1847 the Select Committee of the House of Lords also recommended an increase in the summary jurisdiction for juvenile offenders. Consequently magistrates were given wide powers and jurisdiction by the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879.

In 1853 the House of Commons appointed a Committee to go into the matter of juvenile offenders as a result of whose recommendations the first Youthful Offenders Act was passed in 1854 giving powers to the magistrates over child offenders to commit them to a reformatory for 2-5 years but the principle of retribution was retained as it was essential for a child to pass 14 days in prison before being admitted to a reformatory.

In 1855 a second Youthful Offenders Act was passed which authorised the magistrates to fix upto 5 shillings a week to be paid by parents of the children during detention in order to minimise the influx of children of unconscientious parents. Then in 1882 a bill was drafted doing away with the necessity of preliminary imprisonment before being sent to reformatories. The bill was not put into practice till 1886. In 1899 the Reformatory Schools Act rendered it illegal to sentence a youthful offender to penal servitude.

In 1905 the first juvenile court was opened in Birmingham. The magistrates worked in rotation and some men and women experienced and interested in the reclamation of children attended the court and the court placed the offending children under their care. Soon the magistrates realised that if whole-time officers be appointed for working among the children it would be better and consequently in 1906 three probation officers were appointed. All were recruited from the police force, but in 1926 by a rule it was provided that no police officer could act as probation officer.

In 1907 the Probation Act was passed which provided that persons guilty of a first offence be put under probation. This paved the way for the Children's Act 1908 which came the next year. This Act made the imprisonment of children under 16 years illegal and juvenile courts were set up all over the country. The Act provided that a young person should ordinarily be released on bail pending his trial or be committed to a place of detention and not prison. At first there were no remand homes and the police premises were used as such. The first remand home was started in December 1910 at Birmingham for 85 children. This Act authorised justices of peace to commit children to industrial school, a school for the industrial training of children, in which children were lodged, clothed and fed as well as taught.

The 1908 Children's Act did not provide that the juvenile court should be held in a different building. The Juvenile Courts (Metropolis) Act 1920 enabled the Secretary of State to provide separate buildings for juvenile courts.

In 1925 Departmental Committee was appointed to enquire into the treatment of young offenders and young people who owing to bad association and surroundings required protection and training. The report of the Committee was published in 1927 recommending treatment for the neglected boy or girl similar to that of young offenders. On the basis of these recommendations the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 was passed.

The new Act makes no fundamental change in principle but has recognised that bad surroundings lead to delinquency and those who suffer from neglect need to be treated just as those committing offences. The Act provides that a young person (under 17 years) arrested for other than a grave crime or homicide should ordinarily be let off on bail till his trial takes place and he is committed to any reformatory or school, etc., and if he is not so released arrangements should be made to prevent his association with adult offenders.

Regarding the action to be taken for the ill-treatment of children, Section 40 of the Act empowers a justice of peace to issue, on information, a search warrant authorising any constable to search for the child or young person if there is reasonable cause to suspect that the child or young person has been or is being assaulted, ill-treated or neglected in any place within his jurisdiction in a manner prejudicial to the child.

No persons other than the members and officers of the court, the parties to the case, their counsels and witnesses, newspaper representatives and such other persons as are allowed by the court are allowed to be present during the proceedings of the trial.

The penal system of judges which was already in existence in London has been extended to the whole country. According to this system a panel of justices specially qualified for juvenile cases is formed in every sessions division and it is the members of these panels that sit as juvenile court judges. They cannot be more than 3 including the chairman. Formerly there was no limit to the judges for a juvenile court and any justice could take its seat. This was alarming to a child. Now the list too is revised every three years to weed out those who do not take real interest in the work.

Now a young person cannot be sent to penal servitude or imprisonment and the courts are to send him either to an approved school or commit him to the care of a fit person or order his parent or guardian to enter into a recognizance to exercise proper care and guardianship or place him upto 3 years under a probation officer.

Regarding the duties of the probation officer Section 66 of the Act provides:

Where a court makes an order under any of the foregoing provisions of this part of this Act placing a child or a young person under the supervision of a probation officer or of some other person, that officer or person shall, while the order remains in force, visit, advise, and befriend him and, when necessary, endeavour to find him suitable employment and may, if it appears necessary in his interest so to do at any time while the order remain in force and he is under the age of 17 years, bring him before a juvenile court; that court may, if it thinks that it is desirable in his interest so to do, order him to be sent to an approved school or commit him to the care of a fit person, whether relative or not, who is willing to undertake the care of him.



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**NOTES.**

**Sir Jagadish Prasad on the Situation:**—The late Member for Education, Health and Lands in the Government of India, Sir Jagadish Prasad, has issued a statement to the Press on the present political situation. He starts with the proposition that it is one of deadlock and ends by suggestions as to how to solve it. "Political disagreements," he says, "have ended in open conflict between Congress and Government. Those who not long ago were governing large provinces with publicly acknowledged success are already in prison." He excuses himself from attempting to assign responsibility for the deadlock on the ground that it will only renew barren controversy. This is hardly a valid excuse. Unless one is clear about the actual circumstances in which the situation has arisen—and this is difficult if not impossible without apportioning responsibilities between the principals concerned—one can not think out a means which promises to be effective in relieving tension. As a member of the Government of India when India became involved in the war, Sir Jagadish can not himself be an impartial judge on this issue. The entry of India into the war has rendered it impossible for any other form of Government to function in this country than the one now operating under the Defence of India Ordinance. Sir Jagadish Prasad virtually concedes this when he says, "it is the duty of every patriotic Indian to be ceaseless in his efforts to bring about a state of public feeling where our best men would devote their talents, their energies and their burning patriotism, to making India a military power." Congress leaders, it is true, have expressed similar sentiments in the past, but the present policy of the Congress under Gandhiji's dictatorship, is the direct negation of it. If India becomes a military power as Sir Jagadish wishes, would that strengthen British rule in this country? When the British Government hesitate to increase the military self-sufficiency of India, they are no doubt influenced by doubts of the

country continuing in the Empire when once it is endowed with the means of its defence without the help of Great Britain. What guarantee can Sir Jagadish offer that the arms of India will not be turned against Britain herself instead of her enemies? In the early Congress days when there was no thought of severing the British connection, when on the other hand every resolution was directed to strengthening it, the advice to turn India into a military power, might not have meant any danger to the British connection. But now, Independence, is the keyword. It is for Independence that Great Britain is fighting; it is Independence which Congress has inscribed on its banner. We leave out of account for the moment the question whether Sir Jagadish is wise in wishing to "re-militarise" this country. As the result of bitter experience, India renounced the power of arms as futile. This was the consensus of intelligent opinion after the last war. In the present war fever, it has become temporarily eclipsed but without doubt the statesmen of the world will, when the time comes, insist on the renunciation of war as the first condition of the new world order. Shall we then de-militarise the Indian mind once again? It is rather unfortunate that Sir Jagadish has introduced some names as suitable non-party men to mediate between Government, the Congress and the Muslim League and presumably the Hindu Mahasabha and other parties. We have no doubt that the gentlemen themselves may be trusted to take a non-party attitude but will they be accepted as non-party men by the belligerents?

**The Next Commander-in-Chief:**—Indian Army administration is a sealed book to the public in this country. As a consequence the public knows little and cares less about the personalities of those who control Army affairs. It does not care and in most cases does not know who the Commander-in-Chief and other high officers of the Army are. It was, therefore, with surprise that we read the commendation of the selection of Lieutenant-General C. J. E. Auchinleck to succeed the present Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, not only on the ground of his superlative merits which is not in question, but on the ground that his selection was demanded by the Indian public and particularly by the Congress-minded section of it. In announcing from its special London correspon-



dent the choice, the *Times of India* added that, when some months ago the name of another officer was mentioned in connection with the post, "a leading Indian-owned newspaper observed that if the General named did in fact become Commander-in-Chief the only conclusion to be drawn from the appointment was that General Auchinleck could not be relieved from his supremely important command in England." The *Times* "write-up" went on to say: "That was a fairly reliable indication of the opinion held by those Indian politicians who, while openly critical of India's participation in the war, are at the same time deeply concerned about the strengthening of India's defences to the utmost of the country's capacity." In a leading article the next day, the *Times of India* expanded its description of the newspaper into "an influential Indian-owned newspaper with Congress sympathies." A fairly wide reading of Indian newspapers has not enabled us to identify this mysterious newspaper whose name is evidently too sacred to be mentioned. It is remarkable that no Indian paper has thought fit to comment on the nomination of an officer who is represented as commanding the confidence of Indian politicians. Puffs of this kind are very unfair to the officer concerned as they lead to a suspicion that there has been some wirepulling to get General Auchinleck instead of Sir Edmund Ironside whose name, if we remember, was the one previously mentioned in connection with the post. The Indian-owned newspaper had suggested that if General Auchinleck was not appointed it would be because he was indispensable in his present post. Now that he has been appointed, it is a legitimate inference that the Army authorities found that they could do equally well with some other officer.

**The Press Advisory Committees :—**The Advisory Committee at Delhi has met and considered the case of the *National Herald* of Lucknow as well as the Bengal position relating to hunger-strike in prisons. We hope that as a result of its representations the United Provinces Government will reconsider the question as regards the *Herald* and that the order will be withdrawn. Mr. K. Rama Rao, Editor of the *National Herald*, is the convener for the United Provinces Advisory Committee. Bengal presents a complicated case as the functioning of provincial autonomy reduces the influence of the Central Government to a minimum. But under the Defence of India Rules, the Centre has wide powers to enforce its decisions on the provinces and it would not be out of place if for once these powers are exercised in the interests of the public. The most flagrant case of press repression after the Delhi Conference is that of the *Nagpur Times* which was penalised for nothing more than publishing a fair report of a judicial trial. Every newspaper in India is now publishing columns of reports of satyagraha trials with immunity and we do not see why the Central Provinces alone should suffer restrictions in the

matter. A meeting of Nagpur Editors held recently to consider the position arising out of the Biyani report in the *Nagpur Times*, adopted a resolution inquiring whether the Committees have been formed with the object of sharing the responsibility of administering the Defence of India Rules with the official Press Adviser. This is a new point of view and it is not entirely incorrect. But it would certainly be wrong to infer that things can continue in the same way as they did before the Committees were formed. Bihar, Madras and Bengal have set up their Committees and the system is now in force there. The whole question now rests with the Advisory Committees and the Government. If the Committees are representative of the provincial press as a whole and, only in so far as they are so representative, the scheme will work. Otherwise, there will be trouble when the necessity for action arises. One has to bear in mind that, in addition to the presentation of news, expression of opinion is also a matter which comes under the mischief of the press laws. Where there are too many on an Advisory Committee representing one point of view, there is grave danger of the members being stampeded into panic action. The fact that some newspapers have been penalised for Congress sympathies, must not be allowed to obscure the possibility of an organ of opinion being caught up in the Defence of India Act, on a charge of Nazi or Fascist sympathies, or for Communist proclivities. In the prevailing war fever, it is not impossible to visualize such a possibility. It is well to bear in mind that the Congress party as a whole has been subjected to an intense form of anti-Nazi propaganda and its members are liable to hysterical action on issues connected with ideological questions. Some misunderstanding is likely to be caused by the frequent reference in the press to "breaches of the Delhi agreement," the "spirit of the Delhi agreement," etc., which have appeared in comments on official attempts to suppress opinion. It would be incorrect to infer from this that there has been a deal between the Conference and the Government. What it means is that both the Central Government and the Editors' Conference saw that it was advisable for the press to operate unhampered by petty restrictions. The phrase, "gentleman's agreement" is an offensive one and suggestive of secret reciprocal promises of which the public is in the dark. It is thoroughly out of place in describing the relations between Government and the Press after the Delhi Conference.

**Satyagraha :—**Like many words originally of profound significance, which have degenerated into shibboleths and slogans which serve only to create an artificial excitement of the individual, satyagraha has now no significance except as a means of inducing the Police to arrest Congress ex-Ministers and Legislative Councillors. The latter address letters to the local Magistrate or Police Superintendent announcing their intention

"to offer satyagraha" at a given place and hour, and the officials obligingly arrest them several hours before the appointed time so as to spare them the trouble of going to the place of demonstration. In Bombay for some mysterious reason the small hours of the morning are preferred for the domiciliary visit of the Police. Napoleon extolled as rare the exhibition of courage at two o'clock in the morning when the bodily functions are at a low ebb and the mind wavers between the waking and the dreaming state. Perhaps, it is desired to test the morale of Congress leaders by waking them up at this unearthly hour. One leader at least seems to have turned this preference to good account. The Police called at his place at 4 o'clock in the morning and told him that they would allow him 45 minutes to get ready to accompany them. He turned in his bed and replied that in that case he would rather finish his sleep. In another case, the leader spent the first half of the night in playing on the tabla (taking care to have a reporter in the company.) The Government of Bombay have adopted the method of detaining ex-ministers without bringing them to trial under the Defence of India Rules. The gentlemen are thus deprived of the opportunity of making a statement, and the Press is relieved of the necessity of deciding whether it would be safe to publish it. In contrast to all this, was the procedure adopted in Madras with reference to its philosopher-politician Premier, Mr. Chakravarti Rajagopalacharya. He was arrested at 10 o'clock in the morning, taken to the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court within an hour, was tried and sentenced in less than half that time to one year's simple imprisonment.

**The Gita in Court:**—The Magistrate, a Muslim student of the Bhagavadgita, had nerved himself to what he seems to have felt was an odious task by turning over the pages of the sacred book for guidance. Mr. Rajagopalacharya is also a student and commentator of the Gita. Both accused and Magistrate readily understood each other when Magistrate Abbas quoted a Gita verse which says that a man must work without regard to the rewards of work. A more apt verse would have been that in which a man is bidden to act his part even though the action may be surrounded by blemish like fire by smoke. In passing sentence the Magistrate quoted another verse from the Gita as appropriately describing his own state of mind. Arjun when he beholds amongst the embattled hosts opposed to his own, his kith and kin, his elders and preceptors, tells his Divine Charioteer that his body is afflicted by a burning sensation and that his whole being dries up. Arjun threw down his arms and refused to lead his army. But the Magistrate had no need to follow Arjun's example because the Divine Charioteer had removed Arjun's doubts and persuaded him to continue the war. But he relieved his feelings by expressing his hope and prayer that the prisoner whom he had just sentenced to a year's imprisonment, may soon

return to his high position of Prime Minister of the Province. We have more than once advised Government—though we have no official status—that, in the circumstances of British administration in this country, it behoves them so to shape their policy and measures as to involve the minimum strain on the loyalties of their servants outside the strict official sphere. The Madras incident shows that this is as true of their Muslim as of their Hindu servants. Another noteworthy feature of the Madras ex-Premier's case is that it is well-known that he was in profound disagreement with Gandhiji and that the present satyagraha does not meet with his approval. He has gone to prison nevertheless out of what Englishmen pride themselves upon as "team work" and other high-sounding epithets, and condemn in others as subservience, servility and want of moral courage. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's statement was a short one. Its chief point was that since the Indian legislature had not been given an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the war, the war efforts of India can not be described as voluntary, and that he was obliged to adopt satyagraha as the only means available of protest.

**Muslims and Ganges Water:**—There are many schemes put forward nowadays by persons with and without any credentials for bringing about Hindu-Muslim Unity. They seem to be unaware of the fact that a process of fusion has been going on for centuries. Many instances to show this were adduced by Ranade in his address to National Social Conference at Lucknow forty years ago. The most effective way of promoting Hindu-Muslim good relations would be to collect all such instances—and they are innumerable—in book form. One such instance is narrated by Mr. T. K. Gode in the "Annals of the Sri Venkateshwara Oriental Institute," Tirupati, under the heading "Use of Ganges Water by Muslims Rulers." Mr. Gode writes:—

In Ibn Battuta's *Travels* in Asia and Africa (A. D. 1325-54), he describes the postal service then current in India and mentions Couriers carrying post in a rapid manner over long distances. In this context he observes:—"This post is quicker than the mounted post. It is sometimes used to transport fruit from Khurasan which are highly valued in India. They are put on plates and carried with great speed to the sultan. In the same way they transport the principal criminals; they are each placed on a stretcher and the carriers run carrying the stretcher on their heads. The Sultan's drinking water is brought to him by the same means when he resides at Daulatabad from the river Tank (Ganges) to which the Hindus go on a pilgrimage and which is at a distance of forty days' journey from there." This reference to the use of the Ganges water by Muhammad Taghlakh at Daulatabad in the Deccan appears to me to be curious and important as it illustrates the value set on Ganges water by a non-Hindu in the first quarter of the 14th century. In the article on the Ganges in the Marathi Encyclopaedia called the *Jnanakosa* no information about the Ganges water of a historical or medical nature has been recorded and it would be interesting to record such information in the interest of the historical aspects of Indian Culture.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 7, 1940.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN ON THE  
PRESENT CRISIS.

The address which Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered at the Convocation of Patna University is, as might be expected, just what such an address should be. The young men and women who have newly taken their degrees have different backgrounds, inherit diverse temperaments and tendencies, and are encompassed by circumstances which are widely different in each case. Their University training has endowed them with a certain sameness of outlook but it has not penetrated, in many cases, to their subconsciousness which furnishes the motive power for human action as emotion and instinct. In countries where the educational system has evolved with and in response to the needs of society which is coterminous with the State and is really the State in a different aspect, it has influenced the subconscious as well as the conscious mind of its youth. But this is not the case in India at present. The education imparted at the University does not reach beyond the intellect. This serious defect is to some extent supplied by convocation addresses and debating societies and the friendly conversation of students and professors outside the lecture hours and classes. This purpose is often overlooked and the convocation address is almost wholly taken up with an examination of symptoms leaving the heart of the youth's problem untouched. Sir Sarvapalli as a philosopher could not have been satisfied with this course. He must go and has gone to the root of the matter and, though for the majority of his hearers his observations might have seemed of not much practical value, that is, value in procuring a job in a Government or commercial office, there must have been a few—a good few—who would be stimulated by them to ponder deeply on the meaning and purpose of life. "The world," said Sir Sarvapalli, "is a living, breathing one." Robert Browning puts in more easily expressive language the same idea in the mouth of one of his great characters :

The world is no blot for us nor a blank,  
It means intensely and it means good,  
To find its meaning is my meat and drink.

Indian philosophers have made the understanding of the world identical with the understanding of oneself.

Several objects have been advanced as the objects of university education. These objects involve early specialisation which, unless it is grounded on a good general education, disables one from seeing life steadily and seeing it whole. "The purpose of education," said Sir Sarvapalli, and it very much needed saying at the present time, "is to help the free growth of the soul."

Sir Sarvapalli does not ignore the material basis of life and thought. "It is not possible," he admitted, "for us to cultivate the inner life unless we are raised above physical wants in a properly constituted society." Thoreau calculated that it should not require more than two hours of work a day to supply our physical wants. And he proved it in practice. But it is not possible for the average Indian graduate to set up a Walden. He will have to purchase a site. He will have to purchase timber. In many places he will have to purchase water. "O India," exclaimed Bishop Heber on seeing our brab trees marked for Abkari revenue, "the very hairs on thy head are numbered." Another school of thought more in touch with organised social life, demands that the dire need to work for a bare livelihood should be eliminated from human society. It is the duty and the interest of society and the state to see that no member of it wants for food and clothing and shelter. Nearly half a century ago this was accepted in principle by and sought to be put into practice by some European countries. Imperialist Germany introduced health insurance and invalid pensions before any other country. "We are all socialists now," exclaimed Sir William Harcourt more than half a century ago in the House of Commons. In the ancient structure of Indian polity this was fully recognised through the caste and joint family or communal institutions as in Islam. In India under British rule the field of social service has been barely scratched by the State. The old organisations have broken down under the strain of a political system which has increasingly deviated from its original purpose of developing the country along lines of its self-development, and no provision has been made by the State to take their place. It is the function of Universities to train men to leadership in the reconstruction of Indian society in harmony with its ancient ideals and in keeping with modern requirements. The two are not in any way incompatible.

Sir Sarvapalli clearly brought out the fact that the present distemper of Western civilisation derives largely from its own past. European civilisation has two sources, the Christian and the Graeco-Roman. The two were at first regarded as antagonistic. The classical was Pagan, the Semitic was Christian. After a time, a *via media* was hit upon and the classical and Christian streams seemed to have found a permanent confluence in what has come to be known as European culture and civilisation. Later, the classical element got the mastery and the Christian factor steadily receded into the background. Christianity could survive only as the handmaid of politics. The Greek and Roman civilisations were based on the institution of slavery. European civilisation has abolished personal slavery but it is based on and maintained by national slavery, that is by the enslavement of coloured nations by the White. There is no better proof

of the parasitic character of Western civilisation than the fact that the main cause of war between Europeans is the claim for colonies in tropical countries. The root-cause of these wars must be removed before there can be peace among the white races. That root cause is the domination of coloured races. Yet this is the last thing which has occurred to European statesmen who are fighting to restore peace in Europe and the preservation of European civilisation based, as noted above, on the exploitation of coloured peoples. The West in its haste to make material progress has forgotten the moral nature of man who, after all, is at the heart of every problem. Great powers have been put in his hands by means of machinery but little has been done to bring his moral equipment to the level of his material one. The machine has, therefore, invaded humanity and the Machine State has come as a consequence. We can not cope with Nazism or any other problem without understanding it. And it is the function of University education to help youth to handle and investigate all social and political phenomena in the spirit of the seeker after truth.

Sir Sarvapalli descended from his high philosophic theme for a moment to explain why Indians should be with Britain in this struggle. Nazism and Imperialism may, he argued, have much in common but the little in which they differ is of vital importance to humanity. Our position does not rest on any nice calculation. We find ourselves without our own seeking in the British system just as we find ourselves in the Hindu or Muslim or any other Indian system. We have many differences with the British as with our social systems. It has throughout been the principle of the social reform movement that one has to remain and work for the elevation of one's society and not abandon it in the hope, often illusory, of finding salvation in another fold. On the same principle we have always felt that Indians in British India ought to strive by every means in their power to raise the ideals and practices of the British system to the highest level that it is possible to elevate it. In other words, the British system is part of our heritage as much as the Hindu system, and it is our duty to advance its highest interests to the best of our ability, even if it can be shown that it is demonstrably worse than Nazism. Whether co-operating in this or any other war is the best way in which we can do our duty by the Empire, is a point on which there are honest differences of opinion. Just as in social reform one has often to incur society's displeasure by refusing to fall in with its old-established but outworn customs and conventions, it may be our duty in the best interests of the State itself to oppose policies and measures which are detrimental to public well-being.

#### THE EDITORS' CONFERENCE AND ITS CRITICS.

While the press in India is once again facing the prospect of a struggle with the Governments of the provinces and with the Central Government, a statement has been issued this week which reveals somewhat the inner workings of the Delhi Conference. It is a statement by Mr. Mahadev Desai, Editor till its closure of the *Harijan*, in response to inquiries from "friends" and in reply particularly to a criticism by Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, for several years Editor of the weekly organ of the Servants of India Society. Mr. Kodanda Rao's criticism is directed against the assurance claimed by the Government to have been given by the editors; he charges Congress editors with having "let down" Mahatma Gandhi and declared themselves ready to discountenance the anti-war agitation of the Congress. Mr. Desai has completely associated himself with the criticism. On the subject of the assurance, Mr. K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu* who presided over the Conference, in an interview which he gave on Mr. Desai's statement, explains the position again. Even before this interview, it should have been plain that the assurance was something which meant much less than it was being interpreted to mean in official circles. The whole question hinges on interviews which some of the editors in Delhi had, before the Conference met, with the Chief Press Adviser. From Mr. Srinivasan's presidential address it was obvious that these talks were not sought by representatives of the press. Mr. Srinivasan also explained in his speech the attitude which he, as editor of an Indian newspaper and as spokesman of the group which the Chief Press Adviser saw, had taken, and his recent interview reiterates the position. The editors, he said in effect, had remonstrated that Government's policy of distrust was not justified by the past conduct of Indian newspapers. To quote :

A little introspection on the part of the authorities would have shown them that it is they themselves who are attempting to exploit the newspapers to help them to control the political movement in the name of efforts to win the war. The charge that the Satyagraha movement is pro-Hitler and, therefore, all publicity relating to it is fomenting anti-war activity is manifestly unjust and cannot be accepted... We must make it plain that we cannot and will not be parties to the suppression of all normal political activity in the name of the war. Our sole concern is to conduct a newspaper free to express opinions frankly, and to that end factual representation of events in the widest sense must be allowed.... The Government must have full confidence in and trust us to conduct ourselves properly as responsible members of the public.

There is nothing in all this that savours of an assurance. It is an admonition to the Government not to see imaginary dangers where none exist; and not to set up, under pretext of prosecuting the war efficiently, a rigid control over the press.

Mr. Srinivasan is, however, wrong in saying that his own views were accepted as reflecting the attitude of the press in India "by all present." Very few had an opportunity to express their views. But Mr. Srinivasan is correct when he remarks that Mr. Desai who spoke after him, "expressed no dissent" from him. In fact this is an understatement. What Mr. Desai said was :

I am glad and I congratulate Government on the dawn of sanity in their minds.

And, though he warned the Conference not to go away with the idea that all was right again, he himself nourished such a hope. That too, when

many of the delegates were pessimistic. He said :

I take it that the withdrawal of the notification means an end to the vagaries of the censorship and of the office of Press Adviser and also a reparation to be made to the *Sainik*.

The rest of Mr. Desai's speech bore marks of having been written in advance and it might, with more appropriateness, have been delivered to a Congress meeting. The Standing Committee was assured by the President more than once that no undertaking had been sought from and none given by any of the editors interviewed by the Chief Press Adviser. The implications of what has taken place in the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces and in Bengal, in spite of Mr. Srinivasan's repeated insistence that there was no commitment incurred on behalf of the Editors' Conference, are sinister enough without Mr. Desai attempting to weaken the Conference. Reactionary officials are seeking to sabotage the machinery evolved at Delhi and they will succeed just in so far as they succeed in creating distrust among Indian journalists in the earnest and repeated disclaimers of its President. Mr. Kodanda Rao, if he wanted to know if any understanding had been reached with the Government, could have best satisfied his curiosity by inquiring of the President. Mr. Desai from the outset adopted a lofty indifference to the work of the Conference. He throughout took up the attitude of influencing the Conference but avoiding any responsibility for its decisions. He was certainly the last man from whom any responsible explanation could have been expected. What is regrettable is that he should have jumped to the front when he might have referred the matter to the President himself.

Mr. Srinivasan in his interview has referred the public to a communique announcing the Madras Advisory Committee, issued by the Madras Government which, he says, explains the position clearly. The relevant passage reads as follows :

This (the government's withdrawal order) was the result of an understanding reached after friendly conversations with leading Editors assembled in Delhi. This understanding was in the nature of a "Gentlemen's Agreement." No formal pledge was given by individual newspapers or by the Editors' Conference as a whole. Nevertheless the Government's decision to withdraw the Order under Rule 41 (1) (b) of the Defence of India Rules was definitely based on the assurance contained in the opening speech of Mr. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu*, who presided over this Conference. He said, "We may at the outset reiterate that it is far from our intention to create difficulties for Government or to impede their war effort."

At the Conference Mr. Srinivasan devoted all his speech to explain what this sentence actually meant. Torn out of that context, the words have no meaning. The communique would seem to imply that Mr. Srinivasan and the Chief Press Adviser, as representing the Government, agreed that, if Mr. Srinivasan included the sentence in his presidential address, the Government would issue a communique withdrawing the previous order. But surely Mr. Srinivasan could not speak for the Conference before it had even met. At the most he could commit the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society, an association of some twenty-five newspapers, which had met earlier and suggested the formation of Advisory Committees to the Government. But the Editors' Conference was not a continuation of the Society's session. Nor is any Conference bound to a course of action by any remarks in a presidential address. If the Government was ready to make a concession of the strength of some sentence inserted in the President's speech, then obviously that can only

mean that the Government had realised its mistake and was looking out for some plausible means of escape from the unpleasant consequences of that mistake. It is the Government which has not quite made up its mind whether a liberal interpretation should be placed on its withdrawal order or whether isolated attempts by officials to nullify the concession to commonsense and civil liberty should be allowed to win the day. It was to strengthen the journalists' interpretation of the Government communique against any attempt on the part of officials to water it down, that the Conference organised itself into a permanent association. And this is the real achievement of the Conference. Both Mr. Desai and Mr. Kodanda Rao have missed this essential point.

This is not surprising. Mr. Kodanda Rao was not directly connected with the Conference and Mr. Desai who did not attend the Standing Committee meeting after the Conference was dissolved, is naturally inclined to ignore everything that happened after he kept away. Mr. Srinivasan and Mr. Desai were the two prominent figures in the Conference. Mr. Srinivasan, in spite of protests from a number of delegates, took up the position that the Government withdrawal order had "taken the wind out of the Conference sails" and that there was little left to discuss. He was anxious to get the business over and return to Madras. While some of the invitees, probably a large majority, to the Conference expected it to deal with the whole question of repressive legislation against the press, Mr. Srinivasan took it to be an emergency meeting of the Editors to restore the *status quo* before the Government ban on satyagraha news. This limited objective had been achieved before the Conference met. To him the Conference had finished its work even before it had sat, and he went through the formalities with an eye as it were on the Assembly and the Grand Trunk Express. Everything which took place after the Chief Press Adviser had communicated to him the Government decision to withdraw the order, was so much waste of time. Unfortunately all the members who were not nominated to the Standing Committee, were in the dark as to the achievement of the session, and Mr. Srinivasan lost an opportunity of enlightening them.

Mr. Mahadev Desai, on the other hand, came to the Conference with but two objectives: One to read out a lengthy and more or less irrelevant speech on the satyagraha movement which he did; and the other to get a resolution passed by the Conference urging the Government to confer full freedom of expression to Gandhiji, to solve the present impasse. Mr. Desai's behaviour was, to say the least, completely enigmatic. He placed the small independent newspapers and weeklies and journals at an initial disadvantage by saying that as the editor of a "humble weekly called the *Barijan*" he could only speak through the courtesy and indulgence of the House—and he spoke for over an hour; he called himself a round peg in a square hole—and proceeded to participate very vigorously in the work of drafting resolutions in the Committee; he expressly asked the press not to report his speech as he did not want publicity but only wanted it to reach the Government—and yet some newspapers have published verbatim reports of his speech which could only have been submitted to them by Mr. Desai himself. And finally he who had received the greatest toleration from a Chairman whose patience exhausted the other Conference members who had come together in the hope of doing serious work, complains now that the Conference adjourned without giving him a chance



to place his point of view before the house. Such a complaint could be made by any member of the Conference except Mr. Mahadev Desai who had openly declared that he was only present through the courtesy and indulgence of the house and had already had over an hour to give a lead to the editors.

The Conference began its sitting at 11-30 on Sunday morning. After about four brief speeches of five minutes each, Mr. Desai took the floor and read his speech for over an hour when the Conference before adjourning for lunch decided to set up a small Standing Committee to draft resolutions. The three or four who spoke were Mr. Arthur Moore, the Editor of the *Statesman*, by permission of the President, and a couple of editors who had won the right to speak by interrupting the Presidential address. There were protracted discussions for over two hours in Committee and Mr. Desai was not backward in making his suggestions. When the main work of the Committee was over, Mr. Desai sounded the members of the Conference Committee individually on his resolution insisting on full freedom of expression of opinion for Gandhiji. I had, before Mr. Desai made his speech at the morning session, mentioned to him that we should work on a simple resolution which would secure the fullest freedom in the presentation of facts and no penalisation of opinion. He had replied that he too had the same object in mind. But his resolution was purely concerned with securing freedom of expression to Gandhiji's preaching non-violent non-cooperation. And, as the two of us walked from the Committee meeting to the Conference room, we were considering how his resolution on Gandhiji could be adapted to apply to all journals and working journalists. As we discussed it, we missed the room and retraced our steps to find that the resolutions had been put from the chair and carried and that the Conference had been dissolved. If the other Editors at the meeting, most of whom were very much in the dark as to what had transpired at the Conference itself, accepted the resolutions and acquiesced in the President's decision, it is idle and presumptuous to believe that the two of us could have done much to change their outlook. Certainly it is unfair to the President to accuse him of carrying things hastily through. The time to protest was at the Conference meeting. And apparently there was no protest then; or if there was, it did not meet with sufficient support from the delegates. I may say that Mr. Desai's resolution as he had drafted it, stood little chance of acceptance by the Conference. After all, we had met not to solve the impasse in politics but to secure for the Indian public the right to have unrestricted news. How would this have been served by the *Harijan* alone receiving privileges from the Government? Mr. Desai's resolution was not placed formally before the Drafting Committee as such. Apparently he looked for an opportunity to approach a wider public at the Conference and was piqued at having lost his chance. If anything is at fault, it is Mr. Desai's preoccupation with the *Harijan* and his rather tortuous methods of putting his case before the Conference. But for this Mr. Srinivasan cannot be blamed.

What was at fault was the manner in which the Conference was carried on. To this day, the members do not know whether it was called only to protest against the Government Order banning satyagraha news or whether it was convened to consider Government's policy towards the press since the outbreak of war. The telegram inviting editors certainly gave a wide purpose to the Conference in

that it was to consider the "press restrictions situation." But the Conference itself did not seem to be conducted on that basis. Had the original object of the Conveners been kept to, the Conference would have sat longer—most of the editors were prepared for this—but we would have avoided the situation which has arisen in some of the provinces. The whole trouble arose out of the fact that the Editors' Conference was preceded by the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society session and those who were in both bodies, tended to look on the second as a larger body convened to continue the work and perhaps endorse the decisions of that smaller body; and not unnaturally they had spent much time away from their work even before the larger conference met. The *Modern Review* in a fierce attack on the Editors' Conference suggests that the Standing Committee was taken into confidence in matters relating to the assurance, and that it put something across the open Conference. A glance at the names of the Committee members would show that this is not correct. Mr. Rama Rao of the *National Herald* and the editor of the *Sainik* were both on the Committee and that is proof enough that the Standing Committee members are not working a sinister conspiracy. For both of them have been victims of the press laws. Often the simplest explanation is the truest. The confusion of a hastily summoned Conference, the uncertainty in the minds of the organisers as to the purpose of the Conference, a diversion from the main purpose caused by a lengthy and somewhat inconsequential political speech—these are the causes of the present position. To remedy this what is necessary is not to try to unearth an assurance which we are told by the President, was never given or sought for; but to collect all the facts relating to the Government's policy towards the press and to consider the whole question of repressive legislation in an unhurried manner. We would press on the Standing Committee to work to this end.

S. NATARAJAN

#### CHINA AND AMERICA.

(BY WALTER BROOKS FOLEY.)

One of the psychological moments we hear about has arrived in the Orient. This time it has particular reference to the foundation on which the United States is built—democracy. Two hundred people, at least in the Philippines, have seen its significance.

With the destruction of the city and centralized industry in the coastal areas of China due to the ruthless aggression of Japan tens of thousands of mechanics, employees, engineers, technicians, and administrative officials lost their positions. Most of them started a long trek to the interior by river boat and on foot, covering eventually a thousand miles or more. In addition tens of millions of other Chinese from the same section, or those adjoining, were driven out of their homes, or left voluntarily, preferring to live in the interior rather than have any contact with the invading Japanese.

The terrific refugee problem presented became the greatest situation of its kind in all history. It was so overpowering that the very thought of providing relief brought with it a sense of futility. No agencies were big enough to cope with it. No supplies were available to satisfy hunger and human need. The people of the Far East who wished to help, were appalled with their inability to deal with the tragedy in any adequate fashion.

In the meantime, some of their number, in spite of the unwillingness of western democracies to assist, did lend their aid to republican Spain, thus finding

incidentally how strong the desire was to help solve the problem of assistance to China. When Spain was finally defeated, through a combination of Fascist-Nazi forces supporting Franco, and the weakness of France, England and America in refusing aid to a government with which they were supposed to be in cordial relationship, the interest turned more specifically toward China.

The writer had made a study trip in China in the summer of 1937, just preceding the opening of the Japanese war in that country. He had come back enthusiastic over the dramatic and spectacular leadership of China which was moving the country forward magnificently. He, with others, became convinced that most of the leaders had not discarded their plans and aims, even though compelled to set up new organizations and systems far back in the interior of their country.

Reports of a new stage in the war began to come through which confirmed the judgment of a continued leadership constantly expanding. Then, in 1939, the news was brought by Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Snow, correspondents and journalists, of the formation of a movement destined to have great significance in China, the Far East, and possibly the world.

Sitting down together in Shanghai, facing the facts of the ruined industries of that great metropolis a small group of interested friends, including the Snows, Mr. Rewi Alley (a New Zealander who had been in the industrial department of the Shanghai Municipal Council) and other engineers and residents of China, began to discuss possible substitutes to assist the economic development of China now that the centralized industries were largely wiped out.

Quantities of machinery had been moved back to the interior. But the great problems of human relief were being multiplied by the passing months. All the roads and riverways and indeed the fields themselves were swarming with the millions who needed food, and clothing, and supplies, and, most of all, work.

The decision was reached by the group members that the idea and practice of workers producing in small mobile industrial co-operatives offered the only real chance for permanent results. They recalled the twenty-eight hungry weavers of Rochdale, England, back in 1844 who opened what proved to be the first successful consumers' cooperative, and who six years later purchased a flour mill. They looked at the fact that by 1935 the Rochdale "experiment" had grown into a Co-operative Wholesale Society, the biggest business in England, including 1,200 local co-operative societies with a membership of 500,000 families.

They could see the possibilities of the movement in China accustomed to working in social units. They could see the unemployed technicians and workers given a chance to stand on their feet once more. They could see the wealth of China's natural resources in the interior being utilized on a totally new scale.

The group secured the help of a specialist from the League of Nations and worked out a constitution adapted to the country. The plan was then proposed to the Central Government and approved by the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-Shek. Dr. H. H. Kung, Finance Minister, was made Honorary Chairman, and Mr. Rewi Alley was persuaded to become the Adviser to promote and organize cooperatives.

That was in August 1933. Now, two years later, there are 2,000 industrial co-operatives working in close touch with five major district headquarters in free China. The greatest productive relief project in history has become an astonishing proof of the basic values of the co-operative movement.

The workers, the engineers, the managers, the auditors have united in the fastest-growing application of democratic methods to the business procedures of economics of which we have any knowledge. Thousands of unemployed have been helped to a livelihood.

Thousands of friends around the world have become interested in providing a relief which leads directly and immediately to substantial lifting of the levels of living. A Hong Kong Promotion Committee was formed. Then the idea came to Manila, and we formed The Philippine Association for Industrial Co-operatives in China. Thousands of dollars have been sent on the basis that \$7.00 will put one Chinese to work, thus making it possible for him to support his family, and possibly other friends.

Then the idea began to spread. From the Philippines came the suggestion that an International Committee be formed. It was set up. Interest was aroused and funds contributed from England and New Zealand. In August 1940 an American Committee was formed in New York with Admiral Yarnell as Chairman, through the combined efforts of representatives of the International Committee who were in New York.

Mrs. Paul V. McNutt was the first Honorary Chairman, accepting this position with enthusiasm. Shortly thereafter she returned to Washington where she organized a Committee to carry on the idea in that city. Mrs. Francis B. Sayre, wife of the succeeding U. S. High Commissioner to the Philippines, became our second Honorary Chairman and has worked most efficiently with the Executive Committee. The writer serves as Chairman, the Corresponding Secretary is a former Y. W. C. A. Secretary, the Treasurer is an executive of the Manila Branch of the National City Bank of New York.

The original small committee has become an Association of 200 members with representation from a half dozen nationalities. The Philippines Chinese have become enthusiastic.

The writer has had conferences with Mr. T. V. Soong who is the Treasurer of the International Committee and with Mme. Sun Yat Sen who has become the Honorary Chairman of the Hong Kong Promotion Committee, with Mr. Rewi Alley, who recently came to the Philippines for two weeks, with Major Evans Carlson who has resigned from the U. S. Marine Corps and is devoting himself to promoting this movement.

The interest created among the Chinese in the Philippines has spread to Malaysia and the Netherlands Indies. The development has become a part of the awakening of these Islands to their relationships in the Far Eastern affairs, and forms a new link of international significance.

#### INDIA AND THE WAR.

(BY RAMANBHAI L. PATEL, BOMBAY.)

Indians are asked to give whole-hearted support to the war chiefly on four grounds. They are far from enough to whip the flagging enthusiasm of India, and each of them is evaded by a prompt excuse which comes in handy to a sulking people.

(1) India is a part of the political system known as the British Empire which gives protection to its members against foreign aggression. As such it is her duty to fight by the side of the rest of the Empire. This argument appeals most to the Princes, because it conveniently shelves inconvenient ideals like democracy and Independence. To a huge majority of thinking Indians, however, membership of the British Empire is not a privilege

to die for.

(2) India is in danger of invasion; it is advisable to forestall it by rendering the utmost help to Britain and the Dominions. The Indian people being nurtured in ignorance of military affairs cannot have an expert opinion on this point. But the fact that Egypt, without declaring war, has the benefit of the protection of the British Empire, is not lost upon intelligent Indians.

(3) If Britain is defeated, the British Empire will be dismembered and India will be condemned for ages to the position of a slave nation in a world ruthlessly governed by totalitarian powers. Psychologically the wisdom of an appeal to fear in order to rouse enthusiasm for war is doubtful, for fear, if it is roused, demoralises a people. The Nazis are past masters in using fear to undermine the warlike efforts of their opponents. Mercifully war propaganda in India is not logical; it takes great pains to convince the people of India that the might and indomitable will of Britain cannot and will not be defeated. Hence naturally enough, most Indians do not think in terms of British defeat. Yet to some happily few, the mean pleasure of seeing Britain crushed and humbled would outweigh the miseries of alien totalitarian Government which they, blinded by impotent resentment, believe cannot be far worse than British rule.

(4) Indians are asked to support war; in the words of Dr. G. S. Arundale, "the war which Britain is fighting is not her war; it is not a European war or a Christian war; it is everybody's war, it is that war of every nation and every faith." To this it is promptly pointed out that it is curious that a great nation like the U. S. A. is so negligent of the future of humanity. So far India has given greater support to Britain than the U. S. A.; while India has been giving help to Britain, the U. S. A. are selling it at war prices.

Indian Muslims have reacted well to an appeal for the defence of Muslim states from Totalitarian aggression, though it is pointed out that the Muslim States themselves seem to be playing for time.

The very fact that the Government is constrained to give so many reasons why India should wholeheartedly co-operate in the war and the fact that the average Indian is tempted to expose the reasons rather than to take them in good faith, shows the malady which vitiates the relations between the Government and the people of India. The Canadians, the Australians, the New Zealanders have not to be told to fight. They do so voluntarily. On the other hand, Indians do not feel that they should make sacrifices in order to win the war. We do not feel that the Indian army is our own national army; we are not proud of it. Much less do we feel that the Government of India is our government guiding the destinies of India for the good of India. The Government of India on their path underline their distrust of Indians in the most offensive ways. The Defence Department and the Supply Department are monopolised by non-Indians. A majority of the cadets for Emergency Commissions is non-Indian. The Government of India is not at all enthusiastic about the possibilities of organising shipping and motor-car industries in India. Their treatment of Indian businessmen can very well be improved.

It must be admitted by all reasonable men that it is in the interest of India to play a prominent part in the present war. It should be realised by the British Government that the present political deadlock, if it continues, will inevitably undermine greater war effort. In all probability this will be a long war. We are just beginning

to feel the burden of war; but before the victory is won, both the rich and the poor in India will be called upon to make greater and ever greater sacrifices. If they are not made willingly, to enforce them will be a difficult task for an alien Government out of sympathy with the people of India. The mood in which the proposed war taxation has been received by the Central Legislative Assembly and the people who are to bear the burden of the new taxes, should serve as a pointer to the Government. In England, the British Government is taken to task for not taxing the people to their capacity; in India the Government has to proceed cautiously and even then the persons taxed do not feel that they are making sacrifices in a great cause. Government in war-time cannot function efficiently on this psychological basis.

The relations between the British people as represented by the Government of India and the Indian people are not friendly, only because they are those of master and servant rather than those of comrades in arms. With the raw self-consciousness of a subject people we are perpetually aware that our position in the British Empire is not an honourable one. Rightly or wrongly we feel that we are invited to be the camp-followers of the British people in the present war. By this time it is a widespread belief in India that the Government is not willing to part with power, and that the promises about the future are not worth much. The tragedy of the situation is that the Government of India and the people of India, instead of coming closer together as the war proceeds, are likely to move farther and farther apart. An unpopular Government like the present one lurking under war pressure learns to treat public criticism, some of which is bound to be factious and irresponsible, with supreme contempt. Not infrequently it has to be severe in dealing with opposition, for it cannot afford to be generous to political opponents. Hence four years' rigorous imprisonment for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Such a Government is as much concerned about its 'face' as a Chinese. It must show its stuff by displaying harshness and calculated vengeance. Of course this is far from the wise course to encourage the Indian people to greater war effort. On the contrary this is the way to fritter away their goodwill. The British in India resent the fact that Indians do not show their gratitude to the Empire by throwing themselves heart and soul into the war. The Indian people bitterly feel that the British are not prepared to loosen their hold in India even as a price for valuable assistance in the war. A war fought for whatever end dangerously lowers the amount of goodwill in the world. The British and the Indian peoples who are fighting on the same side, cannot afford to be unfriendly now or for many years to come after the war.

How can the situation be improved? For it must be improved in the interest both of India and Britain. Repression combined with masterly inactivity which seems to be the present policy of the Government cannot go on for long without slackening of the war effort. Whitehall banks upon the strong anti-Nazi feelings of Indians in general and wishes that Indian leaders should be true to their feeling and give unconditional co-operation in the prosecution of the war. The Indian leaders do not wish to be the mere tools of the Government of India in getting the utmost out of India in the fight against totalitarianism. They want effective control of the Government of India not merely for the efficient prosecution of the war, but to direct the war effort of India in such a manner that after the war India will be in a much better political and economic position. It is hardly a matter of doubt

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will no excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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### NOTES.

**"Yankee Trading"** :—The enthusiasm for the British struggle against Nazism appears to have become more calculating in the United States since the presidential re-election last month. On the eve of the election, both Democrats and Republicans outbid each other in their support for the cause of Democracy for which Britain was fighting. The offer of support is still continued but some of the conditions proposed, not officially but in the Press and by politicians, are not very favourable specimens of Yankee trading. One was that a corridor to Alaska should be conceded. The other was that the gold production of the British Empire for the next five years should be hypothecated to the States. Both these conditions require the acceptance of the Dominions. The corridor would pass through Canada. Australia and South Africa are the principal gold-producing areas in the British Commonwealth, and they would require some equivalent for the sacrifice which they will have to make, if they at all consider the proposals. The last proposal is the most grotesque. It is that money should be lent to Great Britain on the security of the Netherlands whose Sovereign maintains a refugee Government somewhere in England. If we had any voice in the conduct of affairs, we would suggest that it is unwise to place excessive reliance on the United States which has her own purpose and policy, which are not in all respects the same as those of Great Britain and may even sharply conflict with them. With India by her side Great Britain can dispense with American assistance. Ultimately, it may be discovered that this is the only way to safeguard the Empire. Why should we wait to have the truth forced upon us?

**Are Indian Soldiers Mercenaries?**—Gandhiji in the course of a reply to Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's onslaughts on his creed of non-violence, referred to Indians recruited for the British Indian Army, a considerable proportion of

whom are Punjabees, as mercenaries. Sir Sikandar has waxed indignant over this epithet and has declared that the Punjabees would not defend the rest of India from invaders unless Gandhiji withdraws this opprobrious description. Professor Gulshan Rai in an article in the *Tribune* of the 1st December has analysed the recruitment of soldiers in the Punjab by districts and his conclusion is that the number of recruits is largest in the poorest districts and small in the prosperous ones. The distinction between prosperity and poverty among Punjab districts is due chiefly to the presence or absence of canal or river irrigation. More than half of the recruits come from six districts which have no, or very little of either kind of, irrigation. On the other hand, the greatest amount of irrigation from canals and from rivers, is in the Multan division and all the six districts of this division are at the bottom of the scale as regards the recruits contributed by them. The Professor calls attention to the striking fact that one district which pays only two lakhs land revenue, gets in the shape of salaries and pensions of soldiers 20 lakhs from the Government treasury. The officer from whom the Professor got these figures while travelling in the district, told him that, but for the sums paid by Government, these people would starve. Prof. Rai quotes an English Civilian, Mr. Leigh, who has made a study of the subject, as observing that "in all the districts it was remarked that those districts were most disappointing which had the best reasons for gratitude to the British Government in the shape of wealth derived from canals, or lenient revenue assessments."

**A Myth Exposed:**—In every country where there is no conscription, soldiers are largely drawn from the poorer classes who would otherwise remain without employment. Herr Hitler in his "Mein Kampf" declares that the declaration of war in 1914 came to him as a Godsend as he was in a state of utter destitution. If to receive a salary for service makes that service mercenary, all employees, Government and private, must be considered mercenaries from the Viceroy downwards. Lawyers and Doctors will be open to the same description. In American English it is correct to speak of "hiring" a lawyer or a doctor or even a statesman for a piece of service, while in the more sophisticated English idiom it is proper to speak of



"engaging" or "commissioning" them. The sting of the word as applied to Indian soldiers lies in the fact that until recently the Army offered no careers to educated Indians and even now offers but very few, and has been almost entirely a trade offering a means of livelihood to an impoverished peasantry. Service in the Indian Army will cease to be "mercenary" when the service in all grades, from private to Field Marshal, is open to Indians. As for Sir Sikandar's threat that the Punjabees will not defend India if Gandhiji does not apologise, Professor Rai aptly observes :

I believe Sir Sikandar Hyat has let these words escape his lips in a thoughtless mood. If he had thought over the problem in a calmer mood he might have realised that the Punjab in the past has never been able to defend the rest of India against foreign invaders. She has not been able to defend herself. During the last twenty-five centuries she has given way through her territories to the Persians, the Greeks, the Scythians, the Yuichis, the Parthians, the Huns, the Turks, the Arabs and the Moghuls. It was the people from the south, who were able to drive out the Kushans. The Marathas and the Sikhs both inspired by teachings coming from the south in recent times drove the Abdallis out of the country. Let me point out that the rest of India does not depend for her defence on the people of the Punjab.

Much more can be said in confirmation of the Professor's conclusion. But the legend of the Punjab being "the sword-arm of India" has been and is being fostered from ulterior motives even by those who are expected to know something of Indian history. It is good that at least one Punjabee has had the courage to expose the myth.

**Anti-Pakistan Conference :—**An anti-Pakistan Conference was held in Lahore last week under the presidentship of Mr. M. S. Aney, one of the most level-headed of present-day political leaders. Mr. Aney denounced the Pakistan proposal as ruinous to India and Great Britain. From the first we have held the view that the Pakistan idea has only to be left alone and that it will bring about its own dissolution. The people who will oppose it most are Muslims themselves who have prospered in the Hindu majority provinces more than in those where their co-religionists are in the majority. The people who support Pakistan are the ignorant masses who believe that in Pakistan it will be all play and no work. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan recently declared that he will not have Pakistan or Sikhistan or Hindustan in the Punjab. But as the Punjab is a province where Pakistan is already in force in fact if not in law, his repudiation does not amount to much, especially as he continues to be one of the leading lieutenants of the redoubtable President of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah. We should like to know if Sir Sikandar wants Pakistan in other provinces than his own. We repeat that there is no real danger of Pakistan in the near future. The danger we most apprehend is the further division of India on the plausible ground of linguistic and cultural autonomy. The Hoare scheme carved out India into eleven separate units, with the

concurrence of Indian leaders of all parties. The cry is for further division—Andhra for the Andhras, Karnataka for the Kanarese and Maharashtra for Marathas. Instead of one Pakistan we will have fourteen or fifteen provinces which are virtually separate and independent countries. History shows that only under a strong central Government has there been Indian unity and that Indian unity is essential to India's internal peace and external security. Mr. Amery has already indicated that his mind is moving in the direction of further partitioning of the country as a means of appeasing the Muslim League and the Princes. This is a danger which we have more to fear than Pakistan which is doomed to die because it has no vitality in it.

**The Ethics of Party Discipline :—**The old question, how far it is consistent with moral principles for a member of a political party to subordinate his convictions to the views of his party, was raised quite irrelevantly by the District Magistrate of Lahore who tried Sardar Sampuran Singh, the leader of the Congress Party in the Lahore Legislative Assembly, on the charge of shouting anti-war slogans in accordance with the programme of his party. The Sardar admitted having shouted slogans and there the matter should have ended, so far as the Magistrate was concerned. He had no right to cross-examine the accused as to his personal opinions in regard to the war and the participation of his community in it. The conduct of the Magistrate was somewhat on the lines of the proceedings of some of the tribunals appointed to examine conscientious objectors in England. If Sardar Sampuran Singh was claiming exemption on conscientious grounds from military service, these questions might have been relevant. But here he was being tried for an offence under the Defence of India Act and had pleaded guilty of shouting slogans. The Magistrate, Mr. Henderson, however, chose to give a dramatic turn to his function and put some questions to the accused eliciting from him the admission that he shouted the slogans in pursuance of "party discipline." This Mr. Henderson denounced as contemptible and indicated his contempt by sentencing the accused to a fine of one anna which, on the latter refusing to pay, the Magistrate paid out of his own pocket. Mr. Henderson evidently believes that party discipline and subservience is something unique which the Sardar had invented and practised. It is the backbone of party government and the cracking of the party whip as the signal for Members of Parliament to flock into the party lobby, is a commonplace in the parliamentary game. Even more astonishing than Mr. Henderson's naivete is Mr. Gandhiji's denunciation of the Sardar's conduct as utterly incompatible with the principles of satyagraha. It is no secret that many who have gone to prison for shouting slogans, including some of the most prominent leaders, do not believe in the present satyagraha and have

nevertheless sought arrest for the same reason as Sardar Sampuran Singh. Only they have not admitted it in open court. Should that make a difference? The Congress President is reported to have said that, though the Poona offer which was made in opposition to Ganjhi's stand was withdrawn, if Government now came forward to offer the substance of it, he would be prepared to consider the position. In essence, is it not tantamount to the plea of party discipline?

**Lahore Satyagraha** :—In its issue of the 4th December, the *Times of India* published on its front page in big black type with the heading, "10,000 students attack Police in Lahore," and sub-heading, "Incident in Satyagraha Campaign," the following from its own correspondent:

History recently enacted at Patna while the arrest was being effected of the former Congress Premier of Bihar was repeated in Lahore this afternoon when some 10,000 students of local colleges set upon a small police force which had gone to the Lajpatrai Hall, where Sardar Sampuran Singh, Leader of the Congress Party in the Punjab Assembly, was shouting anti-war slogans in furtherance of the "satyagraha" campaign. Not until a couple of policemen were profusely bleeding as the result of brickbats being thrown at them by the demonstrators was a 'lathi' charge resorted to by the authorities. Eight students are said to have received injuries. It is clear from what happened today and five days ago, when Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din was arrested, that the "satyagraha" movement in the Punjab is bound, as the Premier Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan said the other day, to end in bloodshed and communal riots.

A tyro in journalism or even a layman who regularly reads newspapers, could not have failed to see in this message the cloven foot of the propagandist. It is physically impossible for 10,000 young men to be dispersed by "a small police force" by a lathi charge with but two policemen "profusely bleeding" and eight students receiving injuries. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, is quoted as having said that satyagraha is bound to end in bloodshed and communal riots. Sir Sikandar has it in his power to prevent this catastrophe by suitable steps in his own province. He has so far not done anything beyond prosecuting the satyagrahis when they preach or announce their intention to shout slogans in letters to Magistrates and Police Superintendents. The *Times* correspondent has evidently an idea of what the Punjab Ministry means to do to remove the menace. It has perhaps something to do with students. It is not unlikely that he wants the Punjab Government to follow the example of the Madras Government and declare that all these students are debarred from Government service.

**The Tribune's Version** :—An incident of such magnitude if it really took place must have created considerable sensation. It is hardly likely to have escaped the notice of Lahore newspapers. The *Tribune* of Lahore dated December 5 gives an account of what happened when Sardar Sampuran Singh was arrested. We quote it below:

Sardar Sampuran Singh who arrived this morning from Lyallpur, was staying in the Lajpat Rai Bhawan. At

5 p. m. he came in the compound and was cheered by the public and garlanded. According to his programme he came out of Lajpat Rai Bhawan followed by a big crowd, and raised anti-war slogans. Mr. Tyler, Deputy Superintendent of Police and Lala Chuni Lal, Inspector, accompanied by a police guard arrived on the scene and took Sardar Sampuran Singh under custody and removed him in a car to the Lahore Central Jail. Soon after his arrest the crowd followed the police party and were alleged to have made demonstrations and cried 'shame, shame' and also thrown brick-bats. According to the police version two constables received injuries. The police resorted to lathi charge and chased the public to some distance to disperse them. About half a dozen members of the public received injuries as a result of the lathi-charge by the police, out of whom two were students of the D. A. V. College who were profusely bleeding and were removed to College hospital. A number of Congress M. L. A.'s and office-bearers of the Congress Committees were present at the time of the arrest.

The *Tribune* report does not mention that students formed the larger part of the crowd which seems to have been just like others which collect when arrests are made of prominent politicians. The United Press message published in the *Bombay Chronicle* followed the *Tribune* report. We have not seen a report of the incident by the Associated Press. The *Times'* publication of the news with its sensational headline, is conclusive proof of the futility of Press Censorship. Responsible journalists must themselves exercise strict vigilance in the publication of news received from correspondents who do not confine themselves to facts but seek to interpret them so as to accord with the opinion of people in power.

**International Politics** :—The progress of the war has not been marked by any noteworthy events on the Western Front. The Italian collapse continues in the south of Europe. In Africa the Italians have received a serious setback by the capture by British and Indian troops of Sidi Barrani. But the incidents of war have been eclipsed by the utterances of the men whose words move armies. Premier Matsuoka of Japan in an interview to Press correspondents made some observations which are of far-reaching significance. He began by saying that Japan had acquired some useful ideas from the West but she had also acquired the greed of the Westerners. Japanese policy is directed to preserving the essentials of the native civilization free from the contaminating influence of the West. The practical measures announced by the Premier were that, if the United States entered the war on behalf of democracy, Japan will be obliged to follow her on the side of the Axis. Japanese policy towards Indo-China and Netherland Indies will be determined by circumstances. Her policy towards China will remain unchanged. Herr Hitler made a speech to his Army in which he warned it that the defeat of Germany in the war would mean the extermination of the German people. Lord Lothian's sudden death on Wednesday is a sad and serious loss to the cause of international peace.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 14, 1940.

## SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI'S LAMENT.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, is an unusual combination of a cultured and accomplished statesman and an intellectual gladiator. In his first character, he is labouring assiduously to harmonise the theocratic tradition of Travancore with modern trends in industrial economy. The task is not an easy one. Its difficulties are increased by the movement in Travancore to transfer the seat of power from a hereditary sovereign to a party of politicians claiming to represent the masses. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has been himself a political leader in British India. He was prominently associated with the late Dr. Besant in her Home Rule movement though he was never a member of the Theosophical Society. In fact, his first contact with Dr. Besant was in the Madras High Court where he subjected her to a severe cross-examination in a case which involved the right of guardianship of minor children. Dr. Besant never made up with the Government. She became estranged also from the National Congress when it passed under the control of Lokamanya Tilak and Gandhiji. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar received official preferment, became Member of the Madras Executive Council, Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, adviser to several important Indian States and is now the trusted and intrepid Dewan of the Maharaja of Travancore. Under his inspiration, His Highness issued the famous Proclamation throwing Hindu temples under the control of the State open to Harijans, a measure which Sir Ramaswami claimed as falling within the prerogative of Hindu sovereigns. This measure was applauded by Gandhiji, Mr. Rajagopalachariar and other leading Congressmen. It could not have been carried by a Ministry responsible to a representative Assembly in any part of the country. The legislation passed in Madras and Bombay to enable trustees to open their temples to Harijans are beset with conditions which practically made them inoperative from the moment of their passing. Congress leaders know this quite well. Nevertheless they sponsored a movement in Travancore for full responsible Government of the type of the British Government. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar who had forfeited the confidence of orthodox Hindus by the Proclamation, was confronted by an organised attempt on the part of the Congress party headed by Gandhiji himself, to overthrow the system which had enabled the Maharaja to issue the Proclamation. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar is a courageous fighter, and he faced the Gandhian campaign without flinching and emerged out of it with flying colours. Other Indian States which were afraid of the consequences of a similar movement in their own cases, breathed

freely. Gandhiji also realised, as he always does when too late, the inadequacy of his strength to invite a conflict with the States and with the Governments in Indian provinces and at the Centre. The outbreak of the war transformed the whole political situation. It opened wide the opportunity of the States to prove themselves to be the supporters of British rule against the agitation of the Congress Party.

We have recalled this past history in order to provide the background necessary to understand the significance of Sir Ramaswami Aiyar's speech at the Calcutta Rotary lunch on the 3rd December. The speaker proposed to himself the question, "Whither?" He lamented that individuality and freedom of opinion were at a discount at the present day all over the world including India. He ascribed what he called the want of equilibrium in Europe to "the abuse of crowd psychology, of mass action or mass hysteria and of mass hypnotism." "On account of the work and propaganda of some persons, on account of various other accidental circumstances like the Treaty of Versailles, there has come about on the one hand a ruthless suppression of personality and of individuality and on the other hand, as a resultant of that suppression, a kind of mass action which moves precipitately, though it knows not where." If we hold one conviction more strongly than any other as the result of study and pondering on contemporary events, it is that there is no such thing as accident in human affairs. Individuals may be run over by a motor car driven by a drunken driver. But nations never. However that may be, the inclusion of the Treaty of Versailles among "accidents" is surely a grave historical solecism. The literature on the negotiations which led to the framing of that Treaty is voluminous. Every step in them was discussed and debated over for days by the foremost statesmen of Europe and America at the time. The consequences of its principal provisions were foreseen and foretold by men who followed the various phases of the Peace negotiations. Some of the prominent actors in the drama themselves knew that there was bound to be several miscarriages and catastrophe in the working of the Treaty provisions. If the Treaty of Versailles was an accident, there is no such thing as history and human society is itself the greatest and most futile of accidents.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar ascribes the present unrest in Europe and in India to the hypnotic influence of a few men on the masses. He regards this as a specially sinister dispensation of our time whereas this has been a universal phenomenon in all lands and ages. The Dewan laments that the masses do not think for themselves. When in all history did they do so? J. H. Robertson in his article on "Civilization" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, observes that by 13 or 14 a child has acquired an overwhelming part of the knowledge, impressions, cautions and general estimates of his

fellow creatures and the world in which he lives, which he continues to harbour with slight modifications during his life-time.

The experts in advertising, the publishers of "tabloid" newspapers and the contrivers of moving picture films seem to conform to the supposition that what appeals to a 12 or 18 years old child is admirably adapted to the intelligence and tastes of the multitude... Perhaps one in a hundred may allow his mind to be altered by assiduous reading or take pains to cultivate his insight into art and literature and scientific discoveries.

The politician, whether he professes to be a democrat or a dictator, acts on the same assumption. Slogans are, therefore, of more importance in popular leadership than arguments. Gandhiji showed profound insight into mass psychology, when he ordered that only slogans should be used in the Satyagraha movement. "Hang the Kaiser," won a critical General Election. President Wilson's failure to invent a catching slogan for the electors of the United States lost him the support of the Congress. Sir Ramaswami himself uses slogans when he speaks of the tradition of Shankaracharya and Ramanujacharya as the Indian tradition. The two Acharyas were diametrically opposed in their philosophy. To Ramanuja Shankara was a veiled Buddhist. The fact is that the present time is neither better nor worse than any past time. To Edmund Burke, the French Revolution was the end of civilisation. "The age of chivalry is gone; that of sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever." In the last chapter of the Mahabharata, Sri Krishna laments that the world was doomed to destruction. So does Jesus. We do not advance a single inch towards the betterment of the world by bemoaning the circumstances of our times. We have to take it as it is and if we examine the matter closely, we may find that our times are in many respects better and not worse than other times in other lands.

## EVOLUTION OF THE JUVENILE COURT IN BOMBAY.

### 1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

(BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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The earliest efforts of the Government of India to differentiate between a child and an adult offender can be seen in the Apprentices Act (Act XIX of 1858) which authorised a magistrate committing children between the ages of 10 and 18 years for vagrancy or commission of any petty offence to bind them as apprentices. Any magistrate or justice of peace or director of a charity could act as the guardian, under the Act, for children hauled up for petty offences or vagrancy. The main purpose of the Act was to divert the criminal tendencies of the children towards some trade or craft to enable them to earn a living.

In 1857 the Government of Bombay recognised the David Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory School (founded in 1848) for the reformation of youthful offenders and young offenders were committed to its charge under Section 399 Cr. P. C. The section

provided, "When any person under the age of 15 years is sentenced by any Criminal Court to imprisonment for any offence, the Court may direct that such person, instead of being imprisoned in a criminal jail, shall be confined in any reformatory established by the Local Government as a fit place for confinement, in which there are means of suitable discipline and of training in some branch of useful industry or which is kept by a person willing to obey such rules as the Local Government prescribe with regard to the discipline and training of persons confined therein."

The Central Government, noting the successful working of the David Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory School in Bombay, passed the Reformatory Schools Act in 1876 for the whole country. The object of the Act was to establish institutions for males to serve as reformatory schools and industrial schools on the lines of similar institutions in England. Consequently Government institutions in the form of reformatory schools were set up by the Provincial Governments and a few private institutions were also recognised which were willing to abide by the conditions laid down by the Government. In these schools boys are separated at night and proper arrangements for their food, clothing and sanitation exist. The inmates are trained in one or the other craft or industry in order to enable them to earn a livelihood on being released from there.

According to this Act the following three kinds of juveniles were committed to the reformatory schools:—

1. Boys under 14 years of age convicted of offences punishable with transportation or imprisonment but not sentenced.
2. Boys under 14 years of age with no visible means of subsistence and associating with thieves and bad characters.
3. Boys under 12 years sentenced to imprisonment.

Owing to this definite and separate enactment for treating juvenile offenders, Section 399 Cr. P. C. was repealed with reference to Bombay and other provinces where Reformatory Schools had been started. Still the unrepealed sections left it to the discretion of the magistrate to send a boy under 15 or 16 years to prison; but the officer of the prison was given the authority to place a child whom he thinks fit before the magistrate for being transferred to a reformatory for a period ranging between 2 and 7 years.

The two main shortcomings of the Act were: (1) it was restricted to males only, and (2) a youthful offender could be committed to a reformatory of the province in which he was convicted and punished and so in provinces where there were no reformatories the Act could not come into operation.

The Prison Conference held in 1892 recommended the amendment of this Act. The Government of India also invited suggestions in this respect from the Provincial Governments. Then in 1897 the Act was modified raising the age-limit to 16 years in Bombay Presidency and 15 years elsewhere, and making provision for the boys to be detained from 2-7 years up to a maximum age limit of 18 years, and also for their release on licence after the age of 14 years. The Inspector General of Prisons was authorised to inspect these schools. Though the Act did not provide for the opening of reformatory schools for girls owing to the opposition to this idea from the Hindus and the Muslims, yet it was provided therein that young girl offenders could be released on their parent or guardian standing surety for their good behaviour for a period not extending beyond one year.

With the passing of this the reformatory section of the Yeravda Jail in Bombay province used hitherto for receiving juvenile offenders committed to it under Section 399 Cr. P. C. was changed into a full-fledged reformatory school under the control of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Province.

In the year 1916 the Salvation Army took an interest in the problem and opened the Willingdon Boys' Home at Byculla with an accommodation of one hundred boys with a view to reclaim destitute and neglected children.

It was in the year 1917 that the public of Bombay took a keen interest in the care and protection of children though long before they had been interesting themselves in the care and protection of the animals, and a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was in existence and the existing law authorised the institution of proceedings against cruel owners. With the untiring zeal, enthusiasm and efforts of Mr R. P. Masani, a society known as the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India was inaugurated under the patronage of His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay. Prior to the establishment of this Society Mr. Masani with the help of Mr. (now Sir) J. S. Wadia, then a member of the Municipal Corporation, Bombay, had opened a Refuge Home at Grant Road, and by the end of December 1916 reclaimed 83 children from the streets of Bombay who were either returned to their parents or adopted by trusted citizens or placed in orphanages.

The Society for the Protection of Children in Western India did commendable work in rescuing children from undesirable hands and environments, but at every step they felt themselves handicapped for want of legislation in this sphere. Therefore, the Society carried on propaganda through the press and the platform for the protection of children pressing the Government for immediate legislation to that effect. As a result the Bombay Legislature passed the Children's Act in 1924 which did not come into operation till 1927 after the declaration of Geneva issued from the office of the League of Nation regarding the child. The declaration recognised that mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give, and declares and accepts it as their duty beyond all considerations of race, nationality or creed. It further emphasised that the child must be fed, nursed and protected against every form of exploitation, and must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually so as to be devoted to the services of its fellowmen.

This declaration did much to create public opinion in favour of the immediate necessity of the protection of the child and constant propaganda was carried out by the public in general and the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India in particular in this connection. As a result of it the Government of Bombay called a conference of the representatives of social service agencies in Bombay in September 1926 to consider the question of setting up a new machinery for working the Children's Act as no existing social organisation was ready to undertake the responsibility to work it. Miss M. K. Davis has described these efforts in Dr. Manshardt's book on "Some Social Services in Bombay," in a very picturesque way and so it will better to quote her. She writes, "Public opinion, however, began to crystallise and an agitation was begun by the Vigilance Association and the League of Mercy, who securing the support of 23 other organizations, placed the matter before Government. As a result two conferences were called at

the Secretariat in 1926 to explore ways and means for the immediate operation of the Bombay Children's Act in Bombay City. All existing social organisations were represented at these conferences and the net result was a unanimous decision that, to provide the necessary machinery and to face up to the exigencies of a new type of social service, a new organisation had to be created. The Children's Aid Society, therefore, sprang into being and Government agreed to lend the major portion of the Umarkhadi site for the purpose of running a remand home, to convert it into fit condition and to provide a block-maintenance grant-in-aid towards upkeep."

After the inauguration of the Children's Aid Society, the Act came into force in 1927. The application of the Reformatory Schools Act 1897 ceased within the limits of Bombay Province as its provisions were more than covered by part IV of the Children's Act. First the Act came into operation in Bombay City only but later on gradually it has been extended almost all over the province and is now in operation in every important centre from the dates mentioned below :—

Bombay Urban areas ...	...	1927
Bandra & Kurla ...	...	1931
Dharwar & Hubli ...	...	1st. Oct., 1934
Poona ...	...	8th June, 1935
Sholapur ...	...	29th Aug., 1935
Belgaum ...	...	17th Oct., 1935
Ahmedabad ...	...	15th Aug., 1937
Gadag ...	...	23rd Feb., 1937

#### MEN AND WOMEN.

The versatile Mr. Satyamurti, deputy leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, found himself in strange company when he was called upon to address a few words to the students of the Lady Irwin College at Delhi recently. Mr. Satyamurti is not particularly known for any enthusiasm for the women's cause. In fact, he was rather antagonistic to a reform like the Sarada Act. But with his usual agility he uttered a few suitable words to his audience. The number of platitudes which are ready to hand for the public speaker, is really remarkable. Mr. Satyamurti, speaking presumably as a legislator, advised the Lady Irwin girls to confine themselves to demanding equality of treatment in man-made laws but, he added, "no law can abolish God-made distinctions." Is any one seeking to do this? Surely this was an unkind cut to the students of a college which has accepted as its aim the ideal of making Indian girls into "good" wives and "good" mothers. Mr. Satyamurti was preaching to the converted again when he said that equality is not identity. Besides, who ever said that it was? If it had been, there would have been no need for two words to express the same thing. But it is not a rare occurrence to see reactionaries leading up to a denial of equality by stressing differences. The Lady Irwin girls were next told that equal rights of succession to property would solve most of the grievances of Indian, particularly Hindu, women. This is an academic point since there is not so much property distributed among the people to succeed to. Had he consulted Dr. Deshmukh and Mrs. Subbarayan on the point, Mr. Satyamurti would have learnt of other forms of inequality which a mere change in the succession laws would not affect. As both of them are of his party, it is strange that the Deputy Leader failed to give sufficient importance to the agitation for divorce and for monogamy in Hindu marriage.



Following from his concession of equality but not identity, Mr. Satyamurti proceeded to set forth what peculiar work women could do for the country. It would not be unjust to him to say that the work he visualised for them "outside the ambit of home" was very similar to the work they have been used to do in the home itself. In brief, it was that of cleaning up the mess which the men created around them. Sanitation, public health, eradication of communalism, removal of suffering, ignorance and superstition, and soothing the acerbities of public life, these were what Mr. Satyamurti asked of women who worked outside the home. He asked them to do "little unremembered acts of kindness that lighted up humble homes and made life sweeter." Why Mr. Satyamurti should tell them in advance that he has no intention of remembering their acts of kindness, it passes one's imagination. One would have thought that the distinguished speaker, if he is not capable of reciprocating with similar little acts, would at least contribute a passive share towards making life sweeter by remembering with gratitude what had come from the other side. Mr. Satyamurti appealed to educated women to become centres of culture and sweetness. And somehow he worked into his speech a peroration in which he said that freedom was not the final good but to govern themselves efficiently, justly and honourably, so as to be the envy of all countries. It is very injudicious to become the envy of other countries and anyone who hopes to remain non-violent after independence is achieved, will have to be doubly careful not to attract such attention from neighbours who might be less peaceably inclined. Mr. Satyamurti is half-a-century behind his times. No woman will thank him for the spate of mawkish sentimentality which he let loose on the students of the Lady Irwin College.

Following close on Mr. Satyamurti's performance, two other distinguished men had an opportunity to disclose their views on the part women should play in public life when the Seventh Biennial Conference of the National Council of women in India met at Delhi last month, Sir Maurice Gywer and Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan. Sir Maurice based his advice on the assumption that women had not "any large share of responsibility for the evils that now threaten to engulf the world," and were, therefore, still able to restore sanity and goodwill to the peoples of the earth. The manner in which he hoped that this end would be brought about, was by the women's movement keeping out of politics. The question resolves itself into one of ludicrous simplicity if Sir Maurice's reading of the situation is correct. If women have no responsibility for the evils, presumably they do not also share in the absence of sanity and goodwill which has vitiated men's thinking. It is only on this basis that women can be expected to restore sanity and goodwill. Obviously, those who are free from insanity and malice, distrust and hatred, must now turn their efforts to get control of the situation, political and economic no less than educational and social, to bring about a better state of things. Yet by a quaint reasoning, Sir Maurice would have the sane elements remain out of an important sphere of life to attain the millenium. Or does he think that politics are a cause of insanity?

As a matter of fact, even a cursory glance at conditions in a military country would convince the most sentimental man that women have by no means a small responsibility in one of the greatest evils of all times—war. If one considers the impressionable period of life in which all recruits to the army are,

the white feather campaign of the last war carried on largely by women, the number of women present among the spectators at a military parade, and the enthusiastic organisation of benefits, comforts and amusements for soldiers and sailors by women, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that women play a silent but nonetheless important part in stimulating men's combativeness. Sir Maurice is not altogether unaware of this. For underlying his complimentary remarks there is more than the suggestion of a fear that though women are not responsible for the evils of today, they are possessed in greater degree than their menfolk of the mental disequilibrium of the times and would make matters worse by throwing themselves into public life. But with his old world chivalry he was too polite to more than hint at this. In the context, his appeal to women who do launch on public life, to compete with men on their own merits and ask for nothing but fair field and no favour, seems meaningless. It is usual in ordinary life to treat the sane differently to the treatment meted out to lunatics. But there is one sentence in his brief talk which reveals more than others the unsuitability of Sir Maurice Gywer, in spite of his other attainments, as a speaker at women's meetings. That is his pleading for a common standard by which to judge both men and women. The very fact that he wants one shows that he has not got it in his own mind and naturally tends in his speeches to women's gatherings to talk down to his audience.

Sir Mahomed Zafrullah was more brief, or more briefly reported. This probably was more because he spoke in Urdu than on account of any intrinsic demerit in the speaker or the speech. For Sir Mahomed also pitched his note on the Satyamurti-Gywer key. He stressed the spiritual identity of men and women and ridiculed anyone arguing that one was superior to the other. But—here is the catch—it was the purpose of God that man was given harder work in life and woman the gentler.

It is with shame that a mere male turns from these efforts of distinguished men to justify God's ways to women, to the more balanced, useful and unsentimental addresses delivered by women themselves to the Biennial Conference.

Mrs. Munshi who before playing her part in the Satyagraha campaign last week, edited one issue of *Social Welfare*, made full use of her brief authority to reply at length to Sir Maurice Gywer's well-meant but ill-thought out address. The rebuke, however, is not quite deserved. The fault of these men who perform at women's meetings is that, like man from the days of Adam, they have not been able to resist the persuasions and blandishments of the women who ask them to speak. The best remedy is to out down the evil at the root and not have any men speakers at these conferences and gatherings. After all, women have ample opportunities of listening to all sorts of leaders for 365 days in the year without wanting to hear them deliver themselves of empty phrases for their exclusive benefit. Mrs. Munshi should have addressed a useful warning to her sisters of the National Council rather than bludgeoned poor Sir Maurice who only obliged. One should make due allowance for the fact that even the most judicial-minded amongst us is apt to lose his balance when he faces a whole crowd of women. Mr. Bernard Shaw, therefore, refused an invitation to speak at a women's meeting because he said that he was quite sure they could look after

themselves very well and that, though he had every sympathy with their cause, he had no intention of making a fool of himself on their platform. All men, even distinguished men, would do well to emulate this self-denying example. And they would certainly avoid many ridiculous situations. On one occasion, after a procession of women speakers representing various nations, a young Indian speaker actually commenced his address to a Mothers' Day audience with the words, "Speaking on behalf of the mothers of India."

VIPRA.

### DIVALI AND ID.

(BY A. KHALIDI, BOMBAY.)

This year the Divali and Id festivals fell very close. We had hardly forgotten the Divali illuminations and crackers on Friday, then the Ramzan Id dawned on us on the 2nd. I kept awake late in the night on Friday as the family was putting last touches to the preparations for Id. The morning was cool, bright and extremely pleasant. We left at 7-30 in the morning to be in time for Id prayers at 8-30 on the Azad Maidan. A large portion of the maidan was occupied by Musalmans, who tried to be as close to the Imam (priest) as possible. I am unable to give the number of people who had gathered, but the general impression was that this year's assembly was bigger than that of previous years. It was definitely a gay and happy gathering; dresses of all varieties could be seen and everyone seemed to be anxious to appear in his best.

The actual Id prayers did not take more than an hour. It was followed by mutual greetings, embracing and shaking hands.

On my way back, I had to stop at a number of places to exchange greetings with friends. A few of my friends from up-country sent greetings telegrams and the first of them was from a Hindu friend from Belgaum. The postman came with a heap of greetings messages—many of them from non-Muslims. My friends are scattered all over India and it is very gratifying to hear from them in Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Mussoorie, Karachi, Nagpur, Hyderabad and Madras. Old friendships are revived with stronger bonds of affection and goodwill.

Later in the day some friends—both Hindus and Muslims—came to see me. I entertained them in the usual manner peculiar to our Id, mutual good wishes were exchanged and afterwards they left. In the evening I started on my round to see friends. Amongst others I saw a Hindu family from Madras, a Travancore Brahmin friend and his European wife, a Maratha family and a Khoja friend. All said "Id Mubarak" and greeted me with the same cordiality as they had shown on my previous visit to them on Divali. In the Khoja family I found that the Id had followed on a gay celebration of Divali.

I have closely watched all festivals—Hindu, Muslim and Christian—and find that the religious part in them is very limited. It is the social aspect which has dominance and it is only this part which makes a festival enjoyable. Otherwise festivals would reduce to mere prayers.

I am sure there are several people who spent their Divali and Id in the manner in which I did. I see nothing coming in our way if we exchange hospitality with our friends of other communities and partake, as much as possible, in their celebrations. This will promote toleration and goodwill and strengthen bonds of friendship among different communities. When this view of religious festivals permeates to the masses, it will be very effective in removing misapprehensions prevailing among them and eradicating once for all communal clashes which occasionally mar the happiness of our festivals.

### ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

Dr. D. S. Ramchandra Rao, M.A., M.D., the President-elect of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians for 1940, comes from Andhra Desa and is 61 years of age. He matriculated in 1896 from the C. M. S. High School, Bezwada, where his father Rev. Canon Dr. Anantam was the Headmaster, and later continued his studies for the First-in-arts examination at the Madras Christian College. Sanskrit was his second language for both the examinations.

At the age of 19 he went to Edinburgh for higher studies and took his Master of Arts degree in 1902 and graduated in Medicine (M. B. Ch. B.) in 1904. He returned to India in April 1905. During his student days in Edinburgh he took an active part in the political meetings among University students and became the President of the Indian Students' Union of the Edinburgh University.

On returning to India he took up the post of Professor of History and Political Economy in the Pachiappa's College, Madras, for nearly five years during which time he built up his medical practice. He went to England in 1906 and again in 1919 and specialised in throat, nose, ear and eye diseases. After resigning his post in the Pachiappa's College in 1910, he set up private practice as a specialist in throat, nose, ear and eye. As a public speaker and writer he was a well-known figure in Madras and soon built up for himself a lucrative practice.

He went to Europe again soon after the Great war in 1915 in the hope of returning home after a few months' stay in England to do further work in his special line but was not allowed to do so owing to the exigencies of the war. He, therefore, stayed on in London till 1919 where he bought up a panel practice. During this period he rendered much assistance to the wounded officers and soldiers in convalescence. As he was doing good work in this way, his services were not requisitioned by the war authorities and he was permitted to conduct lecturing tours in England on behalf of India. The University of Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of M. D. in 1918 for his thesis on diseases of the eye.

Between 1919 and 1925 he resided at Bezwada and continued his medical practice, and played his part in the public life of the country. He was the Chairman of the Bezwada Municipality for 3 years and later was elected as the President of the Kistna District Board. In 1926 he visited Europe again, particularly Germany and Austria where he did special work connected with the eye.

From 1927 he began to reside in Bangalore and took active part in its public life.

In 1933 he visited England again on his way to America for conducting a lecturing tour in behalf of India where his speeches were much appreciated. This tour was arranged by the authorities of the Episcopal Methodist Mission in the United States. Since his return to India he has been residing partly in Bangalore and partly in Bezwada in view of his medical work.

Politically, his sympathies are with the Congress and he was a member of the Congress Committee for some time but left it later as he did not see eye to eye with the Congress. Of late he has been doing some pioneer work in rousing and fostering the political consciousness of the Andhra Christians and he presided at the Andhra Christian Conference held last April at Narsapur which was opened by Dr. H. C. Mukerjee of the Calcutta University.

### SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY.

There has been a number of books in the past three years published in the first instance from continental Europe and from America, which discuss the meaning of Fascism, Nazism and Communism as operating in Russia. Very often the more profound of these writers consider what the totalitarian state means to the democratic powers. "The End of Economic Man" by Dr. Paul Drucker and "It is Later than You Think" by Mr. Max Lerner are two important studies which cannot be overlooked by students of politics, and both of them argue that for democratic States to resist the menace of totalitarianism, a radical change is necessary. Dr. Drucker thought the alternative was to go totalitarian and overcome the evil by succumbing to it; Mr. Lerner on the other hand saw the future as one of complete subordination to powers which had ceased to render even lip-homage to democracy unless the democratic powers took advantage of their last opportunity. Now with the war on us comes another book, "Marxism: A Post Mortem" by Mr. Henry Bamford Parkes (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Price 7s. 6d), which confirms the message of the earlier writers. The problem of the century, as Mr. Parkes sees it, is how to combine Socialism and Democracy. Mr. Parkes' thesis is that this desirable end can only be achieved by the democracies. Dr. Drucker did not know whether the way out of the European conflict was through totalitarianism or in struggling against it but he looked forward to the setting up of the concept, positive, non-economic, of Free and Equal Man. Mr. Lerner wrought for a democratic collectivism—a collectivism breathing the humanist spirit at every pore. Mr. Parkes does not differ very much from this position—except in that he presents his case as a challenge to Marxism and a plea for the revival of Anglo-American Liberalism.

Words, however, do not matter very much. What is important is that in the economic and political sphere, a new and vigorous school of thought is rapidly growing up in the United States of America which turns its back both on totalitarian and democratic Europe and is now seeking means to avert the trouble from her shores. In the event of Britain succeeding in repelling Nazi-Fascist aggression as seems very likely today, the United States will face an internal problem. But had the fears of August-September been realised, the American continent would have in all probability experienced the same conflicts that Europe faces today and the United States might easily have been driven into a position of isolation. The nearness of the menace has stirred American thinkers to their depths as no crisis has so far done. While writers like Dr. Foley of Manila see the future as one of salvaging the other democracies of the world, Mr. Lerner and Mr. Parkes seek some internal adjustments which will render the socio-economic structure of the United States proof against both external and internal attack. The United States is perhaps the most vulnerable of the democracies.

What is the great change which to an outsider appears to be coming over American thought today? It is the abandonment of the ideal of economic progress for security. Allowing for the exaggerations of fiction, this is the warning of outstanding novels like "Grapes of Wrath," "A World I never Made," and "Native Son." This too is Dr. Foley's meaning when he asks for a greater responsibility towards the Philippines and towards China. And the message is underlined by Mr. Parkes' book on Marxism. Mr. Parkes, following close in the footsteps of Mr. Lerner, lays the greatest emphasis on joy in work; and there can be no joy without

security. Mr. Parkes remarks:

It is a frequent modern tendency to suppose that conditions of labour must necessarily be inhuman; and that the individual can achieve a full humanity only in his hours of leisure. But a system which allows men to be human only when they are not working is fundamentally inhuman; leisure is subordinate to work and its chief purpose is to serve as a preparation for it. It is impossible to split human life into two compartments; human life is essentially a unity, and if men are slaves in their work they will be slaves also in their leisure. A truly human life is one in which men can express themselves in work, performing tasks which they have themselves chosen, of which they cannot be deprived without their own consent, in the successful performance of which they can find pleasure and pride, and through which they can be of service to society.

This passage is the key to the thesis developed by Mr. Parkes and it is the test by which aspirations in any country are to be evaluated. Democracy, said Walt Whitman, is only of use in politics that it may pass on and come to its flower and fruits in manners, in the highest forms of interaction between men, and their beliefs—in religion, literature, colleges and schools—democracy in all public and private life. America is not the only country to realise the implications of a truth fifty years after it was uttered. But it seems certainly to be one of few countries of the world in which some of its thinkers—however few they might be—still believe that the cure for the maladies of a little freedom is not restraint but more freedom and in more spheres of life.

A question of practical importance which arises at this point is whether a free State is as efficiently organised as a totalitarian one. President Roosevelt some time back conceded efficiency to the totalitarian powers. Mr. Parkes questions this assumption. He compares the case of a free-market system with what prevails in Soviet Russia. In the first the consumer determines what he wants; in the latter there is planning for the consumer as well as for the producer. And the "decisions of the planning board will be guided by a desire to advertise the regime and to fill its citizens with pride." He continues:

Whether such creations are genuinely in the economic sense efficient, it is however impossible to say. The supply of tractors in the Soviet Union appears to be considerably in excess of the real economic need for them; and it is probable that the welfare of the consuming public might have been better met by devoting less labour to the building of power plants and to the construction of a Palace of the Soviets higher than the Empire State Building and more labour to such less imposing but more immediately useful objects as workers' apartments and clothing and boots and soap and food.

Unfortunately for the suavity of his argument, the United States first set the pace with the Empire State Building and even the most enthusiastic American can not claim that under the American system workers' apartments took precedence over the building of power plants. Nor does Mr. Parkes seem quite fair in his attack on present Soviet policy when he ignores previous Tsarist practice. Nevertheless he is disarming enough when he condemns the monopolist systems which prevail in certain democracies. No one system can be honestly commended. Dr. Clifford Manshardt speaking at a recent meeting of the Muslim Students' Union, Bombay, stressed the fact that at the end of this war Democracy will not be strong enough for a constructive effort to solve the many problems that confront humanity. He said that the new order would be a synthesis of the many "isms" now prevailing. There is a good deal in this point of view.

### ALL INDIA MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

After exactly 25 years the All India Muslim Educational Conference will hold its 51st session in Poona for three days from the 28th December onwards. The preparations of the session are in progress and Mr. Ahmed Haroon Jaffer, ex-M. L. A. (Central), General Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational Conference, who is in charge of the arrangements is working hard to make the session a unique success. The Hon. Maulvi Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, has consented to preside over the deliberations. Delegates amongst whom will be many distinguished educationalists and scholars of repute from all over India, will be represented at the session. So far Bombay, Calcutta, Aligarh and Osmania Universities have accepted the invitation of the Reception Committee. Mr. Masani, the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, will probably attend the Conference. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur of Hyderabad will preside over the Islamic Culture and Historic Section of the Conference. Prof. A. B. A. Haleem, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, will preside over the educational section of the conference. Dr. Hadi Hassan, the well known Professor from Aligarh University; and Mr. Abdul Masji Khan, Education Member of the Junagadh State Council, will represent the Muslim University and the Junagadh State respectively. The Director of Public Instruction to the Government of Bombay has issued instructions to all heads of offices and institutions under his control to permit the Muslim members of their respective departments to attend the Conference. This session should be a momentous one in the annals of the history of education in India as the future programme of Muslim education in India will be chalked out at this Conference and also the Kamal Jung Education Committee will attend the session and submit its interim report. The Conference will hold its session in a spacious pandal which is being erected on the grounds of the Anglo-Urdu High School. A special camp is also being constructed for the accommodation of the delegates.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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**NOTES.**

**Sambayya's Strange Case** :—Three years ago there was much discussion in the columns of *The Reformer* about a Hindu-Christian marriage in a town of Orissa. Sambayya, a Local Board schoolmaster, with a Brahmin wife, was attracted to an Indian Christian schoolmistress in the same town. They wanted to marry but were at a loss to know how. Sambayya was ready to become a Christian but the missionary whom he consulted, advised him that, even if he became a Christian, he could not marry the schoolmistress unless the Hindu wife refused to live with him and even then after proceedings in the law courts extending over a year. This did not suit Sambayya. So he sought the Brahma Samaj and there also he found the door closed. As a last resource he had the marriage celebrated under the Arya Marriage Act which requires only that both parties should be Aryas. Not even a declaration to that effect is needed. After three years of experience, Sambayya one day, so we learn, left like the Dictators for "an unknown destination" which later turned out to be his native village. There he besought the forgiveness of his caste people, which was granted on the performance of a few ceremonies. He was restored to the bosom of his caste, an ultra-orthodox one, a fact which proves the tolerance of the Hindu people. Sambayya's Brahmin wife, a girl in poor circumstances, received him gladly. We are indebted to Mr. Kopargam Ramamurthi, who did his best to make the situation tolerable to all parties, for these particulars. While we are glad that the wrong done to the first wife has been righted, we are concerned about the second wife who has now been placed in a difficult position. She remains the legal wife of Sambayya as the Arya Marriage Act declares all such marriages valid. But as the Act provides no means of divorce and as in the preamble to it the Aryas are declared to be a class or sect of

Hindus, a second marriage is as much a sacrament as the first. Sambayya may not mind having two wives but if the ex-Christian wife wishes to marry again this will come in her way. As she has a job of her own and is not dependant on Sambayya for her maintenance, she may not care to continue for ever as a second wife whether living with him or apart from him. The only way in which she can obtain release from this hard situation into which she has been placed by her own folly and Sambayya's, is for her to be reconverted to Christianity and then call upon Sambayya to live with her or to agree to a divorce. But what a degradation of religion to be thus bandied about by persons of unstable temperaments!

**Patching Up** :—Two weeks ago we commented on Sir Jagadish Prasad's proposals for ending what is called the present deadlock. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has issued a long statement which admirably sets forth the main features of the present situation. But here again there is no attempt to face the question on which the attitude of the British Government and Indian parties alike must hinge. The Congress Party is pledged to secure complete independence. In order not to embarrass the British Government, Gandhiji has for the duration of the war agreed to postpone this issue and the Congress has acquiesced in his decision. The attitude of the Muslim League is not clear. By its creed it is also pledged to Independence but in its programme it contemplates measures which can be carried out only through the instrumentality of the British Government. Other political and communal parties, prominent among which are the Liberal party and the Hindu Mahasabha, are agreeable to seek the progress of India within the framework of the British Empire or Commonwealth. The Congress has for the time being a large majority of members in the Legislatures of seven provinces and it is also the largest single party in the Central Legislature. It will not be difficult to find capable Indians from among the non-Congress parties to constitute an efficient Government at the Centre and in the Provinces. But they can not command a majority in the Legislatures. So long, therefore, as the Legislatures are constituted as at present, there is no chance of any party which contemplates progress within the British connection being able to command a majority in them. There remains the possibility of Government's reaching

a compromise with the Congress. Happily Gandhiji has declared himself to be a man of compromise. He can waive aside the objections of his followers and can make concessions which if made by Liberals or Mahasabhaites, will be denounced as a betrayal of the country. What Congress means by National Government is a Government composed of its members and of members of the Moslem League. Mr. Rajagopalacharya has pledged the support of Congress members in the Central Legislature to a Prime Minister nominated by the Muslim League. The only alternative to this seems to be for the Viceroy to carry on as he is doing to the end of the war, detaining Congressmen in custody either with or without trial. What is to be done then, must depend on circumstances.

**Sir Tej's Statement:**—Sir Tej's practical suggestion for solving the deadlock is appointing an Indian Defence Minister. Sir Tej has himself been a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and knows the difficulties of the position particularly in relation to the Army which is represented in it by the Commander-in-Chief. He thinks that they can all be overcome by adjustments given goodwill on both sides. This is his recipe for getting round all difficulties, constitutional and temperamental. With goodwill on both sides, Gandhi and Jinnah could join in forming a central government. With goodwill on both sides, Lord Linlithgow who holds that the prosecution of the war is at present the whole duty of the Government of India, and Gandhiji who holds that all war is a sin and that the present one is no exception, can bring themselves to agree upon a common programme of India's immediate requirements. With goodwill on both sides, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye who distrusts Gandhiji's entire ideology, can co-operate with him in "solving the deadlock." But unfortunately as the essential "good will" can not be willed to order, all these compromises are good only on paper. In law courts counsel can accept briefs from opposite sides without any sacrifice of goodwill. But politics in a country yet in the stage of aspiration to the self-government for which nations are sacrificing their all, has its roots deeper in the thought of those who care for it. Congress and even Gandhiji have not been quite consistent in their attitude to the war. Even now, the President, Maulana Adul Kalam Azad, is prepared, should Government concede the Poona demand, to cooperate fully in the war. Gandhiji, of course, will in that case have to retire again from his leadership of the Congress. This seems to be clear. But Sir Tej invites Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah to meet and, forgetting their past commitments, to agree to run a national government. If Government appoints an Indian Defence Minister, would he necessarily command more confidence than the present Members, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah Khan? Unless he resigns as

Sir Sankaran Nair and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru himself did, he would be represented as having "toed the line" by the pressure of his environment. And not without reason. The destination of a railway train is determined not by the colour or number of its passengers but by the lay of the permanent track. Even so the direction of Government policy is determined by the nature of its constitution and not by the names and turbans which the members wear. Indianisation without constitutional reform is of no value as a measure for setting the goal, Indian administration in the direction of Indian interests. Therefore, we prefer that the Governor-General should bear the whole responsibility for running the Government for the duration of the war which he has declared on his own authority under the constitution.

**Government and Industries:**—After protracted negotiations, it was announced this week that while the British Government favoured the establishment of ship-building and aircraft manufacture in this country, the scheme for manufacturing motor-cars which the same group of industrialists had formulated, has been rejected as not being directly helpful to the prosecution of the war. Surely, the strengthening of the economic resources of the country is necessary to promote the country's capacity to build up new industries, including those directly bearing on military requirements; and the establishment of a motor car industry would greatly add to India's mechanical and industrial equipment, and would eventually result in large savings in the shape of several crores of rupees now being paid as the price of imported cars. The argument that it is not directly beneficial to the war and, therefore, unacceptable, is based, therefore, on a short-sighted view. Further, when the war ends as it must sooner or later, the war industries will become perfectly useless while the motor car industry will continue to flourish and prosper. The question merits reconsideration at the hands of the authorities as well as by Mr. Walchand and his friends. Vested interests should not be allowed to interfere with the normal development of Indian industries. The Government's decision means that India should continue to import cars and pay for them whereas the money so paid if invested in the country itself in manufacturing cars, will materially advance India towards self-sufficiency in one important respect.

**Bengal Press Advisory Committee:**—An Associated Press message dated December 6, gives a summary of the first meeting of the Bengal Press Advisory Committee with the Provincial Press Adviser. The Adviser apparently took the occasion to lay down the function of the Committee and his exposition leaves no scope for any useful work being done by the five gentlemen who form the Committee. He explained that, under the arrangement now being tried, the Committee would exercise control over the press in matters relating to the presentation of news.

He pointed out that the position was not changed by the Delhi Conference and that the Government intended to follow the old policy. But they were prepared to allow the editors for the time being an opportunity of honouring the agreement and the Press Advisory Committee of securing compliance with it. The concluding paragraph is revealing. It reads:

There was an agreement at the meeting that the Committee is purely advisory and there was no obligation either upon the Committee on the one hand or upon Government or the Press Adviser, on the other hand, to accept the advice offered. It was also agreed that there could be no obligation upon the Provincial Government to consult the Committee about any action which it might be proposed to take against newspapers guilty of breaches of the law.

If this is the position we cannot understand why there is any need for an Advisory Committee at all. Bengal has suffered more than other provinces from an injudicious application of the Defence of India Rules and "the agreement" mentioned in the passage quoted above is in line with the previous policy of the Government. Apparently the Central Government has been unable to press its point of view on the Bengal Cabinet and a stalemate has been reached there. Nor has the Advisory Committee in Bengal succeeded in inducing the Government to take a commonsense view of the situation. Rather does it seem that the Press Adviser has brought the Committee round to accept his reactionary point of view. Unless the Bengal Advisory Committee take steps immediately to repudiate this relationship, there is grave danger of the Bengal interpretation winning the day in certain provinces where at the moment there is an even balance between reaction and liberalism. In the Central Provinces, an Advisory Committee has been formed and in the next few days it will be known whether Government intends to avoid friction with the press. In the United Provinces, the *National Herald* has paid in its security of Rs. 8,000, raised by public subscription. There has been a curious development there. Though the Editor of the *National Herald*, Mr. K. Rama Rau, is the convener of the United Provinces Committee, a press message said that Mr. Sahni, convener of the Standing Committee, and Mr. Kirtchener who is on the Delhi Advisory Committee, went to Lucknow recently to arrange for the setting up of the United Provinces Press Advisory Committee. It would be interesting to know why this departure from the usual procedure was thought necessary. At the time of writing all the provinces have set up Advisory Committees.

**Satyagraha in the Frontier:**—In the North Western Frontier Province, where if anywhere action against satyagrahis might have been considered necessary owing to the turbulent and excitable character of the population, the Governor has wisely decided that no arrests would be made of persons who make speeches or shout satyagraha slogans. The ex-Premier of the Province, Dr. Khan Sahib, and others have

been daily carrying out the routine shouting of slogans without molestation. Indeed one of the satyagrahis in a public speech applauded the wisdom of the local Government and wished other provincial Governments would do the same. We have ourselves from the first advised the same policy of forbearance. The Indian masses as compared to the corresponding classes in the West are singularly impervious to political propaganda. They have a traditional culture which inclines them to attribute their hardships to their own past actions and their belief in the power of governments for good or evil is limited. They have no antipathy to any other nation and wish them all well. They are, therefore, not disposed to excite themselves over slogans, and the general feeling among the people is probably one of wonderment at the fuss made in arresting respectable fathers of families at odd hours and detaining them as A class prisoners in Nasik or Poona. Gandhiji has exhibited his chivalry by suspending satyagraha during Christmas week. The belligerents in Europe have declined the Pope's appeal for a cessation of hostilities during the sacred season and Gandhiji has complied with it. The Provincial Governments by giving leave to their prisoners during the same period should show that they appreciate Gandhiji's courtesy arising from his reverence for the Founder of Christianity. The Nativity of Christ, it may not be generally known, is observed as a jayanti in many non-Christian homes and even in Hindu religious institutions like the Sri Ramakrishna Mission.

**Lord Lothian:**—The fervent tributes to Lord Lothian on his sudden death from leaders of all classes and the Press in this country, are proof of the perspicacity of the Indian mind in recognising genuineness and intellectual eminence in men of every race and creed. Lord Lothian during his short visit to this country impressed a large circle by his unpretentious interest in the views of men of all shades of opinion. He was an intellectual in the best sense of the world and Indian has always honoured men to whom ideas counted for more than colour or creed. In one or two of the tributes paid by eminent Indians who came in close contact with Lord Lothian, it is hinted that things would have been different in India if he had been at head of the Government. We do not think so. In a letter from which Sir Tej Bahadur quoted in his appreciation of the deceased Ambassador, Lord Lothian declared that he could not think of any better solution of the Indian problem than that offered in the Federal scheme of the Act of 1935. Lord Linlithgow came out with the same conviction but the force of events has obliged him to alter that opinion or at last to recognise that whatever the merits of that scheme it can not be enforced on India. In the majority of tributes paid, there is no reference to any expectations of what Lord Lothian might have done for India.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 21, 1940.

## MR. AMERY ON INDIA.

While Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has been lamenting that slogans and watchwords have come to dominate Indian politics, the Secretary of State for India has been devising a slogan of his own for general adoption by all parties concerned in India's future. Mr. Amery's idea, however, of a slogan as "summing up a principle, a method or purpose, which can be applied to almost every situation" is altogether wrong. The definition is more apt for a "motto" which those who fancy such things may print on their notepapers. A slogan should not sum up anything. It should be nothing more and nothing else than a single suggestion. It should raise in the mass-mind a concrete picture whenever it is shouted. The most perfect slogan was that used by Mr. Lloyd George in the Khaki election. "Hang the Kaiser," calls up in the mind of the multitude a vivid picture of the Kaiser with his turned-up moustaches, the gallows, and a hempen rope with the noose at the end to strangle him. The slogan which Mr. Amery offers to Indian leaders, on the other hand, requires a lengthy and involved explanation such as that which formed the theme of Mr. Amery's speech. A slogan should be as self-explanatory as a rotten egg when it hits an unpopular orator on his shirt-front. Mr. Amery himself stressed in his peroration the value of qualities which audiences likely to be moved by slogans do not have. If, therefore, slogans are, as Mr. Amery said, the essence of democracy, then indeed the outlook for democracy is gloomy. Slogans have always been recognised as the weakness of democracy, which a statesman, as distinguished from the tub-thumping politician, should be careful to avoid. But, as we observed, Mr. Amery means by slogans something which they are not. The contradiction between Sir Ramaswami's and Mr. Amery's ideas, therefore, is only apparent. The idea of "India First" which he offered as a slogan, is decidedly not a slogan. It is an idea which can be grasped only by an effort of the imagination and must be retained as a motive of action by constant meditation.

Nevertheless, taken as a whole, Mr. Amery's speech at the luncheon marks a notable advance over his pronouncements and those of his predecessors for the last several years. It was a very promising attempt on the part of a statesman in Mr. Amery's responsible position to view the Indian problem from a higher point of view than that of the average Cabinet Minister. The usual practice has been to regard the Indian problem as unique in human history and as being made up of numerous and complex strands without parallel in any

other country. Mr. Amery himself has treated it thus. In the present speech, however, he dwelt on the close analogy between the historical and political evolution of India and of Great Britain itself. No analogy is complete and this is certainly not. There was no Aryan conquest of India comparable to the Norman conquest of England. The tendency among an increasing number of scholars engaged in research, is to deny that there was any Aryan immigration from outside. The excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and other places establish the continuity of Indian civilization from a period far anterior to the composition of the Vedas. The term "Aryan" itself has no ethnic significance. Further research may show that the achievements attributed to "Aryans" were really the achievements of those who preceded them and that at the most the work of the Vedic people and their descendants was one of consolidation. It is more or less the same in regard to India's connection with Islam. The intercourse between Arabia and India antedated the birth of Islam by several centuries. Before and after that great world event there were Arab merchants in India, particularly in the south and west, whose relations with the indigenous population were marked by friendship and goodwill.

Mr. Amery's account of the services of Great Britain in India is substantially correct and in some respects it fell short of the full reality. Mr. Amery said that the influence of the British connection on the racial composition and internal social structure has been negligible. This is true as regards racial composition, if we mean racial fusion but certainly not true as regards the internal social structure. The Muslim Empire was a tax-taking Empire and its influence in the parts of the country which it held, did not penetrate much below the surface. British rule, on the other hand, with its educational and administrative systems has produced important and far-reaching changes in Indian social and family life. The position of women is the key to the appraisal of social progress. Fifty years ago there was no women's movement. Women were the chief opponents of social reform. Today the Women's Movement is a force in public life and women leaders are forging ahead of their more experienced men colleagues. Mr. Amery did not exaggerate the important part played by the English language and education in the consolidation of Indian unity. The establishment of a reign of law has, of course, been the most striking achievement of British rule. But Mr. Amery overlooks the fact that the political unity of India which has been achieved, is largely the outcome of the administrative system which was a unitary one. He realises nevertheless that:

once broken up into separate and independent entities, India would relapse, as it did in the decline of the Moghul Empire, into a welter of contending powers in which free institutions would inevitably be suppressed and in which no one element would have



the resources with which to defend itself against external attacks whether by land or sea.

The position of India with a weak central government would indeed be worse now than on the break-up of the Moghul Empire. The Moghul Empire's hold on the provinces depended very much on the personality of the Emperor for the time being. Indian social and village institutions retained their ancient autonomy and, even when rival chiefs were fighting one another, the social, economic and religious system remained intact and functioned in the customary way.

Two hundred years of British rule have produced more changes, and radical changes too, in the traditional systems than five centuries of Muslim rule. The village community which seemed indestructible to Elphinstone, Munro and Malcolm and, therefore, the most durable foundations for the British Empire, have been destroyed. This has not been deliberately brought about but has been largely incidental to the establishment of a modern administration. When you take a railway into a district, observes an American writer, you drive a dagger through its heart. The British Government of India could not have done without railways, telegraphs and other amenities which used to be represented as benefits of British rule. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar accurately gauged the truth about this claim when he told a Committee that the British have done everything necessary to ensure their comfort and security in this country and Indians have incidentally reaped some benefits from this process. The Indian social system has, by the establishment of law courts, been deprived of its fluidity and turned into a cast-iron system which three generations of reformers have laboured to adapt to new conditions against the deadweight of an administration having its springs of action six thousand miles away. The chaos which will follow the failure to provide for a strong central government in the new Indian constitution will, therefore, be far worse than that which followed the break-up of the Moghul Empire.

Mr. Amery referred deprecatingly to those Indians who prefer "a democratic system on the simple majority basis that prevails in England and a closely knit centralised constitution." As regards the "democratic system" Mr. Amery would have been correct if he had used the past tense instead of the present. Because this system does not prevail in England today and is unlikely ever to prevail there or anywhere else again. The Congress Party, however, still seems to favour this simple majority rule, which it calls "full responsible Government" and Mr. Amery's observations are, therefore, valid as against that party. As for the centralised system, it is otherwise. We have to find our way to a system whose strength at the centre will not be a source of weakness in its several parts but will be

an accession of strength to them also. This is not difficult. A system of devolution will give the provinces all the autonomy which they can beneficially exercise. The objections to a centralised government which were valid fifty years ago are meaningless now. In twelve hours the entire length of India can be traversed by air. Instructions can be given and information gathered from the most distant corner by the centre within a few hours. These great scientific discoveries have profoundly altered the bases on which old theories of administration were built. Then, while village industries are to be encouraged, the country can not depend on them for her economic security. Large-scale industries require to be established on an all-India basis. The Tata Iron Works at Jamshedpur in Bihar derive a large part of their capital and are financially controlled from Bombay, get their raw materials from the Central Provinces, and have their main distribution centre in Calcutta. Mr. Walchand Hirachand's shipyards will be in Vizagapatam in the Madras Province; his motor and aircraft factories in Mysore. The cement industry, the sugar industry, the chemical industry, must all have free access to all parts of the country for their materials and markets. The great Indian rivers traverse different provinces. To the irrigational disputes between provinces are now added others arising out of the expanding uses of water power for generating electricity. The currency must be the same for the whole country. The railway routes must be planned in the light of industrial traffic requirements. The Defence of the country, again, must be under central control. In this increasing complexity of present-day needs, provincial autonomy will have to be largely restricted to civic functions. Even education and sanitation will require all-India planning. In the sense of a centralised system alone has Mr. Amery's slogan a positive content. Think first of India but think of it as a whole. The British Government with its numerous and conflicting commitments and preoccupations with its own future, can not face the opposition to a strong central government which it will meet not only from the advocates of Pakistan but from the advocates also of the rustification of the country. It will have to concede a decentralised system knowing that it can not last. But historical forces will inexorably assert themselves and the country will in time realise its age-long aspiration to political unity as the crown of the spiritual and cultural unity underlying its apparent differences which Mr. Amery, for almost the first time, has so clearly understood and emphasised. Long experience has taught India that Patience is Power.

**Sardar Sampuran Singh:**—Sardar Sampuran Singh, Leader of the Congress Assembly Party in the Punjab, has been expelled from the Party by the Congress President, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, for his conduct in court after his recent arrest.

## ARE WE TOO MANY?

(BY PROF. P. A. WADIA, BOMBAY.)

The following article was originally written out as a broadcast talk. All India Radio, however, did not think it could use the talk without alterations which the writer was not prepared to carry out.—Editor.

Given a world based on a free exchange of commodities and services and on rational methods of distribution and assuming the maximum utilisation of the productive capacities made available to humanity by the revolutionary changes in machine production which have taken place during the last 100 years, these productive capacities can maintain in comfort the entire population of the earth. But with the slogan of economic self-sufficiency that the aggressive nationalism of our times has adopted, with high tariff walls, with the diversion of considerable resources of every nation to the unprofitable work of armaments manufacture, with international commerce reduced to barter with the help of bilateral agreements, most of the countries to-day find themselves faced with the question, "Can we maintain our present numbers on the present standard of life?" And with the further question, "Can we support increasing numbers without bringing down our standard of living?"

The question before India is the same as before other countries. India today has a population verging on 400,000,000; it is estimated that we shall have added 50 million to the population during the decade 1931-41. The U. S. A. has a population of less than 130,000,000 with a territory three times as large as that of India, and yet there are an increasing number of people in the U. S. A. who believe that the time has come to consider carefully a policy for the future; and this too, when restrictions on further immigration have been so obviously tightened up and the use of contraceptives has been unquestionably responsible for the decline in the rate of increase.

Are we too many in India? In other countries, like Great Britain or the U. S. A., if a similar question was asked, there might be different answers inspired by a variety of conflicting interests. A patriotic militarist might give a different answer from a labour leader. The manufacturer may see a limitation of his market, where a consumer may delight in a higher standard of comfort. But in India there will be practical unanimity in the opinion that we are too many—that with an average income of Rs. 110 per head of the population per annum, we can ill afford to go on adding to our numbers; and that with present methods of production and in the present stage of our economic development even the normal additions to our numbers, as judged by the last 6 or 7 decades, add to the difficulties of our economic existence.

It was Malthus who 125 years ago pointed out how increase of population beyond the means of subsistence had to be checked by the operation of such positive calamities as war, plague and famine. The radical changes that have occurred in the methods of production in these 125 years since Malthus wrote, have brought about an equally marked change in population trends in the West through the spread of education, improvement in the standard of life, and the increasing use of contraceptives. But India still continues to live under the operation of the Malthusian law.

Famines, epidemics like plague and influenza, and even preventable diseases such as fever and cholera, exact a terrible and an unnatural toll from the Indian people. Between 1875 and 1900 famines were responsible for twenty-three millions of deaths; between 1901-20 plague took a toll of nine million deaths, and malaria another eighteen millions.

In 1918-19 influenza alone was responsible for 8,500,000 deaths. With all the benefits of peaceful living under British Rule for a period of 100 years, this land of ours continues subject to those drastic methods of elimination of surplus numbers which kindly Providence reserves for economically backward and poverty-stricken countries. Does this mean that India has failed to profit by the advances of scientific technique in methods of production though she has been brought into the economic world stream under British Rule and though her economic life has been otherwise profoundly influenced by economic trends in the rest of the world?

The normal rate of increase in the Indian population—which is about 7 per cent over every ten years—does not in itself compare unfavourably with the rate of increase in Western countries. A survival rise of 7 per cent may even increase to 9 or 10 per cent without being regarded in itself as alarmingly great. If even this limited rate of increase gives cause for concern and alarm, it is due to other factors in the Indian situation. The most important of these factors is our limited annual production of wealth—the national income—which works out at a crude average of Rs. 10 a month per head, irrespective of the way in which this income is distributed. It is this fact which justifies the observation that India is one of the poorest countries of the world. It is this fact also that justifies the statement that India is over-populated, that quantitatively we have reached a limit beyond which any further increase would lead to a diminution in our productive efficiency, and bring starvation where there is already life on the margin of bare subsistence. The mortality returns from plague and malaria to which we have already referred, the death rate of 26 per thousand, which witnesses to the poor vitality of the entire population and the deficiency in the power of resistance to ordinary preventable diseases, can all be attributed to the simple fact that we are too many.

The population of a country must be judged in relation to certain essential economic factors—*viz.*, the present stage of its economic development, the present methods of production, the total volume of production, the relative distribution of this production amongst the different classes, the proportion of the working population to the total numbers, the spread of education, and the occupational distribution of the population. Now under each of these heads India compares unfavourably with other countries. The prudential motives which would operate in a country where the masses have had the benefit of education are not only absent in India, with its lack of wide spread education but are counteracted by the social institutions and religious outlook of these masses. Our methods of production have not kept pace with the changes that have revolutionised the technique of production in the last 50 years; industrialisation on a large scale is still something to be hoped for in the future; our productive efficiency both in agriculture and industries is low as compared with other countries; the inequalities in the distribution of our national income are phenomenal, so that while the crude average income per head per year works out at Rs. 110, the average income of 75 to 80 per cent of our population is Rs. 50 per head. Agriculture to-day is our largest industry: more than 73 per cent of the total population are dependent on agriculture. Intensive methods of cultivation are beyond the bounds of possibility with a poverty-stricken population. A huge surplus population is parasitic on the land. Whereas in other Western countries the proportion of the working population to the total population varies from 55 to 60 per

cent, in India our working population—the population between the ages of 15 and 40—is just about 40 per cent of the total population. The average expectation of life in India at birth is 23 years; as compared with 46 in France and 52 in Great Britain.

One cannot have a more pessimistic view than that expressed in the last all India Census Report 1931, by Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan, in the annexure to Chapter IV:—

To subject the soil to increased pressure due to the addition of nearly 84 millions in a decade, when the standard of living is proverbially low, is a situation that should cause real alarm in the minds of well-wishers of India. Without an addition in real wealth of, at least, the same extent, of which there has been no very large indication, the existing low standard of living is sure to be depressed further, leading to further over-population and consequent increase in the loss of the spirit of enterprise. For successive generations of life on less than the bare margin of subsistence, and the natural indolence and despondency which such a stage engenders, have probably made the majority of Indians abstain from making any strenuous effort to raise their standard of living, which could be achieved in the first instance by limiting the size of the families.

Not even the most optimistic of Indians could say to-day that India can maintain in the decencies of life its present population of 400,000,000. But can we be optimistic about the future? There are three alternatives before us, any one of which may give us grounds for hope. The first of them is migration of our surplus population in large numbers to unoccupied or sparsely populated tracts like Australia or Canada—but the equal partnership in the Empire of which so much is being made to-day, will not admit partnership in occupation of the preserves of the races chosen by the Lord.

The second alternative is intensification of production both in agriculture and the non-agricultural industries. But scientific methods in agricultural production are beyond the purview of a poverty stricken people—and any additions we might make to our non-agricultural income by industrialisation cannot with the wildest stretch of imagination exceed the absorption of such addition by a population increasing even at half the present rate of increase.

We are thus compelled to fall back on the only remaining alternative, that of restriction of numbers by artificial methods. The Census Report of 1931 makes an earnest plea for such restriction. But is there any hope for an immediate relief in this direction, when we remember that the habits and traditions and the heritage of centuries cannot be transformed except by a slow process of education that may tax the patience of saints and prophets? We have, however, hope when even Gandhiji recognised as early as 1920 that “we only multiply slaves and weaklings, if we continue the process of procreation whilst we feel and remain helpless, diseased and famine-stricken.”

## EVOLUTION OF THE JUVENILE COURT IN BOMBAY.

### 2. THE CHILDREN'S ACT.

(By J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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The Children's Act in force to-day has been amended from time to time to overcome the deficiencies and the present Act is as modified up to the 31st December, 1937.

“In the city of Bombay, the Presidency Magistrate has been appointed senior magistrate of the juvenile

court. From a roster of 9 honorary lady magistrates one lady, month by month in rotation, serves her turn. Elsewhere in the mofussil it is customary to appoint the local city magistrate as the stipendiary Presiding Officer and one or two ladies as Honorary Magistrates. Except in Ahmedabad and Belgaum, two ladies have been appointed to serve on each bench. The advantages of the mofussil practice is that each lady magistrate gets valuable consecutive experience. Its disadvantage lies in the fact that a First Class Magistrate has to record evidence in details. This tends to slow down work and to complicate procedure.”<sup>1</sup>

The Act classifies children under three heads:

The one dealt in part II of the Act is for taking measures for the custody and protection of children who are destitutes. Any police officer or other person so authorised may bring any child, who has no home or means of subsistence or parents or guardian or whose guardian is a criminal, or who frequents the company of any reputed thief or prostitute or is likely to fall in bad association, to the court who either gives him in custody of his relatives on their executing a bond to be responsible for the good behaviour of the child or sends him to some certified school. On the day of hearing, the child is brought into the juvenile court and the case is heard and decided.

The second part dealt in part III of the Act deals with offences against children and their prevention. It provides punishment for any persons (having the charge of children) for cruelty, causing or allowing child to beg, being a drunkard while in charge of the child, for giving intoxicating liquor to the child, for inciting to beg or borrow, for taking pawn from a child, allowing child to be in brothel, and causing or encouraging seduction of young girls.

When a person charged with any of the above offences is punished with imprisonment, the child is committed to the care of some of his relatives or other fit person or sent to a certified school until he attains the age of 18 years.

The third portion dealt with in part IV of the Act is about youthful offenders. As soon as a child is arrested for any non-bailable offence save those punishable with transportation for life or death he is released on bail or is kept in custody in a remand home and not in a police lock-up or jail.

On the day of hearing he is produced before the juvenile court for being dealt with according to law.

The remand home where the young offender is kept pending his trial, serves as a clearing house for sorting out children before their individual needs are met. In these homes children follow a regular programme and are given some sort of instruction as well. At present 7 remand homes in different parts in the province are working. The Umarchadi Children's Home is the most upto-date and complete one. The Superintendent of the Home is also the chief Probation Officer and thus there is a unification of approach both physically and functionally. A child is not merely parked or detained here till the case is decided. The Probation Officers have their residence inside the home which gives the facility of studying juvenile cases in their school hours, their recreation, eating and sleeping as the children more often reveal themselves more naturally than in an arranged interview. This all round study helps the probation officers and the detention home supervisors to understand the whole child and to do the best they can for him. In mofussil areas like Hubli, Gadag, Sholapur and Belgaum, remand arrangements are

1. Annual Report of the Juvenile Branch on the Administration of the Children's Act 1936-39, Bombay Province. p. 5.

made in the local Criminal Tribes' Settlements. In Poona Remand arrangements are made for boys in separate quarters in the backward class office and for Hindu girls in the Hindu Women's Rescue Home. In Ahmedabad remand boys are accommodated in a rented building and girls may be sent to the local Mahipatram Rupram Orphanage. The ideal arrangement in any mofussil area would be for each District After Care Association to run its own remand home for boys and girls." 2

On the date fixed for trial the child comes into the court. This court both in its origin and procedure is quite different from a criminal court. There is no rigour or technicalities of law in the proceedings. The emphasis is laid upon the circumstances which led the juvenile to commit that particular act abnormally instead of the act itself. The court-room has no separate railings for the lawyer or the offenders. The child, parents, judge and the probation officer are present in the court as though at a conference. The public is not allowed except with the special permission of the court. Newspaper reporting and other publicity is restricted. The object of such a simple atmosphere is that the child's mind may naturally and readily respond to the questions put to him. In such a calm atmosphere an enquiry is made by the court from the young offender, his relations and associates and the witnesses. Before enquiring from the child the court receives a report of the Probation Officer on the case in the form of a social history. This report is prepared by the Probation Officer after collecting every possible available information from the child regarding his family, childhood environments, his playmates, his school fellows, etc., and it also includes his recommendation for the juvenile's reformation.

The court may deal with the case in any one or more of the following ways as provided in Section 27 of the Act :—

- (a) By discharging the offender after due admonition, or
- (b) by committing the offender to the care of his parent, guardian, other adult relative, or other fit person on such parent, guardian, relative or person executing a bond to be responsible for his good behaviour; or
- (c) by so discharging the offender and placing him under the supervision of a person named by the court, or
- (cc) by releasing the offender on probation of good conduct, or
- (d) by sending the offender to a certified school; or
- (e) by sentencing the offender to caning in cases where the conduct of the offender has been such as to lead the court to believe that no other punishment would be effective; or
- (f) by ordering the parent or guardian to pay a fine; or
- (g) by ordering the parent or guardian of the offender to pay a fine; or
- (h) where the offender is a child (of fourteen years of age or upwards) by sentencing him to imprisonment; or
- (i) by dealing with the case in any other manner in which it may legally be dealt with.

It may be added here that the action taken by the court under any of the above heads will not operate as a disqualification on the child. It is provided that if a child is "found to have committed any offence, the fact that he has been so (found) shall not have any effect under Section 75 of the Indian Penal Code, or Section 565 of the Code of Criminal

Procedure 1898, or operate as a disqualification for office or election under any law."

Among the awards that the Court makes the release on probation and committing to an institution are the most important and so we shall discuss them in a later article in some detail.

#### CHINA AND THE MISSIONARY.

The question is often asked why Chinese Christians are not divided from non-Christian Chinese as Indian Christians are from the rest of us Indians. There are two errors in this inquiry : China is, as a matter of fact, faced by the same problem in relation to her Christians as India is, for one thing; and, secondly, the division between Indian Christian and non-Christian is by no means so acute today as it is often made out to be. The Tambaram Report on Evangelism has a significant sentence explaining why foreign missionaries are still needed in China. The Tambaram Conference, it is true, was largely a foreign missionary one. Nevertheless the Report (Volume 3 in the Tambaram Series) points out that a considerable body of Chinese opinion is embodied in the symposium. The sentence reads, "It is easier for the foreign missionary in many places than it is for the available Chinese evangelists to make contacts with modern educated Chinese." The Christian convert in mission lands is subjected to a high pressure Westernisation which is advantageous so long as European ideals are held to be desirable but loses its importance the moment nationalism enters the field. It must be also remembered that in China today, the missionary, even if he appears as a tool of Western imperialism, is a welcome figure to the Chinese struggling against Japanese militarism. In India the position is rather different for obvious reasons. Nevertheless the problem is very much the same, whether in China, Japan or India, and it is primarily one of the missionary adjusting himself to nationalist forces in the East.

It is surprising, however, that even though the Chinese people, whether Christian or non-Christian, might be ready to face a common danger unitedly, the American missionary cannot resist anything which looks like an opportunity to push his superlative faith forward. Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, who headed the Goodwill Mission to India, has been described as one of the leaders of new China and a man who commands a popularity second to the Generalissimo. His misfortune, in the eyes of the *Indian Witness* of Lucknow, lies in the fact that he is not a Christian. Contrasting him with the Chinese Christian leader, Dr. T. Z. Koo, the *Witness* comes out with these graceless remarks :

Dr. Tai Chi-Tao is a Confucianist and his eyes are upon the past. Dr. Koo is a Christian and his eyes are upon the future. In his address in Lucknow, Dr. Koo referred to the fact that Confucianism lays great emphasis upon ethics and long lists of high ethical rules are set before the boys to be learned by memory. Dr. Koo stated that this list made very sound reading but did not produce the desired results in life. A boy might learn the maxim, "Faithfulness and righteousness are the basis of building a career" but when a young man found himself in the midst of bribe-givers and bribe-takers, something more than a good precept was necessary to give him moral strength of character. Thus Dr. Koo insisted that the teachings of Jesus, which proclaim the offer of inner spiritual strength is what the youth of the world most needs.

It is difficult to believe that Dr. Koo could have expressed himself as crudely as the *Witness* suggests he did. Besides Dr. Koo knows a good deal about the United States where the teachings of Jesus have

2. Annual Report of the Juvenile Branch on the Administration of the Children's Act 1988, Bombay. p 4.

been as ineffective in checking bribe-giving and bribe-taking as the sayings of Confucius in China. Perhaps the *Witness* does not know that the Americans have a word for it—graft. And we can think of circumstances in which the caution to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, can be interpreted, and has been interpreted, to mean something which is morally not very different from the heinous offences referred to by the *Witness*. The smug complacency of the *Indian Witness* is typical of a certain class of missionary which seems unfortunately to be in control of all organs of mission opinion.

There was little in either Dr. Tai Chi-Tao or Dr. T. Z. Koo which could be put down to the superior virtues of Christianity over Confucianism or *vice versa*. In fact, the striking feature was that both seemed to represent a point of view which was singularly detached from the worst aspects of nationalism. The fact that the *Witness* was able to distinguish between the two to the extent of describing one of them as looking upon the future and the other as looking upon the past, must be set down to a bias in the *Witness*. Dr. Tai Chi-Tao seemed specially fitted for the goodwill mission on which he came. He was able to enter into the spirit of the Buddhist celebrations at Sarnath, and to adopt a non-party attitude in carrying out his mission. But Dr. Koo, had he been in that position, would have equally adapted himself to the work. Nor do we think that Dr. Tai Chi-Tao would have felt uncomfortable at the functions, mainly Y. M. C. A., at which Dr. Koo appeared.

It is a peculiar contrast between East and West which students of continental differences do not seem to have considered, that while the Oriental is believed to be generally more religious, it is really always the American or European who is thinking about religion all the time. Here we have the instance of the *Indian Witness* drawing inferences, however unwarranted they may seem to the uninitiated, about the inability of Confucianism to check bribery and holding out the great qualities of Christianity in this respect. Take another instance. We hear so often of the fight for Christianity or the Crusade against Germany, though both belligerents are professedly Christian. Neither the Chinese nor the Japanese would seem to have even thought of mentioning that Buddhism was in danger though they could easily persuade themselves of it. This is a great defect in Asiatic character. Only those people who are prepared to throw religion along with civilisation, democracy and the rest of it, into the melting-pot, are able to show results.

#### PENTANGULAR MUSINGS.

The cricket matches between communal teams, which have been an annual feature of Bombay social life for several years, have suffered greatly this year from the decision of the Hindus not to participate. There are two reasons: First that when there is so much suffering in the world, it is not proper for those who are out of both the war and the Congress satyagraha, to indulge in festivities of this kind. The second is that communalism in sports is an abomination and must be put an end to. Gandhiji who was consulted by some members of the Hindu Gymkhana on the propriety of participation, when so many Satyagrahis were in jail, decided to place the seal of his disapproval on participation not because of the Satyagraha campaign but for the reasons given above. It is the practice with some sections of the community to seek Gandhiji's advice before acting in any matter, somewhat as the ancients used to consult the oracles. If the advice is in keeping with one's own inclinations, then it is

not only followed but given wide publicity to as well. Gandhiji's support is always helpful as it invariably silences a public which is difficult to manage in other ways. The point has been raised rather irreverently whether there was any justification for the Hindu Gymkhana members approaching Gandhiji for an opinion on sports of which he confessedly knows nothing. This is a frivolous objection. The members knew all about cricket presumably but were perplexed by the political ramifications of the problem. Who was better qualified to give a political opinion than Gandhiji whose political knowledge is well nigh encyclopaedic? What was wrong was Gandhiji's appeal, in the statement setting forth his view, to "all those blessed with intelligence and opportunity" to devote both to stop the senseless slaughter in the world. That such an appeal should appear in his non-participation statement would seem to imply that he looks to the spectators (and specially the Hindu Gymkhana spectators) of the Cricket Pentanglers to bring about a change in international affairs for which even his efforts have not paved the way.

It is an exceedingly narrow view to say that because there is gloom somewhere in the world, therefore, there should be a sympathetic mourning all over. Had Mr. Rajagopalachariar been free to express an opinion, he would surely have administered a corrective with his theory of compensated progress. To one who suffers from a tooth-ache, nothing can be more irritating than the sight of one's friends clapping their hands to their jaws and grimacing in a spirit of vicarious suffering. On the other hand, there is much to be said for the diametrically opposite point of view which urges that general rejoicings ought to be set on foot to enable people to forget their troubles. But that is a fundamental issue which it would be difficult to resolve.

Two points call urgently for answer from Gandhiji's statement. Do those who held off from the Pentangular, both as players and as spectators, keep away similarly from all other amusements in the city? One wonders. The theatres in Bombay seemed to be fairly well attended considering it was cricket week-end. Nor did the race-course suffer from lack of numbers. Why should one form of amusement be penalised whilst others are indulged in? This is rather a dangerous line of thought as the possibility is not altogether remote of a second statement being issued to close the loopholes of the first. Nevertheless it is one that cannot be shaken off, try how one may.

The second thought that presses on one can not be so easily met. Why stop at pruning communalism in games when it goes to the very roots of city sports? Is the Hindu Gymkhana a non-communal organisation? Has it decided, alongside of its resolution not to take part in communal cricket, to throw open its membership to non-Hindus? So far are Bombay Hindus from giving up communalism in sports, that there is a swimming pool under construction which, it is proposed, will be reserved exclusively for Hindus. And no less a person than Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Home Minister in the last Congress Government of Bombay, was the inspirer of the project. Now that Gandhiji has taken up the matter, let us hope that he will enter into it with characteristic thoroughness and disregard for where-ever the truth may lead him.

A strange outcome of the attempt to eradicate communalism from Bombay cricket by the Hindu Gymkhana, is a persistent rumour that that club is itself now staggering under the menace of sectionalism or, shall we call it, regionalism? The Gandhi statement, it is believed, has split the Hindus into Gujaratis and Maharashtrians.



Communal cricket must go. Its death-knell is fairly sounded when Gandhiji issues a warning against it and when Mr. Talyarkhan, the radio commentator, refuses to carry on as a protest against it. When the same idea strikes so many different types we may take it that something will happen. At the same time, the substitute offered must be equally appealing to the combative instincts of Bombay audiences. Otherwise, it will fail in its object. No one who has been brought up on Congress mammoth sessions can take with pleasure to the attenuated Liberal annual Conferences, however great the political wisdom of the Liberals and however scant the commonsense of Congress politicians. What is true of politics is equally true of sports.

The success of communal cricket is not because it panders to the riotous instincts of the multitude. But because it is an easy way in which the man in the crowd acquires a personal interest in the twenty-two men and in their destinies. There have been rivals to cricket heroes since the Indian film industry brought the stars nearer to our audiences. But what is there that can equal communal cricket in enabling whole millions to claim a share in the triumphs of eleven men whom probably they have never seen out of the cricket field? Political teams might form a good substitute but is the intrusion of politics in sports better than the intrusion of communalism? Besides the Congress team might be unable to take the field for jail reasons. Provincial teams will introduce provincialism which is now growing apace in the country, and this will surely offend the discontented non-communalists of today.

V.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Mr. Sastry's Creed:**—By way of noticing a recent book in which several eminent Western thinkers have attempted to define the spiritual position at which they have arrived and the process by which they have reached it, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry has given the public a glimpse of his own spiritual evolution in the pages of the *Indian Review*. Born and brought up in an atmosphere of strict Brahmanical orthodoxy, he rebelled against it at an early stage of manhood. His joining the Servants of India Society at the invitation of Gokhale was evidently the turning point in his spiritual as it was in his public life. It brought him in contact, first, with leading minds in all parts of the country, it being a preparation for full membership of the Society that the candidate should spend a year of probation travelling throughout India, and studying the conditions prevailing in the several provinces. Later, Mr. Sastry had unusual opportunities of visiting various countries in the western world where he noted that the people tried to make more of the brighter side of life than in India. This widened his outlook and induced in him considerably more charity in judging his fellow-men. He was able to laugh more freely for one thing. A good laugh is a great mental tonic. From being censorious in relation to his contemporaries, Mr. Sastry was able to appreciate the good in them. But his spiritual problem had become more involved. He wanted to believe, to enjoy the security of belief, but could not find a way to belief through reason. Herein perhaps lay his mistake. Belief can never be reached through reason if by reason we understand the intellectual reason only. There is a higher reason than the intellectual, which may be called the reason of the heart. The study of the sub-conscious and the power of suggestion has opened up a wide vista of which the logicians had not the slightest idea. One of the axioms of the new psychology is that the imagination is more potent than the will in moulding behaviour and that, whenever

the will is in conflict with the imagination, the imagination always carries the day. Herein comes the value of ideals. Ideals, as has been profoundly observed, do add a cubit to men's stature. Ideals by their very nature are beyond realisation. "If a man's reach does not exceed his grasp," asks the Poet, "what is Heaven for?" The position of spiritual perplexity in which Mr. Sastry seems to find himself, is, we should think, out of date. Agnosticism has given place in some of the foremost minds of our time to the certainty that Spirit is the only Reality. This, of course, is the thread which runs right through Indian philosophical speculation from the earliest times. We do not consider Mr. Sastry's position to be for him final.

**An English Renaissance:**—Are we in India in sight of a revival of interest in the study and practice of writing English well? For about twenty years we have got into the mood that the first thing to do towards the consolidation of Indian nationalism, is to get rid of English as soon as possible. To write English correctly was almost a sin against nationalism. There is a widespread reaction against the ideology of which this aversion to English is one feature. Now it seems that we are in sight of a decided feeling that the study and cultivation of English is necessary for national regeneration. An English Conference was held for the first time at Lucknow last week. The President, Mr. Amarnath Jha, and others dwelt on this need at great length. More than that we notice a very marked improvement in the style and scope of the writings in Indian periodicals. We reprint from the *Indian Review* the autobiographical part of Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's delightful essay on his spiritual vicissitudes. The current *Calcutta Review* contains a brilliant article on "The Genius of Bengal" by Professor Bhatnath Bhattacharya. He begins with the pessimistic reflection that "no province of India is so unhappily circumstanced at present as Bengal" and proceeds very rightly to call attention to her special genius and to her great contributions to the Indian renaissance in the religious, intellectual, artistic, social and political spheres. Only in the industrial and economic sphere has the province failed to come up to the level of her achievements in the others. The three Presidencies which have come longest and most under British influences have absorbed different features of that influence in varying

degrees. Bengal, as Professor Bhattacharya shows, most readily imbibed the love of freedom in religion and art as well as in social life and politics. She led the way for the rest of India in these directions. Bombay felt most attracted to the industrial and political side of English civilisation and with it she got a strong bias in favour of moderation and compromise which has been the distinguished mark of Bombay public life. Madras, from her special circumstances, felt drawn to the administrative achievements of Britain and many of the greatest administrators among Indians have been South Indians. This difference in response to the call of Western civilisation in different parts of the country, is the most urgent reason for a centralised government which can blend them all in a single whole for the benefit of the Indian people. Professor Bhattacharya observes that the questioning and protestant tendency of English culture has nowhere been more assimilated than in Bengal. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Surendranath Banerjee, Swami Vivekananda, C. R. Das, and Subash Chandra Bose are all typical of the free and independent spirit of Bengal which refuses to bend its knee to any individual or cult. An even more impressive example is Benoy Kumar Sarcar who, as his lectures recently in Bombay showed, challenges practically every school of thought which holds the field in India today: Along with this spirit of challenge is combined rather strangely an ardour to link the genius of Bengal with other great world cultures, exemplified by Rabindranath Tagore and Santiniketan. That is to say, while Bengal seeks to broaden the basis of Indian nationalism, her object in so doing is pre-eminently to fit India into the world picture out of which her particularisms and isolation have so long kept her.

**Educational Advisers:**—No one is competent to give useful advice to students as to the best way in which they should shape their outlook and behaviour whose own children are not likely to be educated in the institutions in which Indian students are educated. Least of all are Englishmen particularly those who hold high office and are part of the administrative system and are, therefore, consciously and unconsciously upholding the authority of that system as the supreme purpose of Indian education. The words, "character," "principles," and, even, "freedom," mean in their conception something different as applied to Indians from what they mean as applied to their own sons and grandsons. The Convocation Orator at Lahore the other day drew a nice distinction between "freedom" and "independence," which he would not have dared to do in his own country. Freedom, he forgot for the moment, can flourish only where there is independence. Freedom in a dependant country means no more than freedom to eat and sleep and reproduce the species. Even when it extends beyond these elementary spheres, to speech and writing, it is freedom on

sufferance and, therefore, no real freedom. It can be taken away by a stroke of the Viceregal pen. In the Willingdon regime Viceregal Ordinances penalised propaganda by peaceful picketing in favour of using home-made goods. It is true that in many independent countries, civil liberty or freedom is unknown but that does not detract from our proposition that civil freedom can only flourish in the protecting aegis of national freedom.

**Lord Halifax for Washington:**—Lord Halifax's appointment to the Ambassadorship at Washington in succession to Lord Lothian has been applauded with a warmth in which relief is mingled with satisfaction in the British Press. Lord Halifax's retirement from the Cabinet has been talked about as a near possibility since the retirement of the late Mr. Neville Chamberlain. His pronouncements representing the war as a crusade for the preservation of Christianity have called forth severe criticisms from British publicists, one of whom, Mr. H. G. Wells, declared him on that score to be unfit to be Foreign Minister of the British Empire which consists of an overwhelming majority of non-Christians. Lord Halifax succeeded Mr. Antony Eden on the latter's dismissal from the Foreign Secretaryship in order to placate Signor Mussolini who for some reason or other had taken a violent dislike to the British statesman after the latter had paid a visit to Rome. Italy is now at war with Britain and the British Prime Minister broadcast on Monday an appeal to the Italian people to rise and overthrow the Fascist regime. The appointment of Mr. Eden to succeed Lord Halifax as Foreign Secretary will be felt by the Fascist Dictator as a deliberate and calculated step to aggravate his discomfiture at the failure of the Italians to hold their ground in Libya and Albania. If Italy had any hope of concluding a separate peace with Britain, Mr. Eden's appointment to the Foreign Secretaryship, dashes it to the ground. Lord Halifax's policy at the Foreign Office will be completely reversed with important repercussions in the United States and it will be Lord Halifax's duty as British Ambassador to adapt his diplomacy to the new conditions. The position involves some obvious anomalies which a man of Lord Halifax's antecedents in India and as Foreign Secretary will need much inward wrestling to adjust himself to. Besides, the personal relations between President Franklin Roosevelt and Lord Halifax with their different notions of marriage and religion, is likely to present other difficulties. All things considered Lord Halifax's appointment is an experiment the results of which are problematical.

**Indian High Commissioner in South Africa:**—The elevation of the office of Indian Agent-General in South Africa to the status of High Commissioner, has been warmly welcomed by General Smuts. The opinion of the Indian community on the change has not been made available to the public as yet. The South African Indian community has of late



## SATYAGRAHA

The decision to celebrate Christmas-New Year is a fortunate one. It does not regard the urgent or imperative might read disciplinary should not the only for Indian com. but will be the rep. of India in all matters. He will, of course, be available to the Indian population for transacting any business with the Government in India as well as in the Union; and in this new status he will speak and act with more authority than the Agent-General latterly was able to do. The objection of some South African Indians that the Agent weakened the strength of the community by interposing between the Union Government and themselves, will apply equally to the High Commissioner. But it is an objection to which no serious importance attached even, we suspect, in the eyes of those who pressed it.

**Indo-Ceylon Trade Relations:**—A delegation from Ceylon which came to India to negotiate a Trade Pact with the Government went away without being able to agree about terms. At the same time in more than one direction non-official efforts to promote the cultural relations between India and Ceylon, have been marked by significant cordiality. A Buddhist Vihara was opened this week in Bangalore with a Buddhashrama for monks on a valuable piece of land gifted by the Mysore Government. His Highness the Maharaja sent a cordial message welcoming the establishment of this centre of Buddhism. His Highness declared that the times in which we live demanded the message of Buddha as much as those in which the Sakyamuni lived and worked. Sir Baron Jayatilaka, Minister for Home Affairs in Ceylon, who laid the foundation stone of these buildings, spoke feelingly of the debt of Ceylon to India for her religion and culture and fervently expressed the wish that the Bangalore Buddhist centre will be the means of renewing the ancient relations between the two countries. Another Sinhalese leader presiding at the Ceylon Congress declared that the natural culmination of their spiritual and cultural affinities would be the political affiliation of the sister peoples under a common administration. The difficulty of arranging trade pacts contrasts strangely with the growing desire for cultural unity between the leaders of India and Ceylon.

**Bombay and the War:**—By a strange coincidence, Bombay Province since the outbreak of the War has ranked among the more liberally administered province of British India and also she has figured almost last among the least contributors to the war funds raised by the

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Government. In the matter of the Press Advisory Committees the position taken by the Government of Bombay has been far in advance of other parts of the country. The principle of consulting the committee on all matters relating to the press has been accepted and there is every reason to believe that both Government and the editors of the Province will interpret the Government of India's order relating to the formation of these Committees in the most liberal spirit. A large part of the credit for the breadth of outlook of the Bombay administration must naturally go to the Governor of Bombay, on whom devolves under the emergency regime the whole responsibility for the Government. Sir Roger Lumley, speaking at a War Committee meeting at Ahmedabad, expressed his disappointment at the failure of Ahmedabad to collect an appreciable amount for the War Fund. A similar complaint was made by Mr. J. R. D. Tata in regard to Bombay where he is president of one of the War Committees. Sir Roger Lumley avoided all controversial reference to the Government of India's attempts at arriving at a settlement with political parties. But he remarked that he was unimpressed by arguments which, while approving of the war against Nazism, urged that India should withhold her help until she was granted a particular form of constitution. Nobody is likely to be impressed by such arguments. At the same time Indians will be finding it equally hard to be stirred to act by appeals to fight for Polish freedom, for Czech independence, for Belgium's restoration, for France's liberty, while they are told that their own freedom is a matter of delicate adjustment.

**War and War Industries:**—Not the least exciting episode in Upton Sinclair's great novel "The World's End" in which the personalities and perplexities of the last War are vividly portrayed with considerable accuracy of historical detail, is the rivalry between Zaharoff the Levantine and Robert Budd the Yankee, munitions magnates, and the sudden collapse of both on the declaration of the Armistice which they both pulled all the wires known to them to prevent. Incidentally the political, diplomatic, social and, of course, financial, devices for which munition contracts are obtained from different Governments, and the close study of international politics needed for them, are exposed. It is plain that the manufacture of war materials is not the most serious part of the business. Their disposal is a far more important part, and this cannot be successfully accomplished unless you have the whole-hearted backing of your own Government and its diplomatic representatives in other countries and, what is more difficult for an Asiatic firm, access to the exclusive social circles where a good deal of such business is transacted under the guise of social intercourse.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 28, 1940.

## INDIA AND BRITISH OPINION.

While the Congress satyagraha campaign is faced with some difficulties, it has not been altogether without effect upon British opinion. Strictly speaking, this has been brought about more by the sentences inflicted by the judiciary on some of the better known Congress leaders, particularly the four years' sentence on Pandit Nehru. Nine members of the House of Commons have issued an open letter to the people of India urging them to reconsider the Viceroy's offer of August 8th of an expanded Executive Council. This is a strange letter and all the more so since the vast majority of those to whom it is addressed cannot read. It has a certain formal resemblance to leaflets dropped over enemy territory and to Mr. Churchill's broadcast to the Italian people appealing to them for the overthrow of their Fascist leaders. But it differs from such appeals in that it presses for a reconsideration of the Viceroy's offer by Indian leaders themselves. It is in spite of its form an appeal to political India to co-operate with Britain in a united effort to fight Hitlerism in Europe, or, as the letter puts it, "in the cause of freedom." The signatories refer to a tragic misunderstanding between India and Britain and from the fact that they have taken the trouble to address us in India six thousand miles away rather than their own Government and countrymen nearer home, one infers that they feel that the misunderstanding is purely on the Indian side. This is confirmed by their statement that the British people are irrevocably resolved to give India full political freedom. When they say that this feeling in Britain is of recent growth, it is conceivable that the recent sufferings endured by the British people in the air-raids and the prospect of going through more anxious days in the inclement winter now on them, have made them more sympathetic to the political needs of others. Political ambitions, it is a notorious fact, always run low when one's own survival is threatened by external enemies. There are other writers in the British press who are prepared to go even further than the nine M. P.'s have done in appealing to Indian opinion.

The open letter, however, is as much out of touch with political events in India as it says that Indian leaders are unfamiliar with opinion in Britain. Indians are asked not to agitate their minds on the question of Dominion Status versus Independence. Whoever is doing so nowadays? If there were any illusions left on the matter, recent interpretations of the Dominion Status which is to be conferred on India, have removed them completely. That is another reason why the old controversy does not rouse any interest today in India. Most politically minded persons are by now aware that neither Dominion Status nor Independence has been offered to India.

Whatever status it is real freedom. It can be by India, it must be defined the Viceregal pen. and not less than that of an Ordinance Empire-Commonwealth. The picketing inously to the need for a combination. It is loving nations to ensure the frontiers, civil and implies that this should convert does not the greater importance of Dominion freedom the fact that the United States of America as a Dominion of Britain prevented her from joining Britain? It is true that Britain could have taken more help from a Dominion than from the U. S. A. But if the United States had been a Dominion she would have been no more developed than Canada is today, industrially and militarily. Accordingly with the best will in the world she could not then have given half the help she is giving and is expected to give as an independent State today. It is difficult to credit the statement that the British people have suddenly cultivated a desire to see India advancing to political freedom as rapidly as possible when they have more real problems facing them outside their doorsteps and above their roofs. If an organisation like the Government is pleading pre-occupation with the war, surely this should hold equally true of the people.

When a statement of the type of the open letter is issued, it is natural to ask what authority there is behind the signatories. The question is the more insistent in the critical times in which we live. We may take it, however, that no group of politicians, certainly not men who pride themselves on their realism, would indulge a mere caprice in these days when cable charges are so heavy. The reactions of Indian political parties to an appeal of this nature could well have been anticipated by men who have had any experience of India. Many of these M. P.'s have a close knowledge of India. In the circumstances the only inference seems to be that the letter was meant as a feeler. If this is the case it was an unfortunate and unimaginative one. For it is not through such manipulations with words that the Indian problem can be solved. While it is wise not to exaggerate the importance of the open letter; it would be well not to minimise it too. The mails have brought in the English weeklies of September, October and mid-November. Many of them show quite a lively interest in the Indian question. Mr. Leonard Woolf in an article in the *New Statesman* has provoked much discussion by suggesting that Gandhiji should be made Viceroy. Those who have followed him up, take a more realistic view of things. Mr. Edward Thomson deplores the meagre news given to Britain by the B. B. C. and asks Labour to take a hand in both Indian and foreign policy. All these are symptoms that India is coming into importance in British news and this is the first step towards any solution.

## SATYAGRAHA AND DISCIPLINE.

The decision to suspend satyagraha for the Christmas-New Year week is, in many ways, a fortunate one. It shows for one thing that Gandhiji does not regard the agitation he has launched as an urgent or imperative one and, though the public might read of the Congress President issuing disciplinary orders against Congressmen, it should not be forgotten that Gandhiji is the sole director of Congress policies. This suspension, brief though it may be, gives an opportunity to review the position. Temporary suspensions have before this ended in complete abandonment. There are several reasons within and without the country to favour a turning away from satyagraha just now, though the President has suggested recently that the movement will gather greater force after January 6 when it is to be resumed. So far as Congressmen themselves are concerned, it must surely be a matter of the gravest concern to the initiator of the agitation for free expression of opinion that his satyagrahis are entering the field for a variety of reasons, many of them not in any way connected with the slogans which Gandhiji has drawn up for their shouting. There might be a world of difference between Sardar Sampuran Singh's repudiation of non-violence in court and Mr. Bajaj's statement that his imprisonment is by way of expiation for the wealth he has amassed under British rule. Nevertheless, though one might be expelled from the party and the other might be imprisoned by the State, both of them have taken their stand away from the Gandhian purpose of the struggle. Every leader who feels it necessary to issue a statement explaining his position, weakens the Congress in the present campaign of individual satyagraha which rests on three straight slogans relating to the war. And Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's erratic method of disciplining one and turning the blind eye to another Congressman can serve only to deprive the Congress of its prestige as a political organisation.

If Gandhiji casts his eyes over the past record of members of his Working Committee, he would see that only three months back they were prepared to settle with the Government of India on the basis of support to their war effort. While in August the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, openly said that the Congress was not out to establish moral principles but was a political party which had never accepted absolute non-violence as its guiding principle. The fault of Sardar Sampuran Singh, then, is this, that he was merely saying in November what the head of his party said in August. Even now the Maulana Sahab is not averse to considering a British offer based on the Rajagopalachari formula of co-operation through a national government. The logic of the Congress President's decision to expel Sardar Sampuran Singh is difficult to see in these circumstances. The Sardar Sahab in a statement has asserted that nearly all the satyagrahis in the Punjab are moved by discipline rather than by any sense of appreciation of non-violence. We should not be surprised if this were true of many more than the Punjab satyagrahis. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has gone to the Punjab to ascertain things for himself. This is rather an ominous development. The Maulana unfortunately does not seem very tactful in his assertion of authority, if we are to judge from the precedent of Bengal.

The trouble that has been brewing between the Bose brothers and their party rivals in Bengal, has now come to a head in the disciplinary action taken by the Congress President against several members of the Bengal Congress Legislative Party. The

*Hindustan Standard* has in some of its recent issues published letters exchanged between Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, on the one side, and mainly Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, and one or two others, on the other. From a cursory perusal of the correspondence it would appear that a few links are missing and references are made to conversations of which no records are given. But enough has been published to show that the trouble was a conflict between the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the members of the Bengal provincial legislatures. In the working of the Congress Parties in the various Assemblies of the provinces, the interference of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee was a serious hindrance. It subordinated the views of men who were responsible to their constituencies, to three or four men who owed their authority to Gandhiji. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as the Committee member for Bengal, repeatedly overruled the decisions of the Bengal Congress Assemblymen. The manner in which he seems to have done this, was, to say the least, peculiar. According to one of the letters released by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Legislative Party, the Maulana in conversation with him accepted his position but wrote later rejecting his proposals. Worse still he called a meeting of the Congress legislators at his residence at Calcutta and, when the members had all assembled and begun their business, he announced through his secretary that he was not able to attend the meeting and that the members could not hold it then. These incidents seem to have developed into disciplinary action against some fourteen members of the Bengal Congress Party. Partisans of Mr. Bose urge that since the Congress delegated authority to Gandhiji, the President has no longer the power to discipline members.

The President of the Congress, however, is not concerning himself solely with bringing recalcitrant Congressmen to book and driving them out of the Congress. He is also absolving some of the older members who have been already placed under a ban. One such is an ex-President of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee who was restored to favour on tendering an apology to the President. He had been penalised for having an interview with the Governor and expelled for three years. Another is Mr. V. M. Jakatdar, an M. L. A. in the Central Provinces who joined in an agitation against one of the Congress Ministers and refused to apologise when the Congress inquiry found the Minister not guilty. Mr. Jakatdar was expelled from the Congress and when he applied to Gandhiji to be allowed to offer satyagraha, he was told that, though he might conform to all the requirements of a satyagrahi, he could not be accepted unless he apologised to the President. Inidentally it may be mentioned here that a press report quotes the Congress President as saying that Gandhiji would after January 6th even take non-Congressman for his satyagraha if they should fulfil the conditions laid down by him and remain within the bounds of the Congress pledge. But, of course, an expelled Congress member must be forced to apologise! The Maulana has issued a statement on the letter of apology he has received from Mr. Jakatdar who is a veteran of 73. The Congress President not only says that he wept to read Mr. Jakatdar's letter but adds, "If there was any blot in his conduct, he should not care for it any more, I have washed it with my tears." The equally hysterical words in which he praises Mr. Jakatdar's conduct as noble and patriotic, would, coming from any other man, mean a downright slur on the members of the High Command or on Gandhiji for insisting on a direct humiliating apology after the demonstration of Mr. Jakatdar's devotion to the

Congress cause. The Maulana apparently means no more than to indicate that he is capable of being moved by finer feelings, as much as any one else. The Congress President today is a much harassed man. His work in Sind has been unsettled by Mr. Jinnah's persuading the Sind Premier to join the Muslim League. His disciplinary tactics are adding several Sinds to his routine problems. But his method of extending absolution to those whom he has excused on apology, will not commend itself to many politicians. There must be many in the Congress, even among those who are in full agreement with all that has so far been done, who cannot suppress their fears of what will happen to the party organization if the Maulana continues in the manner in which he has been going on in the past few months.

#### MR. BAJAJ ON BRITISH RULE.

Mr. Jammalal Bajaj's statement before the Magistrate of Wardha who tried him on a charge under the Defence of India Rules for intended participation in Satyagraha by shouting slogans, is a revealing one. He began by saying that in the Working Committee of the National Congress he represented the merchant class in which "I am supposed to be occupying a considerable position". He continued:

It is legitimately said that I possess the little wealth I owned under the British Raj and that but for its protection afforded by their bayonets, I should be unable to hold what I have for one moment. There was a time when I used to think in those terms and even now I feel the partial truth of the remark. It is quite likely that if the British bayonet is withdrawn there would be anarchy and no man's life would be safe, let alone his possessions. But I have long since realised that much too heavy a price had been and is paid for the enjoyment of wealth by a few and for apparent safety of life.

Mr. Bajaj in this passage both overstated and understated the purpose and achievement of British rule in this country. The overstatement consists in the implication that there were no wealthy men in India before the British came. There were many more wealthy men than there are at present, and many of them were of his own caste, the Marwaris, the hereditary bankers of Northern India. If the British were not in India, Mr. Bajaj would still have been a wealthy man, perhaps a wealthier man than he is now because he would not have had to pay income-tax, super-tax and many other taxes. But the conditions in one respect would have been markedly different. Under British rule the wealthy man has been exalted to a position which he never enjoyed under Hindu or Mahomedan rule and which he does not today enjoy in the Indian States. This is due largely to the fact that in Britain itself within the last century, particularly after the death of Queen Victoria, the successful business man has been elevated to a position of supreme influence, and one of them, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, was ousted from the Prime Ministership in favour of a scion of the hereditary ruling class, only when the course of the war threatened the country with irreparable disaster. Then the nation realised that success in money-making is not the best preparation for the Premiership of an Empire. Queen Victoria declined to confer a peerage on a merchant and it was with much difficulty that the Prime Minister could persuade her to reconsider her decision by pleading that the profession of merchant did not involve handling goods over the counter. In the Indian social economy the merchant had an honoured place but only next after the scholar and teacher and administrator and soldier. Mr. Bajaj would have been a wealthier man even if the British had never set foot in the country

but he would not have been a member of the Working Committee of a political organisation, though he would have been required to contribute quite as liberally as at present to its funds. It has been the defect and weakness of British rule that it has steadily tended to enhance the importance of material wealth over intellectual and spiritual values which played a great part in forming the tradition of Indian society. Mr. Ludovici in his "Defence of Conservatism" maintains that the same transformation in England was due to Jewish influence which in its own interests worked to eliminate all values from social life except such as could be purchased.

Mr. Bajaj's understatement consists in his allegation that the main achievement of British rule in India was to enable a few people like himself to make a little money. The achievement of British rule has been far different and far more important. It has by means of its education and administration stirred the Indian mind to a sense of responsibility for the well-being of the country. It has instilled into it ideals of social and political conduct which it did not possess under Hindu and Muslim rule. Mr. Bajaj is a subject of the historic Rajput State of Jaipur where, if any where, the principles of Hindu polity should have manifested themselves in all their splendour. But it is in British India that he proffers satyagraha and it is to a British Court that he declares that he had realised slowly that that rule has been a fraud on the country. The Gandhian ideology which claims to make Truth its supreme standard, has failed to create more than a partial sensation because in its judgment of British rule it has deliberately underestimated its actual achievements. *The Reformer* has never made light of the shortcomings of British rule—and serious ones—in the industrial and economic sphere. But its contributions to the intellectual and political life of the country have been of the utmost importance. It has raised the national character and instilled into it aspirations which have stimulated and ennobled Indian life. The defect is being rectified as material losses can always be made good. Mr. Bajaj told the Magistrate that his position in the Working Committee was peculiar as representing the possessing class. We have not a list of the members of the Working Committee with us but surely there are others in it who are not wholly destitute. In any case we did not know that the Working Committee was constituted on a functional basis. The logical conclusion of Mr. Bajaj's argument would seem to be the relinquishment of the possessions which have been acquired at an inordinate cost under British rule. Of this, however, there is not a single sign in the whole statement.

**Midnapore Flood Relief:**—On the earnest representation of the Midnapur Central Flood Relief Committee and the Gontai Congress Committee, the Sadharan Brahma Samaj sent a relief party of three workers with Babu Jnan Sevak Chatterjee at the head to the Thana of Bhagabanpur where the distress is very great. The party made Gopinathpur as its base of action and surveyed the condition of 19 villages. People there are miserable. The Government started test work for a short time but they have closed their operations and there is no chance of getting any help elsewhere. The crops have totally failed and the people have no other means of livelihood. The Brahma Samaj Party gave relief to 349 families. They distributed 25 maunds of rice per week. Relief parties in other areas have withdrawn for want of funds. But the situation requires public help urgently. The Brahma Samaj intend to carry on their work but they count upon contributions from charitably disposed public. Money may kindly be sent to the Secretary, Sadharan Brahma Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

## EVOLUTION OF THE JUVENILE COURT IN BOMBAY.

### B. PROBATION OFFICERS AND CHILDREN'S HOMES. (BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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The probation officers are appointed by the Children's Aid Society. They take charge of the cases entrusted to their supervision by the court. "A probation officer, in the exercise of his duties under the supervision order, shall be subject to the control, in the city of Bombay, to the Chief Presidency Magistrate, and elsewhere, of the District Magistrate of the District, in which the court which passes any order under this Act in respect of the child is situate."<sup>1</sup>

The duties of a probation officer are varied. He is to visit or receive visits from the child or youthful offender, to see whether those in whose care the child has been committed observe the conditions of bond, report to the court as to the behaviour of the child or the youthful offender, advise, assist and befriend the child or youthful offender and assist him in securing employment. When a child is on probation and the report of the probation officer reveals that he has not been of good behaviour during the period of probation, the court may after enquiry as it deems fit order the offender to be detained in a certified school.

Probation work in Bombay City is on a higher level due to full-time paid probation officers entrusted with purely supervision and enquiry. Another factor which has led to their successful working is that almost all of them have received a two years' thorough training in the work at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, the only institute of social work in India imparting training in social work on modern scientific lines.

A certified school, as mentioned above, may be a Government institution or a private institution certified by Government for receiving young offenders. Such a school is subject to regular inspection and the Government, if dissatisfied, can withdraw the certification, and the authorities of the school too can give up the certificate after giving 6 months' written notice to the Provincial Government. For the inspection of these schools an Inspector of Certified Schools was appointed towards the end of 1937. Then in 1939 an Assistant Inspector and two clerks were added to his staff to assist him. About one-fourth of the offenders are generally committed to institutional care due to the preponderance of dependancy cases. In the period between 1927-37 the largest number of cases appearing before the juvenile courts in Bombay were cases of dependency and neglect. The period of detention for each child is mentioned by the magistrate in his order but not so as to exceed the time of his reaching 18 years of age.

The most recent and upto-date institution is the Chembur Home started in 1939 at Chembur (Bombay) in 1933 through the efforts of Mr. K. M. Munshi, President of the Children's Aid Society and then Home Member of the Government of Bombay. The Home occupies an area of 130 acres of land and has 80 cottages each accommodating 20 boys. Two separate schools, one for girls and one for mentally defective children, are under construction.

A child in the certified school has to follow a strict daily programme, and every effort is made through education and otherwise to prepare him for life by teaching some such work which may enable him to find a job. It is provided that after the expiration of 6 months of detention of a youthful

offender in a certified school the Chief Inspector on being satisfied that the young offender will abstain from crime and will lead a good life, can grant him a licence permitting him to live under the supervision and authority of some approved person willing to take charge of the offender. The time during which the child remains absent from the school on licence, is reckoned as the period of detention. The licence can be cancelled by the Chief Inspector on a breach of any of the conditions under which the licence was granted.

It is further provided that a child on sufficient cause can be granted leave for 8 days at a time and 9 days in all in a year exclusive of the time taken in journey to go home. If an inmate fails to return or escapes from the school, the police officer on the application of the manager of the school arrests him and send him back to the school.

Here it will not be out of place to give a couple of suggestions for the better working of juvenile courts and the better treatment of the juvenile delinquents.

The juvenile courts here are based upon English models and so are presided over by magistrates of Criminal Courts. They have no special training in the philosophy underlying juvenile delinquency and its proper handling, and so there seems to be more emphasis being laid upon the crime itself than upon the circumstances which led the young person to commit that act. It is, therefore, suggested that there should be moving separate magistrates exclusively for such courts. They should be not only well versed in law but should have special training in the treatment of juvenile delinquency. These magistrates may move from one court to the other giving two days in a week in every court. For the present to begin with, the present magistrates entrusted with the juvenile court work should be given a short term course in the philosophy behind the treatment of juvenile offenders.

The other anomaly is the practice of joint trial of the adult offender and juvenile offender committed jointly in the juvenile court. In my opinion the adult offender should be tried in a regular criminal court and the juvenile offender should be dealt with by the juvenile court.

### DEFEATISM.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Under my heading "Defeatism," "Indian" in your issue of September 7th has written a criticism, that is, if a complete misinterpretation of everything I have written in it can be called a criticism. It is this sort of thing that fills one with a heart-breaking sense of the futility of efforts at mutual understanding, and fear that Iqbal's despairing dictum that "The eastern man and the western man are elementally incapable of understanding each other" is right after all. Indian has distorted my letter out of all recognition even to the exact opposite of what is meant. I am even made out to exemplify all those terrible "imperialistic tendencies" which make the British so hated abroad, especially in India, oppressive exploitation of the poor, greed, lust of power, hatred of freedom, repression of freedom of speech, the clapping into prison for the crime of struggling to be free and so on. By the way, I should advise "Indian" to study up the subject of what is at the moment called defeatism if he wishes to be considered well-informed and up-to-date; it is that poisonous element which rotted the Neutrals and France and caused them to crumple up before the blasts of "frightfulness" and, thank God,

1. Section 24 of Children's Act, Bombay.



the freedom from it is the strength given to the heroic Greeks to put up a united front and conquer at whatever cost.

But this knack of misapprehension I can it arise from the following reason? Take the Indian's and the Englishman's respective reactions to an important statement, say, a Government pronouncement.

The Englishman who goes upon the principle of trusting until and unless he has been given good reason for not doing so, will take the statement at its face value. It will mean to him, just what it says. The Indian who intuitively suspects and distrusts everyone and everything unless and until given good reasons for not doing so, will note the pronouncement and think, Now what does this really mean? Does it mean more than it says? Does it mean less than it says? Does it mean some thing quite different from what it says? And he will choose from one of these three possibilities: but the one version that happens to be the right one, that it means just what it says, he will.....miss! Little wonder that he often makes such calamitous mistakes.

"Indian" evidently does not know the meaning of our idiomatic saying to "foul one's own nest." It has nothing to do with honest criticism and the freedom to show up evils and abuses with a view to their correction. These are fundamental principles of our democratic system, and any one who takes the trouble can find them working in full force.

"Fouling one's own nest" means the systematic belittling, dishonouring and maligning of one's own people or race, or country, or government or religion, and so on. Think of it in this way. Suppose an Indian living in England who in social life took every opportunity to discredit and malign the Indian people, their character, their culture, their faiths, their history. I assure you that Englishmen would regard him as a "rotter," and I have no doubt as to how he would be looked upon by his fellow countrymen. To the credit of India I have never come across any Indian of this type, but to the discredit of Britain and America I know of several foulers of their own nest from those countries and am grieved, to see that among Indians they are rather admired than condemned; in fact, political India has the tendency to sit at the feet of such people and look upon them as oracles! They are misled, no doubt, by the fact that many of these people are selfless idealists. India has yet to learn that idealism without realism is like a beautifully carved table large enough to hold any amount of articles, but with no legs to stand upon. And also the truth of the aphorism that "misguided goodness acts like poison in the body politic," and, with a grain of salt, the cynic's saying that the wise man is he who spends his time undoing the mischief done by the good man.

"Indian" accuses me of injustice in my comparison of the situation in India and the Congress to a house on fire and the squabbling children heedless of it. It is no way unjust. Indeed its representation is in the nature of an understatement. It is evident that those who pose themselves as representing India are still blind to the world-wide intense gravity of the war situation and the fact that we here are fighting in our various ways, men, women, and children, for our Empire, for India, all as one family, and our fighting is of life or death. Let not this assertion call up the smile of mookery, as only an instance of British hypocrisy.

Oh! If, for once and all, you would throw aside this soul-killing suspicion which makes your Congress politicians appear to the world of sane-mindedness and sound principle, as a body of patriots surely, but who have not grasped even the elementary principles

necessary for the establishing of political freedom who place the secondary before the first in importance: who make that deadliest of all mistakes, that of persistently treating the British Government as the enemy instead of as the friend.

Yes—those who love India as their own country are looking with saddened eyes towards these self-styled representatives of India, for a sign of any spark of generous feeling, of magnanimity, of any greatness of soul, of even a vestige of statesmanship, and look in vain.

I would ask of any who may read the above, without understanding some of it, if, instead of criticising, they would notify what was not clear to them, most gladly would I endeavour to clarify the same.

Cambridge, }  
November 5, 1940. }

Yours etc.,  
I. J. PITT.

#### WHAT I BELIEVE.\*

(BY THE RIGHT HON. SHRINIVASA SASTRY.)

All my life I have with maidenly shrinking avoided self-exposure. One's own self is the most difficult subject for one's pen. Sufficient knowledge there is, both of the outer and of the inner life. But can there be sufficient detachment? How can I avoid self-love and self-despising, both springing from the same root but flowering in opposite colours? In the book before me ("I Believe") there are twenty-three self-sketches of entrancing interest. I envy the writers their cold-blooded objective laboratory attitude. I do not hope to attain it, but promise to do my best, ever bearing in mind that truth is paramount.

Of Brahmana parentage in the Tanjore district I was born in poverty, but inherited a good brain. My parents pinched themselves hard to keep me at school and college. My father was of the priestly class; but, having no regular clientele, had to forage far and near for bare subsistence. My mother, born in a secular family, was proud by nature and, as soon as I could understand, used to confide to me her humiliation at the privations which endured and the insults which he submitted to from the well-to-do. She had a melancholy and pious disposition and, by unwearied resort to street expositions of scripture, garnered a vast deal of mythological lore. She found in me an eager listener. I remember my father often saying to me: "Go in and ask that shrew, she knows more than I." Pushed before my time into the dark mysteries of sin, hell's torments and the malignancies of devils, I heard with trembling a course in Seshadharmā, where the author sets out a fully elaborated table of man's transgressions of the eternal law and the punishment for each transgression. To drive home these lessons, I was taken to a temple on the walls of which were depicted in lurid colours the scenes of hell with sinners undergoing tortures calculated to make the spectator's flesh creep. The horror of the pictures has not yet wholly faded out of my mind. At seventy-one the night still has fears for me. For several years, while in the forms of the high school, I scarcely slept without a prolonged nightmare in which horrid goblins performed weird dances and made faces at me. Relief would come only in the morning when I woke with my young body perspiring and unrefreshed. Life, however, is not without compensations. Some dreams, not many alas, were comforting and reassured

\*Indian Review.

me. One in particular gave me an ecstasy of religious satisfaction, so much so that I did not expect a sympathetic hearing from any one and would not share it even with my mother. It goes on record now for the first time. As I lay asleep praying in a boy's way for salvation, the sky was suffused with a soft glow, out of which the eye glimpsed parts of a divine figure, filling the firmament, recumbent, face earthward. The outline filled in quickly, the light became brighter, and the form of Maha Vishnu, with majestic beauty, disclosed itself to my enraptured vision. He lay head north and feet south. To the right and left were ranged gods and goddesses and munis familiar in our story. At the same time the splendour of the great one increased beyond description. But, I knew not how, my eye, more fortunate than Arjuna's, could gaze and adore and not be blinded. At the culmination the effulgence seemed, as I recollected the trance in later years, to admit of only one description, if description it may be called. Let the reader turn to the twelfth sloka in the Gita chapter of the All-comprehending Form, "If a thousand suns could be conceived to blaze together in the sky, the united brilliance might approach the resplendence of the Supreme."

Though brought up on inadequate nutriment, I was a strong boy and spent many hours out of doors, mingling in the street and river-bed sports and excelling in several of them. By this means the gloom of my inner life was held in check, and I grew up a healthy though delicate lad, maintaining a balance between seriousness and self-indulgence. In my teens, owing to the acquisition of a modern outlook, my mother's influence waned. Taken altogether I was a favourable specimen of the early products of English education. I lost faith in the accustomed rituals and ceremonies. Religious thought, however, was sustained by an indefeasible longing for salvation. The personality of Jesus Christ fascinated me. But my peace of mind was shattered. Life's integrity could not continue in the growing dichotomy between belief and practice. This phenomenon is common in all educated communities, but at that time was stigmatized as the peculiar curse of new India by Christian missionaries zealous to increase their flock. Gradually I was attracted to the experiential school of philosophy, which I blended in a manner peculiar to myself with the pessimism of Buddhist teaching. Life took on a sombre hue. Moral judgments stiffened to the point of severity. Pleasure and laughter seemed illegitimate and were always dogged with remorse. Speech too was an indulgence next door to sin and must be limited to necessity. The doctrine of Karma held me in the grip of its logic. I was a determinist and had no doubt whatever that free will was a delusion and a snare. Samsara could be transcended only by a rigidly practised contraction of activity ending in its complete annihilation. The Gita precept of action without attachment came later, and though I have welcomed it with open arms, it has not succeeded in establishing itself as a guide to practical conduct. Works are idle without efficiency; efficiency is, at the present stage of men's evolution, dependent on combination, perseverance and zeal; these seem hardly possible without careful calculation from time to time of the result of effort. Is all this attainable without *sanga*? I would fain believe it, but reason forbids. My heart revels with ineffable rapture in the last eight verses of the *bhakti* chapter. Their melodious rhetoric haunts me. Their lofty idealism penetrates my soul through and through. I do not believe that, as a compendious code of ethic, it can be

paralleled in the world's literature. When, however I try to get hold of the various precepts, they fly heavenward and leave me disconsolate and prostrate. So I shift, like a drifting log, between resolution and paralysis of will, between hope and blank despair. The struggle between the head and the heart, described with self-revelatory pathos in religious writing, rages perpetually within me. It is only my lifelong practice of self-control that cloaks the gnawings of my inmost being behind a bland expression of face.

T. H. Huxley, J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer emptied my mind of its slight doctrinal equipment. Many agnostics attain a tranquility of spirit which I envy. I am hag-ridden by the idea of nothing after death. I long in my inmost being for some experience, some revelation, some authentic sign to bring the consolations of religion within my reach. George Eliot somewhere portrays the content and the certainty of the uncultivated mind and asks whether it is not a blessing when compared to the desolation that is created in our heart by the wisdom of science and philosophy. Negation has unspeakable terrors for the likes of me. There are moments, let me confess, when I should answer in the affirmative the rhetorical question of the philosopher, "Will you prefer the contentment of the pig in his sty to the agitation and turmoil of the inquiring mind?" But a wise poet has said that there is more faith in honest doubt than in half the creeds. To believe what is not proved to one's satisfaction is to abdicate the sovereign quality of our kind—reason.

The years have wrought a slight change in me. It is perhaps unusual. Instead of hardening, my nature has softened a little. Travel in lands where they make more of life than we do in India, has tinged the austerity of my youth with hedonism. Intransigence has lost a little ground, and extraversion has gained it. Laughter and enjoyment are no longer taboo. I don't judge my brethren nearly so harshly as before. Charity, the greatest of the great things of life, informs my thought and deed more than ever. Action, not inaction, is my principle now, alas, too late. I try, following the Gita up to a point, not to be excessively elated by success or cast down by defeat. Moderation is still to me the silken string that runs through all the virtues. I would print in large capitals the 16th sloka of the 6th chapter of the Gita, in which the aspirant to yoga is enjoined to shun over-eating and fasting, over-sleeping and vigil alike. Bacon too in his worldly wisdom was a lover of the golden mean. From a boy slogans and panaceas have left me cold. Only the highways of philosophy for me. Swamis and yogis, givers of the sacred ash and whisperers of miracle-working mantras, have never allured me. The new and short-lived isms that infest this fair home of genuine speculation and philosophy and promise us shortcuts to salvation have passed by without quickening my spiritual pulse. I cannot sign away my judgment in any sphere to another, however great and worthy.

#### INDIA'S TRADE COMMISSIONER IN THE U. S. A.

The following resolution was passed at a general meeting of the members of India Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc. held at 665, 5th Avenue, New York, N. Y., on Thursday, September 19th, 1940:

Resolved: (a) That, after giving the matter full and mature consideration, the Chamber is of the opinion that the Government of India should be felicitated on their opening an India Government Trade Commissioner's office in the United States of America.

(b) That the Chamber finds that, in the two years that this office has been in existence, its activities have greatly helped in fostering better and closer trade relations between India and the United States of America—as evidenced by an increase in the trade in the past two years between India and the United States of America by approximately 70 per cent.

(c) That the Chamber also wishes to congratulate the Government of India on its selection of Sirdar H. S. Malik as the first India Government Trade Commissioner to the United States of America.

(d) That, the Chamber, having closely followed the activities of Mr. Malik, is of the opinion that Mr. Malik has filled this position with great dignity and efficiency, and, being an Indian, has been able to represent India's interests favourably and accurately in this country.

(e) That, the Chamber is definitely of the opinion, and is convinced, that this post of India Government Trade Commissioner to the United States of America and Canada must always be filled by a well-qualified Indian, because only an Indian can truly and faithfully represent India, India's trade and India's interests.

(f) That, the American people as such, and American businessmen in particular, prefer to deal with and come into contact with nationals of India, pertaining to matters Indian.

(g) That, in view of the foregoing, the Chamber requests the Government of India kindly to bear in mind the Chamber's views and suggestions on this point, in making all future appointments to this post.

(h) That, the Chamber requests the Federation of Indian Industries and Commerce in India, and all its allied Chambers and Associations, to take this matter up in their respective Chambers and Associations, and convey their opinions and decisions on this matter to the Government of India.

(i) That copies of this resolution be sent to :

- (1) The Government of India, New Delhi
- (2) The Federation of Industries and Commerce, New Delhi.
- (3) The Press in India.

Moved by Sirdar J. J. Singh. Seconded by Mr. Hemendra K. Rakhit. Passed unanimously.

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*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Conferences for Education and Social Justice:—**The closing days of the year have come to be devoted to what may be called stock-taking of the activities and achievements during the past twelve months. This year there has been rather more of this than in previous years. There were Historical Conferences in Lahore and Baroda. There was a Political and Economic Conference and an All-India Women's Conference in Bangalore and a Science Congress in Benares. There was an All-India Educational Conference in Udaipur which has hitherto kept itself secluded from the main currents of Indian thought. There was a Muslim Educational Conference at Poona. We deal in a leading article with the President's address at the Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Madura. The Indian National Liberal Federation met at Calcutta for three days. There have been several Students' Conferences. One thing emerges from the mere enumeration of these meetings. Politics plays a comparatively minor part in India's activities. The major interests of the public are becoming concentrated on the advancement of learning and knowledge, on the education of coming generations, and on the reform of social injustices in and as between the several communities. The All-India Women's Conference held also in Bangalore stands by itself as being the most significant movement of our time in some respects. We derive much satisfaction from the fact that, although at first sight it may be difficult to discern the trend of Indian life as denoted by these Conferences, a little reflection makes it clear that none of our outstanding pre-occupations are exclusive but that they all look towards a more comprehensive field outside themselves and that all are keenly cognisant of the supreme goal, the happiness of the human race.

**Communal Conferences:—**Some people think that communal activities are all mischievous as coming in the way of nationalism. There are many who have come to the conclusion that nationalism is itself the great cause of conflicts between countries and nations. It is nevertheless difficult to think of humanity as a single unit. Even in religion we are confronted by numerous sects. The average human mind can not grasp the whole human species as a single unit. Provided that communities, castes and nations are not conceived as ultimates and it is borne in mind that a part is never greater than the whole, these divisions are useful as agencies of progress. The average man and woman are more inclined to work in their particular groups than in movements which aim at renovating the whole of humanity. The more backward intellectually a community or caste, the less disposed is it to envisage problems which are not related to itself. We are not, therefore, inclined to advocate the complete discarding of all sectional movements provided, as observed above, that the larger purpose is not ignored. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League offend against this condition. Not only that but they regard themselves as antagonistic to each other. The Muslim Educational Conference held at Poona under the presidency of Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Bengal Premier, on the other hand, is or should be a purely ameliorative movement. Such differences as there may be in the outlook on education between the Muslims and the general community, are capable of adjustment by free discussion. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay who formally opened the Conference, spoke as a sincere friend of the community, ready to extend every reasonable help to the cause for which it stood, as the Head of the Government. He pointed out one or two mis-statements in the report presented to the Conference, such as the complaint that Muslims were not getting their due measure of support from Government. The Muslims form less than 9 per cent of the population of Bombay Province. More than 12 per cent of the total provincial expenditure on education, the Governor pointed out, was devoted to education of Muslims, who enjoy besides free access to non-communal institutions maintained or aided by Government. Then, again, Sir Roger Lumley indicated

in a mild way his dissent from the assumption that the purpose of education is mainly to provide employment. He also expressed his concurrence with the view of the Report that the backwardness of the education of Muslim girls is a serious drawback to the community's progress. No amount of weightages in electorates and reservations of official posts can help forward the moral and material progress of a community if its women are not able to accord an intelligent and educated support to the efforts of their men. Happily, there is a distinct forward movement among Muslims as among other communities in this respect.

**The Indian Christian Conference :—**The Indian Christians, are just now facing two serious tensions : one in respect of their relations to foreign missionaries and the other that between the older and the younger generations. The expulsion of some young independent-minded missionaries recently, has not to outward appearances affected the missions concerned but it has profoundly impressed the Indian public and must surely bring about a radical change in the relation between missionaries and the Indian Christian community which shares in large measure the aspirations of the general population. The difference of view between the older and younger generations of Indian Christians found sharp expression in the addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Maharaj Singh, and of the President, Mr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao. This difference may be also described as one between Northern Indian Christians and those of the South, Sir Maharaj Singh representing the former and Mr. Ramachandra Rao, the latter. Sir Maharaj Singh in his address reviewing the progress of Indian Christians, observed:

More important still, they (Indian Christians) have risen in the estimation of their Hindu and Muslim brethren and have formed a respected section of citizens of Lucknow. In illustration I may tell you that not long ago the responsible posts in this city of Chief Judge, Deputy Commissioner and City Magistrate were simultaneously held by Indian Christians.

The fact of three offices being simultaneously held by Indian Christians in Lucknow, does not prove anything of the estimation in which the community is held by others. Does a community become respected by others by some of its members holding public offices, in the only sense that matters, was the question which crossed our mind as we read this extraordinary statement. If it was not due to the exigencies of the Service, Government might have their own reasons for preferring to have men of one community rather than another in a city where Hindu-Muslim rivalry is as acute as in Lucknow. When preference is shown to one community for such a reason, the community rather suffers than rises in the public esteem. However that be, the President in his address applied a different test. Dr. Ramachandra Rao's address was a candid exposition of the issues facing the Indian Christians. Christians, and Indian Christians

among others, have failed to uphold the principles of Jesus Christ, Mr. Rao said :

At last it has been left to a Hindu saint to put to test on a national scale Christ's tenets, and to base on the principle of non-violence his scheme for winning Indian freedom.

**Dr. Rao's Address :—**There is much, very much, in the Presidential address of Dr. Ramachandra Rao with which we find ourselves in cordial agreement. We particularly appreciate his observation on proselytising. He said :

At this juncture when religious animosities are apt to explode on the slightest pretext, intolerant proselytising zeal will not help matters. It is not conversion but the deepening of spirituality all over the country that will enable the people to stick to the kernel and cast off the shell. Mass conversions apart from convictions of the individual, should be tabooed as it would tend to increase inter-communal jealousies and rivalries.

Dr. Rao added that the growth of the Christian community must be in spiritual heights and not in mere numbers. If the President's wise words are kept in mind by missionaries who are tempted to add to their numbers, leading to the Indian Christians being as Dr. Rao described them "a motley crowd gathered together from various communities, religions, races and climates," the Indian Christians will be welcomed, as they are already largely, as a valuable element in India's population. Dr. Rao also stressed the need of Indian Christianity linking up with the religious culture of India while not discarding the spiritual achievements of the West. The Indian Christian community is the second largest minority in the country and consists of a larger proportion of educated men and women than other communities. The views which the President of the All-India Indian Christian Conference expressed on the Pakistan scheme will, therefore, receive due attention from the leaders of the Muslim League. Speaking from his own experience of Mysore where he is domiciled, Dr. Rao declared that Christians need not be afraid of a Hindu Raj. The President felt no such assurance about Pakistan. He commented on the absence of any apportionment in the scheme for Indian Christians and other minorities. It is entirely a selfish scheme, he said.

**Sir Radhakrishnan on Civilisation :—**Presiding at the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Madras Christian College Day Association, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the most distinguished old student of the College now living, spoke some plain words about presentday civilisation which may be commended to the attention of British statesmen who have made the defence of that civilisation the main object of the war. Sir Sarvapalli said :

Civilisation is not an economic policy, it is not the technical equipment, but the mind which sustained the balance and the mind which was behind it. He had heard it said that the ballot box, Holy Bible and cricket were symbolic of their civilisation. But what were their values? Civilisation was centering itself round our banks, and factories, our corporation and industries. It did not consider any value to be more precious than

the value of maintenance of dividends and compound interest. They were pursuing wealth and power even at the expense of justice and morality. The present civilisation, he said, deserved to perish and ought to perish. Unless they were prepared to alter the fundamental framework on which this civilisation was based, they should be prepared for repetitions. I believe (the speaker added) what the country and what the world require is a true spiritual revival.

**Violence and Non-Violence** :—Gandhiji was not always an apostle of non-violence in the sense in which he now understands and expounds the word. He was actively associated with the recruitment of men, as soldiers and labourers, during the last World War. It was towards the end of the second decade of the century that he found it necessary to safeguard the Non-Co-operation movement which he started, from getting mixed up with the violent revolutionary movement which had been in existence since the Bengal Partition agitation. His action at the time had the salutary effect of bringing about the cessation of the latter movement. Mr. Rushbrook Williams in his annual survey of Indian affairs repeatedly bore testimony to this influence of Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience on a non-violent basis. Since then Gandhiji has developed non-violence into a religious creed. But even at the commencement of the present War, he was not so emphatic about it as he is now. His emphasis on it as an absolute truth, however, is having an unfortunate effect. Slogans always give rise to counter-slogans. So long as Gandhiji's doctrine was confined to internal politics, few men of importance felt it necessary to contradict him. But when it came to be used as a slogan against the efforts of India to help Britain in the war, men of the position and authority of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar and Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry have come forward to declare that violence and war are not opposed to the tenets of Hinduism. Mr. Savarkar in his presidential address to the Hindu Mahasabha at Madura went further. He denounced the gospel of non-violence as the product of a diseased brain. Another denouncer of non-violence is Mr. M. N. Roy. All this attack on non-violence and praise of violence, it is to be feared, will have the unintended effect of reviving the violent revolutionary movement in this country, which is the last thing which any responsible persons, least of all the Government can desire. There is need for caution in opposing the extreme teaching of non-violence by Gandhiji. Otherwise opposition to non-violence might easily be interpreted as the glorification of violence. It should be made clear to the young impressionable mind that violence and non-violence are both relative terms and subject to qualifications. You may stab a friend with words more fatally than by a dagger. The surgeon's knife may save a life which soft words can not. When we pass from individuals to nations which are still far behind the level of personal morality, and which are still much under the reign of Nature red in tooth and claw, violence and non-violence must

be given a yet wider connotation. As a general principle, it may be assumed that when two countries engage in a war, statesmanship has sunk to a low ebb in those countries.

**The Liberal Conference** :—Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar's presidential address to the Liberal Conference at Calcutta was a comprehensive survey of the political situation. Mr. Chandavarkar insisted again and again on the importance of holding British statesmen to the declared goal of Dominion Status and expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of the constitutional experimentation suggested by Mr. Amery. But it is significant that several parts of his address bore witness to his very live appreciation of the fact that Dominion Status for India would mean a radical change in the framework of the British Commonwealth. He said that the constitutional question between India and England had been settled in essentials—"namely, Dominion Status and such Status at that as will make India an equal partner with England in the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations." And he asked for a goodwill mission from Britain which would lay the foundations of a treaty of friendship. At the centre he advocated the setting up now of a cabinet system which, even though not responsible, should nevertheless be responsive to public opinion. There are very few Indians who could quarrel with Mr. Chandavarkar's clearly worded statement of the Indian problem. His analysis of the communal question was a masterly one and he drew freely on analogies from Ireland and South Africa in denouncing the Pakistan scheme. Mr. Chandavarkar has rendered Indian Liberalism a service in restating its principles in the context of present-day conditions. His constructive suggestion for solving the tangle into which British policy has brought the country, is for Britain to take some definite step, from which no withdrawal is possible, towards granting India's status in the Commonwealth. This we have repeatedly urged since the outbreak of war.

**The late Mr. Nagendranath Gupta** :—The death which took place last Saturday morning of Mr. Nagendranath Gupta, a prominent figure in Indian journalism in the early years of the century, a distinguished author in English and Bengalee, a man of varied information and wide culture, has passed almost unnoticed in the Indian Press. Mr. Gupta was attracted from journalism to a business career thirty years ago and has for some ten or twelve years past been living a retired life in Bandra. His broad human interests made him a favourite with his neighbours without distinction of race or creed. After two months' illness he died peacefully at the age of 80 in a Nursing Home in Matunga. His body was brought to his home in Bandra from where it was taken to the cremation ground followed by a group of friends. His death, it is no exaggeration to say, has left a void in the circles where he had been almost an institution for many years. Our deep sympathy goes out to the family.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 4, 1941.

### MR. SAVARKAR'S ADDRESS TO THE HINDU MAHASABHA.

The mildest word we can find for characterising the address which Mr. V. D. Savarkar delivered as President of the Hindu Mahasabha is "reprehensible." As we have repeatedly urged in *The Reformer* there is no Hindu-Muslim problem, as it is commonly understood, in South India. The relations between Southern and Western India, and Arabia, antedated the birth of Islam by many centuries. Islam itself was propagated in the South not by conquerors but by pious missionaries who exemplified in their lives its simple creed in all its purity. In the South, therefore, had sprung up and has for long existed between Hindus and Muslims a spirit of brotherhood and cultural appreciation, which has not been seriously disturbed by the propaganda of the Muslim League. Men like Sir Mahomed Habibullah, Sir Mahomed Osman and others less known to fame but on that account nonetheless influential in sustaining a happy comradeship between the two communities, have upheld the auspicious tradition against the persistent efforts of political propagandists. Into this atmosphere of peace and good-will, Mr. Savarkar has sought to inject the virus of Hindu-Mahomedan antagonism. Not only that but he has tried to involve in the controversy the Indian States and even the independent State of Nepal. He abandoned all sense of propriety and proportion in his attack on the Nizam's Government. The tone of his address was that of an irresponsible demagogue utterly careless of the consequences of his declamation.

If the Congress has blundered in its handling of the problem, Mr. Savarkar has deliberately sought to embroil the two communities who have lived, and are living peacefully side by side, for centuries for the sake of extending his Mahasabha propaganda where it is out of place. The first and foremost task of a statesman, Indian or other, is to promote the maximum of goodwill among the people whose affairs he has to administer. Mr. Savarkar completely lost sight of this paramount duty. He did his worst to foment the spirit of dissension. The South Indian leaders who attended the Hindu Mahasabha session, must have been completely out of sympathy with the President's tirades. Mr. Savarkar reserved his severest onslaughts for the Congress. We are no apologists for the Congress whose handling of the communal problem has been neither firm nor fair. But the charge that the Congress has weakened the position of the Hindus *vis a vis* Government and the Muslims has no foundation. The inherent strength of a community cannot be undermined by any jerrymandering of electorates.

Christ...

The Hindus today are in every respect stronger than they were at any time within living memory. This is due to the great work of far-seeing leaders who guided the community amidst many shoals and quicksands along the path of social and spiritual emancipation, who, discarding the cheap and easy slogan of "foreign domination," understood the significance of that domination and turned it to the highest advantage of the country. The patrimony so laboriously garnered is now in danger of being dissipated by the ambitions of shortsighted politicians. But we have faith in the sound sense of the Hindus and are confident that they will not in a moment of impatience forfeit the gains of many generations of wise and thoughtful leadership. Mr. Savarkar told the Mahasabha that Government have conceded many of its demands. He thought, for instance, that Mr. Amery's last speech in which he gave the slogan of "India First" was the direct answer to the Mahasabha's demand for a definite repudiation of Pakistan by the British Government. This is a bit of wishful thinking. Not only do we find no repudiation in that speech but we fail to find any revocation of the alternatives which Mr. Amery had thrown out at a previous luncheon, and which, if given effect to, would land the country in a worse predicament than Pakistan. The President of the Mahasabha wants Hindus to range themselves against their Muslim countrymen by seeking an alliance with the British Government. The Congress wants to overthrow the latter with the co-operation of Muslims. The true path of Indian progress, however, is to harmonise all the elements of our history. One final word as to the militarization of Hindus which Mr. Savarkar warmly advised. He wants millions of Hindu youth to take advantage of the Government offer and train themselves for military careers. He did not pause to count the cost of training and maintaining a large standing army nor, of course, where the enormous cost of it was to be found. It is clear from the context that the purpose in Mr. Savarkar's mind for which this great effort is to be made, is a civil war between Hindus and Muslims. It is true that the happenings in Sind and elsewhere have forcibly demonstrated the need for Hindus providing themselves with more effective means of self-defence if Government can not perform their elementary function of preserving life and property. But a Hindu army is the most expensive and least effective way of providing it. At Sukkur at the very time of the massacre a lorry-load of Sikh troops was said to have passed by. An army acts under orders and not on its impulses derived from its communal origin. In any case, no responsible leader would contemplate a civil war as the best means of promoting communal harmony. Mr. Savarkar suggested the re-union of Sind with Bombay, which we had ourselves recommended as the best way of reclaiming Sind to civilized administration, when the recent troubles began. The Hindus of Sind

are themselves in need of radical change in their social and spiritual outlook. Their handling of the situation created by the Om Mandli, and the rising of such a situation itself, were symptoms of a deep-seated malady.

But for the virulent tone adopted towards Muslims, Mr. Savarkar's address would have been not only a useful but also a valuable contribution to Indian political thought. The idea of an Indo-British Commonwealth which he supported, was first suggested many years ago in *The Reformer* and was some years later advocated by Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru. The genius of the Hindu people is pre-eminently one of assimilation and not rejection. The Maharashtra Saint, Eknath, gave away the food prepared for his father's shradh to three Mussulmans who came to his door and justified his action by maintaining that God can not be limited to any caste or sect in the human forms which He may take. This was the characteristic Hindu way of incorporating a new factor—a statement of it in the form of an accepted metaphysical doctrine. The great Shivaji won the confidence of his Muslim subjects by his broad tolerance and regard for their interests and sentiments. In our own time, Ranade, the greatest modern thinker of Maharashtra, in numerous lectures and writings demonstrated with a great wealth of erudition the steady process of fusion which lasted for many centuries between the communities. Sir Sayyad Ahmed, the great Muslim reformer, also besought Hindus, and Muslims to think of themselves as the two eyes of the Indian nation. Mr. Jinnah in his earlier days worked on the same ideology. His speeches and attitude of late have become provocative. That is just because he realises that he has a weak case. A leader who is confident of his cause, has no need to indulge in bluster. Mr. Savarkar by his attitude has helped Mr. Jinnah intending to correct him. The absence of a single South Indian name from his Committee of "direct action" confirms our view that his inflammatory observations would have had no effect on leaders in that part of the country. Speaking of "direct action," a technique borrowed from the Congress which Mr. Savarkar denounced, he remarked in his concluding remarks that it will not, in the case of the Hindu Mahasabha, be confined to Civil Disobedience. He had in his address poured ridicule on the cult of non-violence. What other forms direct action will take when it is launched by the Mahasabha, it remains to be seen. The Madura session of the Mahasabha, we are sorry to say, marks the climax and the turning point in the history of that movement the original objects of which have been completely lost sight of. Those aims were clearly stated by Mr. C. Vijayaraghavacharya, the veteran who has been associated with the Congress as well as the Mahasabha from their very birth and is, therefore, along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a unique position of authority. He wrote in the course of his

message to the Madura session :

The aims and objects of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha are to secure political and economic freedom of British India by uniting the people of our country of all creeds, castes and no castes. This Sabha, while mainly anxious to protect the inalienable rights of the Hindus, both caste and non-caste, by no means aims in anyway at invading or injuring the similarly inalienable rights of the Muslims, Christians and other minority communities.

We would go further. Upon the Hindus as the oldest, largest and traditionally tolerant community, devolves in a special sense the duty of upholding the rights and interests of all minorities, however they might have come to be settled in this land. When it fails to recognise and honour this obligation, it forfeits its historic role and ceases to be of significance in the ethical evolution of man.

#### KOLHAPUR TODAY. (BY ONE WHO KNOWS.)

The long period of minority administration from 1845 to 1894, except for a brief period of three years, gave Kolhapur an almost unique experience of the good as well as the bad results inevitably connected with such administrations. As the late Shahu Chatrapati who succeeded to this minority period, often said, in his numerous notes on this subject, Kolhapur had the worst of the evils from the absence of a responsible ruler in the State. After a period commencing from 1894, a similar state of things has become the lot of Kolhapur since a few weeks ago, when His Highness Rajaram Maharaja died, leaving behind him two widowed Maharanis and a daughter barely a few days old. What is now to be the future of the ruling house of Kolhapur? What is to be the administration, who is to be responsible for it, until the future ruler, today unknown, assumes the reins of authority as the Chatrapati? These are questions which are very naturally exercising the minds of the people of the State. In numerous meetings, held all over the State, the people are appealing to the Paramount Power to recognise Her Highness the Senior Maharani as the head of the administration during the present minority, or interregnum as it may accurately be called. As a result of the efforts made by the Princes some years ago, the Government of India have recognised the principle that, in the case of the more important States like Kolhapur, States the rulers of which are entitled to a particular salute, the succession of a major son should be automatic on the death of a ruler; but unfortunately, as far as I know, no definite rule has been laid down for cases where the deceased Maharaja leaves a minor son or no son at all. I do not know why these contingencies, which are neither rare nor unknown in the States, should not have been provided for by the formulation of at least general principles for guidance in such cases. The Rulers of the States are admittedly hereditary and rules by which succession should take place in the absence of a son, are really essential.

Leaving this point for a moment, it may be admitted that in such contingencies, the ultimate responsibility for the administration for the preservation of the rights of the ruling family, lies on the shoulders of the Paramount Power. No one has ever denied this. But the question really is whether that Power has been following well-defined principles in such cases or is leaving every case to be dealt with according to the uncertain views of individual political officers. I do not for a moment suggest that these officers do not arrive at their



decisions with as much care as may be possible for them to take; but in the absence of definite rules for guidance in such cases, too much is left to the idiosyncracies of individual officers. It was the evils of these idiosyncracies of which Maharaja Shahu Chatrapati bitterly complained some years ago.

Today, however, the question is not about what happened in Kolhapur from 1845 onwards for almost fifty years, but as to what is happening in Kolhapur today. I am not at all concerned here with considerations depending on the merits or demerits of individuals concerned. To my mind the question is very important mainly from the point of view of the ruling family whose rights the British Government has pledged itself to preserve and protect, as well as from the point of view of the administration itself. Shortly after the demise of the Maharaja, the State Gazette announced that all applications addressed to the Maharaja during his life-time, should thenceforth be addressed to the Prime Minister and the President of the Executive Council. This is the only public announcement ever made after the death of Rajaram Maharaja about the present form of administration. Whence did the Prime Minister derive his authority to take the place of the Maharaja in respect of subjects, which the Maharaja alone had jurisdiction to deal with? Whose Prime Minister is he? When was the Executive Council created and by whom? Who passes orders on the memorials presented to the Prime Minister in lieu of the Maharaja? Is it the Prime Minister who does so or the Executive Council which exercises the ruler's power? These are questions which no one can answer definitely.

It may be assumed that the Resident at Kolhapur or the Government of India have sanctioned this arrangement. But neither the Prime Minister nor the Executive Council have announced to the people that they are acting under the authority derived from the Paramount Power; nor have the Government of India or the Resident declared that they have assumed the final authority owing to the peculiar conditions which have arisen in Kolhapur and that they have delegated their powers to the Prime Minister or the Executive Council. It is reasonable to suppose that it is only the Paramount Power which can control such a situation. But the strangest part of the thing is that both the Resident and the officers in Kolhapur are absolutely silent over this point, and stranger still, the State officials are making announcements apparently on no authority except their own. Why is this so? I am myself unwilling to believe that they are doing so without the authority of the Resident. That would be unthinkable. But is it a thing which the people of the Kolhapur State should know? It would be absurd to imagine that on the death of the Maharaja State officers could simply by their own decision, take the place of the Maharaja. But why are the Paramount Power and the State officials concealing the fact that today it is the Paramount Power's writ which runs in Kolhapur and it is that Power which is really responsible for all that is happening in the State after the Maharaja's death. As matters stand, to the knowledge of the public, the Paramount Power is silent as to who is in charge of the administration and certain officers have assumed the ruler's powers without reference to either that Power or the ruling family, such as it exists in Kolhapur. The apparent position is at the least most irregular and unconstitutional.

The proper course, on the death of the Maharaja, without leaving a major successor, would have been for either the Resident to have announced the assumption of powers by the Paramount Power, pending a decision on the question of succession; or

for the Senior Maharani to succeed although temporarily, pending final decision regarding permanent succession. The first course has ordinarily been followed hitherto in such circumstances. But since the previous practice of even a major son succeeding only after recognition by the Paramount Power has been given up and the principle of automatic succession has been recognised, there is no reason why the ordinary law of succession in the ruling family should not prevail in cases of this kind. Under the Hindu Law, the widow succeeds to her husband but takes only a limited estate in conditions of this kind and the Senior Maharani should have stepped into the shoes of her deceased husband, the Maharaja, with a limited estate terminable on the coming into existence or recognition of a full successor, such as an adopted son or the recognition of the daughter as the heir to the Gadi; she may be advised by the Resident in an emergency of this kind but the formal right of the Maharani to take over the administration in her own hands on the death of her husband, pending adoption of a son, would be perfectly legitimate, would involve no risks and would certainly be in consonance with the sentiments and rights of the Princely Order throughout India. In Kolhapur, in the present case, neither the Crown Representative nor the Maharani, assumed even temporary responsibility for the administration and the people of the State are left to grope in the dark about the real position. This is a clear violation of the rights arising from the hereditary character of the privileges of the Ruling family. Politically also this would be far from expedient for the Resident to be behind the curtain and for the State Officers to be allowed to constitute an administration whose authority remains a mystery in the eyes of the public.

In answer to the agitation in the State in favour of the Maharani holding charge of the administration, the Executive Council of the State has this week issued a communique stating that they will remain in charge of the State, till a successor to the Gadi is recognised by the Paramount Power and the Maharani could be appointed a regent, as desired by the people, only thereafter. This is really playing with the issue. The public may be wrong in using the phrase, "Regency of the Maharani," in the present case, but in reality the public view is that, though she may not be called a Regent just at present, she should be at the head of the administration till she can become the regent of a minor successor. Has she not a better title to occupy the position which the Prime Minister or the Executive Council are today allowed to occupy? This is the question before the public and the answer given by the press communique simply ignores it. The question must be answered by the Paramount Power. Why do they not recognise the claim of the Maharani to be a more proper head of the administration than any officers in the State? The people of the State desire an answer to this question and they have made their own wishes in the matter as clear as broad daylight.

The importance of the State having a responsible head, such as the Resident or, more preferably, the Maharani from the point of view of the people in the State, is indeed very great, even from the practical point of view. Accusations are being made against all manner of officers from top to bottom. These accusations have found their way in the press throughout Maharashtra. No one, not even the officers who are today allowed to run the administration, are immune from these attacks. I have nothing to say about the justice or otherwise of any of these accusations. Is it, however, wise to place

authority in the hands of some against whom there are as many accusations as against those who are placed under their control? A retired police official with an excellent career in British India, whose services at first were taken on loan from the Bombay Government by the late Maharaja, whose confidence he enjoyed till the last, is reported to be under suspension. This is only one instance of the drastic steps being taken. I repeat, that I have nothing to say in justification or in condemnation of the accusations or the steps being taken by the authorities. I refer to these incidents merely to show that, in circumstances like these, the State should be in charge of someone above suspicion and above intrigue, without suggesting a word against any officer in the State. It would be permissible to say that the right course for the carrying on of the administration in Kolhapur has not been adopted and not only the rights of the Maharani are violated thereby, but the field for more intrigues causing more trouble to the public at large is being opened. If the Resident or the Crown Representative only refers to the administration reports of the period prior to 1894 he would find how Kolhapur is a hot-bed of factions. The records of the Political Department would show him that, during the last two regimes, nothing has happened to make the place less amenable to factious influences. It would be a boon, therefore, to the people of the State, if either the Resident or the Maharani takes direct charge of the State till more final arrangements are decided upon.

The question regarding the adoption of a successor is also exercising the minds of not only the Kolhapur public but also the whole of Maharashtra, where the Ruler of Kolhapur is looked upon as the representative of the house of Shivaji. This is, indeed, a very difficult question. There are numerous claimants. Conflicting precedents are in existence and can be quoted by different parties. A question has been asked as to why the Maharaja's infant daughter should not succeed. I refer to these questions merely to show that the decision will be a difficult one and must take time to arrive at. During this fairly long time, the position in the State should be regularised and responsibility should be placed where it should legitimately belong.

#### "INDUSTRIALIZE OR PERISH!"\*

For years past, Sir M. Visvesvaraya has lost no opportunity of placing before the State and the public his emphatic view that, unless there is "rapid industrial advance" in the country, the Indian nation will perish. He has been one of the first to plead for a planned economy for the country. Though he is connected with a number of individual business enterprises, Sir M. Visvesvaraya has never failed to emphasise the point of view that industrial effort should proceed on well-regulated lines to be of real benefit to the various sections of the population. Sir Visvesvaraya was an original member of the National Planning Committee, but he resigned the membership after its earlier sittings, and it is a great pity that he will not be able to make any contribution to the practical shaping of the Committee's final conclusions. But this withdrawal of Sir Visvesvaraya from the National Planning Committee merely reflects what is apparently lacking in the persistent and devoted efforts that Sir Visvesvaraya has been making for years past to lead India on to a policy of planned economy. On the one hand, the industrialists and business men, such as

\* "Rapid Industrial Advancement." An Address by Sir. M. Visvesvaraya.

those who are still associated with the Planning Committee, seem to feel that his schemes are remote altogether from the practicalities of industrial life in India, and introduce too much of bureaucratic interference. On the other hand, to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others, these very schemes appear individualistic uninfluenced by any concept of a new social order. Failing to carry conviction either to the one party or to the other, the pioneer of a planned economy for India finds himself unfortunately too isolated to contribute to planned economic progress.

There is something else also, that is lacking in Sir Visvesvaraya's campaign for industrial planning. If one may say so, with due deference, that is due to a failure to go deep into the causes of the industrial decline of India. Economic forces are not beyond the range of human endeavour. If such economic forces have overwhelmed the far-famed industries of the country that is so only because there has been no endeavour to regulate these forces so as to readjust our economic life to the changing world conditions of the last one hundred years. Even now Sir Visvesvaraya observes that the authorities in control of Government policy seem to be in no hurry to dislodge the country from the position of being treated as a market for foreign manufactures and yet Sir Visvesvaraya cherishes the hope that "if the Government work on dominion lines, as high authorities assure us they are already doing, there should be no difficulty in business leaders and Government coming together and building up a sound industrial structure." The recent rejection of one of the many schemes sponsored by Sir Visvesvaraya, namely, that for the manufacture of automobiles, is merely one indication of the fact that there has been little change in the outlook of those who are in charge of the economic destinies of the country. Notwithstanding the haphazard and unco-ordinated efforts that Government make to utilize industrial organizations for war purposes, they still have no conception of an ordered growth of Indian industries. The doctrine of *laissez faire* in its crudest form, as Professor D. R. Gadgil pointed out at the recent session of the Indian Economic Conference, still has undisputed sway over our economic life and economic planning lies outside the ken of the ruling authorities.

It is this selfish pursuit of *laissez faire* and an utter neglect of the need for facilitating economic readjustment that have led to the present state of disequilibrium between agriculture and industries that Sir Visvesvaraya bewails. The position has worsened in the last half a century not because the people were lethargic or listless but they have been made lethargic or listless by reason of the decline, under the stress of unregulated economic forces, of the rural handicrafts and subsidiary occupations that provided a healthy balance between agriculture and industries in the countryside. Will industrialization of the type that Sir Visvesvaraya favours redress this balance? Sir Visvesvaraya would make the Governments of the Provinces assume the responsibility of arranging "to take off at least one-half of the population now employed in agriculture and create other remunerative employment for them in industries, trade, transport and other neglected occupations." This is really begging the question; for it assumes that all the time there can be remunerative employment for half the agricultural population available elsewhere. After nearly half a century of modern industrial endeavour the industries and occupations enumerated by Sir Visvesvaraya provide employment for not over one percent of the country's population. How

stupendous will be the task of providing employment for over 30 percent of the population can well be imagined. Even if by super-human effort the task is essayed, Sir Visvesvaraya and those of his way of thought will have to bestir themselves to secure markets for the enormous volume of products that will be turned out. However successful our attempts to raise the standard of living of the masses of our population, by no stretch of imagination can we conceive of the country's absorbing the vastly increased products that will under this dispensation be put forth by the new industrial undertakings. And then what of the problems of the enforced under-employment of large sections of the rural population who, as Sir Visvesvaraya observes, "have no steady occupation for four to six months of the years?" In the industrial planning of the type that Sir Visvesvaraya envisages there is no provision for the utilization of the temporary surplus labour on the land unless by industrializing agriculture he visualizes the virtual disappearance of the class of peasants as we know them today. May it not be that the true remedy for the malady of Indian economic life lies elsewhere than in the method of industrialization of the centralized type which creates often more problems than it seeks to solve?

No country which is dependant, as India is, on agriculture as the backbone of its national economic life, can afford to ignore the industries that are associated with agriculture, industries that supplement the income from agriculture, keep alive traditions of craftsmanship in the countryside, provide sparetime employment for the underemployed and temporarily unemployed populations in rural areas, and, lastly, serve to utilize locally the variety of local materials that are available in plenty everywhere in our country. The programme that Sir Visvesvaraya unfolds, takes no cognizance of these basic needs of India's national economy. It is, besides, too mechanistic in its conception to ensure economic progress on healthy lines in as much as the aim of such progress can be merely to increase the quantum of production either *per capita* or in the aggregate. Industrialization as Sir Visvesvaraya plans it, makes no provision for employment in the natural setting of the worker's own place and habitation or for development of inherent talents and aptitudes in occupations congenial to the worker. No scheme of national planning for India with its traditions and economic history as well as with its present requirements can be acceptable if it ignores these fundamental features of our economic life and hence Sir Visvesvaraya's slogan, "Industrialize or Perish," will not become the motto of our new social order much though one may admire the ardour and assiduity with which he seeks to popularize it.

V.

#### OLD AGE.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

There is an old gentleman who lives across the road. I love to talk to him. But he is now physically invalided. Rather sadly he said the other day that for one in his condition it was better to depart from the world.

"Why should you think so?" I rejoined. "Do you think one can escape from the miseries of this life by mere death?"

Though not new, because at one time or the other everyone perhaps felt as he did, the old man's remark was deeply provoking, and I told him all that I thought over it.

Can one really escape from one's *Karma-phal*, when that appears in one's miseries and sufferings, so abruptly and even so easily as by hanging or drowning or by otherwise killing oneself? Those who take a narrow and only physical view of life, of course, think so; and they even rush to end their life whenever it becomes dreary through failure, disappointment, difficulties and suffering, mental or physical. But unless you believe that our life is no more than our bodily existence here for a number of years, determined by mere chance and accident (for nobody can calculate and know it), and perhaps also to some extent by your own will (for the suicides think that they can terminate their existence whenever they please), you cannot be sure that your miseries will not survive your physical demise. And should they survive, will they not be worse and more acute, because of your then helplessness in doing anything by way of remedy? The physical body being the means and the instrumentality of all work, whether creating fresh entanglements or merely remedying former actions, in your trans-physical existence you will be incapable of work and, therefore, helpless in mitigating your sufferings. The non-believers in any form of survival after physical death are not disposed to think and look beyond, and nothing needs to be said to them, for they would not reason and ponder, even though they feel discomfort in their sense of uncertainty arising from their inability to account for the incidents of life, its joys and sorrows, failures and disappointments, as well as its beginning and end.

Others, who reflect on what awaits them after death, should, however, consider whether, when the consequences and effects of work already done have to be gone through and experienced in this life or hereafter, it will be better to endure them while we are awake, conscious, able to think and do at least something in mitigation thereof or to plunge out of this state into one of uncertainty. Even if passing from this life we are reborn immediately after, we not only go through the miseries of birth over again, but have to traverse in succession the stages of infancy, childhood, boyhood, and youth, when we gradually pass from the unconscious helplessness of infancy to the thoughtlessness of childhood, to the silly and time-wasting naughtiness of boyhood, and from that naughtiness to the rash and pleasure-seeking impulsiveness of youth—burdened all the time with the *Karma-phal*, which, in its entirety, has come with us from our previous life to this. This *Karma-phal* affects my life from the very beginning, giving me good luck that may be due to me as also making me suffer the unfinished miseries of the life I have left behind. I have to follow this destiny shaping and shadowing this life, through all miseries and sufferings, which I wanted to escape from in my previous life, either by wishing for early death or by actually taking my own life.

Old age is the ripe fruit of our physical existence the cream of it, the sublime, ultimate purpose of it, just as the fruit is of the plant life. It is a great pity indeed that we do not realise the great value and significance of old age, and miss the subtle purpose of life culminating in it. It is a greater pity that we do not prepare ourselves for this precious fruitful period of our life. We do not learn, nor are we taught, to look forward to the crowning period of our human life. We live throughout our youth madly and thoughtlessly, we pass our middle age strenuously trying to prolong it and purposely keeping us yoked to its various entanglements; and, when at last helplessly we arrive at the threshold of old age, we even then

do not look forward, but throw our glances behind mournfully on what still appears to be the attractiveness of youth. Life, therefore, now appears to be a disappointment, and old age, that is coming on, dreadful and miserable. We see no light but gloominess, because we did not care to open our eyes to the significance and philosophy of life during the earlier periods of life. Had we learnt to open our eyes, had we lived our youth and the middle age more thoughtfully and with deeper penetration into the values of things, we would have a bright light where there appears to be gloominess, and hope and comforting reality where we perceive the dread of uncertainty and blankness. But we did not. Youth's impulses were too strong, and seemingly too pleasant. And we were taught also by our environment, association, the examples of the young and the old, books and literature, and by all other ways and manners to look on youth as the best part of life, as the full-blown blossom of it. This wrong outlook on life, based on physical pleasure-seeking, blinds us to the sublimer philosophy of life and to the ultimate aim of it, and enthrals us to the distracting pursuits of youth. This blind devotion to youth paves the way to misery, dissatisfaction, and regret, which make us unhappy in later years.

But we need not in old age merely repent the wastage of time and energy in earlier life, but should settle down agreeably with the realities, pleasant or unpleasant, confronting us. An old man should cut himself free from the tendrils of his former attractions. In the full maturity of age, in the ripeness of wisdom and fullness of experience, in the subsidence of furious animal instincts, in the ending of the restless struggle for mere physical existence, and in the realisation of nothingness in the thousand and one things that we had run after, one ought to feel so light, free and happy in old age, not regretting and wanting to recall the past but smiling philosophically over its follies. The infirmities, miseries and sufferings should not deject and sadden the mind, but should be welcomed as very useful provokers of *Vairagya*, and of that sense, which drives our mind and thoughts from the endless, sticky entanglements of an unreal world towards the Supreme Realisation of the Self, when the soul is liberated from all illusions and goes beyond the reach and influence of all causes of misery and unhappiness.

#### THE WAR.

While the three principal belligerents entered on a strenuous week, there was considerable activity among the great neutrals, Russia and the United States. President Roosevelt in a notable pronouncement expressed his determination and the determination of the United States to stand by the struggling democracies of China and Britain. Help will be given largely by supplying arms and munitions which after all are the best help to powers like China and the British Empire with their abundance of man-power. The immediate result of Mr. Roosevelt's support of Britain's cause was apparently intensified effort on the part of Germany to raid London, this time concentrating on incendiary bombs. Italian forces in Africa continued to encounter reverses and the resistance of Greece maintains its early strength. Germany it is reported is moving, in the Balkans and the Italian military machine has for all practical purposes come under German control. Some significance is attached to a signed article by M. Stalin in the *Red Star* urging greater preparedness to resist aggression by enemies of the Soviet. M. Stalin does not reveal whether he is contemplating assistance to his totalitarian ally, Germany, or whether he hopes to be in at the kill.

#### THE POLITICS OF MR. M. N. ROY.

When Mr. M. N. Roy came into Indian politics, he was warmly welcomed by lesser Congressmen though Gandhiji, it was reported, had asked him with characteristic caution to set down his political programme in writing. If the document was ever submitted to Gandhiji, it must have been shelved at Wardha as the country has not heard anything of it. All these years, however, Mr. Roy has rested content with a comparatively modest position within the Congress organisation. If this seemed strange in one who was credited with six revolutions in foreign countries, people generally assumed that here too as in Russia, Mexico, China, etc., Mr. Roy was not anxious to seek the limelight, and that he was more keen on achieving results than on personal fame. The results, until the outbreak of the war, were not very spectacular. But he had built up, or built in, a small and devoted party within the Congress midway between the Congress Socialists and the Communists, and this group tended rather to thrive on the dissensions of the larger party. A year after the outbreak of war, however, Mr. Roy found himself at variance with the Congress position; shifting though that was, it did not at any time happen to coincide with Mr. Roy's views. Mr. Roy was insistent on cooperation with Britain to fight Fascism and Nazism—apparently inconveniently so. The Congress expelled him from the party. Mr. Roy, however, though the first of the post-war victims of Congress discipline, was not daunted and he proceeded to work out his plan of action. The expulsion, in fact, rather strengthened his hand as it closed the way back and attracted to his side others who had similarly suffered in the past.

The politics of Mr. Roy now finds him between Government Houses and the Anglo-Indian press. What Britain did not achieve in European politics has been brought about in India—an alliance between one form of Communism and British Democracy, even though official Communism is well-nigh jailable. It would seem that the line of propaganda taken by those who are enthusiastic for the war, of portraying what will happen to India if the Nazis win, has succeeded with Mr. Roy though it has failed with most political parties and politicians. And because it is true that in his writings he has been less critical of, not to say definitely sympathetic towards, Soviet Russia's conquests since September 1939, it has been too readily inferred that Mr. Roy like all Communists has an instinctive dread of Fascism. Mr. Roy's plan of action is briefly sketched out in a statement in which he appeals to all independent men and groups to join him in a fight against Fascism. The ingredients of his platform are combination with a view to "democratise the war effort," the formation of emergency cabinets in the provinces and acceptance of power at the Centre in the Viceroy's expanded Council. He promises to "educate" the public for fresh elections at which his programme will be approved. Apparently the Governments of the provinces seem to have been persuaded of the possibilities of his course of action. What Mr. Roy has not apparently taken into account in his calculations, is that the result of an electoral contest between the imprisoned Congress leaders and the emergency ministers of his new party will in normal conditions only be a win for the former. Of course, it is true that if Mr. Roy can face voters with reforms from Britain conceding India's right to manage her own affairs, it would be a different story. But in that case why should the British go to Mr. Roy instead of to the Congress which has shown itself remarkably accommodating in its relations with the Government?

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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## NOTES.

**Conversion and Divorce:**—An interesting case in which conversion to Islam was advanced as a ground for divorce, came before the Calcutta High Court a few days ago. Nur Jehan, the applicant, was a Russian woman, born in Poland, who married, according to civil rites, the man from whom she sought divorce, also a Russian, at Berlin. She left him at Rome to come to India. He went to Glasgow instead of accompanying or following, as she apparently expected, his wife to India. Here she became a convert to Islam under the illustrious name of Nur Jehan. She cabled the news to her husband in Glasgow and invited him to share her new faith. He cabled back an indignant refusal whereupon Nur Jehan Begum sought the help of the High Court of Calcutta to release her from her conjugal bond to the Glasgow Russian. The suit first appeared on the undefended list. Declarations of this nature had been made by the Calcutta High Court in several *ex parte* cases. But Mr. Justice Edgeley felt that, in view of the important points of law involved, it should not be disposed of without closer scrutiny. He, therefore, appointed two Advocates of the Court to act as *amicus curiae* to argue the case before the Court. As not only in Calcutta but also in other provinces conversion to Islam has been held to dissolve a pre-existing marriage, Mr. Justice Edgeley's decision is of great importance. In his lordship's view the rule of Muslim law that conversion to Islam dissolves automatically an existing marriage, does not hold good in British India. The Calcutta High Court declined so long ago as 1869 to enforce a right of pre-emption against a Hindu on the ground that Mahomedan law as such was not the law of India and that it was against equity and good conscience that a Hindu should be bound by Mahomedan law. Mr. Justice Edgeley maintained that on the same ground a wife or husband of another faith can not be called upon to renounce her or his religion or in the

alternative to have her or his marriage dissolved by mere conversion of one of the parties to Islam. To hold otherwise, said his lordship, would be to convert the State into a proselytising agency. Even in countries where Muslim law prevails, his lordship remarked, the invitation to change one's faith should proceed from the Kazi, or Magistrate, and not from the converted party. The judgment deserves to be widely known.

**Harijans in Cochin:**—According to all accounts the Cochin Government has succeeded in devising a method of dealing with the problem of the depressed classes, a peculiarly difficult one in Kerala, which has produced the maximum of benefit to these classes with the minimum of irritation to caste Hindus. Harijan leaders from other parts of India who have visited Cochin with the special purpose of studying the question, have expressed high appreciation of the measures adopted by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja. So efficient, indeed, are the measures that the cry now is that the same measures should be extended to converts from the Harijan castes to Christianity. This cry has been raised in British India also and has been acceded to in some provinces. A writer in the *Cochin Argus*, Mr. A. V. Moothenden, accuses the Government and particularly the non-official Minister, Dr. A. R. Menon, of introducing an invidious distinction between Harijans who are Hindus and Harijans who have become Christians, in violation of the terms of the Queen's Proclamation. Mr. Moothenden says that this distinction was introduced by the popular Minister and did not exist before his time. If this is true, the action of the Minister can not be criticised on the ground of violating the Queen's Proclamation. The method of raising the depressed classes followed by proselytising missionaries and the method of uplift adopted by the Maharaja's Government, are mutually contradictory. The missionary method aims at uprooting the traditional religious and social system which the Harijans along with other Hindus have inherited. The Government policy is to raise them in their economic and social conditions without destroying whatever is good and worthy of preservation in their social heritage. The habit of drink, for instance, acquires on conversion a sanction which it does not possess in Hindu surroundings. The Turkish Government which is certainly not wanting in

the liberal spirit, has forbidden proselytising missions on the ground that they divert the mind of the youth of the country from national values and teach them to look upon them as inferior to the values cherished by the missionary's nationality. The missionary method is based on the assumption that the Harijans have no hope unless their religious beliefs are changed. The Government method is based on the contrary assumption. If Missions would suspend proselytising the masses, the Government method would have a fair field. To agitate to foist the missionary method on the Government one, is virtually to demand that Government should subsidise proselytism.

#### **Industrial Development in Indian States:—**

The urge for industrial development is felt in all the important Indian States. But the policy pursued is not the same in all. In some States an intensive form of autarchy seems to be favoured. These States aim at being self-sufficient in respect of as many of the requirements of the population as possible. The State is conceived as an independent industrial unit. Indian States invest largely in industrial enterprises in British India but they do not seem to welcome British Indian investors in their own enterprises. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar speaking at the reopening of the Rubber Factory in Trivandram, under the management of Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal of Ahmedabad, pleaded in favour of welcoming investors from British India when people in the State are backward in making the fullest use of the opportunities open to them. "The trade and industry of India," he said, "were one integral whole and we will not be true to ourselves if industrially or commercially we segregate ourselves into small units or cells." The Dewan made it clear that because of this oneness of India's industry, he did not hesitate to welcome Indian capital, Indian energy and Indian enterprise for developing the industries of Travancore. The danger of getting Indian States entangled in the meshes of international finance, is wisely avoided by the Dewan's insistence on the organic unity of Indian industrial life. His Highness the Maharaja sent a message in which he favoured private enterprise as against State initiative in industrial development. No Government worth the name, observed His Highness, should attempt to work commercial enterprises in order to earn profit as the necessary risks and spirit of enterprise required would not be present in Government concerns. As a matter of fact, the tendency at present is for the State in nearly all countries to take charge of the key industries, and they are able to manage them as efficiently and economically as private enterprise. The "industrial domain" is a regular and legitimate sphere for earning revenue to Government and though it is risky to extend this so far as to relieve the citizens of responsibility for the affairs of the State, it is not necessary to ban it in all circumstances.

**Mr. Jinnah on Unitary Government:—**Mr. Jinnah is afraid of a central Unitary Government in India because it would have a proportion of three Hindus to one Muslim, which would mean that "the fiat and writ of the Hindus will be forced on all." Of course, he assumes that the fiat and writ of the Hindus would be adverse to the interests of the Muslims, and possibly of all minorities. It is useless to ask Mr. Jinnah to adduce proofs for his assumption. To him the Hindus are incapable of doing anything just and equitable to non-Hindus. Distrust of Hindus has become an obsession with him. We need only point out that the evidence of Mahomedan historians themselves can be adduced to show that Hindu rule as compared with contemporary Muslim rule in the past has not been characterised by want of religious or cultural toleration. It may be also pointed out that at the present day Muslims in the provinces where Hindus are a majority, are more advanced in literacy, in education and in material prosperity than Muslims in the provinces where they are the majority and even than a considerable section of the Hindus themselves. But we do not expect Mr. Jinnah to change his opinion, whatever may be the strength of the evidence against his assumption that Muslims suffered most at the hands of Hindus where the latter are in a majority. But a central unitary government for India is inevitable as the result of modern improvement in the means of communication and transport, the phenomenal increase in the power and range of modern armaments, in the close inter-relation between the trade and industry of the country as a whole and the consequent growth of solidarity among all the provinces and States and communities of India. These are immense forces which Mr. Jinnah cannot control or anyone else. As a matter of fact, the Hindus themselves are not all in favour of a central unitary government. The lure of having a Government, a Parliament, a High Court, a University, and all the other paraphernalia of individualised authority, has a great fascination for many politicians. The Congress is not in favour of a strong Central Government because it would be more difficult to overawe one by a show of satyagraha than a provincial Government. They will all be at one with Mr. Jinnah in supporting provincial autonomy and this was evident from the absence of any protest against the partitioning of India under the Hoare scheme. The British Government for obvious reasons prefers to deal with eleven separate units owing allegiance to the India Office in London than a single strong Central Government in India. Lord Linlithgow has been criticised for want of decision but the critics fail to realize that the Government of India under the Hoare scheme has been reduced dangerously and that it is only special legislation rushed through Parliament on the outbreak of war that has enabled it to keep the normal

life of the country functioning without serious interruption. The central unitary Government will come in spite of Mr. Jinnah and the Congress because it alone can ensure the stability of the administration and the security of the country. Mr. Jinnah is kicking against the pricks.

**"Joining House to House" :—**The Bombay High Court had to decide in a suit whether the provision of Mahomedan law entitling the owner of a house to buy an adjoining house which was for sale, was in force in a part of Ahmedabad city and as between non-Muslims. The old rule of Islamic law has, it would seem, since been in force there as a custom. A Full Bench of the High Court accepted the validity of the custom but dismissed the claim on the ground that the Muslim lawgiver contemplated only the sale and purchase by absolute owners of the properties concerned but as both in this case were held on a tenancy tenure from Government who had the right to resume the properties after a year's notice, neither the rule nor the custom applied in this case. We refer to this case because it seems to bear on the law or custom of the ancient Jews which Isaiah denounced :

Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field till there is no place, that they may be placed alone in the middle of the earth.

In mine ears, said the Lord of hosts, of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair, without inhabitant.

Yea, ten acres of vineyard shall yield one bath, and the seed of an homer shall yield an ephah.

From the economic point of view the currency of such a law or custom must be prejudicial to the interests of the one who has to sell his property at the same price for which he bought it. Many areas which were acquired for a nominal price fifty years ago have risen enormously in value as the result of public developments and there is no reason why the benefit of this should go to a neighbour instead of to the State or to the seller.

**The Kolhapur Gadi :—**The sudden death in the prime of life of the Maharaja of Kolhapur without a male heir, natural or adopted, has led to an interregnum in the State the inconveniences of which were vividly depicted in the article which we published last week. The Maharani will probably adopt a son in due course and a Regency administration will be constituted as soon as this is done with Her Highness as Regent. This may be the usual procedure but in the special circumstances of the present case, her immediate installation as Regent would enable the selection of an heir for adoption to be made with adequate care and circumspection. The precedent of Hungary where there is a Regent though the throne itself continues vacant, would seem to be apposite if one is needed to help the Government to a decision. That the Regency will be of benefit to the State, seems to be the general opinion current in Kolhapur. Similar regencies in Mysore and Travancore have proved remark-

ably successful in recent years. John Stuart Mill who was for many years in charge of the Department of Indian States in the India Office, has left on record his opinion that of all the States which came under his observation, those administered by Ranis were the best governed. (Letters, vol. ii p. 213.)

**Mr. Latthe on Kolhapur :—**We are permitted to state that the article on Kolhapur which we published last week under the title "Kolhapur To-day by One Who Knows," was written by Mr. A. B. Latthe of Belgaum, who was for many years Dewan of Kolhapur and in the last Congress Ministry was Finance Minister in the Government of Bombay. Mr. Latthe adds, "Since my article was written, the Prime Minister of Kolhapur has announced that the Crown Representative has sanctioned his running the administration, till the question of succession to the gadi is settled. Even this leaves ample room for criticism regarding the regularity of the procedure which has been discussed in that article. The Resident should have announced this and should have stated to the public what the exact authority is which has been entrusted to the Prime Minister and his Executive Council and what responsibility remains with the Paramount Power. Nor does this meet the criticism based on the ground that, even in these interim arrangements, the Maharani's position should have been recognized."

**Dispute about Church Property :—**In the course of our comments on the All-India Christian Conference at Lucknow, we referred incidentally to the tension between the Indian Christian community and foreign missionaries. One ground of this grievance, which formed the subject of a resolution at the conference, is the ownership of Mission property and it has sometimes taken a sordid turn. According to ancient usage and modern sentiment, the ownership of property, movable or immovable, dedicated to a religious or charitable purpose, passes finally out of the control of the original owner or donor, and vests in the community for whose benefit it is intended. The Government of Madras, acting no doubt with the approval of the Government of India and the British Government, refused some years ago to register property in British India belonging to the Catholic community in the name of His Holiness the Pope. The Home Boards of Missions stand in the same position as the Roman Pontiff in respect of the property of Protestant denominations in this country. It is, moreover, very doubtful if the pious contributors to Missions contemplated endowing the Home Boards with property purchased out of their gifts meant exclusively for the benefit of the converted heathen. On all these grounds we think that the All India Christian Conference's claim is just and reasonable and we trust that the Missions will not continue to maintain their untenable position.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 11, 1941.

## DEMOCRACY IN INDIA.

There seems to have arisen a sudden revival of enthusiasm for democracy the world over. President Roosevelt in the United States has called for preparations to defend democracy on all fronts. From Europe comes the reminder that Greece, though today run by a dictatorship like any other European country, gave the democratic idea to the world. From Britain come treatises, more or less learned, which prove that, whatever defects the democratic system may have, they are overshadowed by the failure of totalitarianism. The concept of Democracy is stretched to cover the governmental systems of Britain both pre-war and of the war period, of the U. S. A., of China and sometimes of the South American Republics and the South African Union. Here in India there are also indications that political leaders and even university professors are coming under the spell. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, has often declared his aversion to democracy—to any “counting of heads regardless of what may be inside them.” In a recent pronouncement, however, Mr. Jinnah has stated that democracy is alien to Hindu tradition and Hindu thought. Following this, Professor Radha Kumud Mukerji has expressed his considered opinion at a meeting in Bombay that Democracy is indigenous to India and that only foreign observers and “the enemies of the country’s progress” could deny the democratic nature of ancient Indian institutions. Professor Mukerji brought a wealth of learning to his task but his attempts to describe the “sabha” and the “samiti” in terms of parliamentary democracy do not appear to be well inspired. Leaving aside the Indian words, the phrase, “parliamentary democracy,” has not always meant the same constitutional concept it means today. It is very probable that democracy, as it was known before the war, will be as difficult to revive as the ancient Hindu institutions would be in the India of today. Mr. Wintson Churchill has expressed the hope that the benefits enjoyed by a few would be made available to all in Britain. If this happens and in so far as statesmen are able to translate promises of this type into actualities, the system prevailing before the war will be completely overhauled if not overthrown. Is it then of any practical use in these transition days to draw comparisons between two systems neither of which will be operative?

A more important point today is whether the various political parties are democratically inclined. The answer to this is plain. The Congress still uses the language of democracy but, conceding its non-violent nature, its acts of discipline can, not unfairly, be equated with the purges put through in totalitarian countries.

The Muslim League is a frankly communal organisation which owes its political existence to its limited appeal. Nor can any one pretend that within the Muslim community, the League operates as a democratic party. Other parties in the country, though they may have at the moment every intention of behaving as parliamentary parties, have not the popular backing which can make them democratic in any sense of the term. The only organisation which holds by democratic forms has to confess that it appeals to a microscopic minority. Mr. M. N. Roy, in his avowed attempt to displace the Congress and fight Fascist tendencies in its controlling men, has to rely on the undemocratic expedient of getting into power and postponing elections until he is in a position to present a favourable case to his electorate—which he visualizes as possible only after a year. If Indian thought was along the lines of democracy in the past, where has it all gone now?

The truth is that political democracy has not been achieved anywhere—least of all, perhaps, in countries where it has been directly attempted. In the West it has given rise to the misleading and mischievous doctrine of the greatest good of the greatest number, often ending in the suppression of democratic institutions by non-political but nonetheless powerful interests. An illuminating chapter in Max Eastman’s “Stalin’s Russia” shows how even in a Socialist State the working classes have been deprived of their most powerful weapons of asserting their rights under the pretext of furthering the proletarian cause. Stalin, argues Mr. Eastman—and his facts are not to be easily shaken or lightly set aside—has engineered the counter-revolution with greater skill than Robespierre managed in the French Revolution. The new Constitution of Soviet Russia has placed all power in the hands of a political party and by doing away with workers’ associations has removed any possibility of the political centre of gravity shifting from the Communists. Thus, once again, political democracy has been defeated by superior organisation. So far as India is concerned, the question naturally arises whether democracy is possible under the constitutional position now prevailing. The political parties who are in a position to know best, have given an effective answer. With the assumption of emergency powers by the Governors the political position has deteriorated completely. The first requisite for stable conditions in India is a centrally administered government. Without this the temptation for parties or interests which can organise on an all India basis, to coerce provincial governments and then to deal with a weakened centre is almost irresistible. And without stability it is useless to talk of democratic institutions. Totalitarianism has always arisen out of uncertainty and insecurity in the political sphere. A country’s past can be and will be, made to yield any tradition—democratic, fascist or communist.

### PROBATION WORK IN BOMBAY.

(BY MISS B. BUDDEN, CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER, BOMBAY.)

I was very interested to see some articles on Juvenile Delinquency in some of your recent numbers, and I send you an account of some interesting work in that field which is going on in Bombay, i. e., the work of Probation Officers attached to the Juvenile Courts of Bombay.

There are three Juvenile Courts in Bombay, one in the city which is held in the Remand Home every Wednesday, and one each at Bandra and Kurla. The two latter, unfortunately, are held in the court precincts, though not in the court-room proper. The Children's Act empowers the Magistrate to admonish, commit to the care of a fit person, put under the supervision of a Probation Officer, bind over, commit to a Certified School, cane, or fine a juvenile offender, or to fine his parent or guardian. Of all these remedies, given the right kind of Probation Officer, probation is the ideal treatment. Admonition is sufficient in cases where the offender cannot be regarded seriously as a delinquent; commitment to the care of some other person sufficiently improves the environment to cure some forms of delinquency; commitment to a Certified School may be resorted to when the home environment is so adverse that the child has not a chance to improve while kept there; caning is ridiculously ineffective and in some cases definitely provocative of further delinquencies; fining may be salutary in rare cases though it is not calculated to cure deep-seated delinquency; but the probation system is the ideal treatment for the delinquent child. It is the only treatment which ensures that the child's problem will be thoroughly studied; his whole personality and environment explored for the probable cause of his delinquency, and a constructive programme built up on these findings. An incorrigible truant is, let us suppose, sent to a Certified School for a number of years. He is forced to attend to his lessons regularly; all roaming and wandering is stopped dead; the bent twig is strapped to an iron rod and kept straight as in a vice. But as surely as the bent twig snaps back to its original shape as soon as untied, so surely does the child resume his old habits as soon as released, unless the school be a very exceptional one where the children are studied individually and allowed a large measure of freedom. But on probation the child is gradually weaned from his bad ways; he has to run the gauntlet of temptation the whole time and so he is being tested and tried out during the whole of his probation period; he is kept in the wholesome family circle of father and mother, sisters and brothers, instead of being in the artificial one-sex atmosphere of a school. Moreover, the parents are encouraged to shoulder their responsibility for their child and fulfil their moral and financial obligations towards him. Lastly, it is more economic to the state than commitment to a school. The children are housed, fed and clothed by their parents, or are earning for themselves, and they are attending the existing state schools; the only expense being the salary of a Probation Officer, who can supervise about thirty children.

The Children's Aid Society employs four full-time Probation Officers for Bombay and its Suburbs. Mr. Wilfred Singh, B.A., Dip. S. S. A., takes all suburban cases and attends the courts at Bandra and Kurla. Mr. Ladli Nath, M.A., Dip. S. S. A., takes all boys living north of Sandhurst Road upto

Mabim. Mr. Thozuth Kochavara, B. A., Dip. S. S. A., all boys living south of Sandhurst Road. And Miss Kamala Rangilal, B. A., Dip. S. S. A., takes all girls' cases within the city limits.

The number of children on probation is generally about two hundred, (two hundred and five at the time of writing), and the period for which a child is placed on probation is normally one year. If at the end of the year the Probation Officer feels that his work has not come to full fruition, he will apply for an extension of six months or even another year. The number of Probation Officers for Bombay might be doubled to advantage. At present, one of our hardest problems is to steer a proper course between overloading ourselves with cases which cannot be attended to as they ought, and refusing to take over the supervision of children who ought to be placed on probation.

The Probation Officers make the Remand Home their headquarters. As soon as a child is arrested and brought to the Remand Home his case is allotted to the Probation Officer to whose area he belongs, and a thorough investigation of all the factors making up the child's life is begun at once. Besides many interviews with the child this involves visits to the home, the school, or place of work, or the haunts of his boon companions. Every effort is made to form contacts with the child while he is in the Remand Home through play and voluntary classes; his physical condition is thoroughly examined, by the Remand Home Doctor first of all, and then by a specialist if necessary. We are fortunate in having such experienced paediatrists as Dr. Coelho and Dr. Sanzgiri of the B. J. Hospital, and Dr. Welinkar, Venereal Specialist at the J. J. Hospital, to whom we can send our children whenever occasion requires. After examining the child's physical condition the Probation Officer has to turn his attention to his mental and emotional condition. For this we are very fortunate in being able to send our children to the Child Guidance Clinic run in connection with the Sir Dorabji Tata School of Social Work, (where all our Probation Officers received their training), where the Director is Dr. K. R. Masani. Only a very limited number can be referred to the clinic since it is crowded with its own patients, and realising the great benefit that our children had derived from the clinic, the Society has arranged for Dr. Masani to visit the Remand Home once a week to help the Probation Officers with some of their problem children. Mental tests are given to all children referred to the clinic, either by the psychologist attached to the Tata School clinic, or by Mr. Ladli Nath who has made a special study of mental testing.

When the ground work is done the result of all enquiries has to be gathered into a succinct form for presenting to the Court so that the Magistrate may have the gist of the Probation Officer's findings at his disposal when finally deciding what order should be made. As soon as the Court's work is done and the child is restored to his parents, the Probation Officer's work begins. He knows his child fairly well by this time, as the child has probably been in the Remand Home for several weeks, and if he has used his knowledge of psychology skillfully, the transference has already taken place and the child is becoming attached to him. He has formulated a plan to meet the needs of the child as he sees them. Almost inevitably delinquency finds its causation in some lack. It may be simply lack of nourishment—perhaps some physical defect for which the child tries to compensate—or mental defect not pronounced

enough to be recognised by his parents and teachers—or it may be lack of discipline—lack of security (most acutely felt in homes where the parents do not agree and the child is a bone of contention)—or lack of love where there is a step-parent or another more gifted child is the favourite. It is seldom that one cause only is discovered—the delinquency is generally the result of various causes, but there is generally one predominating cause which gives the Probation Officer his cue, though while trying to solve what he believes to be the central problem he must not lose sight of the other contributing factors.

While in nine cases out of ten the Probation Officer has only himself to blame if he has not secured the co-operation of the child by the time he is ready to undertake supervision, to secure the co-operation of the parents is a much more difficult matter but just as vital to the success of the probation. In fact most of the failures must be laid at the door of the parents. Many through ignorance, or in fear of anything to do with police and courts engage a pleader to 'get their child off' and look upon the Probation Officer as their natural enemy, especially if he advises the child (if he has already confessed to him) to own up and make a clear breast of it in court. The hostile attitude of such parents is most difficult to break down, because of the ignorance from which it springs, and the hostility is sometimes imparted to the child undoing the good work begun in the Remand Home. Where the parents are not actively hostile they may be indifferent, or hopeless that it can be possible to reform their child, both attitudes which are generally disastrously reproduced by the child; or they may be utterly selfish, only resenting their child's shortcomings because their good name is besmirched. In such cases the Probation Officer has to redouble his efforts, and do what he can for the child without counting on the help of the parents.

A wise and understanding teacher is a boon for which no Probation Officer can be thankful enough. When met with, his co-operation goes a long way towards readjusting the child.

One of the Probation Officer's greatest problems is to find healthy and creative recreation for his children. Full advantage is taken of existing welfare centres, clubs, reading rooms, etc., but these are pitifully few. We have started small clubs of our own, but with children scattered all over the city and suburbs these hardly begin to meet our needs. One of the most constructive methods of social reform is to promote the healthy occupation of leisure hours. I wish that a Society could be formed whose sole activity would be to form a chain of recreation centres throughout Bombay. They might be known as 'Green Cross' centres, run by workers as keen to heal as Red Cross workers, keen to heal the lives stunted and distorted through lack of light, of air, of facilities for exercise and wholesome competition and fun, of facilities to give play to creative instincts.

Our Probation Officers are sometimes assisted in their work by Voluntary Supervisors who help them by befriending children in various ways. If readers are interested and would like to volunteer, or would like to know more about our work before volunteering, I should be glad to see them at the Children's Home, Umarkhadi, and give fuller details about the work of a Probation Officer than I have been able to give in this short article.

#### MUSINGS ON THE MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The last week of December in Poona saw the fifty-first session of the All India Muslim Educational Conference. Reports of its proceedings have already been published in the press. A subsidiary session of the Conference exclusively dealt with the education of Muslim women. The inaugural address of the Governor, the presidential speech of the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Haque and the proceedings of the first day attracted a large number of visitors. The Conference then split up into small groups, which devoted attention to special branches, *e. g.*, Urdu, culture. After the first day, the interest of visitors in the proceedings waned and meetings were sparsely attended. People came from far North, from Bengal, Assam, Central India and the South. It was a privilege to meet men from different corners of India, all having the common interest of the education of Muslims at heart. It appeared that Muslims had taken seriously the illiteracy prevailing among them and had made up their minds to eradicate the evil.

The Conference claims to deal with all aspects of Muslim education, primary, secondary and university education, the education of women, technical training, etc. Half a century of existence is a long period and, while the Conference is adding yet another year to its existence, it is pertinent to look back and evaluate its achievements. Judged by its contribution to the cause of Muslim education, the Conference is a dismal failure. There is no better proof of the futile working of the Conference than the illiteracy now prevailing among Muslim men and women all over India.

Last year the Conference appointed a Committee of enquiry to investigate into and make proposals for a scheme of education for Muslims, taking into consideration the existing circumstances of the country. The members of the Committee have spent a year travelling all over India studying conditions and collecting information. The life of the Committee has been extended by another year and we hope to receive its report sometime next year. The problem of illiteracy of the masses, of unemployment and of the introduction of suitable courses of study to suit changed conditions are facing the whole of India. It may be possible to study these problems separately for each community, but for their complete solution it will be necessary to pool all our resources, to co-operate and work together. Comparatively recently investigations on an all-India basis were made into the unemployment of educated classes and schemes for altering the present system of education were considered. Although encouraging results have not been obtained from them, the Conference could have considered them with advantage.

The Conference has sat in session year after year in different parts of India. It is clear that during the intervening twelve months between two consecutive sessions, it remains singularly inactive. It should be possible to form active provincial organisations to look after the mass education of boys and girls. The All India Conference can be developed into a strong nucleus for provincial organisations. Actually, however, one finds that, after a session of the Conference in a Province is over, Muslims in that part of India hear little about it until such time as a session again dawns on them after the lapse of some years.

A programme automatically suggests itself for the Conference. It is the eradication of the root-cause of illiteracy among Muslims. A study of the activities of mullas and maulvis would reveal that they have a firm grip on the Muslim masses. They have all along preached against sending boys

and girls to schools, with a warning that modern education is against religion. They oppose all forms of modern education, particularly the education of girls. They are also responsible for various social disabilities on Muslim women, *e. g.*, the purdah. The Mulla argues, with seemingly religious authority behind every word that he utters, that there is no need for this "material" education and that everything is contained in the Quran. Incidentally it may be mentioned that he does not teach the meaning of the Quran to his unfortunate pupils. It is doubtful whether he himself knows the commandments as contained in the Holy Book. The boys and girls read it with devotion without understanding a syllable of it. The results have been disastrous for Muslims. The present lethargy in every sphere of their life and their narrow vision are attributable to this cause. The Conference can at least carry on a propaganda against the onslaught of mullas, who have prevented us from taking advantage of whatever schools and colleges are available in villages and towns.

In another sphere the Conference has done a distinct disservice to the Muslims of India. The Conference, without doing any appreciable constructive work, has been responsible for developing separatist tendencies in the education of Muslims. The desire for separate institutions for Muslims has been increasing and the Hon. Mr. Haque in his presidential speech at Poona laid emphasis on this point. The popular phrase, "preservation of culture," is often repeated in support of the claim for separate schools and colleges. This tendency is harmful in the wider interests of the country and also for the Muslims in more than one way. From the practical point of view it would be financially neither possible nor justifiable to have separate institutions for Muslim boys and girls all over India. Common centres of education for all communities in India will develop friendship and fellowship in the younger generations. The impressions of early age are deep and lasting. It is with the help of mutual friendly relations that disruptive elements can be resisted.

Religious education can best be imparted in the family. Preservation of culture is again achieved by family influence. There are numerous instances of Muslims, who after their education in India and abroad, have retained all traits of Islamic culture and are true Muslims. The fostering of the separatist tendency in education would result in narrowing down our outlook and vision about which Iqbal has said :

China and Arabia are ours, India is ours,  
We are Muslims ; the whole world is ours.

This is the song which every Muslim child recites and he should be given every opportunity of developing the spirit.

A. K.

**The Bank of India Limited** :—The profit of the Bank of India Limited for the year ended 31st December 1940, including the sum of Rs. 8,86,336-8-0 brought forward, amounts to Rs. 28,45,284-7-11. Out of this provision for Income Tax and Super Tax for the current year will absorb Rs. 2,50,000-0-0; payment of an ad-interim dividend at the rate of 11% per annum made on 30th June 1940, absorbed Rs. 5,50,000-0-0. The balance now available for distribution is Rs. 20,45,284-7-11. The Directors propose to pay a final dividend for the half-year ended 31st December 1940 at the rate of 11% per annum free of Income Tax which will amount to Rs. 5,50,000-0-0; to place to the Bank's Property A/c, Rs. 2,50,000-0-0; to place to the Bank's Reserve Fund, Rs. 2,50,000-0-0; and to carry forward the balance subject to the payment of a bonus to the staff, Rs. 9,95,284-7-11.

## EVILS OF INHERITED WEALTH.

(BY J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

Not long ago a lawyer having a very lucrative practice died. He had lived a very simple life, and was very economical in everything. He thus left behind several houses in Calcutta, and several lakhs in his bank.

He also left behind some grown-up sons, the eldest of whom was himself a junior practitioner in his father's court. On the death of the father, during the one month's period of mourning, the sons are said to have gone about seeing and enquiring the prices of some of the costliest motor cars. Since then they have built a palatial house, over the drawing-room of which they have spent several thousands. Thus the sons have been making use of their father's hard-earned money. The old man, for the sake of his children, and also perhaps to some extent out of a natural keenness to save, had made a fortune, denying to himself, in so doing, not only all luxuries, but also many of the comforts, which in ordinary good circumstances are considered not as luxuries but as common and even necessary. Would the old man have even countenanced and supported such extravagance and such waste of the money he had laboured to save? Would he have approved of the other similar ways and bad tendencies of his sons?

This picture will not perhaps surprise many people, for, far from being uncommon, it is rather the usual rule. Surprising, however, it is that, in spite of the knowledge of things to follow, no father forewarns himself and provides against the misuse of things he holds precious and useful. He is keen to leave behind to his children, whatever fortune he can lay by, even, as in this case, by denying to himself so many things, and by not spending over what are to him virtuous objects, like charity, public benefaction, help to needy and deserving relatives and others. This he does, no doubt, out of strong, natural affection for his children. That such blind and unquestioning love and weakness for children are but necessary and essential for the whole-hearted care of children, without which they would presumably not survive and grow, many will perhaps point out here; and I would more or less agree. But what I would ask all fathers, specially the intelligent and the thoughtful of them, is, if, interested deeply in the good and welfare of their children as they are, they should not see whether and how far their loving consideration for their children are calculated to do them good by keeping them on good lines, or to harm them by deflecting them therefrom.

Let me amplify a little. A fortune left in the hands of young people who have not had a hand in the making of it, oftener than not, prompts not only extravagant tendencies, but also encourages and develops so many worse inclinations. Few inheritors to fortunes have their heads cool, their impulses restrained and their low instincts curbed. In how many ways do they not corrupt and degrade their manhood? Bad company and associations, instinctive pursuits, weak submission to temptations, lazy and aimless living, mind and health spoiling luxuries—all such tendencies, which kill the soul, shorten life, shatter health, sooner or latter, and ensure unhappiness and misery for tomorrow, a legacy generates in a subtle and sometimes unperceived manner in those who are commonly supposed to be lucky heirs.

Should not a thinking parent ponder over such sure eventualities awaiting his departure from the world? He cannot possibly wish for any, not to say all those things, for his dear sons. But the most

surprising thing is that, knowing the consequences in advance, he does not even think of safeguarding against them. Apart from blind love for his offspring, there is, of course, another great psychological reason behind his conduct; namely, that attachment to one's money and property is so strong in an individual that he can hardly think of parting with them, and he wants to possess them till the last breath, with the consoling thought that after that they will devolve on his own sons. There are no doubt some philanthropists who give in charity, but very commendable though their disposition is, it should be noticed that they give out of their extra surplus after keeping enough for their own selves and for their progeny.

People who so cling to their material property make a great mistake in their calculation, for our Shastras say that the more you give away in charity in this life, the more you get in the next; and so, if they really love their treasure, they ought to spend it over noble causes in order to reget it with accretions in the next life. That is the way to carry treasures from one life to another.

Thus, by withholding the money from charitable outlets and by amassing it for his children, a father deprives himself of the great satisfaction of doing good to others, as far as his money can do, spoils the prospects of his next life, and puts his own sons, whom he loves, in circumstances of extreme danger, temptation and of all bad influences. It is no doubt out of his blind love that he does not stop to see and realise that his weakness is, in fact, doing great harm to his sons, which for a father it is almost unimaginable to do. It is not only after his death that the legacy has a corrupting influence on the sons, but even during his lifetime his riches demoralize and spoil them physically, mentally and morally. The few exceptions which may be found, only give the greater force to that general truth. The sons, growing up in indulgence and luxury, do not develop good health, physical stamina, and mental keenness. Idle in habits, effortless in activity, and uninvigorated by the warmth of competition and struggle, they gain no self-confidence and feel no urge and inspiration for lofty conceptions and noble undertakings. Such they almost invariably turn out physically imbecile, morally unprincipled, and intellectually weak. Flatterers and vicious and unscrupulous self-seeking associates surround them and try to lead them into vice and temptations, and foreign luxury goods sellers pursue them. They spurn good counsel and in arrogant pride and haughtiness dishonour and avoid sincere friends; they rule out sentiment, traditions and conventions; they see no greater value in time than the making of a merry use of it. Life itself has no inspiring mission to them. They squander the carefully stored money of their ancestors; they feel no moral conjunction in letting their country's money drain out through their own hands, without a thought, into the hands of foreign exploiters by their purchase of foreign motor cars, and a thousand and one other luxuries.

Such are the rich man's sons. We see them parading majestically on the streets of fashionable cities with a silly display of self-assumed importance. No father can have missed their sight. But is he provoked to thinking, and thinking deeply? He loves his sons and loves them well; and, of course, he cannot contemplate with satisfaction his sons doing the above. No father can really do so. "My son should be good and virtuous, and the accomplisher of great things," that is the natural wish of all parents. But why then, do they not try, as far as lies within their power, to prevent

their sons from going the wrong way by one simple way of disowning them from inheritance. Every father, even though and however rich he may be, should see that his children grow up not in the spoiling atmosphere of luxury, that they learn to do their own things and help themselves in everything, that they receive as good and as thoughtfully conceived an education as is possible in their circumstances, and that on attaining majority and maturity at the age of twenty-five at the most, they are left on their own legs to work out their destiny and thereby bring out and develop the best qualities in them. At Benares I have seen men teaching swimming to little children by tying a float to their back and throwing them into the water, even unminding their screams in fear. When plying with their little hands they reach the Ghat steps they are thrown back into the water, and thus they are taught swimming. This analogy need not be taken too literally and critically, but my point is to suggest to fathers that they may give their sons a very useful start in life by thus throwing them on their own selves on the attainment of the prospects of failure, need not shake them, for they will prove their beneficial utility to the sons, sooner or later.

This general prescription, which will stand all reasoning and probing, may be modified in suitable cases. Where your son is well interested in your business, and has the right mentality for it, and has the essential character strength for assuming greater responsibilities and for keeping himself clear of vile and tempting influences, which come therewith, you may install him in your place and let him utilise the advantages he receives or inherits. But, otherwise, do not succumb to the weakness of family love, and being his father, do not do the greatest cruelty to him by putting him on the gaddi and on the high road to all round ruin. The rich father has to be all the more careful in this respect. The middle class man can also not be anxiety free, and he should also see to what ends and results his little legacy leads. He leaves a house to, say, four sons. Shortly after his death the sons find themselves unable to pull and live together. They want to partition the property, which is often difficult and always expensive. A good deal of the family and individual funds goes into the court treasury and into the lawyer's pockets, besides the friction and bitterness created between the brothers, who were born of the same parents and brought up together in love and affection. That is the net result of leaving an undivided property. The brothers might have lived together in unity but for the father's bequest. Why does not the father, therefore, think of providing against such unhappy future happenings by himself dividing, in his lifetime the property as he thinks proper? A very high percentage of litigation in courts, which proves to be harmful to all and ruinous to many families, could be avoided. If he has too little for division let him not divide, but give that to one or two, and to the rest let him leave his blessings and advice to make the best use of their hands and legs, their brain and their human qualities for making an honest career.

What I suggest and advise I do for their own good in this life and in the next, for the good of their sons, and for the good of the society. Fatherly love is a sweet God-given thing, which ennobles and beautifies life, and also generates and draws out of the heart love, kindness and sympathy for the young ones of all creatures. I am certainly not prescribing for its drying up or for the obstruction of its flow. I rather mean that it should flow out more gorgeously but in such manner that it may really



benefit the sons by preventing their slip into dangerous tempting ways and by giving them the training, forethought and incentive for working out a glorious and virtuous future for themselves. If, accordingly, the parents would take an intelligent and farseeing view of things, and if they would not yield to the natural inclination of burdening their surviving sons with the curse of a fortune, they will surely be better well-wishers of their sons, and also of society. Earn and save if you like, bring up your children well and thoughtfully till they attain the age of, say twenty-two or twenty-five, spend your savings over good social, public or, religious purposes, keep enough for the maintenance of the minor children till they reach their maturity, but, do not think of leaving behind your savings for your grown-up sons.

#### ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

The main resolutions passed at the Annual Session of the All India Conference of Indian Christians held at Lucknow on December 30th and 31st under the presidency of Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao, are given below:—

This Conference considers that it is essential that the British Government should fix a definite date after the conclusion of the war for the establishment of full self-government in India, and should announce it forthwith. As a first step a National Government, responsible to the Legislature, should be formed at the centre without delay.

This Conference appeals to the leaders of the different political parties, and in particular to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, to agree to the convening of a Conference composed of the various important parties and interests in India with the object of framing a constitution for India on a national basis. It directs the President to take active steps to implement this Resolution.

This Conference recommends that, in view of the approaching census in India, Indian Christian Associations and Missionary Societies throughout the country should take immediate steps to ensure a correct record of the members of the community at the census by house to house visits and the preparation of preliminary lists of Indian Christians.

Resolved that this Conference of All-India Christians notes with satisfaction that there is a growing desire on the part of the two sections of the Indian Christian community—Roman Catholics and Protestants—to co-operate with each other in all matters concerned with the social and political advancement of the community as a whole. The Conference records its conviction that such co-operation is indispensable in the best common interest and appeals to His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate, the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church to give their approval to an acceptable scheme of co-operation. On its part the Conference reiterates its former assurance that no matter shall be considered or discussed at any joint meeting which may be regarded by Roman Catholics to be inconsistent with the principles of the Church of Rome.

This Conference deplors the action of Foreign Christian Missions in India in general, and in the United Provinces in particular, in disregarding the opinion and sentiments of the Indian Christian community with regard to the alienation of Church and Mission property now held by them in India; and resolves that the various Mission bodies be urged to stop all such sales and transfer the

ownership of the property to the various Church organisations in this country, on which missionary societies will also be represented. In view of the fact that the sale of such property entails an irreparable loss to the Indian Church and is detrimental to the all-round growth and development of the life of the community, this Conference requests the Indian Christian community to oppose every proposal for the alienation of such property by all legitimate and peaceful means. Further resolved that an all-India Church and Mission Property Committee consisting of one member from each Province be formed to find ways and means to stop the alienation of Mission properties and that in every Province a "Provincial Church and Mission Property Committee" consisting of five members be appointed with the same object.

The Conference also passed resolutions protesting against the sentence passed on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and expressing its grief that "some of the ablest and most patriotic sons and daughters of the Country are in jail," asking that so long as communal divisions were recognized, Christians should not be ignored—in the Army, in Government and railway appointments and on any scheme for enlarging the Viceroy's Council; circulating a draft Christian Marriage Bill for opinion; and a condolence resolution on the death of Bishop Chitambar.

#### T. SIVASANKARAM MEMORIAL.

It is proposed by some of the friends and admirers of the late Mr. Sivasankaram to bring out an "In Memoriam" Edition of all his works with his biographical sketch to commemorate his memory on the Second Anniversary day and to institute prizes in Telugu Essay writing and speaking in the local High School in his name. It is needless to mention that he was one of the foremost pioneer social reformers and literary men of the Rayalaseema, who had the courage of his convictions and translated ideals into actual life. For him there was no religion higher than truth. It is, therefore, a sacred duty to perpetuate his memory as suggested above periodically to remind us of his love of Telugu literature, especially 'Bhagavatham and Ramayana.' His last book on 'Bhagavad Gita' can aptly be styled as his message to the working people and it is the earnest desire of the Committee to publish an "In Memoriam" edition of all his works, so as to make them available to the reading public at as cheap a cost as possible.

It is to achieve this end that this Appeal for donations from the generous public is now made to all his friends all over the Presidency. The "In Memoriam" edition will be priced at Rs. 2-8-0 and the popular edition at Rs. 2/-. All those who give a donation of not less than Rs. 3/- will be presented with a copy of the First Edition. The scheme outlined is to popularise his works and to serve the public in setting up a Memorial to the late-lamented patriot whose one ambition was to spread light and culture even among the masses.

All those that are willing to send their contributions are requested to send them to Sri R. Swaminatham, Organiser, Memorial Fund, Penukonda.

- (Sd.) B. R. Venguswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.,  
 " D. Sri Ramulu, B.A., LL.B.,  
 " R. Siddana Gowd, Madukarai,  
 " Syed Yusuf Sahib, Chowlur,  
 " E. Subbarama Rao, B.A., B.L., Anantapur,  
 " K. Sangappa, Kottacherium.

## MR. BAJAJ'S STATEMENT.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In your remarks on Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj's statement you very rightly point out that the best expiation of the sin of amassing wealth under British Rule is to renounce it. When I read your reference to Mr. Bajaj's statement in your article under the heading, "Satyagraha and Discipline," I thought as much. I did not then know that you were following up this reference by detailed criticism of the statement. I agree with you entirely in thinking that renunciation of tainted wealth is the best expiation of sin of amassing it. It will give Mr. Bajaj an opportunity to follow his great master and embrace voluntary poverty. If Mr. Bajaj is serious in his remarks, this is the least we shall expect him to do on the restoration of freedom—renunciation of the riches gathered under the protecting wings of the "Satanic Government." We shall wait and watch.

Khar,  
28th Dec. 40. }

Yours etc.,  
VEERBHAI H. MEHTA.

## WOMEN'S DISABILITIES IN COCHIN.

Miss K. Kunjalila, B. A. B. L., writes in the *Cochin Argus* :

That most of the disabilities enjoined upon the women in Cochin by inhuman forces of custom and superstition have since been removed by successive pieces of legislation, should be a matter of supreme gratification for the women of Cochin and of pride for their brethren. The Cochin Nambudiri Act striking at the root of polygamy, the Cochin Makkathayam Thiya Act and the Cochin Nair Act restricting the scope of divorce and condemning child-marriage, polygamy and polyandry in those communities, the recent Child Marriage Restraint Bill passed by the legislature and awaiting the Royal assent and the Cochin Christian Succession Act conferring a right on Christian women to the intestate properties of their father and husband are indeed some of those pieces of legislation which have gone a long way in the social and economic emancipation of the women of Cochin.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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## NOTES.

**Indian Appeals to Privy Council:**—Some time back there was an interesting and informing correspondence in *The Reformer* regarding the relative advantages of retaining the present jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Indian cases and of transferring it to the Federal Court in this country. More recently a reference to representative bodies in the Provinces of the proposal to extend the powers of the Federal Court so as to try appeals from the High Courts would seem to have met with a mixed reception. Meanwhile, the war situation has created fresh difficulties. The Judicial Committee like the rest of the Courts continues to sit and discharge its functions undeterred by the menace of Nazi bombs. But parties in India whose cases are pending, are faced with the inordinate delay in the transit of documents to London, and in getting them printed there for presentation. Then there is the difficulty of remitting money out of the country. Usually some one from India went over to London to instruct counsel. This too is rendered impossible by the difficulty of securing passages even if any one is prepared to face the risks. All these difficulties may be overcome, by deputing three of the Judges to hold sittings in this country to try Indian suits. Two members of the Committee are available here and it is necessary to send out one other member to form a quorum.

**The Kolhapur Succession:**—We suggested last week that the Maharani should be recognised at once as Regent and that she may adopt any one she chooses afterwards. *The Reformer* has all along condemned the custom of adoption as a means of continuing the family as antiquated and as a cause of family disruption. No doubt the succession to a State is different from the succession to private property but the principle in both cases is the same. Recognise the right of women as the same as that

of men and the problem in both cases is solved. Why not recognise the infant princess as the heir to the gadi with her mother as Regent? The British have changed the Salic law so as to allow of women being in the direct line of succession. At the present day the heir-presumptive to the British throne is the Princess Elizabeth. The most striking feature of our time is the growth of the Women's Movement and the recognition of the right of women to occupy any political position. This movement is as strong in the States as in British India. It is high time that the Government of India showed their sympathy for the cause by recognising the right of women to succeed to the gadi. They have in all cases made admirable administrators as Regents. By the way there is a yet more emphatic testimony to their success in J. S. Mill's letters than that referred to in *The Reformer*. It occurs at page 236 in a letter to Mrs. Charlotte Manning, author of a book, "Ancient and Medieval India." Mill wrote:

You ask me for information respecting the administrative capacity shown by so many ladies of ruling families in India, and especially whether these ladies are Hindoos or Mahomedans. They are almost all Hindoos. The case can seldom arise in a Mussulman principality, as by Mahomedan law the mother is not regent for her minor son, whereas among Hindoos the mother by birth or adoption is regent of right. One of the most remarkable, however, of these ladies, the late Sekunder Begum of Bhopal, was a Mahomedan. As the Native States were in my Department in the India House, I had opportunities of knowing all that was known about the manner in which they were governed; and, during many years, by far the greater number of instances of vigorous, forceful and skilful administration which came to my knowledge were by Ranees and Ranees as regents for minor chiefs.

It was with the probability of the Government recognizing the claims of the infant princess that we said that the Maharani would "probably adopt a son in due course." The recognition of the infant Princess as the heir will have many advantages, not the least being the cessation of the intrigues which seem to be rife. It will be a signal recognition by Government of the importance of the Women's Movement. It will be entirely agreeable to the more enlightened ruling chiefs.

**Law and Order in Sind:**—The political accord produced by the Congress President's intervention in Sind was not materially affected by the decision of the Sind Premier to join the Muslim



League though it did shake general confidence in the stability of conditions in Sind political life. One does not expect the Premier of a province to vacillate between two parties, however powerful they may be. The crucial test, it is said, is whether Mr. Bundeali Khan, the present Premier, will make way for Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah on the 15th of February as he had agreed to do during the Azad conversations. This, however, is a complete misreading of the situation. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's work in Sind was not merely directed at achieving a patched up truce between political parties in that province. It was nothing less than restoring normal conditions in Sind and it was because of this larger purpose that on his advice Gandhiji exempted Sind Congressmen from the present satyagraha campaign. How far the people of Sind are from normalcy can be gathered from the candid utterance of Sir Lancelot Graham at the recent Sukkur Police Parade. He said :

It was a matter of great distress to me that out of a comparatively small matter there should have arisen suddenly such great disturbances, accompanied by serious loss of life and destruction of property in this district. Such disturbances may take their immediate origin in relatively small causes. But if there were not at the back of and below these small causes a spirit of ill-feeling between the communities and a spirit of lawlessness and a positive passion for murder, cruelty and loot, these troubles would not have occurred—or at any rate their magnitude would have been greatly reduced. It is because there has been and there remains to this day in Sind not only a considerable amount of communal ill-feeling but also a most regrettable disregard for the law and an almost complete disregard for the sanctity of life and property that the work of the Police in Sind is so difficult. In the towns, perhaps, your work is not more difficult than it is in the towns of other provinces; but in the country your work is particularly difficult because this Province is in a very backward condition and there is no proper organised life in the village. I trust that you will always remember that the peace of the district is primarily in your hands and recourse can be had to assistance from the Military only in very exceptional cases. It is your duty not only to deal with people after they have committed offences, but also to exercise such a healthy controlling influence among all sections of the population that they may abandon their criminal habits and develop a respect for law, respect for life, and respect for property, and with your assistance it may come about that there may be a real improvement in the relations between the two communities.

We make no apology for this long quotation from the Sind Governor's notable address. It should have really been addressed to a wider public than the police force of Sukkur in view of His Excellency's admission that Sukkur was but a symptom of Sind's disease.

**Restoring Normal Conditions :—**The remedy suggested by Sir Lancelot is woefully inadequate to the disease. The days when the police can exercise "a controlling influence" over the population are gone, even in backward Sind. Sukkur proved conclusively that the police are subject to the same emotions which shake the general population. Otherwise we would not have heard of lawlessness under the very eyes of the police. The "very exceptional

cases" to which Sir Lancelot referred in his admonition to the police, have taken place. Military intervention, however, is only a temporary expedient and it can not be expected to help the province to a permanent settlement. The 1935 Constitution provides for such situations but the intricacy of the machinery—the Governor has to persuade the Secretary of State who will not be entirely unmoved by political considerations of an all-India nature—has perhaps kept the Governor as the ultimate responsible head in the province from acting under the provisions of it. The suspension of constitutional reforms in Sind would at any rate have saved it from the manoeuvrings of all India political parties which can in the long run only lead, as they have now led, to greater confusion. The Sukkur riots and the political developments after them in Sind point to the fact that provincial autonomy has completely broken down there. Conditions in Sind are beyond the manipulations of all-India parties and they cannot be set right apparently by the constitutional machinery. Sind as a part of Bombay enjoyed general security. What is equally important, it had a definite contribution to make as such to the life of this province and through it to India. There were economic difficulties in the way of separation which were somehow surmounted. But events have shown that these arrangements were not enough. We trust that the lesson of the past years will not be lost on the authorities and that Sind will once again be brought back as an integral part of Bombay province.

**High Commissioner in South Africa :—**Speaking as the guest of honour at the annual sports of the Government College, Lahore, Mr. Ram Chandra, Secretary to the Punjab Government, an old student of the College, referred to his new appointment as High Commissioner for India in South Africa. Mr. Ram Chandra appealed to the students to forget the word, "communalism," an admonition which could be given to older Indians with equal justification in these days. His reference to his desire to promote unity among Indians in South Africa was a singularly happy one, and if Mr. Ram Chandra succeeds in bringing them together he might well consider his task well done. He was, however, not so felicitous in his next observation. "In my own actions," he said, "I shall be guided by the first and foremost consideration that they should be in the true interests of the parent country." The High Commissioner in South Africa occupies a peculiar position. He has primarily to guard the interests of the Indian community, over eighty per cent of whom are colonial-born. Under the Capetown Agreement the Indians own allegiance to the South African Union and they are to be assimilated with the other sections of the community in South Africa. It is true that General Smuts in welcoming the enhanced status of the Indian Government's representative in his country, expressed the desire of his Government to greet India as a free and equal partner

in the British Commonwealth. But it would be unfortunate if, in the exchange of compliments, the main work of that representative which must be to press forward the claims of South African Indians to fair treatment from the Government of South Africa, was lost sight of. It is not, as is usual with national representatives in foreign countries, as if the High Commissioner were expected to regard Indians in South Africa as living there and working for the benefit of India but rather that he should hold before them the ideal of working for the larger South African community to which they belong in South Africa itself.

**A Diplomat's Indiscretion :—**Senor Tavera, the first Consul-General for Colombia (South Africa), advised India to help Britain "willingly" as otherwise Britain would force India to help her and this country would get no credit for it. He went on to add, on what authority he omitted to say, that willing help and "another chance to Britain to make good her promises," would win India Dominion Status and her due place among nations. It is difficult to say whether this is more offensive to Britain or to India, coming as it does from one who belongs to neither country. The South American States are, it is true, enjoying an unaccustomed importance nowadays. Mr. Duff-Cooper in a recent broadcast addressed to South America reminded his hearers of the great traditions they had to maintain as Latin countries at a time when the Latin nations of Europe were all in a bad way. Senor Tavera's statement that red tape on both sides made war news less up-to-date than it would otherwise have been, shows that he has not realised the difference between India and Colombia. We are not aware of news coming to India from both sides, though all South American countries have been subject to heavy propaganda from European belligerents. Senor Tavera prefaced his remarks with the unnecessary warning that they were merely an expression of personal views. That is obvious on the face of it.

**Mr. Spender on India :—**Mr. J. A. Spender writing in the London *Times* explains the difficulties of arriving at an understanding with the Congress except on the basis of accepting Gandhiji's attitude towards war. He points out that Gandhiji is more a dictator than the leader of a democratic party, and that today the Congress has raised to a political issue the ethical principles "resolutely" maintained by Gandhiji. On the other hand, he observes that many leading Congressmen have told him that they were not really so unaccommodating as Congress declarations made them out to be. Mr. Spender has not been recently to India. The leading Congressmen who have of late been within approachable distance of Mr. Spender are well-known and can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Mr. Spender does not explain why, while he is prepared to accept the opinion of subordinate Congress leaders on the

subject of the British connection, he hesitates to take seriously the resolution of the Congress Working Committee before Gandhiji was given supreme control offering full co-operation to the British Government on a basis far removed from non-violence. It was only when the British Government was unable to meet the Congress which had gone more than half way, that the Working Committee went back to Gandhiji. To ask the Congress to repudiate Gandhian ideals without holding before it even the ideals held out to European countries of freedom and independence, is a piece of optimism of which only a bureaucracy could be capable. Mr. Spender says that he was reading the *Harijan* regularly until it closed down. It is all the more surprising that Mr. Spender is divided between admiration for Gandhiji's "resolute" advocacy of non-violence and his wonder at the change in Gandhiji's attitude from pressing for political advantages for India to denouncing war as sinful. Gandhiji was at the outset, and he has admitted it himself, weak in his advocacy of pacifism, in the sense of non-participation in the war. The unfortunate thing is that British publicists when they write on India are more concerned with managing world, notably American, opinion than with getting at the truth. We are afraid that it is coming to be equally true of Congress politicians.

**After the War :—**Indicative of the turn of the tide in Britain's affairs is the somewhat truculent and often menacing note which appears in the articles of the Anglo-Indian Press which has hitherto been cajoling India into full participation in the war effort. Promises of better relations and the exploitation of the horror-value of the Nazi are gradually giving way to threats of what will happen if there is not fuller co-operation now. The *Times of India* last Saturday came out with the following passage in its leading article :

President Roosevelt is determined.....that the democracies will have a share in shaping the new world. Can the Indian National Congress claim, on behalf of this country, the right to assist in that task? Obviously it cannot, since it has not merely refused to help in the victory of democracy and freedom, but has actually done something to obstruct it.....India must and will have a contribution to make to the post-war settlement, but in the present circumstances the Congress has no moral right to participate; other and more virile representatives of this country will have earned the authority to make their voices heard.

We should have thought that the responsibility and the privilege of arranging the peace terms would go to the Viceroy who declared and in all matters conducted war on behalf of India. This should have been plain to even amateur politicians. It would be tragic, whatever one might think of the present attitude of the Congress, if it should adjust its principles in the hope that it will have a share in what the *Times* euphemistically calls "shaping the new world."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

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## INDEPENDENCE DAY PLEDGE.

What is called a new pledge to be taken on the 26th January which has been fixed for the purpose, has been published. It is substantially the old pledge on which we commented at length last year, with the addition of a paragraph relating to the institution of Individual Civil Disobedience or Satyagraha. Several years ago when Lala Lajpat Rai was in London he addressed a gathering of British working-men. His text was the same as the preamble to the Independence Pledge, namely, that British rule has brought about all-round ruin in India and has been a curse to the country. One of the audience rose at end of the address and asked: "Sir, if all that you say is true, and I do not question your facts, I wonder why you who, as you say, are 300 millions, do not rise and kick us out who are a mere handful in your country, as we should do in the same circumstances." The average British or American who reads the Independence Pledge, will wonder in the same way as Lala Lajpat Rai's interlocutor why, if British rule has not only deprived India of her freedom but has, in the words of the pledge, "based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually," the myriads of this country have not brushed it aside, as they could easily have done by a wave of their hands. Seeley told his students at Cambridge in the middle of the last century that no armed revolt was needed to destroy the British Empire in India: if Indians generally felt that it was humiliating to serve under it, the Empire was doomed and they could not hope to retain it for any length of time. Another writer, Meredith Townsend, has said that if every domestic servant struck work, the British rulers will be prisoners in their own houses.

The exiguous basis of British rule, the extent to which it depends on the goodwill and co-operation of Indians, has all along been well known to British statesmen. The fact that none of the contingencies mentioned above has occurred, but that, instead, Congressmen who will take the pledge on the 26th, have been among the foremost in pressing for the Indianization of the Army and the other Services, that their leaders now in jail in readiness to accept office again, took the oath of allegiance to the Crown and served as its Ministers for two years and a half, proves that the sentiments expressed in the preamble are not those actually felt by the large majority of the people including Congressmen. More than that we had the recent declaration of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, which Gandhiji has endorsed, that he for one was not only not ruined economically by British rule but had by means of the protection and opportunities afforded by that rule amassed the wealth which he owns and by virtue of which he

represents the propertied classes in the Congress Working Committee. There are others, not a few, who have done the same among the prominent Congress personages and they should all be held to have been the instruments through which the exploitation of the masses and the ruination of their morals have been carried out by the British Government. The Indians from Raja Rammohan Roy to Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Phirozeshah Mehta, Gokhale who regarded British rule as having wrought more good than evil and, therefore, as a blessing and not a curse to the country, which could by constitutional action be transformed into a national government, did not perhaps possess the master-minds of the Wardha group. We are sorry that the Congress should use its influence—such as it is—to get some thousands of persons to subscribe to the terms of the pledge which are in direct contradiction to their behaviour in daily life. The words, it is charitable to hope, have ceased to have any meaning for most of them.

We are far from holding that British rule has been an unmixed blessing. None of the great leaders of the last century did so. They fully realised that it had many faults and that it had not succeeded in living up to its professions and promises to the Indian people. But they recognised that it had ideals and that it was amenable to appeals to justice and fairplay. Whatever the aberrations of individual administrators or even Governments, the broad lines of policy can not be deflected too widely or too long without those responsible for it being called to account by public opinion in India and Great Britain. No doubt, it was a slow and expensive process and often the fruits of years of labour were snatched away when they seemed ripe for gathering. A change of Government in Britain, on grounds utterly unrelated to anything connected with India, might lead to the reversal of a policy worked up to with considerable difficulty and after much delay. The interpretation of the Declaration of 1917 was deferred for nearly ten years by the ingenuity of a Hailey who drew a nice distinction between responsible and representative institutions. The first Round Table Conference was called under the Premiership of Ramsay MacDonald who had declared a few months ago that the emergence of a new Dominion was already within sight. When the second Conference met, MacDonald had become the head of a National Government, throwing overboard his principal Labour colleagues, among them, Wedgwood Benn, one of the best and most earnest Secretaries of State who had charge of Indian affairs. Samuel Hoare occupied his chair and completely reversed his policy and gave a new and mischievous orientation to it. He was hailed as a great statesman and was in the running for the Premiership after Baldwin. But he tried the same trick in European politics, was dismissed from his high post as Foreign Secretary and, though brought in again, could

not regain his lost ground and is ploughing a difficult furrow in Spain. There is a Nemesis which stands guard over India and every one who does her wrong seldom fails to come to grief. The position of India in the British Empire is, therefore, most unsatisfactory. Neither Britain nor India has reason to be proud of this irregular relation. Both are dissatisfied with it. Great Britain's professions in the war are greatly discounted by enemies and neutrals because of her position in India. Whatever may happen, the present position will have to go. Dominion status to which some Liberals still pin their faith, may itself become a legend of the past when the reconstruction of the war-stricken world is taken in hand. The new world order will involve some surrender of the essentials of sovereignty, on the part of all countries which have hitherto enjoyed Independence, and India will necessarily have to be accorded an equal position with them if the new world order is not to go the way of the old order soon after it is instituted. The Indian problem has now become part of the world problem. India must, therefore, think and plan with that wider horizon in view.

#### HAKSAR ON INDIAN STATES:

Sir Kailasnath Haskar's article in the *Twentieth Century* on Indian States is delightfully tantalising. Most of his life he has spent in the service of Indian States and knows all that there is to know about them. He has besides taken part in the several round, square and oblong table conferences in Great Britain and India. He is one of the group of Kashmiris who are distinguished by their keen intellect which resolutely refuses to take account of any but what are known as modern values. One is not surprised, therefore, to read his contemptuous dismissal of the plea for the preservation of the States as repositories of Indian tradition and culture. The heart of India, Ranade often said, beats in the States; and he watched with eagle eyes for signs of the growth and expansion of the public mind in the States. Sir Kailasnath says that this is no longer the case and he implies that, if it were, he for one will not attach much importance to it as a reason for their survival. They exist because they have been allowed to exist and the Paramount Power is bound by Treaties to maintain them against insurrection within and invasion from outside. He charges the British Government with having treated the treaties as "scraps of paper" as Bethmann Holwegg wanted Britain to treat the treaty with Belgium in 1914. If the charge is true, there should be no States at the present day. The map of India would be painted all red as Dalhousie wished. That the States are not only existing but that they are actually claiming to have a dominant voice in shaping the future constitution of India, shows that they have after all flourished under the step-motherly treatment which Sir Kailasnath imputes to the Paramount Power. It is the fashion now to start every discussion with a fling at British rule and

Sir Kailasnath merely conforms to it. Some of his propositions are paradoxical. For instance, he maintains that the Judicial Courts in the States are as independent and unsubservient to political influences as the Courts in British India but he also says "the present position as regards civil and criminal laws in States is a thing for the facetious-minded." If the laws are farcical what do the Courts administer and how do they manage to administer at all? One of the reasons which he gives for the vagueness of State laws, is that they are vernacular translations of British Indian Codes and that the translations are not intelligible.

There are other points in the article which call for notice. But for the present we must be content with the most important from our point of view. Sir Kailasnath throughout his article speaks only of British India and its attitude to the States. If he remembers that British India is now a conglomeration of autonomous provinces varying in efficiency from Bombay to its erstwhile division of Sind, he would not assume so readily that British India as such has a single policy towards the States. In the Satyagraha agitation two years ago in Hyderabad, the Congress Government in Madras took up a helpful and neighbourly attitude, while the Bombay Congress Government did the reverse. In Baroda and Rajkot, it was the same. It is, therefore, in the best interest of the States themselves that British India should have a unitary system which would mean uniformity of policy towards them. Such of the States as wish to do so, may federate with British India whenever they wish and are prepared to do so. The Maharaja of Bikaner declared at the first Round Table Conference that it was a matter of indifference to the States whether British India joined as a unitary Government or as a group of provinces. We suggest that it is of advantage to the States that British India should function as a single organic unit whether Federation comes or not. So long as the States feel or profess to feel that Federation with British India is a sacrifice they are making for the benefit of the latter and that they themselves stand to lose by it, so long they should resolutely stand aside and let British India determine her own course. Unfortunately the circumstances in which the idea of Federation was jumped upon British Indians with the impulsive enthusiasm of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, make it difficult for the States to take a dispassionate view of their accession to a Federation. The Princes were to be brought in as a counterpoise to British India in the responsible Government promised at the centre. The British Indian Government were suspicious of its own subjects trained in its own administrative methods. It wanted the Princes to guarantee that British Indian Ministers would not get out of control of the Paramount Power. When the Princes and British Indians realised that they were being set up as makeweights in this fashion they recoiled from the scheme. That exactly is the position now.

## MAGISTRATES AND SATYAGRAHIS.

In the individual satyagraha campaign evolved by Gandhiji, the work of the Government executive and the Congress rank and file is extremely simplified. The satyagrahi has merely to keep to the slogans drawn up by Gandhiji and the police have nothing more to do than to haul him up before the magistrate or march him off to jail. Behind this ludicrously simple position, however, there are complexities which relieve the monotony of the procedure. Though the satyagraha is launched for freedom of opinion, all who support the Congress slogans are not included in the lists selected by Gandhiji for this campaign. A background of faith and to some degree works as well in the constructive programme of the Gandhian Congress is demanded to qualify the candidate for jail-going. Common honesty would deter many Congress minor leaders from applying for inclusion in the lists but for the fact that a period in jail is believed to be an essential for office in the future Congress Governments in the centre and at the provinces. In the case of the rank and file this is not a real consideration; and the rank and file have on the whole been left in peace. But the many minor stars in the Congress firmament who do not command the respect of a Rajagopalachari, a Pant or a Kher, have provided ready butts for magisterial humour. A man who can regard himself as a simple follower, has nothing to add or take away from the slogans that Gandhiji has furnished him with. But occasionally—and the occasions are getting far too many—a Congressman is drawn into explaining his own particular position. He is not content to remain quiet after he has done his job of slogan-shouting and refusing to take part in the court proceedings. And the moment he does exceed these limits, he hands himself over to the magistrate. After all it is well to bear in mind that the decision to give full powers to Gandhiji is not more than six months old. Even Working Committee members had strayed from the straight and narrow path of Gandhian ideology. It was to avoid too close a scrutiny, we had thought, that Gandhiji had devised the system of ready-made slogans wide enough to cover a multitude of deviations. But discipline is hard to come by. And the more so in an agitation to assert the right to the free expression of opinion. Gandhiji himself just before the campaign had urged on the Viceroy the necessity for allowing freedom to those who opposed help in the war effort whether for political or pacifist reasons provided it was non-violently done. It is not surprising that some followers should now misunderstand the agitation.

Magistrates who have passed judgment on the cases that came before them, have not, generally speaking, troubled very much to pick holes in the statements made before them by the satyagrahis. An occasional joke has tempted many judges into some form of indiscretion. Magisterial humour is generally of the heavy type. But a casual remark by the Court can get a satyagrahi into trouble unless he is strong enough to ignore it, as Sirdar Sampuran Singh found to his cost. The jokes which Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad provoked in his trial, were of the schoolroom type and did no great harm. After all one cannot charge the President of an organisation with the guilt of indiscipline, and get away with it. And the Maulana was well able to take care of himself.

Mr. R. Galletti, I. C. S., Joint Magistrate of Gudur, however, has devoted considerable thought to two cases which were brought before him recently. The name is Latin and Mr. Galletti has obviously, along with his name, inherited the Gallic talent for clear, logical thinking. The slogans shouted by the satyagrahis related to the error of helping in the

war effort of the British and the superior virtues of non-violence to resist aggression. Mr. Galletti pointed out with perfect logic that there was nothing in the first to imply non-assistance to efforts to defend India itself. However wrong or wrong-headed one might think the accused were, they were entitled to express their opinion. As for non-violent propaganda, Mr. Galletti observed:

However often and however eloquently it is expressed, whether by Jesus of Nazareth or by Mahatma Gandhi, it is entirely unlikely to influence human conduct. This may be the worse for the human race. But it makes the expression of the opinion an act which cannot be prejudicial to the defence of the country or the prosecution of a war which are recognized to be necessary.

The remarks of the joint-magistrate of Gudur on the audience at whom the slogans were shouted, are illuminating. In the first case he pointed out that "this class of people, as accounts of assaults and riots testified, were not overprone to take Ahimsa as a rule of life." The town of Sulerpet, he added, consisted of a few wealthy persons who had not paid anything so far to the war fund, and of weavers and poor labourers "who could neither pay nor enjoyed the physique necessary for joining the army."

Mr. Galletti also asserted that the accused in the first case had no faith in the formulae he uttered. The slogans, he said, had become stale by excessive repetition. He added:

I have in fact ascertained by questioning the accused that all he really has in mind to do is to carry out the instructions he believes are from a leader he reveres; he does not think the formula is a 'mantram' having magical efficacy or likely to have any influence on the persons addressed. But he has a mystic faith that if he and others like him go to jail to order, a wonderful feat of political change will be achieved. It is not intended by the framers of the Defence of India Rules that they should be used to punish such simple and rather touching though deluded faith, especially when the punishment is regarded by the recipient as a boon.

In the second case, Mr. Galletti asked the accused to produce the authorisation given him by Gandhiji to offer satyagraha. This is an obvious safeguard which for some reason has not been more generally adopted. After all, what is there to prevent a mischievous neighbour from declaring in writing to the magistrate of a district that so and so was intending to shout slogans the next day, thereby getting an inconvenient fellow out of the way? Or even some unauthorised enthusiast seeking after notoriety from getting out of his house and shouting slogans which he had heard on an earlier occasion? Mr. Enuga Narasa Reddi, the man before the Court, was not very helpful. He had, he said, given the authorisation to a friend at Kotah and could not produce it in Court. Mr. Galletti then proceeded to inquire if he had the necessary qualifications for a satyagrahi on the Congress model. Refusing to believe that Gandhiji who personally scrutinised every claim, had like harassed officials signed 'blind', he found Mr. Reddi an impostor as "he had not the audacity to pretend that he was a regular spinner or that he even lifted his little finger to help remove untouchability." Mr. Reddi pleaded apparently that he had never sought "the rewards of service" in local bodies. Mr. Galletti turned the tables neatly by denouncing this detachment as showing "a great lack of ambition and self-confidence as well as want of public spirit." If a man, wealthy and well-educated, will not serve his district, Mr. Galletti observed, it is hard to see how he can serve his country. He concluded that if the words of Gandhiji had failed to move the public, he did not expect that men like Mr. Reddi would be able to fare better.



Mr. Galletti went further. Not content with demolishing the arguments of the satyagrahis before him he went on to denounce those behind them who, he said, were guilty of a criminal conspiracy. He had not been directed by Government to look into the larger crimes but, he announced, he would be very happy to award a proper sentence to "the persons responsible for public nuisance masquerading as patriotism and for the sorry perversion that men like the accused who were honest but misguided and public spirited though not too intelligent, thought it was their duty to give trouble to public servants and an act of merit to leave their families to fend for themselves while they lived on the taxpayer's money in jail."

Mr. Galletti discharged the two accused. The next cases brought before Mr. Galletti by the police brought on the force a just reprimand for doing so after his two judgments. Given the policy followed by the Government, there is much sound commonsense in the judgments. Mr. Galletti has proved conclusively what Mr. Kripalani, General Secretary of the National Congress, expressed his suspicions of, that there is no definite uniform policy in the attitude adopted towards the campaign. Unfortunately as no one in the Government of India thought of this line of action first, Mr. Galletti's healthy common sense will be wasted on them. In effect the Governments of the North-West Frontier Province and of Bengal have been pursuing a policy which finds its justification in the arguments of the Gudur Magistrate. It is reported that the Madras Government has indicated its disapproval of Mr. Galletti's originality by taking satyagraha trials out of his hands. It is unfortunate that when it is essential for one side at least to keep its balance, Government also should fall a victim to a slogan, that Governments should govern. If anyone looks into the reactions of Congressmen to the various policies pursued by different provinces, he would see that the non-interference of the North-West Frontier and Bengal is causing the greatest perturbation. An agitation for free speech obviously falls through when free speech is not interfered with. The Congress exercises so erratic a control in selecting satyagrahis that that in itself is enough to create innumerable complications for the party.

### CAUSES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

(BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY.)

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No single social problem is as serious a blot on this nation as that of the extent of juvenile delinquency. There is a close relationship between juvenile delinquency and crime as the majority of the law-breakers committed in any one year throughout India under the criminal laws are below the age of 25 years; and, if we trace back their history, we will know that in their younger lives they had delinquent behaviour though it might not have brought them before the court. The problem of crime is, therefore, a youthful problem and, if we are to prevent it, we must deal with our youth at an early age before it is too late to set them right. As Dr. Manshardt writes in "The Delinquent Child:"

A child is generally defined as a person under 14, and a young person as one between 14 and 16. A delinquent child is one who is charged with an offence; is wayward or incorrigible; has no home or visible means of subsistence; frequents the company of any reputed thief or prostitute; knowingly visits a gambling place or house of ill-fame; wanders about the street at

night; absents himself from home without the permission of his parent or guardian; uses vile or indecent language; is immoral; or habitually absents himself from school. The definitions of delinquency differ in their inclusiveness, for that which is regarded as delinquency in one area, is considered as dependency or neglect in another.

Thus juvenile delinquency is conduct of the juvenile which is a violation or contravention of some rule or law which society has laid down for the regulation of behaviour. In other words a delinquent act is the selfish, impulsive and socially uncontrolled act of an individual for his own advantage without regard to the interests, rights, welfare or safety of others.

Miriam Van Waters in an article on "The Delinquent Attitude" in the *Family* says:

In any society there are certain individuals whose sense of human relationships is under-developed and who tend to offend against and to challenge prevailing standards of human conduct. The number of these individuals vastly increases with civilisation. They are recruited from every intelligence level and every social position. Some are strong and well, others are weak and handicapped. They agree on one thing only—it is useless, impossible or foolish for them to do as their neighbours do in respect to authority, property, industry, chastity or team play.

Many of them are so quite ignorantly and are the products of contradictory teaching and standards in school, home, companionship and religion. When they fail to find satisfaction of their wishes in the school, home or religious preaching they are attracted by street companions where they find relief without any repression whatsoever. To quote Ernest Bryant Hoag, in "Crime, Abnormal Mind and Law":

The delinquent attitude, as pictured here, might be defined as that unconscious disposition of the personality which has resulted from an individual's ignorance, confusion, or rejection of certain ordinarily accepted standards of good conduct which has been fostered by the individual's acceptance of the code of the streets, and by ill-advised disciplinary treatment at the hands of any or all of those in authority over that individual.

Formerly, it was believed by criminologists that juvenile offenders are mostly inherently defective and so incurable but Dr. Cyril Burt's analysis of 200 cases of juvenile offenders with a view to discover the causes of delinquency has revealed that over four-fifths of the children have no history of crime among their kindred and that only 11% of them were children whose relations were sentenced for crime. Dr. Burt sums up:

The child, after all, may be suffering quite as much from the vice or the bad management brought into the home by a dull or an immoral parent, as from any dullness or immorality that he himself might have inherited. In point of fact, small evidence, as a rule, is procurable to demonstrate beyond dispute that the criminal proclivities of the parent have been handed down to the child by true biological transmission.

This investigation led to the searching for the causes of juvenile delinquency elsewhere—i. e., in the environment. The causes in the environment may be discussed as follows:

(a) *Poverty*:—Closely allied to the question of delinquency is poverty in the home. We do not need an expert to tell us that much crime is directly attributable to this cause. Is it to be wondered at that a starving child steals from the nearest sweet-meat shop an attractive-looking cake? Is it a matter of surprise that a homeless hungry boy from being a neglected beggar turns into a thief? From the records of any juvenile court one can see that most of the children who come before the juvenile courts are from poor families. Mr. Clarke

Hall, Magistrate of the Shoreditch Juvenile Court, writing in "The Children's Court" about the class of families from which the delinquent comes, says:

When one remembers the hard lot of the children in the poorer parts of our great towns; the constant temptation to which they are subjected; the almost complete absence of supervision and control over them during the long evenings when they are away from school; the want of amusement, of healthy exercises, of playgrounds, of all intelligent interests; the often wretched conditions of their homes, the confined space, the crowded and insanitary conditions of life; the evil examples around them, the foul language, the brutal drunkenness, the savage blows, which they daily hear and see—one is astonished at the many good qualities rather than the bad, and wonders less at the number contaminated than at the number who escape contamination.

On account of poverty, the entire time of the parents is taken in earning a living and the young one does not get the requisite affection at home or proper training there. The house is a single-room apartment serving all purposes. The same room serves as kitchen, bed chamber, playground and drawing room. There being no playground or garden even in the locality where these poor quarters are situated, the children play in the street. Dr. Hamblin Smith the psychologist at Birmingham Prison, says,

Juvenile delinquency often begins with the attempt to play in the streets, contrary to the town regulations. This play may be a nuisance to the community, but it is nothing less than the very life of the child. There the child falls into bad company and it has been seen in the reports of probation officers in a good many cases that but for the bad companionship the offence would not have been committed.

(b) *Family Discord*:—Unstable relationship of husband and wife leads to continuous unhappiness and quarrel in the home with the result that the children are neglected. Another factor responsible for the neglect of children in the family is the step-mother who is generally jealous and hostile to the former children. These children do not receive proper care and the discipline of the parents under such circumstances is not wholesome. At times it is too strict and at times too lenient. Moreover, while one is strict the other shields the boy. So they develop undesirable behaviour pattern which later on develop into delinquent attitude. The ordinary child in an ordinary home is the member of a small and self-contained society, cared for by the united efforts of both father and mother and the delinquent child is generally devoid of such benefit.

(c) *Vicious Home*:—Criminal parents not only give training to their child for committing crime but set examples by their own act. 'To know that his own father is in prison or his own mother a profligate is quite sufficient, without any open incitement, to turn a child's thoughts towards lawlessness and vice.'

(d) *Drunkenness of Parents*:—A drunken home for a child is the worst as the days of childhood are the days most impressionable in his life; and when he sees money being squandered, morals being broken, a perpetual discord in the family and loosened discipline over him (which are the outcome of drunkenness) a vigorous conflict goes on in his mind and he may either leave the family and live by immoral earnings or, continuing as a member of the family, take to some vice or the other.

Regarding the other factors contributing in making the home a vicious home, Dr. Cyril Burt remarks:—

Crime, brawling, bad language, irregular unions contracted by the parents, immorality on the part of other inmates of the house, sexual molestation of the

child by its own relatives, heartless or brutal usage in countless forms and varying degrees, all tend to set up, by their progressive effect upon the young and sensitive mind, such a sense of injustice, such feelings of indignity, wretchedness, and apprehension that as he grows more critical and independent, he finds himself at length impelled to seek relief or distraction by some vehement deed of his own. He may lose all self-command and blindly strike an offending or unoffending party.

*Unemployment*:—The next cause contributing to juvenile delinquency is the unemployment of the father which compels the mother to earn a living, and thus in her absence the child is neglected. He drifts to bad company and is spoiled. The recognition and affection which he fails to receive at home is substituted by bad companions who lead him to criminal acts. Very often the unemployment of the young boy itself results in delinquent behaviour of stealing for no other reason than to satisfy his hunger.

*Cinema*:—Many of the cinema films, though certified by censors, are so grossly immoral that they corrupt the children. Cinema shows in other countries are drifting towards the education of the child but unfortunately in our country the producers are after money and they try to catch sensation-loving people by producing most of the existing type of films.

The child who has no background of experience by which to correct, is easily led away by the technique of romance and crime so often shown in the pictures. Romantic passionate pictures with intimate details of courtship and married life give a more vivid picture to a child than in any book of his course of study. This all stimulates the sexual instinct. Such pictures also furnish them with love technique and the way of expressing love resulting in sexual delinquency.

In the same way the young boys receive the technique of criminal behaviour from the so-called stunt and criminal pictures. The skill and cleverness with which a crime is attempted, the power and importance of the gang leader bringing all enjoyment of life so often shown in gang pictures, directly incite young people towards trying those acts. A boy sums up his own case in the following ways:—"I think the movies are mostly responsible for my criminal career. When I would see a crime picture and notice how crime was carried out it would make me feel like going out looking for something to steal. I have always had a desire for luxury and good clothes. When I worked, the salary was so small that I could not bring what I wanted and pay the price for good clothes. When I would see crime pictures, I would stay out all night stealing. I have quit six or seven jobs just to steal."

*School*:—Another factor contributing to delinquency in the juveniles is contradictory teachings and ideals in the school and in the home. When the child finds contradictory standards put before him there is a conflict in his mind and he takes rash action. Moreover the present-day school curriculum and teaching does not take into consideration the intelligence of the children and prescribes the same course of study both for the average, the retarded and other children. This results in the boys playing truant. The truancy, if not checked in an early stage, develops into delinquency.

*Betting and Gambling*:—Every day we see small boys playing with pice and the bigger boys playing with cards for money. This is injurious in three ways. First, it is an unhealthy time-consuming non-productive pastime; secondly, it teaches an easy way of earning money

without any work; and, thirdly, large losses tempt the child to steal to make up the loss.

Other factors leading to delinquency are early improper sex-experience, mental conflict, extreme social suggestibility, love of adventure, poor recreation, street life, vocational dissatisfaction and so on.

### WHAT SHALL WE TEACH?

(BY SAUDAMINI MEHTA, CALCUTTA.)

It was recently observed in a leading article entitled "Man and Woman" in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that "the kind of education that is being imparted to our young men is not the right kind and as such it is bad enough. If the young women are also given the same education, it might prove worse." This observation contains a lot of truth and it has provoked me to write something about the modern education that most of us deplore and none of us is able to replace.

As in many other spheres of life, in education also, we have neither stuck to our old system of education nor adopted the Western system in the right way. In short, our education has become "Anglo-Indian." As a result of it, our children are receiving a kind of education that is positively harmful, and yet we are trying to spread this wrong type of education far and wide. Has not the time come for us to think out a new system of education that would make our children better citizens than what we are?

The Wardha scheme of education is mostly meant for village-children. But can we afford to neglect the city-dwelling children, however small their number may be, compared to that of children in the rural areas? We cannot deny the fact that educated and thoughtful men and women living in cities are leading and going to lead the movement of political and social uplift, for at least some time to come.

What then must we do? Before evolving an entirely new type of education we should carefully scrutinize the defects of our modern education: In this terrific rush of city life, most of us do not realise that the present system of education is encouraging the spirit of rivalry and competition. By "education" I do not mean only school-education but I mean training in general which is given both at home and in schools. Perhaps the home training is more responsible for increasing jealousies, quarrelsomeness, selfishness and back-biting among children. Unconsciously, we are making our children self-centred, communalists, shallow and snobbish. How then can we expect a "new order" to come in the near future, which will give peace and joy to everybody? Peace and happiness will not drop from the heavens like snow-flakes.

The first aim of the new education should be to produce a superior kind of men and women who can work together more harmoniously for the benefit of mankind. There should be no separate schools for the rich and the poor, no separate schools for different communities, no separate schools for boys and girls. Do we realise how snobbish our children are becoming by going to expensive schools? I admit that the fault is not of the schools alone but it is also of the improperly educated rich parents. Anyhow, the snobbery among the young folks is increasing by leaps and bounds. But are we sure that our children will be able to maintain the high standard of life that we are teaching them to live, when on the other hand the struggle for existence is becoming more acute everyday? Secondly, we should prepare ourselves from now for disastrous

class differences which may ultimately result in bloody revolutions, if this snobbery continues.

Then there is the communal problem which is becoming uncontrollable. The best way to solve this problem is to have common schools for children of all communities, where children should be educated in a healthy atmosphere. They should learn that they are all Indians first and that when they grow up they should make a combined effort to free their country from foreign control. Children have to be taught to realise that they cannot remain slaves when they grow up and that they should not allow their country to be exploited and robbed by outsiders. Therefore, the spirit of "Swadeshi" should be ingrained in them from their infancy. They should know that India was one of the richest countries only two hundred years ago and has to-day become one of the poorest of countries only through our own folly and exploitation by foreigners.

Co-education from very infancy will solve hundreds of our difficulties in life. The artificial way of keeping boys and girls separate from childhood is responsible for cases of sexual abnormalities. If we have a healthy atmosphere for children both at home and in schools, then very few of them will go astray when they grow up. Sex-hygiene should be taught properly by well-trained mothers or teachers. I have seen some educational institutions in Europe where there is co-education right from the bottom up to the top and the behaviour of boys and girls there is simply marvellous. But these institutions do not lack a real kind of discipline. Discipline there must be—at home and in schools. Outward discipline of standing in a line or marching together is not enough. Rigid discipline may teach our children to tell lies both to their parents and teachers and may also teach them to cheat and rob their fellow-students. Neither do we want our children to learn Western military discipline which only leads to violence and annihilation of mankind. What we want our children to learn is the right type of discipline which is called "Sanyam" in Sanskrit. This "Sanyam" comes from within and can only be inspired by "Sanyami" teachers and "Sanyami" parents. But once it is taught in small matters in childhood, it prevents a man or woman from becoming greedy of power or money or sexual happiness or comforts.

Our education would remain imperfect if it does not train the body along with the mind. The physical degeneration of our people due mainly to poverty and ignorance is getting more alarming every year. I very often ask myself, Will there be any healthy young men and women left to enjoy the "Swaraj" when we get it, if the rich go on living recklessly and the poor remain unaided by the State in matters of health and nourishment? Along with physical training, our children should be taught in schools the scientific value of nourishing food. There should also be labour camps in vacations where pupils should learn to work with their hands and live together in a simple way.

If we train up our children to be considerate citizens, thoughtful and creative human beings and responsible parents, then we need not be scared by the idea that an educated girl will not be a good housewife and a wise mother or by the notion that an educated man will fail to be a good father or a good husband. We may not have separate schools for girls but we may teach cooking and housewifery and care of the baby to girls as voluntary subjects. But teaching of these subjects in schools makes education more expensive. Home is the right place to teach these subjects provided the mothers know them themselves. But if the school teachers are a

little considerate in giving home-work and if they reduce the number of exercise-books to do the writing work at home, then the majority of our girls will learn cooking and household work from their mothers without making any show of it. The teachers would benefit society if they remember that ninety per cent of girls are going to be housewives and mothers besides being good citizens and teachers would do well if they teach the boys that there is no shame in doing any sort of honest work to earn their livelihood and that they should not expect any special favours in getting jobs and in any sphere of public life.

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# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**The States and the Sea** :—The status and functions of the mission headed by Sir Alexander Roger are still very much of a mystery, with the inevitable consequence that speculation has assigned to it, and particularly to its head, Sir Alexander, a role analogous to that of Colonel House in relation to President Wilson and Mr. Harry Hopkins to President Franklin Roosevelt, as personal friend and emissary of the British Premier. Sir Roger and his colleagues are apparently credited with an influence with the British Government far in excess of that of Royal Commissions both in respect of the subjects and the territory covered by them. At an entertainment which they attended recently at Hyderabad, Deccan, the Chairman of the Hyderabad Chamber of Commerce seems to have sought to enlist Sir Alexander's support to secure for Hyderabad what he called an "outlet to the sea." If by this was meant free access to the sea, Hyderabad in common with other States and provinces already has it. All Indian ports are open to Hyderabad to ship her goods from or to and there has been no ground for complaint that any restrictions were placed on them. "Outlet to the sea" is a phrase which has acquired sinister associations in European politics. It has come to mean not merely freedom to export and import goods from ports but the exclusive possession of a seaport with a tract of land connecting it with a country either as an integral part of its territory or as a corridor pierced through the territory of another sovereign. The "outlet" can be closed or opened at will by that country alone and may be used as a naval base in which to construct warships and to launch them against an enemy country. The Right Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari who followed assured the Chamber that the Nizam's Government fully understood the importance of the point. This does not mean that Hyderabad is seriously seeking an "outlet to the sea." If it is, several issues

will arise. If Hyderabad wants an outlet to the sea, other States will want it too. Gwalior, for instance, is less favourably situated in respect of her proximity to ports than Hyderabad. Kashmere is the worst off. Mysore which is only a few miles from the sea, tried to establish its own port at Bhatkal in South Kanara but the project had to be abandoned. All the States have pledged their whole-souled co-operation with the British Government for the successful prosecution of the war and this is hardly the time to demand from the latter slices of its territory. Of course, if the idea is to be permitted to dig ship canals connecting their territory to the sea, the question will assume a different aspect. But the States concerned are situated at high altitudes which will make the inflow of water into the canal from the sea a feat of engineering. Similar difficulties, however, have been overcome on a much smaller scale in the construction of the Panama Canal where the level of water has been raised and lowered by a system of locks.

**Fines and Confiscations** :—Many Congressmen in the past who paid their fines, were regarded as inferior political martyrs by their colleagues. It appears from recent developments that they were right all along though Gandhiji has only arrived at this conclusion now. Gandhiji, however, has not been equally inspired in his assurance that the fines and confiscations will be made good when the Congress takes office again. It was a great error of judgment on the part of the Congress administration in Bombay to have undertaken the restoration of property confiscated not for civil disobedience but for non-payment of dues and it would be fatal if the error is to be repeated on a large scale after the restoration of settled conditions. Men and women who have joined the agitation out of conviction, will be little affected by this development. Any encouragement which might be said to have been offered by this decision to the hesitant, is largely nullified by Gandhiji's concluding admonition that a satyagrahi who has paid a fine, must persevere until he is safely lodged in jail and that propertied persons must not join the movement unless they are ready to run the risk of losing their possessions. Gandhiji has interposed so many conditions between a satyagrahi and the restoration of his confiscated property that if and when the Congress resumes office, it will be able to restore the *status quo* only in a few chosen cases and find itself in

the necessity of applying Gandhiji's words to justify the waiving aside of other claims. In another matter also, Gandhiji has indicated a reversal of policy. He had said that Congressmen who cannot, or do not wish to, take part in his satyagraha campaign are not less Congressmen than those who are granted permission to join his movement. All Congressmen on village or provincial committees, he now says, are expected to be in jail. If they are not, it must mean that he has rejected their claims to offer satyagraha and, therefore, barring exceptional cases where his approval has been won, they are equally unfit for running the committees. Then again, while we are told that the office-bearers now imprisoned will not be replaced, almost at the same time the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has been replaced by a "dictator" and much heart-burning was caused among members of the Committee who felt this suspension of the Committee to be premature. Further irritation was caused when the President of the Committee claiming the approval of Gandhiji, announced as his successor in the "dictatorship" an individual who was outside the Committee and not very prominent in Congress activities till now. Gandhiji apparently is sparing no pains to make his control over the organisation complete and as little subject to any recognisable rules as possible. With characteristic vagueness he claims for his actions God's guidance, "whether real or imaginary"; otherwise, he adds, "I should feel utterly impotent to shoulder the burden I am supposed to be carrying." Is it quite necessary to subject a movement for free speech to a thorough substitution of one man's whims for the operation of normal party rules and regulations? It seems to indicate a degree of confusion in the present agitation which was absent from previous movements.

**Recruiting for the I. C. S.** :—The reasons given in the Government of India Press Note for limiting the number of candidates applying for the Indian Civil Service Examination in this country, are far from convincing. The number appearing for the corresponding examination in London was restricted to 200 some years ago and later the examination itself was dispensed with in a prescribed number of cases as it was found that British candidates in adequate numbers were not willing to face the ordeal of an examination. To check the tendency of a preponderant number of Indians entering through the London door, a quota was fixed for them. One immediate effect was to increase the number of candidates appearing for the examination in India. The Indian Civil Service is the most highly paid service in the world and those who are lucky enough to gain entrance into it, are secured by statute from the vicissitudes which attend other professions. One thousand pounds a year, dead or alive, used to be the popular sentiment about the security of the Indian Civil Service. The Indian member of the Service does not enjoy all the privileges of the British

member. Still the attractions of the Service count for much. The direct way of bringing the number of applicants down to a reasonable proportion is to readjust the emoluments of the Service which were originally fixed so as to enable the official to live on equal terms with the Nawabs and Rajas of mediaeval India. This is still being continued and the Government of India Act excludes the emoluments of the Civil and Police services from the control of the Provincial Governments. The figures given in the Government Press Note do not show that the number of candidates is inordinately large for a country of the size and population of India. Administrative convenience should not be the prime consideration. An increase in the number of examiners is the obvious solution of the problem of numbers which has not so far exceeded 600. The method by which Government propose or have decided to restrict the number of candidates to 300, is sure to open wide the door for jobbery. The selection of the quota of candidates allotted to each province is to be made by a Committee the majority of whose members will owe their nomination to "the Governor in his discretion." Every Indian who has a nodding acquaintance with things around him knows what that means. The Governor is a human being and, in all the provinces except the three Presidencies, he is a human being steeped in the traditions, good and bad, of the Indian Civil Service. Then there are communal and political considerations which will contend for recognition. At the present time, contribution to the several war funds, is bound to be a factor. A steady deterioration in the calibre and character of the candidates, seems inevitable as the consequence of the change announced in the method of recruitment for the Service.

**Prohibition in Bombay** :—Last week a full Bench of the Bombay High Court consisting of four Judges refused permission to the Bombay Government to appeal against their judgment declaring the Prohibition Notification of the late Congress Government invalid in law. The ground on which the Court refused permission, was that there has been no order or judgment which they had given to form the subject of appeal. They had only expressed their opinion on a reference from a Magistrate and though the Magistrate, acting as he was bound to do on that opinion, acquitted all the accused, there was technically no order of the High Court. Incidentally, the High Court expressed their opinion that their previous opinion affected the Notification not only as regards foreign liquor but as regards all alcoholic liquors. The Government's action in enforcing the notification against country liquor while leaving foreign liquor free, is, therefore, not only bad policy but also bad law. Cheap foreign liquor has been coming into Bombay in large quantities and illicit distillation of country liquor has become uncontrollable. In the interests of Prohibition the Bombay

Government should abandon its present half measures.

**Alcohol and the Downfall of France :—**We reprint from the *Christian Evangelist*, the weekly journal of the Disciples of Christ, one of the largest denominations in the United States, an editorial tracing the downfall of France to the "alcohol psychology" which had possessed pre-war France. The figures which the journal gives, speak for themselves. "Old man Booze," has been the ruin of France. Antiquated Generals, corrupt officials with exacting mistresses, and Hitler's Fifth Columnists, have no doubt had their share but ultimately these would not have had their opportunity but for the plain fact that France was "addled with liquor." "A nation soaked in liquor and stupefied with alcohol cannot hope to cope with sobriety." These observations, while they apply with special force to France, are more or less true of Europe as a whole. "Old Man Booze" has his stifling hand over the whole of the Continent. One of the reforms which would save Europe from utter destruction, is certainly abstinence from drink.

**The War in Africa :—**The decisive victories of the British forces in their battles against Italy's African Empire are from the Indian point of view doubly welcome. They remove effectively the threat of war from Indian shores, Eritrea has been attacked in the East and Libya on the North has suffered heavy losses. The blows which Britain has struck in Africa, have brought the British in their homelands a respite from the air raids of the past six months. On the other hand, Herr Hitler seems to be tightening his grip on Europe, probably to prevent Signor Mussolini from attempting a separate peace. Last week's reports from the U. S. A. hinting at growing discontent in Italy which might force Mussolini to sue for terms or might overthrow his regime, seem to be unduly optimistic. With German soldiers in the heart of Italy there is little chance of Italy displaying much independence in her diplomacy. Even in France Marshal Petain who was earlier reported to be preparing for resistance, has, according to more recent messages, been forced to readmit M. Laval to favour and to give in to German pressure. As a side-show, the arrival in India of thousands of Italians made prisoner in the African campaign is not without interest. Meant obviously to stir up enthusiasm among Indians for the war, the prospect of feeding so many more mouths on a high standard and for an indefinite period might well cause consternation in the Indian mind. Nevertheless, it must be reassuring to those who fear that the Congress attitude amounts to a virtual surrender to Herr Hitler, to know that the Governments of Britain and India are more confident of conditions in this country. One does not as an administrator add to one's difficulties by sending into an area overrun by men who are contemplating surrender to an enemy, a large body of soldiers taken prisoners while fighting for that very enemy.

**Non Hindu-Muslim Problem in South India :—**In our comments on Mr. Savarkar's presidential address to the Madura session of the Hindu Mahasabha, we criticised as reprehensible his observations calculated to introduce the Hindu-Muslim controversy in Southern India where it did not exist. Confirmation from an unexpected and unimpeachable source has not been long in coming. The Bengal Prime Minister, Mr. Fazlul Haque, speaking at the South Indian High School in Calcutta, bore cordial testimony to the existence of perfect good understanding between Hindus and Muslims in Madras province. He said :—

I have always admired Madras for its freedom from the virus of communalism. The major community in Madras knows how to win the confidence of minority communities by respecting the legitimate rights of the latter. When I was last in Madras, I searchingly examined if the minorities harboured any grievances against the majority community and I found no such grievance existed.

The situation in Bombay is not very different notwithstanding the accident of its being the place of domicile of the President of the Muslim League. The League is shortly to hold a session in Madras and we earnestly trust that we shall not be called upon to criticise its leaders for making the same mistake as the President of the Hindu Mahasabha.

**Indian First and Parsi Afterwards :—**Acknowledging the toast in his honour at a complimentary dinner, Sir Homi Mehta, a prominent mill magnate of Bombay, concluding by declaring that he was an Indian first and a Parsi afterwards. The Ripon Club has been the scene of similar declarations in the past by men of towering personality who pioneered political life in this country. But in recent years there have not been many such affirmations by Parsi leaders though the community as a whole has loyally abided by the undertaking that the community would place the interests of India before its own interests. Even in regard to Prohibition, on which a section of Parsis did not maintain their habitual balance, it would have been possible to have secured the co-operation of the community if sufficient time had been available before its introduction for the better mind of the community to assert itself. The mistake will, we are sure, not be repeated. Speaking at the same Club at a similar function thirty-seven years ago, Sir Pherozshah Mehta deprecated the fears of some Parsis that when power passed into the hands of popular Governments, the interests of the community may not receive adequate attention. He said :

It is a historic fact that the seed of good citizenship in this presidency was sown by the Parsi community. It may be that owing to their numbers our Hindu and Mahomedan friends will, nay, must, pass us in the race; but I will ask them to remember in the hour of their success that it is the Parsis who sowed the seeds of which they reap.

That is an expression of faith on the part of one of the foremost of Indian leaders which must be respected by Indians of all parties, races and creeds.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 25, 1941.

## THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES.

Sir Kailas Narayan Haksar (we apologise for having mis-interpreted last week his initials in the comments on his article in the *Twentieth Century*) begins his article by an attempt to establish a sort of continuity between the Government of India's non-observance of their Treaties with Indian States and the rape of Abyssinia, the annexation of Austria, the Japanese invasion of China and the Nazi conquests of Denmark and Belgium, as stages in a process leading to the conclusion "that international law and international morality have been cast overboard and that the word, sacrosanct, has become synonymous with the word chimerical." In the course of the article there are references to "this chapter," from which we infer that it is intended to be a chapter in a book which Sir Kailas is about to publish on the Indian States on which he is a recognised authority. If we are right, we earnestly trust that he will see his way to revise thoroughly this part of his thesis which is neither fair nor true. Many years before Sir Kailas began his distinguished career as a soldier-statesman, a great Indian administrator with wide and varied experience of Indian States, declared that, but for the salutary control of the Paramount Power, the States would collapse under the weight of their own autocracy. This was Sir T. Madhav Rao who as Dewan Regent of Baroda paved the way for the great reforms under the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar, which brought Baroda to the front rank among progressive Indian States. In the cases in which the Government of India have taken action in supersession of the rulers of Indian States during the last fifty years, we do not remember a single one in which informed Indian opinion did not endorse—not necessarily in formal resolutions—the action of Government. In some cases, the general feeling was that that action had been too long delayed. In one or two cases, there was a decided suspicion that the ruler concerned had escaped lightly or altogether. These, of course, were cases of gross misconduct or misgovernment. Sir Kailas' indictment probably relates to interference in the normal government of a State which, though it may not be coming up to the standard of the best governed of them, did not lay itself open to the charge of misgovernment. Even on this point, our impression is that the interference of the British Resident nowadays is graduated with reference to the general efficiency and integrity of the State administration. Where the standard is fairly high, the Resident seldom concerns himself with its affairs. Where a rule of law has been established, and the personal element does not affect its working, the Political Department of the Government of India, as a

rule, is happy to leave the responsible Ministers to carry on according to their lights. There have been, of course, incompetent and overzealous Political Agents and the Government of India have not been in all cases sufficiently prompt in transferring them to positions where their talents could be employed more advantageously in the public interests. But the general policy has not been very different. The Minister in some cases has been able to give effect to urgent reforms only with the support of the British representative. This, of course, is not to the liking of the Chiefs who cherish the traditions of personal rule but Sir Kailas Narayan Haksar can surely appreciate the distinction in such cases between subservience to the ruler and loyalty to the interests of his subjects which after all should be the paramount consideration of an administrator.

The doctrine that treaties are sacrosanct without reference to the justice and equity of their contents and the knowledge and appraisal of contemporary circumstances, has led to the present conflagration in Europe which is fast spreading to the whole world. Yet the Treaty of Versailles is only twenty years old and there is a consensus of competent opinion that, if its terms had been revised so as to remove the grosser indignities and hardships which it entailed on the defeated Germans, the present situation might have been prevented at least from assuming its formidable dimensions. The treaties with the States were, many of them, drawn up a century ago when Britain was mainly concerned to counteract the influence of the French Revolution with its slogans which are now the slogans of the Democratic regimes in their fight against Totalitarian ones. It is strange that Sir Kailas's conception of the purpose of these treaties is entirely different from that of one who was in the best position to know it—Sir Arthur Wellesley. Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) while engaged in settling the affairs of the Peishwa's territories, remonstrated with his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, the Governor-General who initiated the policy of subsidiary alliances. "One bad consequence of these subsidiary treaties," he wrote, "is that they entirely annihilate the military power of the governments with which we contract them. In my opinion we ought to withdraw from Poonah and leave some chance that the principal chiefs may have the power of the states in their hands...I would preserve the existence of the State and guide its action by the weight of British influence." It is surprising to see a champion of the States in the twentieth century pleading for the strict observance of these treaties which a contemporary British administrator judged to signify the deprivation of the rulers of all real power to do good to their people. Then again, the British Government in India are confronted by the dilemma of having to carry out their obligations to the rulers who in most cases do not believe in democracy, in opposition in several cases to the demands of their subjects.



who share with the British people the enthusiasm for that form of Government.

Sir Kailas thinks that the democratic ideal holds sway over the minds of the Indian people, though he fears that the subjects of the States have adopted them only in imitation of their brethren in British India and that the popular leaders in the States are mostly impostors. This, so far as it is true of the States, is not less true of British India or indeed of any other country. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in a broadcast some days ago expressed grave concern at the spread of Fascist ideas among young Indians. The fact is that there is a great deal of confusion in the public mind as to what is Democracy and what is Fascism, whether the two are different things or are but two phases of the same thing. The confusion is caused by the apparent ease with which democracy assumes the shape of Fascism. "Those who, from study and observation, have come to realise that the democratic form of government is a *sine qua non* of national advancement"—we are quoting the words of Sir Kailas—were never fewer than they are today. Even in Great Britain and the United States, where Democracy is still the watchword, it is recognised that the Totalitarian Powers can not be successfully resisted without the Democracies assuming at least for the time a Totalitarian form. The British Prime Minister has virtually autocratic power over the person and property of the people, and the American President is seeking to secure the same powers from Congress. Whether at the end of the War, Democracy will survive as it has been hitherto understood, is a question which is agitating many thoughtful minds. In India the principal political organisations have fashioned themselves on the Totalitarian model. Here it is necessary to remember that Totalitarianism is not the discovery of Mussolini who merely took it over from the Catholic Church. Democracy is, therefore, not by any means the universally accepted model to promote national advancement.

**Abyssinia and Haile Selassie** :—If we are to judge from what is happening in Abyssinia the "new world" is already being shaped and it does not require much imagination to reconstruct the finished picture of it from the beginnings. There the tragic figure of Haile Selassie is once again being brought out of obscurity to the centre of the Abyssinian stage. The Lion of Judah with naive simplicity has outlined in an interview the nature of his triumphal entry into Addis Ababa; nor does he seem to think that it may take him very long now to regain his throne. None of those who are now in the throes of war, however, take quite as cheerful a view of the work of reconstruction as the Abyssinian Emperor apparently does. It will be a painful period that succeeds the war and one in which no group or nation can be left out without disastrous results. Certainly it will not be a sharing of triumphs or a dividing up of spoils.

#### THE LIBERALS' REPLY TO M. P.s' APPEAL.

Twelve leading members of the Indian Liberal Party including the President of the Liberal Federation, have issued a statement in response to the appeal issued to Indian Nationalists by nine members of Parliament some days ago. When I read that Appeal, I felt that the signatories, as they could not help doing with Nazi bombs hurtling about them, were, notwithstanding their earnest desire to establish sympathetic touch with their Indian fellow citizens, mainly thinking of their own predicament, little appreciating the Indians' difficulties. The signatories to the Liberal statement, who are many of them my personal friends and for all of whom I have the highest personal regard, have my entire sympathy when they beg the M. P.s in all sincerity to place themselves in their position and then to say whether they, under the conditions, would have regarded the Viceroy's offer of August 8th of 1940, as indicating the earnest desire of Britain to endow India with full freedom and treat her as her equal. I feel at the same time that the nine M. P.s can with similar justification address the same request to the twelve Liberals. Let Mr. Chandavarkar and others put themselves in the position of the M. P.s—none of them are very important as members of Parliament though two or three were distinguished in other walks of life—and then say that they would have done anything more than make the August offer or something similarly ineffective. If I remember aright, the August offer, when it was made, was hailed as a substantial concession to Indian aspirations by some of the signatories, notably Dr. R. P. Paranjpye who was President of the Federation last year. The statement gives as the reason for its recession from that position a circumstance which has apparently recently come to the knowledge of its signatories, namely, that since the inauguration of the new constitution, the Viceroy has practically become a sort of dictator with the Members of the Executive Council figuring merely as heads of Departments. This is probably true after the declaration of War in September 1939 when the Governor-General on his own authority proclaimed that India was at war with Germany. Lord Linlithgow's action has been criticised both in Great Britain and in India. The *Times of India* says that everybody agrees that the Viceroy's action was a mistake. But suppose the Viceroy had summoned the Legislature and asked for its approval. Would the approval have been forthcoming? Is it not likely that Congress members would have attended the session and procured the rejection of the Government proposal as they did the supplementary grant a few months ago? What should the Viceroy have done in that case? He could certainly not have kept the country out of the war—the enemy would not have recognised India's neutrality because the Legislature threw out the Government resolution, while the Government itself continued unaffected. India would have been in the war all the same but the non-Congress parties and the Princes would have been embarrassed by the action of the Legislature. At the outbreak of the war, the Liberals say, India was more warmly sympathetic to England than even during the Great War owing to the community of political ideals. I do not venture to make myself the spokesman of the country in the past or present but my impression certainly is that the alignment of opinion was much the same as after the August offer and Mr. Amery's speeches. Only Gandhiji quailed at the thought that Westminster Abbey might be bombed. Now that it has been partially demolished he has banished all concern for it from his mind.

More than one passage in the Liberals' manifesto remind me of Cardinal Newman's definition of "the safe man" as "one who never enunciates a truth without guarding himself against being supposed to exclude the contrary." Here is one which cannot fail to attract the attention of the most casual reader :

We agree that the controversy with regard to Dominion status and Independence has no practical significance at the present time. But we must emphasise that this controversy can be put an end to only by granting Dominion status to India and thus securing to her the reality of national freedom.

As they stand the second sentence seems to contradict the first. If a controversy has no practical significance where is the need to close it by conceding one of two issues in it rather than the other? Mr. Srinivasa Sastry is a purist in the use of language. The occurrence of a passage like this in an important document over his signature, can be only explained as being due to a linking sentence having been omitted after he put his name to it, by one or more of the other eleven signatories who finally shaped it. Anyhow, the fact of the passage finding a place in the manifesto is proof that the controversy between Dominion status and Independence is of considerable practical as well as theoretical significance at the present time and that it is likely to become increasingly so in the near future. The roles of Dominion and Mother country, for one thing, are by way of becoming reversed in the course of the present war. Hundreds of children from the British Isles are growing up to manhood and womanhood in Australia, Canada and the United States. It will be difficult to say at the end of the War whether Canada is an exclusively British or a partly American Dominion. Australia too is being obliged by the increasing tension between the United States and Japan to accept the hegemony of the United States in the Pacific. Then, again, there are about half a dozen countries in Europe whose independence when restored will have to be safeguarded chiefly by Britain with the help of the United States. The real bond between the Dominions and the mother country is essentially psychological and even that is being modified by the force of events. "Create the psychological atmosphere," Lord Linlithgow is admonished by the Liberals. If I were Viceroy, I would reply, "Gentlemen, I am much obliged to you for your advice. But would it not be easier for you to do it yourselves than for me who am but a sojourner in this land, whose term will be over within the next twelve months?" A psychological atmosphere can not be created by the grant of Dominion Status, or appointing a large number of Indians as Army Officers or Directors of the Supply and other cognate Departments. The Indianisation of the Services without radically altering the constitution of Government will only add to the strength of the bureaucracy. One hears from every side that there is much dissatisfaction among Indians in official positions. But they have no hand in shaping policy and must carry out orders or resign. Not that I am by any means sure that even if Indians had the right to frame policy, they would frame it differently. A veteran administrator warned me many years ago that there is only one way in which the greater part of an administration can be carried on whoever may be in power. Two and a half years of Congress Government did not materially challenge that dictum. Say the Liberals :

But we deeply regret that the British Government have so far failed to unify British and Indian interests and to inspire zeal for the British cause among the people of India.

This is a bit ungracious. The Liberals themselves

were parties to the disruption of British Indian unity under the plausible name of provincial autonomy. Lord Curzon dared to demand that the British Government in its dealings with Persia, Russia and Asiatic countries generally should act in consultation with India. Of course, he meant by India, himself as its Viceroy. But the principle for which he stood can be enforced only by a unitary Government, however it may be constituted. Are the Liberals prepared to join *The Reformer* in demanding that the Act of 1935 should be scrapped, the unitary system restored in British India?

K. N.

## TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

(BY J. P. GUPTA, BOMBAY).

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The main methods of treatment of juvenile delinquency are two:—preventive and curative. The former is better than the latter, but it is the latter method which is most widely practised.

### PREVENTIVE METHOD.

Southerland in his work on "Criminology" says:—"The logical policy in regard to crime is the policy of prevention. Punishment is at best a method of defence; prevention is a method of offence. It is evidently futile to continue to take individual after individual out of the situations in which they become criminals, punish them and permit the situations to remain in other respects as they were. A case of delinquency is more than a physiological act of an individual. It involves a whole network of social relations and by treating them all we shall be working to prevent crime."

This method of prevention is being applied by the State in almost every other department; but similar efforts are lacking in this direction. It is now a settled fact that delinquency is the result of congenial environments and disintegration of families; and so a preventive programme should include increased housing facilities, widely diffused education for parents, free medical help, schools for the young people upon physiological test, stricter control on cinemas, and the opening of child training centres, and recreational centres in every neighbourhood, etc.

Under these preventive methods the most important and a little technical is the child training centre known as clinic. "Its aim is not to rehabilitate the child after he has become delinquent, but rather to strike at the very roots of delinquency and any adjustment by correcting minor behaviour difficulties. The parents may come to such centre for advice and help in the behaviour problems of their children. For the younger age group, the psychiatrist and social worker is attached to the centre. The clinic attempts to prevent the development of undesirable traits of personality in the child and to bring the child back by adjusting him to his environment. "The child guidance clinic is an attempt to study the whole child. While a child may come to the clinic because of unsatisfactory habits, troublesome personality traits, or difficult behaviour—these outward expressions are looked upon simply as symptoms—manifestations of underlying disturbances which may be found to be mental, physical, or social, but which in any event are hindering the harmonious adjustment of the child to his environment. To understand and correct the basic factors causing these symptoms is to strike at the very roots of mental disease, delinquency, dependency, and other forms of social inadequacy and failure." A child

referred to the clinic is, therefore, studied from various angles—social, psychological, physical and psychiatric. The social worker takes his social history and endeavours to find out what hereditary and environmental factors may be regarded as causal elements in the situation. The psychologist, through a series of mental tests, discovers the general intelligence level of the child, his educational achievement, his ability to work with concrete materials and his special abilities and disabilities. The physical examination reveals the physical factors to be considered. The psychiatrist observes the child at work and at play and through observation and conversation seeks to penetrate the inner world in which the child is living, a world at times perhaps fanciful—but of vital importance to the child's behaviour. The diagnosis and treatment are the result of joint staff conferences. (Dr. Manshardt in "The Child Guidance Clinic" p. 4-5).

The treatment programme not only deals with the child but aims at correcting the conditions in the home and in the school. The emphasis is placed upon the rehabilitation of family so that the child, who has been deprived of a normal home life with parents and family, may continue his family relationships in an environment that will help to develop his personality and give him opportunity for normal self-expression. If he will be happy in his environment he will rarely become a delinquent. It is only when the child feels deprived and thwarted that he strives to punish society.

#### CURATIVE METHOD.

The curative method is administered by the juvenile court. The court deals with every case of delinquency individually. Before proceeding with the treatment, the court gets a case history from the probation officer attached to the court. The case history includes psychological and psychiatric examination, a social history of the individual in his family, neighbourhood, associates, schools, and institutional connections.

The juvenile court on the American model introduces an entirely new conception in the procedure. "Emphasis is laid, not on the act done by the child, but on the social facts and circumstances that are really the inducing causes of the child's appearance in court. The particular offence which was the immediate and proximate cause of the proceedings, is considered only one of the many factors surrounding the child. The purpose of the proceedings is not punishment but correction of conditions, care and protection of the child and prevention of a recurrence through the constructive work of the court. Conservation of the child as a valuable asset of the community is the dominant note." (Flexner and Baldwin).

#### PROBATION.

"It may be defined as a suspension of final judgment in a case, giving the offender an opportunity to improve his conduct while living as a member of the community, subject to conditions which may be imposed by the court and under the supervision and friendly guidance of a probation officer." The probation officer keeps a friendly contact with the child under his supervision and his parents; and in co-operation with school, welfare centres and other available social organisations, tries to bring about a complete adjustment of the child to his environments. The probation officer is a real friend and guide of the child and evolves a change of mental outlook and emotional life of the child. Therefore, a probation officer should be a trained man but it is regrettable that most of

the probation officers attached to courts in India are untrained.

#### INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT.

When a delinquent child is committed to a reform or industrial school, it is presumed that his stay there will result in moral training, in strengthening his character, in furthering his education, and in setting him on the road to a satisfactory adjustment to social life. The institution serves the delinquent child, who has been unstable, in uncontrolled environments and fills the inmate with regular and well-balanced daily activities. It takes care of their physical, educational, religious and vocational needs.

The actual length of time spent at the correctional school has depended in part on the boy's behaviour at the institution and in part on the ability of his family to care for him when he is released.

In most cases the offender is not released outright but is placed under the authoritative supervision of a competent and trained parole officer who is a technician in his work. The main aim is to make a permanent adjustment of the child to the community life which will enable the boy to take a proper and significant place in his social circle.

By parole is meant the continuation of treatment and control after the offender has left the institution. It is discipline and re-education following institutionalisation at a time when the individual is making a transition from an artificial life to a normal life. If justification arises he can be brought back to the institution without fresh trial for violation of the parole. The parole officer does all that lies in his power to make the young offender a law-abiding person.

#### FOSTER HOME CARE.

The foster-home care which was formerly restricted to only dependent and neglected children is being extended to delinquent children. The advantages of foster-home care are that the child gets an opportunity of a normal family life, normal school life in ordinary public schools, adjustment to community life at an early age, avoidance of institutionalised personality and opportunities for specialised vocational training and adjustments.

Before a child is adopted, efforts should be made to learn as much as possible about him. In addition to this study several other points are to be considered when placing any child in a foster home. "The delinquents suitable for foster home care will be: 1. those who are not low grade mentally, that is not too feeble-minded to respond to efforts at direction; 2. those who are not over 15 years of age at the most, although here special circumstances must be taken into account such as the type of delinquency, contributory causes in the family, etc; 3. those who are followers rather than leaders in the delinquency; 4. those whose delinquencies have not been of the really serious variety such as aggravated assault, arson, serious breaks and entries, armed robberies, or any other which might make them a real menace to foster parents and the community; 5. those who have not misused too many previous chances given to them by a lenient court; and 6. those who are non-psychotic." The foster parent guides the boy in reading, recreation and work by sympathetic treatment and not by force. Too many children should not be placed in a foster home, otherwise they will not receive individual treatment.

In the end I may point out that a juvenile Court for treatment of juvenile delinquency should be used as a last resort. Children should be treated at the very beginning of their behaviour problems. Prevention is better than the treatment of an evil.

### "SPIRITUAL POWERHOUSE."

(BY PROF. PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTI.)

"Spiritual Powerhouse," edited by Rao Saheb V. S. Sohoni and Mr. B. B. Keskar (Rs. 3/-) is a synthetic presentation of the experience of sages and saints of all mankind. It vindicates the faith that truth could be found in all religions. On the basis of that conviction, thinking humanity could work towards a larger harmony and a deeper reconciliation. Wherever there is hungering and thirst for God and His righteousness there is a community of experience in which there could be place for differences and dissensions. The things that divide are trivial and superficial. For, in spite of appearances, there is a vital harmony governing the universe.

This faith is the affirmation in the existence of a Supreme Power, loving and merciful, that guides the destinies of mankind, of an all-pervading Intelligence, a Divine Mind that is the author of all. Sages and saints of all ages have recognised this Power, and known and felt it in their lives. And knowing it, they wish for nothing else. They become God-intoxicated.

In ecstasy and abandonment, or in disciplined self-surrender, their souls pour out paens of joy and praise. From an experience which is unique, and yet could be felt by all in the same manner—for it is an experience of the same reality—their language finds expression. They cannot contain the joy for themselves. They needs must share it with the world. Their hearts swell and burst into song that fills the entire universe tuning itself in perfect cadence with the divine symphony.

"Spiritual Powerhouse" is the witness of this "accord." It is not a mere eclectic and, therefore, colourless collection. Flowers and gems, plucked from the fairest gardens and collected from the richest treasures, are worked into wreaths and garlands not strewn aimlessly. For here is inspiration for the devotee, consolation for the suffering, guidance for the groping, and wisdom for the discerning,—and all is provided with judicious insight and selection. It is not dead facts, but living, dynamic truths that are presented in this "powerhouse" which, because of this, even as its name indicates, is not only a storehouse but can become the generating source of spiritual energy and influence, in time to permeate and transform our world.

The seekers shall find in this what they seek. Pilgrims from far and near, East and West, shall be delightfully surprised to see here presented something which they knew very intimately even in their homes, but now proclaimed, not as the exclusive possession of this or that people or religion, but the heritage of all. Knocking at all doors they thus come back to the portals of His House in which there are many mansions. All could be accommodated, and none need be left in the outer cold.

I heartily welcome the publication of this book, and only wish that there were many more like it.

### THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION.

#### VIDYAMANDIR.

The following appeal comes to us from the Ramakrishna Mission, Khar :—

It was a cherished desire of Swami Vivekananda to impart education to our youths on national lines after the ancient Gurukula system. Through this means alone the pupils can come in close personal touch with the teacher and, without being cut off from the healthy atmosphere of a home-life, can find ample opportunity to develop naturally their latent faculties. It is contact with living examples in a

suitable environment that can inspire and ennoble life.

According to Swamiji, education should bring out strength of character and a spirit of philanthropy, foster in the students an ideal of self-reliance and self-sacrifice and afford them facilities for the assimilation of ideas. Above all, it must develop their will in such a way that they may face the most trying circumstances and carve a way for themselves through adamant difficulties. Moreover, education, to be a creative force in life, must be based on religion, which in a wider sense seeks fulfilment through the service of humanity—Worship of God in man. At the same time it should not lose touch with the socio-economic conditions of the country; rather it should make every student conscious of the realities of life, provide him with the means of earning a decent livelihood and thus equip him for the future citizenship. 'We want that education,' says the great Swami, 'by which character is formed, strength of mind is increased, intellect is expanded, and by which one can stand on one's own feet... what we want is western Science coupled with Vedanta, Brahmacharya as the guiding motto, and also Shradha, faith in one's own self.'

Feeling the necessity of such an education, Swami Vivekananda was eager to establish a Vidyamandira at the Belur Math, the headquarters of the Ramakrishna Mission, having religion as its pivot and combining both theoretical and practical aspects of Oriental and Occidental learning. But his untimely exit from the world prevented an early realisation of this vision. Following his footsteps the Ramakrishna Mission has been conducting various educational activities, for nearly half a century, but up till now it has not been able to take up his scheme of Vidyamandira. Now the authorities of the Mission wish to make a definite move in this direction; they hope that from modest beginnings a mighty system of education best suited to the needs of the country may be evolved, in course of time.

In the Vidyamandira scheme, besides education in the general line, students will be provided with religious and moral instruction on a universal basis. Living in a holy atmosphere away from the tumult and temptations of a congested city life, they will be helped to acquire, during this formative period of their life, a steady character and healthy outlook so as to resist the many evil influences to which they are continuously exposed. It is believed that if individual attention is paid to the students' spiritual as well as moral, intellectual and physical wellbeing, they will be able to enter the world as worthy citizens better fitted for the struggle for existence.

The special feature of the Science section will be its laboratory, which will not only be utilised for class work but will also be made a centre of higher research, particularly in relation to the industrial development of the country.

In the fullness of time it will develop into a full-fledged University and will accommodate various other branches and departments of learning, which it is too premature to foretell.

To materialise this scheme in full will require a huge expenditure of money. But the mission thinks that the time has come for making a beginning. A plot of the land measuring about 50 bigas, lying to the west of the Belur Math, has been selected for the purpose. A portion of it has already been purchased, and the rest is being acquired through the Government. As the first step of the scheme, it is proposed to start in 1941 an intermediate Arts College of a residential type, under the Calcutta University, and at the other branches as the requisite

funds are available. At present a building for the college and another for the hostel are under construction. The hostel, when complete, will accommodate 100 boys. So far Rs. 28,000/- have been donated in cash or kind and Rs. 12,000/- promised by a few friends in this country and abroad. With this small amount of money we have ventured to launch the scheme, relying on the support of our countrymen. A further sum of at least Rs. 50,000/- will be immediately required for the initial cost of land and buildings.

We need not emphasise the necessity of an institution like this to thinking people. It is, as stated above, the humble beginning of a great experiment regarding a most important type of nation-building activity, and it will take its own time to yield any result. But a great deal of its success will depend on the hearty co-operation of our benevolent countrymen, especially those who feel the urgency of such an educational undertaking. We earnestly appeal to those who think seriously about the proper education of our youth and have sympathy for such work to contribute their quota towards making this scheme an accomplished fact.

Donations for the Vidyamandira may be sent to the Secretary, Ramakrishna Mission, P. O. Belur Math, Dt. Howrah. Or to the Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay, 21.

#### PAKISTAN.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

While Mr. Jinnah still insists on Pakistan as the only way of protecting Moslem interests, the following statements by H. H. The Aga Khan in his book "India in Transition" published during the last war, deserve consideration:—

"Political Pan-Islamism had its foundations on sand, and could not endure. Religion has more and more become a spiritual force in the modern world, and less and less a temporal one. In this war, national and material interests have predominated over religious ties. The sturdy Protestantism of England and America has come to grips with the Lutherism of Germany and the Calvinism of Hungary. Catholic Austria and Catholic Italy are arch-enemies. The Jews of every country have been loyal to the flags of their respective lands. Whether through personal and dynastic ambition or through deeper racial feelings of antipathy, many of the ruling families of the Arabian Peninsula have broken away from Turkey, notwithstanding all the bonds of religion. An independent Arabian monarchy has arisen in Hedjaz and has helped to clear the Red Sea coast of Turkish troops. Just as the Moslem Albanians were eager to obtain autonomy, so the Moslem Arabs have evinced tendencies towards racial home rule."

It is not irrelevant to add that, whereas in the North and some other parts of India there are some of the descendants of genuine foreign Moslems, the several million Moslems living in South India are Hindus in their habits and manners. A very large section of these inherits their property from uncle to nephew, as the many Hindus do. It will need more than Mr. Jinnah's magic wand to unite them politically with their North Indian brethren, except in name.

Since opposition gives Mr. Jinnah's opinion strength, I think he would have abandoned "Pakistan" as he did his Congress leadership, had he been left alone without opposition.

Sylvan, Coonoor, }  
15th Jan. 1941. }

Yours etc,  
M. G. JOSEPH.

#### ALCOHOL AND THE FALL OF FRANCE. \*

The pre-War Frenchman was the world's worst drinker. During the four years 1928-1932 (last available comparative statistics) the French people consumed in terms of absolute alcohol content an average of more than 21 quarts per capita. This was twice the average consumption of Italy, three times the consumption of Belgium, four times the consumption of Great Britain, and seven times the consumption of Germany. It was five times the average consumption of alcohol in the United States today.

In 1936 there were 1,600,000 wine growers in France and, in spite of the fact that she was one of the great wine-producing nations, she imported far more wine than she exported. Not only had this balance of trade in alcohol been against France but the permissive attitude of the Government had placed France under the control of the traffic so that the whole nation had the psychology of alcoholism. In countries where there is some repression by regulatory laws and high taxation and, therefore, some discouragement to the unlimited use of liquor, the psychology of abstinence has at least a foothold.

Certainly one of the causes of the French downfall was old man Booze. France may have had antiquated Generals preparing for the last War instead of this one, she may have had corrupt officials with exacting mistresses, she may have been confused by Hitler's fifth columnists, but the plain fact is that France was addled with liquor. Her peasants had wine for breakfast, went to the fields with kegs of wine to drink with their work, had wine for lunch, and wine again for dinner. A nation soaked in liquor and stupefied with alcohol cannot hope to cope with sobriety.

We need to watch the growth of this liquor traffic in America. It is now subsidizing our magazines with expensive advertising, it blares forth its wares over the radio, it assails the eye on the billboards, and it endeavours by every possible wile to entice the youth of America. All of Hitler's fifth columnists taken together do not menace our national life so seriously as the liquor traffic. As a plain matter of common sense, it seems foolish to spend billions for the machines of defence and at the same time addle the brains of the young with liquor.

In times past it must be admitted that the dry forces have often overstated the question. There has been a wide streak of fanaticism in the attack on liquor. Let us admit that there is a lunatic fringe on every reform, as the late Theodore Roosevelt often said. Let us admit all we can of the wet arguments for the maintenance of the liquor traffic; there yet remains the example of France to warn us of the debilitating influence of alcohol on our national morale, on our physical fitness, on our ability to co-ordinate thought and action, on our economic freedom to act objectively in the interest of morality, sobriety, and decency. Let us think seriously about the status of liquor in the United States at the present hour!

#### CONVERSION AND DIVORCE.

Mr. Justice Edgeley of the Calcutta High Court in his judgment on Nur Jehan Begum's application for divorce, to which we referred in a note in *The Reformer* of January 11, said:—

The treatises on Mahomedan law did not appear to contemplate a case of conversion of the wife to Islam in an Islamic country while her husband was a foreigner domiciled in a foreign country. The main

\* *The Christian-Evangelist*, National Weekly of the Disciples of Christ, St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.



distinction which had been drawn by the Muslim jurists was between a conversion which took place in an Islamic country, where both parties to the marriage might be brought before the Kazi, and a conversion which took place in a country which was not subject to the laws of Islam. In the former case it was laid down in the Hedaya that Islam was to be presented to the unconverted party by the Kazi and on refusal to embrace the faith, the Kazi must pronounce a decree of divorce. In the latter case, the dissolution of the marriage took place automatically after the completion of three of the wife's terms because "the requiring of the other party to embrace the faith was impracticable as the authority of the Magistrate did not extend to a foreign land nor was it acknowledged there." In the present case the conversion had taken place in India. Even if it be assumed that India was an Islamic country, it appeared that there could be no lawful dissolution of the marital tie unless Islam had actually been presented to the unconverted party by the court acting as Kazi. The authorities envisaged the actual physical presence of the parties before the Kazi and, in the absence of the unconverted party, it was difficult to see how Islam could be effectively presented to him. In his lordship's opinion a mere request by a cable from a convert to her husband asking him to embrace Islam was not sufficient to constitute a valid offer of the faith to the unconverted party. In any case it was the Kazi and not the convert who should present Islam to the unconverted party and it was for him in a suitable case to pronounce a decree dissolving the marriage.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Hindu Women's Rights Committee** :—The Committee of three eminent Hindu lawyers which has been assigned this rather misleading title in newspapers consists of Justice Sir B. N. Rau, Mr. Dwarkanath Mitter, an ex-Judge also of the Calcutta High Court, and Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Principal of the Poona Law College and author of many important books on Hindu Law. The Committee has had an interesting origin. In 1937, the Indian Legislature passed a law introduced by that indefatigable though a bit impetuous champion of Hindu women's rights, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh of Bombay, according to widow and daughters an equal rank with sons in the order of succession of a Hindu dying without making a will. The daughter who was fifth in order of succession prior to that Act, was thereby raised to the first rank. In connection with this change the words "lineal descendants" were used in the Act, which gave rise to doubts in the minds of lawyers. It was thought that the phrase might be taken to mean much more than was intended by the Legislature. In 1938 Government brought in a Bill to correct this mistake. But instead of stopping short at the correction, the Government Bill which was passed, practically deprived the daughter not only of the fifth place which was hers before the Act of 1937, but virtually of any place in the order of succession. To correct this second mistake, Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta introduced another Bill last year. His Bill was circulated for opinion. Mr. Datta and other Hindu members who supported the Bill, understood that the opinions received disclosed a large body of Hindu opinion to be in favour of the Bill. The Home Member of the Government of India, Sir Reginald Maxwell, however, took a different view. "Very few of the Provincial Governments consulted, are," he said, "in favour of this measure, and even where

there is a certain amount of sympathy for the principle underlying the Bill, a strong feeling is manifest that piecemeal legislation of this kind is undesirable, and that, in fact, constant tinkering with the law can only lead to confusion unless undertaken in a systematic manner under the supervision of an expert committee." The argument about piecemeal legislation was easily disposed of by Mr. Datta who pointed out that as the present anomaly had resulted from piecemeal legislation it had to be remedied by the same process. Sir Reginald was at first disposed to oppose the Bill on behalf of Government but on second thoughts he expressed the Government's sympathy with the object of the Bill which, he understood broadly speaking, was "to restore the position of the daughter to that which she was intended to occupy before the Act of 1937 was amended." This would be to restore the daughter to the first place as in the Act of 1937. But Mr. Datta in his speech expressly stated that what his Bill aimed at doing was to put the daughter in the place which she occupied before that Act was passed, namely, the fifth. "I want," he said, "only to restore to her the position which she occupied ever since the beginning of Hindu Law" that is before Dr. Deshmukh's Act changed it by promoting the daughter to the first place. This seems to conflict with the clause in Mr. Datta's Bill making its provisions retrospective from the 14th April 1937, the day on which the Viceroy's assent was given to the Deshmukh Act. There are here further opportunities of confusion. It is fortunate that an expert Committee has been appointed to go over the whole question and to make recommendations which will help the Legislature to pass an Act which will apply to the whole of British India without any need arising for further piecemeal legislation.

**The Subash Sensation** :—The disappearance from his home under mysterious circumstances of Subash Chandra Bose, ex-President of the Indian National Congress and Founder of the Forward Block within it in protest against the policy of the Congress High Command, has relieved Indian politics from the dreary boredom of slogans and arrests. Mr. Bose was arrested under the Indian Defence Rules for a speech which he made sometime back but was released on parole owing to ill-health. His case was to have come up before the Presidency

Magistrate of Calcutta on Monday but on Sunday his relatives found that Mr. Bose was missing from his room and their efforts to discover his whereabouts proved fruitless. It seems that since about a fortnight back Mr. Bose had taken a vow of silence and communicated with his relatives in the house only by means of pencilled slips of paper. He spent his time sitting on a tiger skin and reading the Bhagavad Gita and other religious books and in meditation. In speaking to friends, he is said to have recently expressed his view that only sanyasis can save the country and to have referred to some South Indian Ashrams. Mr. Bose in his early college days had come under the influence of Swami Vivekananda and the Ramakrishna Mission. After he came under the spell of the late Mr. C. R. Das's powerful personality, he had merged himself entirely in politics. When this writer called on him at his hotel in Vienna nearly eight years ago, he found Mr. Bose with a company of Indian friends immersed in political work. He enlisted the sympathy of influential men in the European capitals for the cause of India. His book on the Indian struggle was banned in India but has since his election to the Presidentship of the Congress been, we think, allowed to be circulated in this country. The exact reasons for the differences between Gandhiji and Mr. Bose are not clear. A man of strong individuality, it must have been highly repugnant to him to be obliged to have no opinions which had not received the imprimatur of Sevagram. Anyhow the breach was complete and attempts of friends to patch them up proved unavailing. In passing, we can not help observing that Gandhiji's telegram to Mr. Sarat, Mr. Subhas' brother, to "wire the truth," is not in accord with the sensitive courtesy which Gandhiji has always observed in dealing with distressed friends. Surely, Gandhiji could not have feared that Mr. Sarat Bose would concoct a story for his edification. Doubtless it was a bad slip but psychiatrists attach much significance to slips of the tongue or pen as the out-cropping of subconscious feelings. On Wednesday evening the radio announced that Mr. Subhas Bose had been found and arrested in Jharia under a warrant issued by the Calcutta Magistrate when Mr. Subhas Bose failed to appear before him, his case having been posted for that day which also happened to be his birthday. The papers next morning announced that the radio announcement had not been confirmed from Patna or Calcutta. Surely, Mr. Bose has been found or not found, and if he has not been found, why not say so plainly? Yogic practices are dangerous unless followed under expert guidance and it is just possible that Mr. Bose's amateur exercises have landed him in mental difficulties. The Gita itself sets little store by such exercises. It simplifies the whole matter by declaring that whoever performs his duty without caring for the results, he is the sannyasi and he is the yogi.

**Hyderabad Tenancy Report:**—The Hyderabad Tenancy Committee whose Report has been published recently, refers to the absence of a monetary basis for the economic life of the country-side as having hampered its investigation. "As the village economy in the Dominions is based mostly on barter," it observes, "it is very difficult to make even an approximately correct estimate of the average income of an average tenant." In another passage it remarks, "It is difficult to arrive with accuracy at the cost of cultivation per acre, as almost every service in the village is paid for in kind, just as village carpenters and blacksmiths are paid each a bag of jawar for every plough repaired by them and just as women labourers at harvest time are paid one-eighth part of the quantity of crops cut by them. Even where plough bullocks are hired, the hire is paid in kind." Nevertheless, the Committee has roughly calculated these items so essential to the prosecution of its enquiry and for the formulation of the recommendations which are embodied in a draft appended to the Report. The absence of a currency as medium of exchange is not an insuperable obstacle in the way of calculating cost of cultivation and wage incomes. In fact for accurate calculation of these factors, economists have to convert monetary into commodity values in order to arrive at the real wages and costs. The Committee has done the same but the method used by it is not indicated in the Report.

**Back to Barter:**—The prevalence of a barter system was considered a sign of primitive economic life and was taught to be such in schools up to within fifteen or twenty years ago. Even now, perhaps the same text-books are being used. But the basis of economic life in a large part of Europe has changed and international commerce is now conducted on basically the same method of barter as that which prevails in the Nizam's Dominions. The barter method has been forced on the world by the fact that a few countries have managed to corner nearly all the gold in existence. The American accumulation, especially, has become so enormous that economists see in it a menace to the country's future prosperity. If the barter system on which several nations now exchange raw materials for goods and *vice versa* becomes permanent, the gold in American vaults will progressively decline in value. Gold is not a necessity of life and its value depends to a considerable extent on its use for currency purposes. In most countries of the world, paper currency is now in circulation. Mahomed Bin Taghlak, when he ordered pieces of leather to be used as currency, was derided as a mad man but all nations, including the most progressive, have now adopted his plan of a token currency. Barter does away even with the need for paper or leather. Another advantage of the barter method is that it prevents dislocation of the economic life of the people by variation in prices.



**States' Champion:**—Among the honours conferred on the New Year's Day, was a Knight Commandership of the Star of India, the premier Indian Order, conferred on Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore. He had already received the corresponding grade in the second senior order, the Indian Empire. Some one who devotes much study to these matters has discovered that for fifty years no other Dewan of an Indian State has been honoured with the Knighthood of the Star of India, the last Dewan to receive the distinction being Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao. We can not ourselves vouch for the correctness of this chronology. The Travancoreans are naturally greatly elated by the honour done to their brilliant and dashing Dewan and at the last meeting of the Representative Assembly of the State, perhaps the oldest in the country, the members offered their congratulations to the Dewan-President. Sir Ramaswami in his reply to their felicitations declared that the honour bestowed on him was not a personal tribute but a recognition on the part of the Paramount Power of the importance of Indian States. It is usual for the recipient of honours to make out that those who appreciate them are themselves sharers in them and that indeed the honour done to him was really intended for the community or class to which he belonged. No one would have been surprised if Sir Ramaswami had declared that the honour done to him was an honour intended for Travancore and its people. But he was not content with this somewhat commonplace remark. He boldly claimed that in his person the Paramount Power has recognised the importance of all the Indian States from the 2½ acre ones to the great States with millions of population and revenues calculated in crores of rupees. It must be acknowledged that his claim rests on a solid foundation. While the Dewans of other States were compromising or fighting "rearguard actions" with the Congress since it began meddling in their internal affairs, Sir Ramaswami alone stood out in public as the champion of Indian Princes in the plenitude of their claim to guide their people's destiny. Some of his arguments in support of this position are of more than doubtful validity. Many of the Princes will themselves shrink from advancing them. The responsibility which the claim of divine right implies, is almost beyond the strength of any man born of a human mother to discharge. But there was courage and candour in advancing it and the Congress leaders were left gasping at the audacity. They had no reply to give. They fell back on their haunches like a horse pulled up in midcareer. They have not still recovered their equanimity. They have declared that there should be no satyagraha in Indian States during the present individual Civil Disobedience in British India. They have realised the wisdom of leaving the States alone and for this relief the credit undoubtedly belongs in large measure to Sir

Ramaswami Aiyer.

**No Responsible Government for Travancoreans:**—With characteristic intrepidity Sir Ramaswami has not let the grass grow under his feet. He has warned the Travancoreans this week in unequivocal terms that full responsible government in the British sense of a Cabinet responsible to an elected Assembly and liable to be dismissed on an adverse vote by it, is not a goal which he contemplates for Travancore. Never, it has been said, is a word which should never find a place in the vocabulary of a statesman. Sir Ramaswami's successors may take a different view or it may happen that Parliamentary Government will cease to have any attraction for Travancoreans and they may not want it even if it is thrust upon them. In fact we doubt much if political workers in Indian States realise what full responsible government is for which they have developed a sudden passion. The British Parliament can depose the Sovereign or compel him to abdicate because its ideas of propriety does not tally with his. The one act of illegality in the proceedings which ended in the execution of Charles I was not the regicide but Pride's Purge which was an infringement of the rights of Parliament. Does any responsible leader in an Indian State really want this kind of responsible Government for his people?

**Students' Strikes:**—In commenting some time back on students' strikes, we said that Bombay was remarkably free from them. Unfortunately our congratulations were premature and in three colleges, the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay and the Gujerat and Law Colleges of Ahmedabad, there have been demonstrations during the past fortnight. The strike in the V. J. T. Institute seems to have been unnecessary and its continuation is apparently due only to the fact that there is no machinery which can be put into operation to settle the dispute. The quarrel which has arisen over a question of hostel medical fees, has unfortunately come to a head immediately after Mr. P. N. Joshi, the first Indian appointed to the post, had taken over the principalship. The strike there, however, is not likely to have a very long existence as it is the parents and guardians who are most affected by any increase in hostel charges and they will hardly view the activities of their wards with much enthusiasm. The most sensible strike among students that we have yet heard of is the one organised by the students of the Madras Christian College in protest against the arrest of one of their colleagues. The boys went on a fast for a day and then gave the food thus saved to the poor in villages near by. This kind of demonstration has something to commend it and we must congratulate both the authorities and the students' leaders on the happy turn which events took. If the procedure becomes general for political demonstrations, here is a course of action in which both staff and students can join effectively.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 1, 1941.

## TERRITORIAL AND FUNCTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

The Corporative State of Fascism substitutes representation by interests or functions in place of the territorial representation of democratic States. Representation by interests was adopted by the Hyderabad Reforms Committee in place of communal representation but the latter managed to creep in at the last minute and the new constitution is both communal and functional. Nevertheless, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, in one of his recent after-luncheon speeches, referred to functional representation as a possible solution of the communal problem, and referred obviously to the Hyderabad experiment as an example. The first attempt to investigate the relation between territorial and functional representation, so far as we know, is made in an article in the December *Political Science Quarterly*, the journal of the American Academy of Political Science, by Professor Charles Hyneman, under the heading, "Who Makes our Laws?" The Professor starts by saying that his article is based on the assumption that it is more important to know who makes the laws of a people than who makes its songs. Rather a loose observation as the maker of laws may be, as he often is, inspired by the maker of songs. Robert Burns' "A man's a man for a' that" has, perhaps, inspired more equalitarian legislators than many volumes of political philosophy. Professor Hyneman's enquiry has a more immediately relevant purpose. It is whether the American system of territorial electorates results in a proportionate representation of occupations and professions which are the ways of earning a living of lawmakers. The Professor is particularly interested in finding out whether the charge, often made, that the preponderance of lawyers in legislatures is the most serious obstacle to wholesome reforms, is true or not true and, if true, to what extent. For this purpose, he analyses the composition of twelve Senates and thirteen Houses of Representatives of States of the Union. Congressmen and Municipal Councillors are excluded from this investigation.

In the twenty-five Legislative Chambers taken together, lawyers are the most numerous single group. Next to them come farmers. The American farmer, whether owner or tenant, is not an illiterate peasant cultivating a few acres with a pair of bullocks, and depending on the village moneylender for advances and the marketing of his crops. He is an educated man with considerable technical training, owns or leases large tracts of land which he cultivates by means of machinery, and regulates his operations by telephonic reports from markets and meteorological stations. Lawyers and farmers together constitute slightly less than one-

half of all legislators. A further analysis shows lawyers as the most numerous group in seventeen of the twenty-five chambers; in the other eight chambers they were either second or third in importance. In the chambers where lawyers were not pre-eminent, farmers outnumbered them. In only two chambers were farmers less than third in importance. Merchants were the third important group, but not the pre-eminent group in a single one of the twenty-five. Professor Hyneman draws four conclusions from his examination of the position of representatives in relation to occupation. They are :

Our bi-cameral system is not producing senates which differ from the lower houses so far as means of livelihood of legislators are concerned; the farmer is not, as commonly supposed, in possession of too many seats in legislative chambers; the lawyer is representative for all population groups—our professional representator; and that part of our population which, under any definition, could be called the industrial proletariat, enjoys very little membership.

The States Legislatures, twenty-five of which have been selected for investigation by Professor Hyneman, correspond, as regards functions, more or less to the legislatures in the provinces and where they exist in Indian States. That is to say, the broad questions of national policy on Defence, Currency, Communications and Customs do not fall within their purview. They are the province of Congress which Professor Hyneman has expressly left out of his investigation. It is necessary to bear this in mind because of Professor Hyneman's assumption that "any individual lawmaker can be expected to defend his personal interests against legislative attack, and members of any occupational group can be expected to stand side by side in opposition to measures adverse to their common interests." This assumption, if extended to national Parliaments, will make representative assemblies the greatest impediments to national progress. Even in the restricted sphere of States' Legislatures, Professor Hyneman rightly observes :

The task of devising a representative system for legislative assemblies in the modern world is not simply one of assuring spokesmen, directly or indirectly, for all classes of people or for all identities of interest. The task is, perhaps fully as much, one of making sure that demands of certain groups will be submerged in the general public.

Edmund Burke's classic protest that a member of Parliament is not a delegate of his constituency but one bound to bring his mind and conscience to bear on all questions from the point of view of the whole nation and in consonance with sound principles, is as much valid today as when he made it. The territorial system of electorates is not perfect but when not beset with restrictions which detract greatly from their freedom, they seem more capable of returning the ideal legislator as defined by Edmund Burke than the alternatives to it which have been suggested. These are representatives allocated according to economic status—landowners, industrial entrepreneurs, wage-earners, and so on; or representatives apportioned

according to social functions such as bankers, farmers, coal-miners. The first alternative, if completely adopted, would, Professor Hyneman observes, hand over not only the political but the economic system to "the property less-worker unemployed class." He is not equally clear as to the effect of adopting the second alternative, or rather he does not see how it can be applied in practice. Would caretakers and charwomen in bank buildings be classed as bankers? Or will all caretakers be gathered together in a special constituency of their own or "cast into a more inclusive soviet of skilled or unskilled workers and invited to send representatives to the legislature who are uncompromising in their spokesmanship and manoeuvring for the advantage of a worker class?" Professor Hyneman questions the assumption that men returned from territorial constituencies are generally or frequently unable to rise beyond their occupational bias. Lawyers who are bound to be particular about precedents in law courts can divest themselves of the professional mentality and view a national issue as statesmen should, with eyes fixed on the future rather on the past. While the legal mind is predisposed against radical changes, it is also keenly alive to the defects of a law as they have disclosed themselves in practice and, therefore, it favourable to reform as distinguished from revolution. In a system of government where laws regulate the administration, the lawyer must necessarily enjoy a position of preponderant influence; and, provided a vigilant public opinion removes from them the temptation to exercise their power for professional ends, the lawyers more than any other occupational group make good legislators.

#### MR. AMERY'S PROGRESS.

More than any of his predecessors for nearly half a century, the present Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, has come close to the heart of the Indo-British problem. Even Lord Morley who, as a philosopher and historian, might have been expected to take a larger view of it, could not think of it except as a matter of climate and clothing. In his penultimate pronouncement on the Indian problem, Mr. Amery brushed aside this old superstition and drew a parallel between the political evolution of Great Britain and the issues facing Indian statesmen. Such a conception of the Indian problem simplifies it immensely and brings it within the grasp of the student of politics all the world over. Another great step was taken by Mr. Amery in the interview which he gave to the Editor of an Anglo-Indian periodical last week. He summed up the main issues of the problem as being to maintain "the essential unity of India without which India can never enjoy internal peace or external security, and at the same time to give to the main elements in Indian life an assurance that they can develop their culture and institutions in their own way." In this admirable definition on the Indian problem, we shall venture to make only a single amendment. Mr. Amery speaks of "the main elements in Indian life." Obviously he means by "main elements," elements which are most likely to give trouble if not conciliated. At the present time the Congress and the Muslim League are "elements" which have forced themselves on the attention of British statesmen.

A statesman must look beyond "main factors." His policy and measures should be so framed that the least "factor" in the country should be as assured of security as the main ones. It is strange that Mr. Amery who would give all "minorities" a virtual veto should be content to think only of the main factors in envisaging the Indian problem. There is a real danger that a compact between the Congress and the Muslim League which Mr. Amery is obviously eager to promote, may jeopardise the interests of the smaller "interests" or "minorities"—Indian Jews, Christians and Parsis. Mr. Amery is rightly concerned about the responsibilities and obligations incurred in British rule. Indians during their much longer existence, have also incurred obligations and responsibilities which they must fulfil if they are true to their heritage. After all, British rule is an episode in the long story of India. An Englishman may be excused for mistaking it to be the heart and core of it, but Indians can not and must not do so. Chiefest of our obligations is our obligation to the small groups who sought asylum in this country relying on the traditional toleration of India. The Hindus have borne the brunt of all onslaughts in order to save not only their own culture and institutions but also the culture and institutions of these groups. When Mr. Amery speaks of "an assurance that they (minorities) can develop their own culture and institutions in their own way" he is preaching to those who first inaugurated that policy and have stuck to it through all the centuries notwithstanding considerable, and at times intolerable, provocation. One does not want to rake up past history but when it is being assiduously misunderstood and misrepresented, the interests of truth demand that such misrepresentation should not be acquiesced in. The Hindus have many sins of omission and commission to account for but they have never prevented any other community from developing its own culture and institutions in its own way. If Mr. Amery is in doubt about it let him appoint a Commission of historians to investigate and report on the question. The elimination or subordination of the Hindu element in India will mean the elimination or subordination of the very principle for which Mr. Amery pleads—namely, that each element should have complete freedom to develop its own culture and institutions in its own way.

Mr. Amery said that the maintenance of the essential unity of India is necessary for her internal peace and external security. This is a truism which *The Indian Social Reformer* has enlarged upon in season and out of season. We rejoice, therefore, that the Secretary of State for India has insisted on the same theme almost in the same words. But we ask Mr. Amery, if the unity of India is so essential, should it not be reflected in the political constitution of the country? Quite early in the history of British rule in India, it was realised that unitary control was essential to preserve internal peace and external security and the Regulating Act made the Governor-General in Council the supreme authority over the whole country including the States. Not only that but Burma was annexed at considerable cost as essential to the peace and security of India. Aden was made a charge on India for the same reason. But when a vague form of self-government for India appeared on the horizon, Aden and Burma were hastily separated, and the unitary Government of India was divided up between eleven autonomous provinces. The moment the war was declared the Governor-General was made once again the supreme authority but the frontiers of India were extended far beyond Aden to East Africa on the North and beyond Burma to Malaya on the south. The necessary

and the inescapable corollary to Mr. Amery's belief that the essential unity of India is an indispensable factor in the maintenance of her internal peace and external security, which we fully share, is that this unity should be exhibited, sustained, and nourished by a unitary Government for British India. The first step in solving the deadlock is to repeal the Act of 1935. As a matter of fact, it is in abeyance owing to the emergent situation that has arisen from the war. Let it be formally interred and let us begin with a clean slate. Pakistan is the logical corollary of eleven autonomous provinces. The re-union of the latter will see the end of it. Further it is in the interest of all minorities and the only effectual way of safeguarding them is to entrust their protection and supervision to the central government which can view the Indian problem as a whole. We shall cherish the hope that Mr. Amery will follow the present tendency of his thoughts courageously and faithfully to its logical conclusion. In that way and in that way alone can he consolidate the essentials of Indian unity which are so essential to peace within and security beyond our frontiers. It is not necessary to wait for this till power is transferred to Indian hands. It is the head and heart that counts, and it was Englishmen in other lands, the United States of America and the Dominions, who forced the Mother country to relinquish her control to the people directly concerned in those lands.

#### LORD CURZON AND THE STATES.

Sir Kailas Narayan Haksar's judgment on Lord Curzon's influence on Indian States is a blend of irony and appreciation. In one place he writes of it as the culmination of the policy inaugurated by Lord Lytton and pursued by Lord Dufferin under the aegis of Disraeli. He regards as typical of their policies the Royal Titles Bill passed in the time of Lytton and the Imperial Service contingents instituted in the States in Dufferin's time. In another place, he admits that Lord Curzon's admonitions to the Chiefs to inform themselves of conditions prevailing in their States, had a very salutary effect. He writes, "At least some young Rulers of Lord Curzon's day scoured the States to obtain personal knowledge of matters of all kinds, archaeology not excluded. The interest they took in famine relief and irrigation projects, was truly remarkable. Nevertheless, the motive force was to ingratiate themselves with the Viceroy and to curry favour with his myrmidons. During Lord Curzon's period of office, the distance between the Viceroy and the Princes began to narrow for the first time." Two observations seem called for on the above. Surely all princes in Lord Curzon's time were not indifferent to and ignorant of the condition of their people and had not all to be reminded of their duty by the "preachings" of the Viceroy? Lord Curzon was a man of deep historical feeling and cherished a high regard for Rulers who adhered to the ancient traditions of their ancestors. His admonitions were addressed to those Chiefs who, having departed from the conservative past, were spending their time at gymkhanas and race courses, and expatriating themselves for long months from their State to enjoy the amenities of European capitals. Sir Kailas appreciates the Viceroy's insistence of a high standard of industry and devotion to duty on the part of the Chiefs but he takes exception to the enforcement of these precepts through the only agents available to the Viceroy. Which would Sir Kailas prefer—that the Princes should be warned in time that they are going down the slippery slope so that they may have a fair

chance of starting on the straight and narrow path of duty, or that the Paramount Power should wait till they have irretrievably ruined themselves and the State and had to be deposed or compelled to abdicate by the Suzerain Power? If the Ministers of States had faithfully discharged their duties as councillors instead of acquiescing in or encouraging the Rulers in their vagaries, there would have been fewer occasions for the agents of the Paramount Power to interest themselves in the internal affairs of the States.

There have been, be it said to their honour, such Ministers who, at the risk of much unpleasantness and even some personal danger, stood up, with becoming respect, to the occupant of the gadi for what they considered to be the right course to take. But the majority naturally found it pleasanter to let the rulers have their own way, in the hope that the Paramount Power will "do the needful" at the right moment. Sometimes they consoled themselves with the thought that the point at issue was a trifling one and that they should reserve their influence for important occasions. But "we perish by things permitted" and a Ruler in the last stage of disgrace has had often cause to reflect that, if his Minister had pointed out to him his error in the initial stages, he would have been spared the ignominy to which he has been brought for want of timely advice. Not that the Prince, in every case, would have heeded the advice of his Minister. I recall a case in which a Prince took it into his head to marry a second wife when his first wife was living, had a son and was highly respected by her people as a model wife and mother. The Minister was sounded but he responded with an emphatic protest. And finally when his refusal was unheeded, refused to be present at the function. Some friends have questioned the right of the Minister to interfere in the private affairs of the ruler. The private behaviour of an Indian Prince has often serious public consequences. Besides the Minister is bound to advise his master, especially where he is a younger man, of the danger of giving free rein to his impulses without regard to morality and good conscience and without regard to the impression which such conduct would create on his subjects who look up to their ruler as a model for them to follow.

If Lord Curzon's policy had been in force in the years following his Viceroyalty, there would not have been the crop of cases in which the Government of India was obliged to take drastic action during the last ten or fifteen years. Sir Kailas praises the reversal of that policy by Lord Minto, Curzon's successor and in every respect a contrast to him. Lord Minto was an easy-going man. He was a sporting man and derived his statesmanship from the behaviour of horses on the race-course. He solved the communal differences by communal electorates. He left the Princes to pursue their own course and to take the consequences. Lord Hardinge whom also Sir Kailas approves, was a different type. I have just read his speeches at State banquets and I think the most noticeable feature in them is his anxiety about their future. He gave paternal advice to Princes on their responsibility to their subjects. In one or two cases these admonitions are so pointed that he felt the need to introduce them with an apology. He instituted the Chamber of Princes in the hope that the advice and experience of the older and wiser Princes might have greater influence with the younger and less experienced ones than the advice of Residents and Political officers which was liable to be resented as interference. Unfortunately the elder and more experienced Princes shrank from the task of guiding the younger

men. Some twenty years ago I was honoured with an interview by one of the most eminent and esteemed of Indian rulers. To a question why his State had not joined the Chamber—it joined many years later—he replied without a moment's hesitation that it was because joining the Chamber would only increase the opportunities of friction. The Chamber of Princes instead of developing into an institution for the smaller and less advanced States to benefit by the contact with the representatives of the more advanced States, steadily tended to develop into what it has now become, a Trades Union organization to promote States interests. Lord Willingdon's interruption of the late Jam Sahib in the middle of his fervent oratory proved a shock from which the Chamber has not yet recovered completely. I am not one of those who want the States to be wiped out. I wish them to remain just because they are the depositories of Indian tradition where the political future of India can be worked out on the basis of that tradition. But it is not by glossing over real defects in States administration and by magnifying the merits of slight achievements that the States can be helped to play their part in shaping the destinies of India.

K. N.

#### THE PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

Following the announcement that a meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference has been convened for February 1, the *Bombay Chronicle* published on January 24 a message from its New Delhi correspondent that it was felt "in certain quarters" that the time had now come "to approach the Viceroy with definite proposals." It suggested that there was under consideration a proposal to lead a deputation to the Viceroy on the question of the restrictions imposed on the press, and it referred to a memorandum drafted by the Central Committee and unanimously accepted by both Indian and Anglo-Indian press representatives basing the whole case of the press on the need to maintain its independence "free from dictation from any quarter." The correspondent added,

The anomaly of the present position is seen from the fact that according to official circles themselves the general attitude of the press, so far as the war effort is concerned, has been throughout satisfactory. The difference of opinion has been largely on the question as to what can be published as of right by newspapers in connection with the Satyagraha movement in discharge of their duty to the public who expect of newspapers to keep them informed of what is happening in the country. It is believed that the Central Committee's memorandum has raised the general political question and pointed out how the establishment of a National Government in the country would remove the present anomalies experienced by the press in the present difficult situation.

There are many features in this which give grounds for serious apprehension as to the stand which the Editors in Committee will be asked to take. Nor is the situation improved by a later message which the *Chronicle* published in its issue dated Wednesday, January 29 from its Nagpur correspondent, purporting to be a report of a meeting of editors in Nagpur. The news item read as follows :

The meeting recorded its opinion that it is the duty of Government to accord to the Press full freedom of publicity regarding Satyagraha. The Press should have full liberty to publish uncensored all statements of Gandhiji in view of the special position he occupies in the country. The meeting deeply resented the interferences of Government with the publication of statements which has outraged the feelings of the people. In case the Standing Committee is unable to

secure to the press freedom to publish uncensored all statements of Gandhiji and Satyagraha news, the meeting feels no useful purpose would be served by the continuance of the Standing Committee and Provincial Press Advisory Committee. The meeting suggested that, if Government does not change its present attitude towards the press, the publication of war news and propaganda publicity by Indian papers will be considered in that light.

If these two reports revealed partially the general outlines of the memorandum, an overzealous Karachi newspaper has printed the memorandum in full, ignoring the fact that the communications of the Secretary of the Editors' Conference are usually in the strictest confidence, not excluding the agenda for meetings of the Standing Committee. The memorandum as printed from Karachi reads even worse than any outline which the *Chronicle* might have brought to the minds of readers. It suggests that the suppression of statements of Gandhiji might force him into a fast and pleads that newspapers might not be in any way involved in such a development, however indirectly. This is a peculiarly contemptible position for responsible journalists to take and it has been denounced by no less a person than Mr. Mahadev Desai at the November open Conference. Mr. Desai referred with feeling to the advice circulated to editors permitting publication of the fact of Gandhiji undertaking a fast if and when he did so. Mr. Desai denounced that reference to such a possibility as coldblooded. Mr. Desai, we are glad to see, is attending the Standing Committee meeting this Saturday. We trust that he will apply all his eloquence to preventing the editors from doing this February what he wanted them to denounce the Government for in November. The scrupulous secrecy laid down by the Editors' Conference places its more responsible members at a great disadvantage while it facilitates the danger of the Conference interests being subordinated to political manipulations. The two reports published in the *Bombay Chronicle* reveal just enough practically to bring public pressure, or the appearance of it, to bear on the Government to achieve the fullest freedom for Gandhiji.

We have ourselves suggested—probably we were the first to suggest it—that the Standing Committee should meet. But the purpose as indicated by these two messages seems to us to be hardly sufficient reason for calling a Standing Committee meeting. In commenting on the Press after the Editors' Conference, we had suggested that the Standing Committee could spend its time profitably by collecting data on the actual position of the press in the different provinces with a view to finding out where repression really touches the liberties of the press and then to meet to consider what remedy was necessary. There is little to show that anything on these lines has been done. On the other hand, the future student of the press during wartime in India will probably be surprised to find how much had been conceded by the different Central and provincial Committees of the Editors' Conference which detracted from the freedom of the press, in pursuit of the comparatively minor matter of securing Gandhiji the fullest freedom of expression of opinion. A few instances will suffice and all of them are available today to the public. We shall take the case of the *Nagpur Times* in which a warning was given to the Editor for publishing a report of the Bhiyani trial. The report gave both sides of the case, if anything devoting more space to the prosecution since the only defence material was a statement by Mr. Bhiyani. The warning was apparently inspired by the official view that to give any publicity to the



defence in such a trial was to make the report a "prejudicial" one. There is nothing to show that the Standing Committee has resisted, not to mention repudiated, this interpretation which distorts the meaning of words. Then there is the *National Herald* which was asked to pay a sum of Rs. 6,000 in securities for certain leading articles. The Editors' Committee secured for the *Herald* the right to print headings to war news without pre-censorship. But it has not mentioned what it has been able to achieve on this more important matter. From the fact that the *National Herald* has not resumed its editorials which it had suspended on the demand for security, we may fairly assume that things are very much where they were here. On a larger issue, the attitude of claiming more freedom on the ground that the press has behaved well in supporting the Government's war effort, has resulted in an anomalous position. The nationalist press which is anxious to feature satyagraha news, is driven to the necessity of inflating itself to a point of almost desperate and hysterical opposition to Nazism and Fascism. This is a logical by-product of the machinery evolved at Delhi last November. The first thing that strikes one is obviously the fact that the claim for greater freedom for the press is related in the statement to the previous conduct of the press. This was, it is true, also mentioned by the President of the Conference on November 10 in his address but he did not link it up with his arguments for free expression of opinion. The Nagpur message refers to the publicity given to war news and to "propaganda publicity" and hints that there might be a change in policy in future, unless Government responds to this co-operation with a greater trust in the press. It must immediately strike the most casual reader as following from this that the press has been used as an instrument of propaganda by the Government on a very wide scale; that it has allowed itself to be thus made use of; and that now it is seeking the right to print satyagraha news in full as a return for the service it has rendered Government in the past, under threat of discontinuing that service in the future. If the press has no higher claim to the right to publish news, undistorted, un mutilated and without suppression, than the fact that it gave free space for war propaganda, it does not deserve the freedom for which it now agitates. In fact that very feature rather renders it unfit for it. If it was prepared to surrender its independence on war news and to become the instrument of Government propaganda, it was only natural that Government should seek to compel it into similar acquiescence on satyagraha news as well. If the press was in error in doing what it now would seem to confess to have done, then it is doubly wrong in going to the Government and saying, "We have in the past been very willing to help you in publicity both in our advertisement pages and in our news columns, therefore you should kindly allow us the right to publish satyagraha news in full." For, in doing so they make the freedom they seek conditional on continued good conduct. Suppose for some reason, some newspaper has not been able in the past or finds itself unable in the future to give the "generous" support both in advertisement space and in reading matter space, to the Government's war effort which, as the *Hindu* editor pointed out at the November Conference, has been given by several newspapers at even financial loss, then apparently he loses the right to free publication of news.

The reference to the national Government in which so much reliance is placed, is an intrusion into politics which probably is undertaken as compensation for what has been evaded in the relations

between Government and the press. So far as the Congress movement as guided by Gandhiji is concerned, we do not think it could be asserted with any certainty that it would make much difference whether there is an Indian Government or the present administration at Delhi. So far as the press is concerned, it is ridiculous to pretend that the golden age will be ushered in the moment political freedom is granted to the country. In fact, it is a point well worth considering that the Congress Governments, as Governments, had more serious opposition from the Indian press—with the exception of Prohibition and subjects touching on British rights in India—than they ever encountered from the Anglo-Indian newspapers. From this point it is rather unfortunate that Government action in preventing publicity to Gandhiji statements, hinders to some extent judgment being passed on the merits of their contents. But we do not see how, so long as there is a censorship or "press-advising" and so long as the system is accepted by the press as a whole, there can be any exemptions made in favour of one individual, however important he may be. This is the plea put forward by the Nagpur group of Editors. It is also the position taken by several responsible journalists who are prepared in support of it to say that the statements issued by Gandhiji are innocuous and may be left uncensored. The argument has been advanced that Herr Hitler's statements are published while Gandhiji's periodic communiques are denied publicity. There is an obvious answer, and we are surprised that it has not occurred to those who pose the question.

The position seems to us to be clear. The press has to agitate for freedom to publish facts for everybody. There are limits to this in time of war which are easily recognisable—information which will be of help to the enemy, of course, no one wants to publish. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be much enthusiasm among journalists for this amount of freedom. Partly, this is because it would involve a serious and arduous inquiry into the conditions under which the press is working since the outbreak of war. To a large extent also, it arises from the fact that the press feels that it cannot carry on a struggle against Government unless it calls to its aid the support of the Congress movement. It is not able to do this on its own terms. So long as this is the position, the agitation for press rights must necessarily be swayed by the necessities of the political situation, more particularly of the relations subsisting between the Government and the Congress.

#### "INDIAN APPEALS TO PRIVY COUNCIL."

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I welcome the suggestion made by you in your editorial note "Indian Appeals to Privy Council." To have a Privy Council in India to decide appeals while our Central Court is sitting idle may not be a perfectly logical arrangement. But logic is never the strong point of an Englishman. The arrangement you propose is a way of "muddling through for the duration" and as such should have an appeal to the powers that be. It has got the additional merit that it postpones the question of turning the Federal Court into the Supreme Court till normal conditions are restored.

As you have stated, we have already got two Privy Councillors in India at the present moment. About having a third Privy Councillor I have a suggestion to make and that is to make the Chief

Justice of India a Privy Councillor. The Lord Chief Justice of England is one of those who from the nature of his office has a prescriptive claim to appointment to the Privy Council. Why not the Chief Justice of India? If my suggestion is accepted, then for the duration, the Chief Justice of India will not be sitting on the Federal Court Bench as Federal Court decisions are generally appealable to the Privy Council. This will mean the necessity of the appointment of another judge in the Federal Court. Thus we will solve the problem of the ultimate appeals from Indian Cases with the least disturbance.

Delhi, }  
24th January 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
B. BANERJI.

#### HARIJANS IN COCHIN.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have read your note about the Harijans in Cochin (reproduced in *Cochin Argus*). Permit me to say that you are under a misconception when you say "so efficient indeed are the measures that the cry now is that the same measures should be extended to converts from the Harijan Castes to Christianity." The fact is just the opposite. If Harijan uplift is so remarkable in Cochin it is due, to a far extent, to the manifold services rendered by the Christian Churches here. They run nearly four-fifths of the schools and ninety-five percent of the orphanages and poor houses, where all without any distinction of caste or class are admitted. When Caste Hindus did not even allow the Harijans to attend schools, it was the Christian Churches that helped them by starting schools in every nook and corner of the State. Sir Shanmukham, the present Dewan, once said: "It will not be an exaggeration to say that we are indebted to the great Christian Missionaries whose selfless efforts are responsible to a large extent for the educational advancement noticed in the West Coast and particularly in Cochin." You will be surprised to note that the Catholic Church alone is spending more than fifty lakhs of rupees every year for social service in Malabar, the benefits of which are enjoyed by all castes and creeds.

When the Government began Harijan uplift in the States, they did it without interfering with the religious belief of the Harijans. That has been the practice for the last so many years. But now the Minister has passed an Order that converts will not be given concessions. Why this distinction now? Is it not an affront to conscience and religion? Why should the Government think of religion when they give educational concessions from the general coffers? Will it be right for a Minister to utilise public money for followers of one religion alone? We agitate not for the small sum of money (which will be less than Rs. 100 at the most), which is denied to the converts. But we are against the policy of intolerance which says that a Harijan should not follow his conscience and that he will be given a concession for not acceding to the dictates of his conscience. It is a peculiar situation to which there is no parallel in British India. There is no question of proselytising the masses in Cochin. The Missionary method and the Government policy were one and the same. We do not want the Government to subsidise conversion. We also do not want the Government to interfere in conversion. I think our position is clear.

Ernakulam, }  
20th January, }  
1941. }

Yours etc.,  
M. O. JOSEPH, NEDUMKUNNAM.

[The word Harijan was coined by Gandhiji to

denote especially the classes, regarded as untouchables among Hindus. In every Province and State there are concessions available for Backward Classes, that is classes who, in Bombay, had less than 2 per cent of literates. Christians, if their literates are less than this proportion, would be entitled to these concessions. The concessions meant for Harijans are different both in intention and character. These can not be extended to those who are no longer Harijans. That seems to be plain commonsense.—*Editor.*]

#### HINDI—URDU—HINDUSTANI.

The Government of Bombay, says a Press Note, has directed that all Hindi schools where the medium of instruction is Hindi should be exempted from making provision for the teaching of Hindustani. It is explained that this decision is the result of a representation by the Provincial Board of Education in Hindustani who proposed that Hindi schools should be given the same concession as was recently given to Urdu educational institutions. Thus, we have, in place of the long-standing Urdu-Hindi rivalry, a tri-lingual conflict. But what is Hindustani apart from Urdu and Hindi?

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Lord Lloyd:**—A Reuter's message dated the 1st February stated that Lord Lloyd was being treated in a Nursing Home under the supervision of Lord Horder and that his condition gave rise to some anxiety. A day later came the news that he had passed away. The news would have been received with regret by all who had occasion to come in contact with him. The chief thing about him which impressed one at the very first meeting was that he had complete faith in himself and in his capacity to bend others to his will. This combination of qualities made his regime in Bombay a sadly memorable one. His scheme for housing the working classes at Worli left one consideration out of account and it was rather an important one. It was whether the working classes would live in chawls. A famous authority on town-planning and housing problems was in Bombay at the time and Patrick Geddes remarked in his terse, sententious style that the scheme was one not for housing but for warehousing the working classes. He had seen something of the kind done in Berlin and he had prophesied that it would turn the inmates into revolutionaries inevitably. In Bombay the working classes simply refused to go into the Worli Chawls which remained empty until the Congress Government converted them into residences for the middle classes. His next adventure was the Back Bay Reclamation. Bombay had burnt its fingers over reclamation schemes more than once but Lord Lloyd was not to be deterred by experience. What others could not do, he could and would. The Reclamation was begun but did not end as it was intended to do. It gave rise to a crop of litigation and an enquiry commission. The parts reclaimed are now crowded with pretentious buildings and one of the most jealously cherished landscapes in the world is fast developing into a suburb if not a slum. The Sukkur Barrage was Lord Lloyd's most ambitious scheme pushed forward at a fabulous

cost against the advice of almost all engineers with experience of the ways of the wayward Indus. Every season the heart of the Sind Government is in its mouth for fear what pranks the Indus would play. Apart from that, the owners of old irrigated lands are bitterly complaining of the diversion of their water owing to the action of the barrage. Thus far as regards engineering. In politics, Lord Lloyd's regime will be remembered for the scene at the Ahmedabad trial. Lord Lloyd no doubt thought that he was saving the Empire but really he had given way to panic. That prosecution installed Gandhiji as the incontestible political leader of India. After leaving India Lord Lloyd was sent to Egypt. But the Egypt of Lord Lloyd was not the Egypt of Lord Cromer nor was Great Britain the same. A Labour Government was in power precariously no doubt but sufficiently long to send Lord Lloyd into the wilderness. Since his eclipse then, Lord Lloyd remained there until the War and Mr. Winston Churchill made him a Cabinet Minister. Although he was Colonial Secretary and had nothing to do with foreign affairs, he was sent to France at the critical hour to persuade Field Marshal Petain not to surrender. Lord Lloyd had not a persuasive tongue and the Field Marshal was used to give and not take orders. Lord Lloyd's career was not a highly fruitful one but it was an ardent one. His death at an age too early for European statesmen, must be ascribed to his eagerness to deprive Time of its legitimate share in the process of bringing things to maturity. He was no believer in the sage's maxim, "Ripeness is all."

**Marriage Legislation in Mewar:**—Rajputana is socially the most conservative part of India and Mewar is the most conservative State in Rajputana. But the ferment of social reform is beginning to work even there. We publish today the text of the Act for the prevention of undesirable marriages to which His Highness the Maharana Saheb of Udaipur, the premier Rajput Chief, has given his sanction. The provisions of the Act fall under two heads: Under one the ages at which boys and girls can be married is prescribed; under the other marriages of elderly persons with very young and immature girls are prohibited. The minimum age of marriage for girls is fixed at 13, a year less than that prescribed in the Sarda Act for British India. This makes no material difference

and it is possible that Rajput girls at 13 are as well developed as girls at 14 in other parts of the country. In the Census Report of 1901 (Risley and Gait) it was observed that the prevalence of child marriages among Jats and Rajputs had no injurious effect on the groups, as evident from the physique and bearing of Jat and Rajput regiments, because the marriage so-called was merely a betrothal and the girls seldom went to live with their husbands till they were of mature age. This healthy custom, the Age of Consent Committee observed, had fallen into disuse in some parts of the country and hence the need was greater for fixing a minimum marriageable age. The conservatism of the Rajputs and their more or less isolation from the materialistic currents which are playing fiercely in British India, might have preserved the custom of wholesome restraint and therefore the lower age limit is of less consequence than it would otherwise be. The prevention by law of men over 50 marrying women of less than twenty-five years of age might be justified by local conditions. We should think, however, that in a State where child marriage prevails and presumably the custom, closely associated with it, of prohibition of the remarriage of widows, it would not be easy to find brides past the age of 25. So practically the law would oblige a Mewar widower of more than 50 to seek a spouse beyond the limits of the State. On general grounds also it is undesirable to restrict the freedom of persons of adult age in matters which do not affect the well-being of the community as a whole.

**Lady Linlithgow on the Nursing Profession :—** Lady Linlithgow made some candid observations about the backwardness of Indian women in taking to the nursing profession and the responsibility of men for keeping women backward, in the speech with which Her Excellency opened the annual Conference of the Trained Nurses Association of India last month. She said :

One of the difficulties which nurses are up against is the attitude of Indian men towards women in every walk of life. Except in the matter of child-bearing which the men are only too glad should be the monopoly of women, women are looked upon as inferior to men in every way, and until women in this country can make their influence felt in wider spheres than they do at present, they will continue to be looked upon as secondary to men which, as far as the nursing profession is concerned, is a disaster.

There is much truth in these observations. Conditions are not so bad in the peninsula as in Northern India whence Her Excellency's experiences are largely derived. It was not altogether right to blame the men who are as much the victims of customs as women. The main obstacle to woman not taking her proper share of social service is the system of secluding them behind the purdah. The institution is both the result and the cause of want of education. If Her Excellency seriously wants women to come forward in spite of their men's opposition and insist on participating in

social work, she should do something more than make a speech once a year at the Nurses Association. It is not necessary for Her Excellency to organise a campaign with flags and slogans to preach the gospel of women's emancipation. Far more effective would be quiet talks with the Princes and wealthy Zemindars and bankers who frequent Government Houses in Simla and New Delhi in the spirit of her address at the Nurses Training Association. She might also show by her manner towards them that she appreciates men who treat their women as more than child-bearing machines. So far as the educated middle classes are concerned, a century's work of reform has had beneficial results. Women are pressing forward on equal terms in all fields of intellectual and social activity. The number of women teachers has increased rapidly and it is now possible for girls' schools in several parts of the country to be staffed entirely by women teachers. There are women doctors and the number of girl students in the Indian Medical Colleges is increasing every year. The legal profession has also a small quota of women representatives. More significant is the engagement of women in scientific research. The sentiment that the only vocation for women is marriage, has appreciably weakened. The Women's Movement in India is now safe beyond retrogression and the moral influence of Lady Linlithgow in the directions indicated above will go a great way to help. We are glad that Her Excellency has stressed the need for improving the remuneration and other conditions of the Nursing Service. The work of nursing is an arduous one requiring both physical and mental application. We notice a tendency to train men nurses as a way of getting over the difficulty of competent women.

**The Brahmo Samaj :—**The Maghotsava number of the *Indian Messenger*, the weekly journal of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, is full of instructive reading. It opens with a message from the venerable Acharya Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray who has just completed the eightieth year of a life devoted to public service. Acharya Ray reminds his countrymen that more than a hundred years ago Ram Mohan Roy, the Founder of the Brahmo Samaj, placed before them the ideals of eradicating from the body politic all differences of caste. "If orthodox Hindus had listened to him in those early days," he observes, "they would not have had to face the present crisis." He admits, however, that the day has arrived when Hindu society is beginning to imbibe some of the social ideals of the Brahmo Samaj. This is not quite fair to Hindu society. An ancient society is naturally suspicious of innovations. It wants to test the claims put forward on behalf of a proposed change. The reformer, therefore, has to prove by example that the reform he recommends, has no harmful effects on the wholesome parts of the social organism; that, on the contrary, it is sure to add to its strength and vitality. This is

a very necessary requirement. When the community is convinced by the examples of the leaders of reform that the adoption of their advice is to the good of the community, there has been no hesitation on its part in assimilating reforms and making them a part of its conservatism. In this respect no community has been more amenable to judicious guidance than the Hindus. Ram Mohun Ray himself recognised that methods of iconoclasm should prejudice the cause of progress and pursued a policy of conciliation towards the orthodox people. He respected their prejudices even to the extent of permitting in his life-time only persons of Brahmin descent to conduct the services in his temple.

**Reactions of Hinduism** :—Unfortunately, however, his later successors in the leadership of the Brahma Samaj departed from this wholesome and wise practice under the inspiration of ideas of political democracy. The Brahma Samaj split into three sections. The Sadharan Brahma Samaj with a President and elective council and executive, the Adi Brahma Samaj mainly consisting of members of the Tagore and a few other families in Bengal, and the New Dispensation or Nava Vidhan of the followers of Keshab Chander Sen. All three were regarded by the parent community as seceders and opponents. Latterly scholars like Pandit Sitanath Tatwabhusan and others have stressed the essential identity of the Brahma principles with the philosophy of the Vedanta and there have been welcome signs of a growing understanding between the Brahma Samaj and the main body of Hindus. To a large extent the social principles of the Brahma Samaj have been assimilated by Hindu society and a separate body to propagate them has become superfluous. The growth of a body of social reformers who, without entrenching on religion, advocated changes in social life, was also responsible for drawing away a large body of reformers from the Brahma Samaj. The stopping of child marriages, the relaxation of the restriction on the remarriage of widows, education of women, sea voyages and other reforms of a like character, have no point of connection with speculations about Sankara's absolute Monism, Ramanuja's qualified Monism or Nimbarka's downright dualism. Three of the principal articles in the Maghotsava number are devoted to this abstruse argument. The influence of the Brahma Samaj had reactions in Bombay but the Bombay leaders wisely declined to identify themselves with schisms of the Bengal Samaj. We reprint from the Maghotsava number a sketch of the life and character of one of the group who started the Prarthana Samaj, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, from the pen of Mr. V. S. Sohoni, himself a veteran member of that body.

**Muslim-Burman Marriages** :—The Hon. Mr. U. Saw, Premier of Burma, who has come to India at the head of a delegation to negotiate a Trade Agreement between the two countries, in the

course of a statement issued to the Press when he passed through Bombay, mentioned the problem created by intermarriages between Indians and Burmese. He said :

In the past the position was that where a Burmese Buddhist woman married a man belonging to another religion, the succession and inheritance law which applied to the parties to the marriage as well as to their offspring, was not the Burmese Buddhist law but the law of the non-Burman Buddhist party to the marriage. Thus where a Burmese Buddhist woman married a Muslim husband, the succession and inheritance laws of the couple and their children are Mahomedan laws and not the Burmese Buddhist law. This position was at variance with the position in other countries, where if a marriage takes place the succession and inheritance laws naturally are the laws of the particular country. The position in Burma was intolerable to Burmese sentiment and the matter has been set at rest by the recent passage of the Buddhist Women's Marriage Act according to which where a Burmese Buddhist woman marries in Burma a person belonging to another religion Burmese Buddhist law will apply to succession and inheritance.

The Burmese Prime Minister referred specifically to a Burmese Buddhist woman marrying a Muslim who need not necessarily be an Indian. He may be a Chinese or Malayan. The Muslim claims to carry his personal law with him wherever he goes. This law which includes the law of succession and inheritance is derived not from any Legislature but from the Koran. According to the Burmese Premier, the law in Burma as regards succession and inheritance in intermarriages between Burman women and Muslim men, will be the Burmese law and not the Koranic law. A Muslim cannot marry a person who does not profess a religion which is not expounded as a revelation in the form of a book. Buddhism expressly repudiates any revelation and is not embodied in any Sacred Book. Presumably, therefore, the Burmese woman who marries a Muslim should have embraced Islam before or at the time of marriage. She will no longer be a Buddhist. We suppose there are Burmese Muslims also. The position under the new law as expounded by the Premier seems to abrogate the personal law of Muslims who marry Burmese women on the latter embracing the Muslim religion. Perhaps some of our Muslim readers who are versed in law may find the position interesting enough to merit comment.

**Russia and the U. S. A.** :—The ways of the United States of America are peculiar among nations, and owing to its geographical and political advantages it is very often able to take up a stand which other nations could adopt only at grave peril. Apparently it had, all these months of war, placed "a moral embargo" on the Soviet State which it has for no known reason been pleased to lift now. This decision which was recently announced, led to a certain measure of protest from Britain some of whose spokesmen urged that this would enable Russia to trade with Germany to the disadvantage of the Allies. Figures in proof of this were cited which seemed to indicate that the prospects of a rift in Russo-German relations are not as imminent as press reports periodically lead us to believe.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 8, 1941.

## AHIMSA.

Some time back, we called attention to the danger of the propaganda against Gandhiji's extreme doctrine of Ahimsa sliding into the other extreme of glorification of violence, with special reference to a pronouncement of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar. We had not at the time the full text of it. The *Hindustan Review* for January has made this available and we find that our fear was not unjustified. Sir Sivaswami and others who have spoken on the subject, assume that Gandhiji advocates Ahimsa as a Hindu on the authority of Hindu scriptures. There is no basis for this assumption. Gandhiji himself has avowed his obligations to Tolstoi, Thoreau, Jesus Christ and Jain saints for his doctrine of non-violence. True, he has equally avowed his implicit faith in the Bhagavad Gita which he interprets in his own special sense. It would not, we think, affect his position in the least if Hindu scriptures are proved not to prescribe non-violence in all circumstances. He might say and would be perfectly right in saying that if the Hindu scriptures do not stand uncompromisingly for non-violence so much the worse for them. At the same time it is the fact that many of his followers are influenced by the supposition that Gandhiji's Ahimsa is the teaching of Hinduism. These men and women will undoubtedly be affected by being assured by learned Hindus who observe the conventions of Hinduism more strictly than Gandhiji, that Ahimsa is prescribed only for ascetics and hermits who even in India are a microscopic minority and that, for the rest, the practice of Himsa is permitted and even prescribed in appropriate circumstances. To a great many Hindu Congressmen, Ahimsa is no more than a slogan. Several openly avow that they adhere to it as a matter of expediency and discipline rather than as a matter of religious conviction. To them the expositions of Sir Sivaswami and others will make no difference. The slogan may cease to convey even the slight spiritual significance which it has hitherto conveyed to them. Non-Hindu Congressmen who have embraced the creed of non-violence, will be relieved of any scruples that they may have had on being assured that it is not a tenet of Hinduism and that by espousing it they are not adding to Hindu influence. Christians who have always claimed that Gandhiji has taken non-violence from Christ's teachings, will welcome the repudiation of it as a Hindu doctrine by men of Sir Sivaswami's authority. Jesus taught his disciples to love their enemies. The nearest approach to it in Hinduism is the Gita precept that one should regard friends and enemies with an equal eye. There is nothing in Hinduism comparable to the precept about turning the other cheek to one who smites you on one cheek and to that about distributing your surplus

wardrobe to people who lack sufficient clothing. Few Christians feel it incumbent on them to observe these precepts literally. But, nonetheless, they are an integral part of Christianity and not of Hinduism.

Expositions like Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's would be supererogatory but for the misconception widely entertained of Gandhiji's slogan. Hindus as a race are not disposed to violence except of the pettier kind. This is also true of all organised communities whether in the East or the West. The great majority of men and women everywhere want to live in peace, and this they cannot do in conditions of violence. Ahimsa, therefore, may be said to be the norm in all organised societies even in the more primitive ones. The Hindu shastras commend Ahimsa as the supreme dharma not only for ascetics and hermits who do not need such admonition but for the generality of men, and proceed to indicate the occasions when departures from the rule are permissible. The progress in civilisation of a society can be gauged by the number and character of the occasions in which violence is permitted. We have progressed since the days of the Mahabharata. Some of the exemptions of the Mahabharata will strike the modern mind as misconceived. For instance, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar quotes a text which mentions "education of the young" as a suitable circumstance for the use of violence. The Mahabharata covers a long period of social evolution and this precept is obviously one inspired by the crudest pedagogical culture. The rod as an instrument of education is as good as obsolete at the present day. The old Indian pedagogue was not content with the rod. He had devised more ingenious means of torture. In fact, his methods were little short of brutal. In this matter, therefore, we have outstripped the precepts of the Mahabharata. Even as regards the correction of offenders, we no longer accept the use of violence as the most efficacious method. Treatment of prisoners in jails in every civilized country has been humanised. Even in the days of Buddha, offenders in India were punished with amputation of legs and hands and left to rot near cemeteries, Buddha pleaded against animal sacrifices but he did not protest against this inhuman cruelty. Prevention of crime which is another of the permitted categories in the Mahabharata verse, we know, is better effected by the opening of schools, by the lighting of roads and streets and by a vigilant police organisation than by methods of violence. Defence against aggression remains the only one of the contingencies contemplated in the verse for the legitimate use of violence. And it is the only issue raised by Gandhiji's propaganda. To our utter astonishment Sir Sivaswami does not stop short at this point. He proceeds to claim the sanction of Hinduism for vivisection! "The same line of reasoning and thought," he writes, "will justify the destruction of, or injury to, the lower animals without the infliction of avoidable suffering for the

purpose of discovering remedies against disease affecting mankind and for the advancement of scientific research."

Sir Sivaswami says that Buddhism and Jainism carried the principle of Ahimsa much farther than Hinduism. Mr. J. Chaudhari, on the other hand, writing in the current number of the *Mahabodhi*, the journal conducted by the Mahabodhi Society, maintains that the Buddhist attitude to violence and to war is identical with that of the Gita which regards violence when it is used in defending the righteous or in the repression or suppression of wrong-doers as quite legitimate and meritorious. Here, again, our duty to the great Teachers, Buddha and Sri Krishna does not end with accepting their teaching as final. It is our duty to them to push the ideals preached by them to higher and higher levels. Thus alone can the moral and spiritual progress of humanity be assured. Gandhiji himself, as Mr. Chaudhari mentions in his article, advocated non-violence on grounds of expediency. He has since advanced to his present position. Even now he is not by any means so pragmatic as he is understood to be by his less discriminating disciples. The ideal of Ahimsa is a precious one and must always be cherished by civilised men as their ultimate goal. They must depart from it with regret and resume it as soon as the emergency which called for its temporary suspension is over. In criticising Gandhiji's gospel of non-violence, therefore, it is essential that nothing should be said to detract from the high importance of Ahimsa as the end and aim of civilised humanity.

#### THE PRESS, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CONGRESS.

Writing last week on the relations prevailing between Government and the press, we remarked that it would be unfortunate if the Standing Committee which had been called for February 1, should decide to sacrifice everything in order to secure immunity for Gandhiji's statements. On the eve of the Committee meeting, Gandhiji made a tactical mistake by issuing an admonition to the editors which clearly pointed out what he expected of them. Few of Gandhiji's recent statements, in fact, have shown a similar preciseness of direction. The remedies he suggested were to publish statements and news which would lead to a press campaign of satyagraha or to cease publication altogether. There were, he said, other measures which the editors could think out for themselves. Gandhiji's two suggestions were obviously out of place. Had the press in India any intention of resorting to drastic action, it would certainly have followed the lead he himself had given so definitely with the suspension of the *Harjan* and its sister weeklies. Having rejected that lead emphatically in November, it was idle to expect it to take it up three months later. Meanwhile there were

reports of fresh restrictions on the press contemplated by the Government and there was enough evidence from some provinces to show that editors, there were working under grave disabilities. These things had to be set right and the fact that at the present time the Editors' Conference is the only organisation in touch with the Government of India and not discredited with the Indian public, added gravely to the responsibilities of the position.

The first thing to be done, obviously, was to look over the machinery evolved last November and to see where there were any flaws. And, secondly, the Standing Committee had to consider how the system of press advising had worked in the past three months. In reading the resolutions published in the press these two points have to be borne constantly in mind. It has also to be mentioned that in so far as the Standing Committee has carried the Conference out of the atmosphere of secrecy and rumoured assurances, it has made for better relations between the press and the public and the State. And the fact that the resolutions were adopted unanimously imply that there is no ground for the acrimonious controversy which arose out of the November deliberations. The resolutions adopted at the Committee meeting fall naturally into three groups: Resolutions relating to specific grievances, resolutions on the working of the machinery set up in November, and routine resolutions. The first two classes are the important.

The specific grievances discussed at the meeting were questions relating to Gandhiji's statements, the suspension of the *Harijan*, the treatment of the *Sainik* and the *National Herald*, and the case of the *Nagpur Times*. Even in the case of Gandhiji's statements, the machinery of Advisory Committees is not set aside but it is expressly invoked to meet cases where the Chief Advisor is inclined to ban publicity. Stripped of the qualifying phrases which surround it, this resolution amounts to little more than a corollary to the main resolution on press advising which impresses on the Chief Advisor the necessity of consulting the Central Committee as far as practicable before taking action and, where this is not possible, on his placing his decision before the Committee at its next meeting. The decision to suspend the *Harijan* and its sister weeklies was, we believe, hastily undertaken and it was largely due to a misapprehension. There should be no difficulty in restarting these journals and the Editors' Conference has done much to clear the way for such a step. Should Gandhiji decide to restart the *Harijan*, it would be a welcome and graceful recognition of the achievements of the Conference. The other cases considered at the meeting present graver difficulties but there should be no difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory solution if the voice of the Central Government prevails, as it should in matters of this kind. More important are the resolutions



adopted in the light of experience gained in the provinces of the working of the Government system of press advising under the limitations placed on it last November. There has unfortunately been little uniformity and the resolutions are all aimed at bringing the more reactionary provincial practices in line with the policies pursued in the more enlightened portions of the country. The net result of these decisions is that the satyagraha situation is removed from the irritating position it occupied in discussions between the press and the Government, and the way is now clear for considering other cases of suppression which may occur or have so far escaped attention. The resolution of the Standing Committee on the war and the internal situation removes once for all the suspicions which had taken root in the minds of reactionary officials and were being used to sabotage the understanding arrived at between Government and the press. The Government and all political parties in India draw a line distinguishing the movement for Indian freedom from the objects of Britain's war in Europe. So far as that situation stands unaltered, the press has to take notice of it. And the Standing Committee has done no more than this.

#### CATHOLIC WOMEN'S COLLEGE.

The Catholic *Examiner* criticises the arguments of the members of the Senate of the Bombay University, who opposed the proposal to affiliate the Sophia College for Women conducted by the Society of Sisters of the Sacred Heart in Bombay. The College was started only a few months ago in buildings in Pedder Road, one of the most exclusive and expensive residential areas in Bombay city. The College is evidently meant for the daughters of the wealthy residents of the locality, whose fees will go a great way towards enabling it to give education to Catholic girls at concessional rates. This is nothing new in Bombay. There are several Convent schools in Bombay and the suburbs where non-Christian middle class families who are not particular about nationalistic and religious prejudices have their daughters educated up to the Matriculation standard. The girls educated in these institutions are indistinguishable from girls educated in ordinary girls' schools, except perhaps for a slightly noticeable primness in outlook and behaviour which soon wears away after their leaving school. The average Hindu and Muslim girl brings with her a sort of superiority complex which makes her proof against the religious influence of the institution. The ways of the Sisters interest them by their peculiarity but do not attract them in the least. The western music, instrument and vocal, taught by the Sisters, is not relished in their homes and soon fades into oblivion. The knitting and embroidery and other fancy work which the Sisters encourage, may be practised in after-life as home industry or for the family wardrobe. The objection on the ground of credal differences which deter Protestants from attending Catholic and Catholics from entering Protestant schools, therefore, do not come in the way of non-Christians. In the paucity of girls' educational institutions in India, any addition to them, therefore, is welcome. As regards the control of these institutions by Fathers and Sisters who know

little of non-Christian thought and culture, whatever might have been the case in the past, today the exponents of Christianity are unable to approach non-Christian religions with the same confidence as when Europe seemed in Indian eyes to be the perfection of human attainment in religion, politics, social life and industrial production. Even the lower standard scholar knows that the German Fathers are in internment camps and the Sisters are allowed to teach if they do so on sufferance. Deep differences have developed between Christian nations who defying the precepts of their faith are fighting them out with bombs and bayonets. Against this has, of course, to be set the new bonds which the conflict is forging between different sects of Christians. In the Senate itself the representatives of Loyola found their strongest supporters in the representative of the Church of John Knox. The Indian atmosphere favours religious tolerance and nothing has pleased us so much as the one event for union between the two principal divisions of Christianity. The controversy in the Senate seemed to have ranged somewhat largely on the breach in the Bombay tradition of co-education in Colleges effected by the creation of a separate Women's College. But this breach was made when Professor Karve with the support of influential men started the Women's University. The institution received a large grant from the Congress Government during its brief tenure of office. It may, therefore, be assumed that the largest political party in the country has no special predilection for co-education. In the Senate itself, Mahomedan speakers declared that their community stood for separate institutions for boys and girls. The Catholics are against co-education and the more conservative Protestant Churches are inclined the same way. The Bombay tradition has taken root nowhere else and may, therefore, be regarded as having arisen from the special circumstances of this City and Province. The Catholic clergy are now practically refugees from Europe. Except in Eire and latterly in Spain, there is nowhere where they can find as much welcome as in this country, the haven of immemorial refugees from religious intolerance. For these reasons, though averse to education especially of young men and women in their adolescence being entrusted to foreigners antipathetic to Indian culture and religions, we do not apprehend any serious effects from the Sophia College and the majority of the Senate has taken the same view.

#### DEWANS AND K. C. S. I

I

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I write to correct a small misstatement in your editorial comments under the caption, "States Champion."

The discovery that for fifty years no other Dewan of an Indian State has been honoured with the Knighthood of the Star of India, the last Dewan to receive the distinction being Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, is not a correct one because there are other Dewans who have received this signal honour after the illustrious statesman, Raja Sir Madhava Rao, became a recipient.

I mention the name of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer who was awarded the K. C. S. I. in 1893. Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao had by that time retired from service. I quote a portion from a letter written by the late Mr. Chenschal Rao, who was a member of the Mysore Executive Council, to Durbar Bakshi A.

Narasimha Iyengar. This letter is published in my father's (Mr. K. Subba Rao's) book, "Revived Memories" on page 869:

"I hear that the insignia of K. C. S. L. is to be delivered to the Dewan at a Durbar held by His Highness the Maharaja. As the Dewan is the chief officer in the whole establishment of His Highness and as there is no doubt that the grant of the title is due to the appreciation of the Dewan's services by His Highness the Maharaja, it seems to me that the ceremony should be performed with much eclat. Of course, the Dewan cannot take the initiative in the matter as he is personally interested and the only person that ought to take interest is yourself, under the immediate orders of His Highness the Maharaja."

Further, I may also mention for your reference that the late Sir A. Seshaiyah Sastrri of Travancore, Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad were all recipients of this honour. I am not in a position to give exact dates.

Andheri, } Yours etc.,  
February 2, 1941. } C. S. JAGANATHA RAO.

## II

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have read your notes on States' Champion appearing in your issue of last week in which it is stated that some one who devotes much study to these matters has discovered that for fifty years no other Dewan of an Indian State has been honoured with the Knighthood of the Star of India, the last Dewan to receive the distinction being Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao. May I correct his impression by a reference to the fact that the late Sir K. Seshaiyer, "the remarkable statesman" of Mysore, who had received companionship of the order was conferred a Knight Commandership of the Star of India in the early nineties of the last century? No other Dewan of the State, I believe, has been honoured with the Knighthood of the Star of India, though nearly every one of his successors including Sir Mirza Ismail has been a recipient of Knighthood in the second senior order, the Indian Empire.

Holenarsipur, } Yours truly,  
Mysore State. } M. RAMABRAHMA, B. A. L. T.

## THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Your leading article on this subject appears to be a little too one-sided. When, about this time last year, the death was announced of Mr. A. P. Nicholson, the *Times of India* published a short note from Sir Stanley Reed who said, "I do not think any journalist in England wrote better and more informed articles about Indian subjects than he (Mr. Nicholson) did."

Among the last of Mr. Nicholson's works is a very interesting book entitled "Scraps of Paper" which deals fully with the questions you comment upon. I would recommend to your readers a perusal of that book from which the following two items may be taken as samples:

1. Sir Thomas Munro said: "In our Treaties with the Indian Princes, we recognize them as independent sovereigns. Then we send a Resident to their Courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassador he assumes the functions of a dictator, interferes in all their private concerns, countenances refractory subjects against them, and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority."

2. H. M. King Edward VII (when Prince of Wales) wrote "What struck me most forcibly was the rude and rough manner with which the English Political Officers (as they are called who are in attendance on native Chiefs) treat them. It is indeed much to be deplored, and the system is, I am sure, quite wrong."

Sylvan, Coonoor. } Yours, etc.,  
January 30, 1941 } M. G. JOSEPH.

[Mr. Joseph's citations of the opinions of King Edward and, in earlier times, of Sir Thomas Munro, show that the cause of the Chiefs and States has had influential exponents all along. In spite of this there has been interference on the part of the Government of India—it was not our main point that it might not have anticipated Bethmann Helwegg in its dealings with them—the obvious inference is that the treaties themselves, of which so much is made, deprived the Chiefs, in Wellesley's words, of the chance of having the power of the State in their hands.—Editor.]

## DR. ATMARAM PANDURANG.

(BY V. S. SOHONI.)

One morning in the month of January 1898 I was passing by the Prarthana Mandir and like so many people who go that way I peeped into the Mandir Hall. I saw an old gentleman, bare-headed and gray, sitting in a chair with his red turban resting serenely on a bench close by, pouring over a book. On enquiry, I was told that his name was Dr. Atmaram Pandurang and he was the President of the Samaj and that he came there every morning to read books from the Doctor Bhandarkar Free Library and Reading Room, the opening ceremony of which he had performed only a few days back. He was a voracious reader and remained in the Mandir daily for hours together. A few months afterwards I read in the papers that the old gentleman had ceased to be. The few glimpses that I had of him left upon my mind a very happy impression of Dr. Atmaram as a contented, pious gentleman, mellowed by age—a man who had lived a good life, had fought his life's battle bravely and won it. As I studied his life later on, my reverence for him grew and it has, in no manner, abated a whit since.

Dr. Atmaram who came of a very orthodox family was born on the 23rd of December 1823. The rule of the Peshwas had just come to an end and the British having established themselves as rulers, English-knowing persons were much in demand. Dr. Atmaram's vernacular education was completed in an indigenous school and for his English education he attended a private English school where he had the good fortune to come in contact with men like Dr. Henderson and Prof. Harkness. The former was a very religious man and was chiefly instrumental in turning Dr. Atmaram's mind towards the Liberal Faith. Dr. Atmaram also attended a religious class conducted by the Rev. Dr. Nesbit and the instruction he received there had a profound effect on his youthful soul. After finishing his school education, Dr. Atmaram joined the newly established Medical College and was one of the first four graduates who passed out of that institution. He then went in for private practice and retired from it only a few years before his death in 1898.

Dr. Atmaram was a pioneer in reform. He believed in all-sided reform though, owing to the exigencies of the situation, he did not take an active part in the political side of it. The word "Reformer" was in much disrepute in Dr. Atmaram's time as most of the reformers were known to be wine-bibbers. Dr. Atmaram was one of the few exceptions. He was one of those who acted according to their convictions heedless of the persecution and inconveniences which their fearless action entailed. Dr. Atmaram had five sons and three daughters who were all highly educated. He thought it his duty to give the best kind of education to his children and to that end

spent much of the fortune he earned as a medical practitioner.

Dr. Atmaram, as stated above, was greatly influenced by the religious teaching he received in the Bible class conducted by Dr. Nesbit. He was one of the band of reformers who founded a secret society called the Paramhansa Sabha for the abolition of caste and the study of religion. Great emphasis was laid on doing away with caste distinctions, and with that end in view inter-caste dinners were held secretly. Most of the members of this Sabha were lip-reformers and had not the courage to come out openly. Once it happened that someone carried away the register containing the names of members and out of fear of their names being made public most of the members left the Sabha which thus came to an inglorious end.

This, now defunct Sabha, was the nucleus of the Prarthana Samaj. Among the Sabha members were some who like Raja Kam Mohun Roy believed that for all reform to be lasting it must have a basis of rational religion. These members met at the house of Dr. Atmaram and conducted prayer meetings. The visit of Miss Mary Carpenter who put up with Dr. Atmaram while she was in Bombay, was of great inspiration to these earnest souls. Slowly the idea of founding a Samaj for holding prayer meetings developed and it took visible shape in the establishment of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay on the 31st of March 1867.

Sometime before his death Dr. Atmaram retired from medical practice and devoted himself entirely to the cause of the Samaj. As mentioned above, he was a voracious reader and would often sit for hours together in the Prarthana Mandir reading religious books. But he was not to continue this long. In the anniversary celebrations of the Samaj in 1898 Dr. Atmatam, though not quite in good health, insisted upon conducting the principal service of the anniversary, for, as he said, he should not be prevented from conducting this service which would be his last, as he had a message to deliver to the youngmen of the Samaj. Unfortunately his words came true. After the service he left for Lonavla to attend on a friend who was ill. But there he became ill himself. He was immediately removed to Bombay where after the illness had lasted for a week, he breathed his last on the 22nd of April. His passing away was deeply mourned not only by the Prarthana Samaj but by a host of friends and admirers and well-wishers of the cause of reform.

From the time of the foundation of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay in 1867 to the time of his death in 1898, Dr. Atmaram was its President, unanimously elected to that post year after year. There were many persons more learned than Dr. Atmaram among the members of the Samaj but the fact that he was deemed to be the fittest person to preside over the destiny of the Samaj for over thirty years shows the esteem and regard in which he was held. What could have engendered this regard and affection for Dr. Atmaram? It was his sterling worth as a man of character. Dr. Atmaram was not a reformer by convenience. He believed not in words but in action. He regarded life as a trust to be spent in the service of God. All people, whether they agreed with him in his views on reform or not, held him in high esteem. Honours came to him in plenty but they only made him more humble. He was a fellow of the University of Bombay, a member of the Municipal Corporation and a Justice of the Peace. He was also for a year the Sheriff of Bombay—a rare honour for an Indian in those days. He was elected Vice-President of

the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was connected with all good public institutions. All these gave him opportunities to do good and useful work and he utilised them to the best of his ability. While people talked Dr. Atmaram acted. That was the secret of the regard and cordial friendship of so many people which he enjoyed. He was simple in his habits, and extremely simple in his dress. But he had a fortune in manners. He suffered many losses and bereavements but he bore them all like a man of faith and great spiritual courage, that he was. Dr. Atmaram was by profession a healer of men's bodies, but what was more, as remarked once by the late Justice Ranade, he also ministered to the souls of men. No better tribute could have been paid to him than the lavish praise bestowed upon him by all men and journals who opposed him for his reformed views. Blessed indeed were those who had the privilege of enjoying his company and friendship.

—*The Indian Messenger*, Maghotsava Number, January 1941.

#### MEWAR UNDESIRABLE MARRIAGES PROHIBITION ACT 1 OF 1941.

Whereas it is expedient to prohibit the solemnisation of Marriages in certain cases, His Highness the Maharana Sahib Bahadur in virtue of his inherent powers of legislation is pleased to enact the following statute:—

1. (1) This Act may be cited as the Undesirable Marriages Prohibition Act 1 of 1941.

(2) It extends to the whole of Mewar except Mewar-Merwara and to all Mewar subjects residing in any part of India.

(3) It shall come into force on the fifteenth day of March 1941.

2. (1) The marriages of males below eighteen years of age or of females below thirteen years of age are hereby prohibited.

(2) The marriages of males of or above fifty years of age with females below twenty-five years of age are hereby prohibited.

3. Whoever being a male above eighteen years of age contracts a marriage prohibited under Section 2 shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both.

Where a person of either sex who is below eighteen years of age contracts a prohibited marriage, any person having charge of such person, whether as parent, guardian or in any other capacity, lawful or unlawful, who does any act to promote the marriage or permits it to be solemnised, shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month or with fine which may extend to five-hundred rupees or with both.

5. Whoever performs, conducts, directs or otherwise actively participates in a prohibited marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both.

6. In prosecutions under Section 4 it shall be presumed, unless and until the contrary is proved, that the accused negligently failed to prevent the marriage from being solemnised.

In prosecutions under Sections 5 it shall be presumed, unless and until the contrary is proved, that the accused had knowledge of the facts which render the marriage a prohibited marriage.

8. (1) It shall be the duty of all magistrates who are satisfied by information from any source received that a prohibited marriage has been

arranged or is about to be solemnised, to issue an injunction against any of the persons mentioned in Sections 3, 4 & 5 forbidding such marriage pending further orders of the magistrate.

(2) After issue of the injunction the magistrate shall at the earliest date practicable proceed to inquire into the truth of the information in the presence of the parties concerned. If he finds that the information is true, the order of injunction will be confirmed. Otherwise, the order of injunction may be cancelled or varied or altered as the evidence warrants.

(3) The magistrate shall have power to award costs against the informant or the person informed against. Any costs unpaid may on the application of the party entitled be recovered in the manner prescribed for a fine imposed by the court.

(4) An appeal against the magistrate's order awarding costs shall lie to the Court to which appeals ordinarily lie and the order passed by the Appellate Court shall be final. The Appellate Court may award the costs of the appeal to the successful party. Such costs shall be recoverable as a fine.

9. Whoever knowing that an injunction has been issued against him under Section 8 (1) or (2) disobeys such injunction shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both.

10. Offences under this Act are non-cognisable, but the Police are bound to give information to the nearest magistrate of the alleged commission or preparation to commit an offence under this Act.

11. No prosecution may be instituted under this Act after the lapse of one year from the date on which the offence is alleged to have been committed.

T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA,  
Prime Minister.

#### LADY LINLITHGOW ON INDIAN WOMEN'S POSITION.

Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow, opening the annual conference of the Trained Nurses Association of India, urged better conditions of work and living for nurses and commended the proposal to establish a Post-Graduate College where nurses would get special courses of training.

Lady Linlithgow referred to the many subjects for discussion at the conference and said, "If the Post-Graduate College could be brought into being, it would go a long way to solving the problem of lack of nurses in India. On my many visits to hospitals of all kinds, one thing which is always painfully evident, whether the hospital is good or bad, is the insufficient staff for the teaching and supervision of the probationer nurse, with the result that nurses sent out from these institutions are badly equipped for taking their place as sisters and so fail in their work. The other thing which disturbs me in many hospitals, is the disregard for the comfort of the nurses as far as their quarters are concerned, and in spite of representation, nothing is done.

"One of the difficulties which nurses are up against is the attitude of Indian men towards women in every walk of life. Except in the matter of child bearing which the men are only too glad should be the monopoly of women, women are looked upon as inferior to men in every way, and until women in this country can make their influence felt in wider spheres than they do at present, they will continue to be looked upon as secondary to men which, as far as the nursing profession is concerned, is a disaster. In the attitude of responsible men among the Indian public towards nurses in many parts of the country, one is made to feel that

they look upon nurses as a necessary evil to be tolerated, but who must be made to feel that they are entirely subordinate to men. Is it surprising, therefore, that the nursing profession does not attract the Indian girls of good standing and education, quite apart from the difficulties occasioned by caste?"

"For this state of affairs the women of India are partly to blame. They have been content to play a minor part and to look upon themselves as inferior to men. Their only idea of their future was to marry and to bear children. They had no ideas of social service. Now they are beginning to realise that they must take a leading part in the future of their country; they know that there is work to be done that they can do better than men. They are aware of the necessity for having the highest standard of training for nurses. They know the need for full nurse representation on the Registration Councils. The women of India must make their views heard as in this way only will the nursing service acquire the status which it should have and be looked upon as the equal of and the complement to the medical profession."

Miss D. Chadwick (Madras), President of the Association, drew attention to the urgent need for the establishment of a Central Post-Graduate College for nurses in India since it was no longer possible to send them to England for training and hoped that the scheme, to be drawn up by the Sub-Committee of the Association, would have the sympathy of Her Excellency. She emphasised the need to create in each province a provincial nursing service, which, besides raising the status of nursing, would prove an incentive for girls of high education and position to join its ranks.

#### THE EDITORS CONFERENCE.

The Standing Committee of the Newspapers Editors' Conference carried unanimously the following resolutions:

"The Standing Committee reaffirms the determination of the Press of India to strive for the freedom of the country without fear or favour and consequently to give legitimate publicity to news about the political movement in the country. The Committee further records its opinion that the Indian Press is wholly opposed to the totalitarian doctrines of Nazism and Fascism and has no intention of hindering Britain's war effort against her enemies. It, therefore, urges the Government to continue to give a fair trial to the Delhi Agreement."

"In view of the fact that Government have withdrawn the notification of October 1940 and that Government have indicated that they have no desire to suppress Gandhiji's statements and are not disinclined to give them special consideration, this Committee desires to assure Mahatma Gandhi that it will welcome the reappearance of the *Harijan* weeklies whenever Mahatma Gandhi, in his judgment, thinks it fit to restart them. In the opinion of the Committee, the temporary disappearance of the weeklies has left a void in Indian journalism."

"This Committee is of the opinion that with a view to improving the machinery of press consultation and advice, the following suggestions be adopted by Government:—

"(a) Instructions to the Press should always be in writing and should be signed by the official in authority.

"(b) Circulars issued to the Press, except those which relate to Defence and Military and Foreign Affairs, should be allowed to be printed in the newspapers in order to make their own position clear to the public.

"(c) Police officers should not be employed except in cases of search or arrest in dealing with the Press and pressmen.

"(a) The Chief Secretary to the Government of the Province should attend the meetings of the Local Press Advisory Committees from time to time.

"(e) Orders and instructions considered for issue by Government should, whenever possible, be discussed with the Central Press Advisory Committee in the first instance and the Local Press Advisory Committees in the second instance, and where agreement has not been found possible, they should be discussed at the earliest possible date by the Standing Committee. In cases in which the Government find it necessary, on grounds of emergency, to pass orders or instructions without previous consultation with the Central Press Advisory Committee, the matter should be reported to the Central Press Advisory Committee at its next meeting.

"(f) There should be uniformity of procedure with regard to enforcement of rules or instructions in all provinces, particularly about satyagraha news."

"While noting with satisfaction the working of the Advisory Committees in some of the provinces, this Standing Committee appeals to other Provincial Governments and to the Central Government to see that the consultative machinery suggested in the Government communique of November 11, 1940, is fully utilised both in the Centre and in the provinces and that the convention set up in Madras and Bombay that ordinarily no action will be taken against any Press or newspaper without prior consultations with the Committee is extended to all the provinces."

"That, in order to ensure satisfactory working of the Delhi Agreement, this Committee is of the opinion that (A) it is desirable for the Chief Press Adviser, as far as practicable, to consult the Central Press Advisory Committee in matters in which he is inclined to advise non-publication; and (B) report to the Central Advisory Committee at its next meeting all those cases on which he had deemed it necessary to advise non-publication."

"This Committee, having considered the correspondence between the Provincial Press Adviser to the Government of Bengal and the Convener of the Bengal Provincial Press Advisory Committee regarding publication of a report, most strongly deprecates the different interpretations of the Defence of India Rules by official provincial interpreters as placing editors in an impossible position. If, as the Bengal Press Adviser states, the passing for publication of a message by the Press Adviser does not constitute a 'release' permit, the normal working of newspaper offices will be rendered more difficult."

"This Committee regrets that the United Provinces Government have taken no action with regard to the *Sainik* newspaper of Agra as suggested in the resolution of the Newspaper Editors' Conference in Delhi in November and of the U. P. Provincial Advisory Committee. The Committee also notes with regret the demand of a security of Rs. 6,000 from the *National Herald* of Lucknow, and requests the U. P. Government to withdraw the orders now in force against the *Sainik* newspaper and the *National Herald* and to return the Press to the keeper."

"This Standing Committee is glad to note that the authorities appreciate the importance of Mahatma Gandhi's position in the public life of this country and the interest which attaches to his utterances and statements. It therefore requests Government ordinarily not to ban publication of statements issued by Mahatma Gandhi and in cases where they are inclined to take such a step they should consult the Central Press Advisory Committee before passing any orders thereon."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**The Indo-Ceylon Tangle:**—The telegraphic summary by the Associated Press of the papers relating to the failure of the Indo-Ceylon negotiations issued by the Government of India this week, suggests that the root cause lay in the intrusion of the South African analogy into the discussion. The Ceylon Ministers imagined themselves in the position of General Hertzog and General Smuts upholding the claims of the White population to exclude coloured people from the rights of citizenship. The Ceylon deputation countered the objections of the Government of India to the policy they claimed the right to adopt of expatriating Indians domiciled in their country, by pointing to the acceptance by the Indian Government of a similar proposal on the part of South Africa. The Indian deputation's answer that that was because Indians in South Africa wished to return to India, is not factually correct. As was shown by quotations from the late Mr. C. F. Andrews' speeches and writings in these columns, the suggestion of repatriation originated with him in the course of his conversations with the Union Ministers. It was repudiated by Gandhiji and opposed by *The Reformer*. The Government of India's condition that after a domicile of five years Indians should have all civil rights, was the same on which India first agreed to send indentured labourers to serve in the plantations of Natal. The Government of India have not been able to get the British Government to honour that engagement and we are not aware that they have succeeded in securing it from any of other Government on which they might have "urged" its acceptance. No analogy can be more out of place than this between Ceylon and South Africa in relation to India. Ceylon is really a part of India by geography and culture. Racially the Sinhalese are as much Indians as the Bengalees. The political separation of the two countries does not affect the fact that they are organically one and in all probability destined at no distant date to be politically united also. In dealing with Ceylon, the Government of India should con-

stantly keep in mind these considerations. If the Ceylon Ministers in their newly acquired political power forgets them, we should be patient with them because we have a greater responsibility for the future than they. Just as in a family the pettishness of younger members has often to be dealt with by kindly remonstrance, so with our dealings with Ceylon we have a special and particular obligation. The Ceylon Governor's intervention, in our opinion, only makes matters worse. The Governor will leave the country at the end of his term and the next man will almost certainly make his peace with the Ceylon politicians by throwing the Indians completely overboard. Quite a number of precedents (Kenya, for instance) exist to justify this prognosis. The Ceylon Minister has made a first class constitutional issue out of the Governor's message warning the Ministers that he would not assent to measures which contravene obligations incurred by previous Governments. In a conflict between the Governor and his Ministers, it is the Governor who stands to lose. The war conditions might obscure and postpone the denouement but it is inevitable. It is much to be wished that matters had not been brought so dangerously to a head. The stand of the Governor of Ceylon shows him to be a man of conscience. He might have taken the view that he as a constitutional head should be guided by the decisions of his Ministers, as Governors in India in the autonomous provinces did when they assented to acts which repudiated the obligations of their governments in the pre-reform regime.

**Penal Reform:**—Social Reform in India up to the beginning of this century was mostly confined to customs bearing on the position of women in the family and society. This had to be so for without the support of women nothing of importance can be achieved in the way of enlarging the bounds of social justice in the community. Soon after the dawn of this century, the condition of the depressed classes forced itself on the attention of reformers. Social Service Leagues and Depressed Classes Missions came into existence. The Labour movement began as a branch of social service and continued as such for several years until it emerged as an independent movement under leaders who devoted themselves more or less exclusively to working class interests. Penal Reform has developed as a later phase of these ameliorative activities.

The influx of a large number of political prisoners owing to the Civil Disobedience movement during recent years, gave it a strong impetus. In the first decade of the century when the late Lokamanya Tilak was condemned to a long term of imprisonment for political offence, there was no classification of prisoners into A, B and C classes. He was treated as an ordinary criminal and made no fuss about it. The Civil Disobedience prisoners were of a different mettle. Owing to their complaints many changes were made in the ordinary routine. When Congress Governments came into power in seven provinces, they paid special attention to the improvement of prison conditions, the benefits of which they are now enjoying. Besides this political aspect of the movement, a deep humanitarian motive entered into it. The treatment of child and juvenile offenders had been the subject of reform for some years past. The Report on the Administration of Probation and After-care Association and the Borstal School at Dharwar, bears testimony to the special attention which is being bestowed by the Government and by public-spirited men and women on the improvement of the conditions of offenders of tender ages. These are gratifying signs of the awakening of the social conscience. Particularly gratifying is the fact, evidenced by the articles in the first annual number of the *Penal Reformer*, the bright and instructive monthly published by the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society of the United Provinces, of the number of trained and educated persons in different parts of the country, who are studying the subject from a scientific point of view. The opening article is by Mr. Gopinath Srivastava who founded the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society as well as the monthly journal. Mr. Srivastava was Secretary to the Minister for Jails in the last Congress Government. There are several articles by other writers dealing with special factors of the penal system. The Annual has on its cover some memorable words of Mr. Winston Churchill who was one of the greatest British Home Secretaries. In these words he pleads powerfully for the right of convicted prisoners to humane and just treatment.

**Catholic Rescue Work** :—In our rapid sketch of the administrative and political features of Lord Lloyd's Governorship of Bombay last week, we omitted an outstanding measure of social legislation. The problem of prostitution had been increasing in gravity with the growth of the industrial population and the shortage of housing accommodation in the city. Spasmodic efforts of well-intentioned social workers had failed to touch the fringe of the evil. It was said that a previous Governor had wished to deal with it but that when a list of names of persons whose carriages were regularly found parked before houses of the most prosperous professionals, was placed before him with the warning that he would have to face an influential agitation from vested-interests if

he seriously intended to cleanse the city of this evil, he dropped the idea. Lord Lloyd was not the man to be intimidated by such considerations. He appointed a Committee to investigate the subject in all its ramifications—and these were found to be many more than one had imagined—and the recommendations of the Committee formed the basis of the Bombay Prostitution Act which but for Lord Lloyd's driving power, would not have become law. One of the most helpful members of the Committee was Archbishop Goodier. After a long interval, another English Archbishop of Bombay has turned his attention to the subject with special reference to his Catholic community. In an outspoken speech at the first public meeting of the Catholic Women's Welfare Society, which was started over a year ago at his instance, His Grace observed that the Catholic community has not done all it should to counteract the evil for a considerable share of which it was responsible. From the Report it seems that the Society has for its main object the reclamation of individual cases of young women who have been forced or lured into immoral ways and that, for their housing and training, it relies largely on the co-operation, cheerfully rendered, of non-Catholic and non-Christian agencies. In a valuable Report issued by the League of Nations (1939), Catholic endeavour in this particularly difficult sphere of social service has come in for special recognition. "It is a far cry from the prophylactoria in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the 'Houses of Bethany' in France and Belgium," says the Report, "but both can point to satisfactory results." (Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes, p. 128.)

**Anuloma Marriages** :—The late Justice Sir Lalubhai Shah in a memorable judgment, found, on an elaborate examination of ancient texts, that anuloma marriages, that is, marriages of men of higher with women of lower castes in the Hindu social scale, were valid. There was no appeal against that judgment and it has remained binding on all Courts in Bombay Province particularly and in British India generally. Its authority was indeed reinforced by a judgment in the Madras High Court. But a few days ago, a bench of two judges of the Madras High Court have, in a case which came before it on appeal from a lower Court, decided that the marriage of a man of a higher caste with a woman of a lower caste, was opposed to the Hindu law prescribed for the Kali Yuga, that is, the present cycle, though it was permissible in the previous yugas. Their lordships held that the Madras judgment which followed the Bombay judgment was not correct. As regards the Bombay judgment itself they thought that it did not mean what it had all along been taken to mean. This, perhaps, is the judicial way of dismissing it. The judgment of the Madras High Court practically annuls the law as laid down in Sir Lalubhai Shah's judgment. The Madras ruling will be binding on all courts

in that Presidency. In other provinces, no High Court has so far followed the Bombay judgment. Whenever they have found an intermarriage valid, they have done so on the ground of the prevalence of a local custom and not on texts of Hindu law. In Bombay itself, the Courts may no longer feel obliged to follow the Bombay decision in view of the considered opinion of two High Court Judges virtually against it. Of course, there were differences between the two cases. In the Bombay case, a Bania had married the daughter of another Bania by a Sudra woman. In the Madras case, a Brahmin had married, during the lifetime of his Brahmin wife, a Sudra woman. Mr. Justice Panduranga Row held that there was no marriage. Mr. Justice Somayya held that there was a marriage. Both agreed that such a marriage was no marriage under the Hindu law. A summary of the case is printed elsewhere. It is not clear why the District Judge who held the marriage to be valid, gave the Sudra wife only maintenance and not a proper share in the husband's property. The fate of the parties, especially women and children, under the conflict of judgments, is most deplorable. Legislation alone can provide a remedy.

**Indian Liberalism Restated:**—Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, President of the National Liberal Federation for the year, visited Madras and at a public meeting under the Chairmanship of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry, stated the Liberal view of the present political situation. There may or may not be any significance in his choice of Madras rather than Bombay for his pronouncement. There has been some speculation about the absence of the name of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad among the signatories of the manifesto recently issued by twelve Liberal leaders. No explanation has been given so far for this surprising abstention. Mr. Chandavarkar made no reference to it in his speech but he doubtless conveyed to Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, Mr. Srinivasa Sastry and Mr. Venkatarama Sastry the explanation due to them. The Liberal Party, said Mr. Chandavarkar, stood for two things: They wanted to be connected with England on terms of equality and they would not tolerate separatism or communalism in any shape or form. The connection with England is not a matter of unilateral choice. Is England willing to offer the equality on which alone Mr. Chandavarkar would agree to its continuance? The term equality itself needs elucidation. It is not mere status that matters but the freedom for India and Indians to serve their people and the world at large including Great Britain according to the best of their ability and in conformity with their highest ideals. Mr. Chandavarkar declared again and again his attachment to democracy. There have been numerous definitions of Democracy. One definition would make it identical with Christianity. This was the late Lord Lothian's idea of Democracy. At the other end, the popular conception of it among our politicians is forcing measures through by sheer numerical strength in the Legislatures and refus-

ing to discharge the constitutional duties as a minority in opposition. It is desirable to discard all labels. It is very likely that in the Government scheme that Indian leaders may agree upon as the best suited to the country, a large part of the democratic system may find place. By all means let us accept it not because it is Democracy but because it suits us and will ensure us the maximum measure of freedom to do our duty by ourselves and humanity at large. Mr. Chandavarkar spoke of Liberalism as his religion. This is the only sense in which that or any other political creed can claim the name of religion. Our connection with England in this sense implies the possession by us of the opportunity and the right to influence British policy so as to save it from the errors and blunders which have landed it and us in the present difficulties. Mr. Sastry's much-needed caution as regard the meaning of Dominion status is open to similar comment. We are told this week that the United States and Canada have concerted a common scheme of Defence for the two countries. This is altogether alien to all that we had heard or read of Dominion status. Is there any purpose in insisting on using a term which in all probability will be obsolete before the war ends? As a matter of fact, the Dominions are sister nations even now. India as a free nation may maintain her connection with Great Britain and establish relations with such of the other component parts of the Commonwealth as are prepared to behave to her on principles of perfect reciprocity. Since the above was in type, Mr. Amery has given what seems to us to be an apt formula embracing the idea which Mr. Sastry and we have in mind. It is "an equal partner in the brotherhood of free nations called the British Empire." The occasion on which he used this description was a luncheon. We should like this to be given a more binding context.

**Future of Abyssinia:**—The British Government have declared their desire that Abyssinia should be an independent state. But as the Emperor has expressed his fear that the country would not be able to sustain independence without outside assistance, the British Government suggest an international arrangement for the purpose. The only two countries which can form an international group to promote the development of Abyssinia at present, are Great Britain and the United States. As Great Britain herself is dependent materially on American help, the United States alone will have to shoulder the burden of carrying Emperor Haile Sellassie through the first critical years of regained independence. Will Americans agree to entangle themselves in African politics?

**Italian Prisoners of War:**—A communique announces that the cost of maintaining Italian prisoners of war in India for the duration will be borne by His Majesty's Government. This was followed a day later by a message to the effect that with a view to relieving ships of the task of carrying prisoners to India, the South African Union Government has agreed to take care of a number of Italian prisoners of war, also at the expense of His Majesty's Government.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 15, 1941.

## THE WAR IN EUROPE.

Mr. Winston Churchill in a broadcast on Sunday night, gave an account of the progress of the war during the past three months. Conditions on the whole were satisfactory from Britain's point of view. In the West, the enemy has been very nearly fought to a standstill. In Africa, Signor Mussolini's forces have been overcome and "the whole Italian army in the East has been captured or destroyed." American sympathy for Britain's cause, moreover, seems to have passed the demonstrative stage and Mr. Churchill was able to refer to the "mighty tide of goodwill, sympathy and effective aid" which had begun to flow across the Atlantic. The British Premier's references to Soviet Russia were, though somewhat more cautious, still couched in terms of common resistance to German aggression. The published report of the broadcast made no mention of the Far Eastern situation. All these considerations should have given even a more careful leader than Mr. Churchill so many reasons for rejoicing in the strength of Britain's position. It is surprising, therefore, that the Premier should have thought it necessary to "drop a word of caution." Over-confidence next to cowardice and treachery, he said, was the worst crime. The new Commander-in-Chief in India in his first broadcast last week, also warned his listeners against over-optimism. But he referred specifically to the Allied victories over Italian forces in Africa. Mr. Churchill went on to repeat a warning he had uttered three months ago when he had referred to Hitler's "marching to the gates of India;" immediately affirming his faith that, so long as Great Britain was not destroyed, Hitler could not avert his doom. A reference to the presence of Nazi forces in Bulgaria and Roumania in the Premier's speech, has been borne out by press reports during the week. "Roumania has come under Nazi control and the British, the Belgian and the Dutch ministers are leaving Roumania. It is not clear whether the Belgian and Dutch Governments which withdrew their ministers, are operating on Belgian and Dutch territory or are "free" governments formed in London. The British Minister's resignation follows on a note of protest submitted to the Roumanian Government against Roumania being used as a "Nazi base." What is surprising is that Soviet Russia which has vital interests in Bulgaria, does not seem to have been stirred to action by these developments. M. Stalin seems to be able to preserve his incredible silence to good effect since both parties to the war regard or represent his inaction as advantageous to themselves.

Following on Mr. Churchill's speech came the news of Mr. Wendell Willkie's appeals to the United States Government to render all possible help to Britain. It was very much in the nature of a commentary on Mr. Churchill's concluding

sentence appealing to President Roosevelt, "Give us the tools and we'll finish up the work." President Roosevelt, however, would seem to have other pre-occupations mainly with Japan. The Burma Road, according to one account, has been cut. The warnings issued by the Japanese Premier to the United States from time to time, seem to have taken on a more serious aspect. Friday's newspapers mention the threat to Singapore and the fact that Americans have been asked by their consuls to leave the Far East. Though Mr. Roosevelt has declared that the possible entry of the United States in war in the Pacific would not affect deliveries of war material to Britain, his Secretary of the Navy, Colonel Knox, seems to feel that "the United States has no more destroyers to spare." Even a Mediterranean armistice looks unlikely. Reports seem to indicate that Italy would be anxious to arrive at some settlement now that Signor Mussolini's martial aspirations have no chance of being fulfilled. Yet a Reuter's message on Wednesday observed that Britain was not prepared to accept mediation with Italy, adding that Signor Mussolini, conferring at Rome with Gen. Franco, was not yet ready to come to terms. The presence of German troops in Italy, at all times distasteful to the Italian public, must be the more so now as a reminder of their own disasters and incompetence in the field. It is probable that Mr. Churchill who has been addressing vigorous appeals to the Italian people asking them to overthrow Signor Mussolini, has every hope of an Italian revolt against the Fascist regime. This, of course, would be better than negotiating a peace. Mr. Churchill deplored the difficulty of persuading South-East European States of the ultimate victory that awaits British arms in this war. In so far as he is able to convince not only South East Europe of this, he will be able to win the support of other nations. Egypt, though closely affected by Italian manoeuvres in Africa, developed an enthusiasm for the Allied cause, only after the series of victories which attended General Wavell's forces on that continent. Even American enthusiasm for the British cause, as distinguished from Mr. Roosevelt's effusive sympathy for democracy, has followed Britain's victories in the field. Turkey is the last barrier to Nazi-Fascist aggression in the South-East. If Russia remains neutral, then Britain's help to Greece should strengthen Turkish resolution to resist Axis manoeuvres.

The only thing clear to us in India about the Russian position is that Communists in India have no links with the Bolshevik State. Otherwise it is inconceivable that the Government of India should choose a time when Russian policy might prove a valuable gain to Britain's strength, to launch a campaign against Communists in this country and to justify their action in the language of Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member to the Government, who denounced them in the Central Legislature as worthless plotters. Indian Communists were at no time

in greater discredit than they are today and the fact that they have to fall back on their own little developed strength, has not rendered them any the more dangerous to society or to the State. The bland references of Mr. Churchill to Hitler reaching the "gates of India" may mean anything since militarily the gates of India on all sides are distant from the frontiers of India. We should have thought that the disasters which have befallen the Italian army in the East, would have gone a great way to diminishing the threat to India. Certainly the Government of India seem to be in no way perturbed by the prospect of Hitler's marching to the gates of India. We cannot imagine a Government seriously concerned about the threat of foreign aggression, pursuing a passive policy in internal affairs. Whether Fascism, Nazism, Communism or Nipponism is the danger, the Government of India seems perfectly content with imprisoning innocuous satyagrahis whose agitation derives its strength from the irritation it causes, and with imprisoning and abusing a few futile Communists who have been so long on the defensive that they are very far from "capturing" the political machinery.

#### THE EDITORS' CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

In the interpretations to which the decisions of the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference are being subjected, there is danger of the real meaning of the resolutions being lost. For instance, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes by way of commentary on the resolution of the Committee relating to Britain's war effort, that the declaration that the Indian press "has no intention of hindering Britain's war effort against her enemies," means "nothing more than that the Indian press will not carry its inevitable criticism of Government to the point of embarrassing them in their war effort." This is very unhappy language if it was intended to safeguard freedom of comment for Indian newspapers. After all, only the Government can tell us whether any criticism is having the effect of embarrassing them in their war effort and a sensitive Government will naturally be extremely touchy of all criticism. To criticise the manner of running the Supply Department, for example, may be carrying criticism to the point of embarrassing the Government's war effort. Lord Linlithgow might claim that to argue that enough is not being done to capitalise India's sympathy with Britain's cause and to render Indian help really effective, is to embarrass the Government in its war effort. If desirable changes are to be made, if evils that cry for remedy are to be set right, then we can not avoid embarrassing the Government. The *Chronicle's* surprising statement that the Standing Committee had decided "not to carry criticism to the point of embarrassing Government," makes nonsense of the resolution. We do not know on what authority the *Chronicle* asserts that Gandhiji will appreciate

this. The whole Indian press, not excluding the *Chronicle*, has been urging vehemently the formation of a truly national Government at the Centre in place of the present bureaucracy. What could be more embarrassing to the existing Government than this almost unanimous demand of the press in India? The main point in this matter of hindering the war effort is not the fact of hindering but the intention. The Indian press has no such intention. But that does not mean that it will render its criticisms of Government's policies ineffective so as to avoid inconveniencing the administration. The writer of the article must have had his tongue in his cheek when he penned this dubious defence of the Committee's resolution.

An equally plain resolution which has evidently intrigued the *Anrita Basar Patrika* of Calcutta, also significantly represented on the Standing Committee, is the one on Gandhiji's statements. The reference to the "authorities appreciating the importance of Gandhiji's position and the interest which attaches to his utterances and statements," has given rise to speculation in the editorial columns of the *Patrika* which presumes that the resolution is the "result of the interview which the President of the Conference had with the Viceroy." Mr. K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu* has acquired an unfortunate reputation among newspapermen. Every interview of his with officialdom is marked as significant of things to come, of some assurance either going from the President to the Government or coming to him from the authorities. The *Patrika* this time conjectures that the "authorities" have given an assurance to the President or to the Conference—and it hints that it must have been to the President—that Gandhiji's statements are not ordinarily to be banned. This is a remarkable triumph of imagination over facts but there is little to support it. After all, it requires little intelligence to realise that Gandhiji occupies a special position with the Government, particularly after the progress of the satyagraha campaign. Apart from the Viceregal interview, Mr. Srinivasan was extremely careful at the Standing Committee session this February not to get closer to the official ear and the official mouth than he could take all the other members of the Standing Committee. The wisdom of that precaution is now evident in the aftermath of the Committee meeting.

It is now announced that Gandhiji does not intend to start the *Harijan* immediately. Though from the point of view of the readers and the general public, this is an unfortunate decision and even though we think there would have been no difficulty from the Government side had he started publication again, there is much to be said for his decision. In the many anxieties which face him as the leader of the satyagraha campaign, it is natural that he does not wish to increase his responsibilities. Apart from the routine work which the conduct of the journals would entail, Gandhiji would be always troubled by the prospect of having to carry his satyagraha into the press field.

### THE VIRTUOUS BUTCHER.

In his zeal—may I say with respect, overzeal?—to prove that Hinduism does not prescribe non-violence as a virtue in all circumstances, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar rather makes out that Hinduism has no ethics but is only a jumble of expediencies and that almost any brutality or blackguardism may find justification in ancient precedents. He cites from the Mahabharata the story of "the virtuous butcher" as a striking illustration. A Brahmin who was in search of a Guru, was recommended by a woman devotee to seek illumination from a butcher of Bihar.

The Brahman was unable to understand how a person so highly praised for his knowledge of Dharma could reconcile himself to the trade of butchery. The butcher told him that he was merely carrying on his hereditary occupation, that each caste had its own prescribed duties and that it was not sinful for him to follow his ancestral trade. He also added that he himself did not kill the animals whose flesh he was selling and that he was not himself a flesh-eater.

There are a few observations which occur on this statement of the case. A man who does not himself cut the throats of sheep and goats—I take it that cows were regarded sacred even in those far-off days—but only sells their flesh, is not a butcher but a meat-merchant whose trade involves no direct violence. At any rate, the dharmic butcher in the story draws a line between killing and selling, implying that killing would not comport with his character as a knower of Dharma. This is emphasised by his further declaration that he himself does not eat meat. Here is another implication to the effect that eating meat is not consistent with the teaching and practice of Dharma. (Gandhiji, by the way, while insisting on his followers professing the creed of non-violence, has not required them all to be vegetarians. Query: Can one who eats butcher's meat or a butcher himself be a Congressman without renouncing his habit or profession?) The trade of a practising butcher is certainly more repugnant to the average man as a suitable occupation for a teacher of Dharma than that of meat-merchant even though the latter may be cutting up carcasses on the counter for distribution to his customers. The story in the Mahabharata is obviously one with a purpose—the purpose being to emphasise the importance of following one's ancestral profession, in favour of hereditary occupational castes. The dharma which the butcher was proficient in, was the Varnashrama not the Sanatana. The liquor seller and the brothel-keeper may plead the same argument for their respective occupations. The former is often a total abstainer and the latter may be a faithful and loving husband. But surely it cannot be maintained that Hinduism sanctions such conduct. A religion which does not ensue in behaviour, is no religion. Sir Sivaswami's mistake is the same as that of Christian missionaries. Jesus Christ himself understood that merely to drive away the devil in one possessed, without installing a high ideal in its place, led only to the entrance of several new devils. The Bhagavad Gita also declares that mere abstinence from evil is not enough. It only leads to hypocrisy and humbug. There must be a positive principle, a shining ideal, holding one to the straight and narrow way of the Bible, the razor's edge of the Upanishad. This is also the conclusion of modern psychology. Where the will and the imagination are in conflict, the imagination always carries the day.

K. N.

### TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM.

(BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

L

Tirukkalukkunram has one of the most ancient and most sacred of Siva temples in the Tamil land. It is situated about nine miles south east of Chingleput on the South Indian Railway and is easily accessible by bus. Its importance is greatly enhanced as it lies midway on the road to Mamallapuram, a great port and emporium of the Pallavas, enriched by immortal art, the oldest of rock-cut and structural temples and large-scale sculptures on single pieces of rock. The term, "Tirukkalukkunram," means the "Hill worshipped by the Kites"; "Pakshithiratham" is its Sanskrit equivalent; and various other names have been given to it.

Many legends are associated with Tirukkalukkunram. According to one of them, the Vedas are believed to remain in this place in the shape of the hills. This explains the origin of the names Vedagiri, Tirumalai, Srutimalai, Vedapporai and Maraikkodu. For having slighted and disobeyed Siva's orders, Nandidevar is said to have done penance to the Lord of this place and gained salvation. Thus the place has derived the name, 'Nandipuri'. Tilottama of the celestial region came in the shape of a cow to disturb Nandideva's penance. Nandi came to know of it and cursed her to remain a cow till the Kali age, promising her release at the hands of the Chola King, Suraguru. Sage Markandeya too is said to have performed penance in the forest of this region. Mayeekan who was a Rakshasa, assumed the form of a boar and caused trouble to the creatures of the forest. Markandeya pronounced a curse upon him; the Rakshasa was to retain his beastly form till his liberation at the hands of Suraguru.

Suraguru, a legendary Chola King, ruled the land with Kadalmallai (Mamallapuram) as his capital. Once, while he was on a hunt, he aimed an arrow at the boar; but it missed the mark and hit Tilottama, the celestial being in the shape of the cow. The king was pious and good-natured; so the Lord caused the sin of killing the cow to be expelled in the shape of a crow; and the place where the crow fell became a rock, on the southern side of the Lord's Hill. Now the rock is known by the name of the 'Crow's Hill'.

Vishnu, it is related, committed sin by murdering the wife of Brighu who had given shelter to some Asuras. In expiation of the sin, Vishnu is said to have worshipped Siva in Tirukkalukkunram. So this place is called Narayanapura.

A story is told of a devadasi, Nachimuttu by name, who was truly devoted to the God of Vedagiri, and she used to sing every day after worship a song composed by a Vaishnavite on this deity. One day thunder and storm prevented her going to the temple. Then she implored the God of the Sacred Hill to manifest himself before her in her courtyard and accept her devotion. And lo! the Lord responded and presented Himself in front of her. When the Lord was about to depart, she clasped the hoofs of Siva's vehicle, the bull, and the Vaishnavite poet too clung to her feet; and both were carried to Kailas.

Brahma seems to have been partial in his love to Saraswati at the expense of Savitri. The latter, therefore, cursed her Lord and Brahma sought the advice of Vishnu. According to his directions Brahma did penance in this place. He was finally absolved of his sin. In consequence, Tirukkalukkunram came to be known as Brahmapuri.

Let us narrate the story of the Kites—Sambu and Adi. They were two brothers who quarrelled

whether the God (Siva) or the Goddess (Sakti) was superior. The Lord Himself declared that both were equal, but even after his admonition they would not stop quarrelling; and when they persisted, they were cursed to become kites. In the Kali age, they are known by the names of Sambu and Adi. They visit the hill every day to pray for their salvation; and the Pakshipandaram (the bird-priest) of the Vedagiri hill feeds the two birds at noon everyday. It is this feature that draws most the attention of pilgrims as well as sightseers—chiefly foreigners.

Among the various other personages, who seem to have attained salvation here are Agastya, Ahalyai, Indra, Rudrakotti (Siva's servants), Ganga, the twelve Adityas (Suns), Markandeya, the eight Vasus, Varuna, Viswamitra,

#### TOPOGRAPHY AND SHRINES.

The hill is regarded as the very embodiment of the Vedas, and it is called Vedagiri. Owing to the sacred character of the hill in every part (as at Tiruvannamalai of the *Tejo-linga*), it must have been devoid at one time of any shrine. The devotees would not have been willing to tread on it. So, they say, did the three saints—Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar—worship the Lord of the hill from below.

Apart from the place where the Kites are fed by the pandaram, there are two shrines on the hill. One is a rock-cut Pallava cave temple most probably excavated by the Pallava King Mahendravarman (7th century A. D.) but generally attributed to his son, Narasimhavarman I. The incomplete inscription in archaic Tamil script of Narasimhavarman gives the name of "Mulasthanam on the hill" to this shrine; and it is the oldest inscription in this place. On the pillars of this cave temple are formed a large number of signatures of Dutch visitors. The other shrine on the top of the hill seems to have had its origin in the 8th century A. D.—most probably in the days of the Pallava King Rajasimha (Narasimhavarman II)—or one of his immediate successors.

There is a shrine at the foot of the hill of Vedagiri called now the Bakthavatsala temple whose walls contain almost all the inscriptions of this place which range from the end of the 9th century A. D. (898 A. D.) to almost the eve of British settlement in India.

In this temple there is in the 2nd prakara a strong room (tiru abharana kottadi) with a semi-circular back wall. It has all the features of a temple of the 9th century A. D. The vimana is of the shape of the back of an elephant (Gajabrashta vimana) and there are images of Ganesa, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga with features of 9th century sculptures. A number of inscriptions on the walls of the 'strong room' mention the central shrine of Tirukkalukunram (Tirukkalukunrattu Sri Mulasthanapperumanadigal). I am disposed to think, after a close inspection during my recent visit, that this is the oldest Mulasthanam Shrine of this place. In later times, it was abandoned and a new linga was consecrated and that became the modern Bakthavatsala.

#### THE OLDEST SHRINE.

"Which is the original Mulasthanam Shrine" is a question of some importance. The officers of the Epigraphical Department consider either the shrine at the top of the Vedagiri hill or the rock-cut Pallava cave in it to be the original Mulasthanam. I do not favour such a view and my conclusions alone can be set forth here. The oldest inscription in the Bakthavatsala temple is a very important one of the 27th year of a certain Rajakesarivarman who can be

identified without any uncertainty with the Chola King, Aditya I (accession 871 A. D.), and this is found on the west wall of the strong room of this shrine. It is said that at the request of a certain Puttan, this king promised to confirm and maintain the original grant of lands free of tax (irai-yili) made by the previous kings of the land (purva rajakkal) to the Mulasthanam temple at Tirukkalukunram. Of these kings only two are mentioned. One is the donor, Skandasishya, whom we cannot clearly identify as there are a number of kings of that name, but he should be assigned roughly to the fifth century A. D. The other is Narasimhavarman I, the conqueror of Vatapi (middle of the 7th century A. D.) whose inscription also is found in the Pallava Orukal mandapa (rock-cut temple) on the Vedagiri hill.

Narasimhavarman is said to have protected the original endowment of Skandasishya. The re-confirmation of the same grant by Aditya Chola happened soon after his conquest of the Pallava country (Tondaimandalam). There are also a number of other inscriptions on the walls of this 'strong room' which mention the Mulasthanam temple of this place till 1085 A. D. So this strong room within the premises of the Bakthavatsala temple should have been the original Mulasthanam. If so, the God consecrated in that 'strong room' should have been the oldest shrine of the Tamil land referred to in inscriptions. The present structure of the shrine (the strong room) has to be assigned to the ninth century A. D. Perhaps it was a renovation of the original shrine in brick of the days of Skandasishya.

There are about a dozen sacred tanks in the place. The *tarn* on the hill is called the '*Sampati Sunas*'; the *Sanakha tirtham* at the foot of the Vedagiri hill from which a conch emerges once in about 12 years, and the '*Nandi-tirtham*' in the enclosure of the Bakthavatsala shrine are the most important. The Palar is the holy river of this deity.

#### CHILD SANCTUARIES.

When the idea of transporting British children wholesale to America to spare them the ordeals of air raids was first discussed, *The Reformer* suggested as a better solution of the problem the creation of child sanctuaries in belligerent countries which by agreement will not be subjected to aerial attacks. A few hundred British children found their way to America but after the torpedoing of the "*City of Benares*" which carried some hundreds of refugee children, and the onset of the cold of winter, the scheme was suspended. The idea of child sanctuaries in the belligerent countries seems to be catching on. A Reuter's message from Lisbon dated the 7th February reports:

A project for the centralizing in Portugal of international efforts to protect children from the consequences of aerial warfare is to be made officially by the Portuguese Government to all belligerent Powers. The plan was unofficially put forward recently in the newspaper *Diario de Noticias* urging the establishment of "safety cities" in all countries at war, where children would be guaranteed freedom from bombardment. "Let us centralize in Portugal and co-ordinate the magnificent work of the International Red Cross units," wrote the newspaper. "This generation, representing the Europe of tomorrow, cannot be held responsible for the bloody conflict now proceeding in Europe. It is a question of saving from dread and death and inevitable physical debility thousands of children, English, German, French Italian, Belgian, Dutch, Norwegian and Greek, without distinction."

## DEPRESSED CLASSES IN COCHIN.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer*

Sir,

I have read with interest your note to my letter. You argue that "the concessions meant for Harijans are different both in intention and character. These cannot be extended to those who are no longer Harijans. That seems to be plain commonsense." May be, in the case of Bombay and other Provinces. But surely not with regard to Cochin and Travancore. Here there is no question of *extending the concessions to converts.*

Whatever might be the meaning of the term Harijan in British India, the term Depressed Classes in Cochin has nothing to do with untouchability. The Cochin Education Code says:— "A Class or Community shall be styled as Backward or Depressed *only on the standpoint of literacy.* In the case of children of the Backward or Depressed Classes attending a school, a change of religion will not make them ineligible for the concessions enjoyed by them. Converts to other religions from communities classed as Backward or Depressed shall be eligible for all the educational concessions granted to the respective communities." Such was the position here for many decades, and recently when an erstwhile Congress Leader became Minister for Rural Development in this State, he at once cancelled those concessions to the converts, without even ascertaining the views of the Legislative Council.

We are only questioning this order. You say the order "seems to be plain commonsense." For my part, I am not going to question that statement. But it is a pitiable fact that this sort of commonsense has produced Pakistan in British India, has made the Depressed Classes suspicious of their own brethren; and has made the freedom of India an illusion! What we pray is that this sort of "commonsense" must not enter into the heads of popular leaders here. Perhaps you will be surprised to know that the Christian Community is the largest single community in this State. We, Christians, are for an united India. But if our Hindu leaders take it into their heads to pass orders like this, we will be forced to consider whether, after all, Mr. Jinnah is wrong in his fears about the Congress. I firmly believe that it is your duty to advise these Hindu leaders not to interfere with religion at all for the greater glory of our motherland.

Ernakulam, } Yours etc.,  
6th February, 1941. } M.O. JOSEPH, NEDUMKUNNAM.

[The first part of Mr. Joseph's letter is a virtual acceptance of our contention that measures designed to remedy the position of Harijans in the Hindu community, cannot be extended to converts to other communities who, it is asserted, do not suffer from the disabilities of the Harijan. Mr. Joseph's earlier position (*Reformer*, February 1, 1941) was that the Cochin Government's educational programme was a measure of Harijan uplift. Now, he argues that the term "backward or depressed classes" in Cochin and Travancore has no relation to untouchability but only to the condition of literacy. That should have been conclusive and it certainly takes the Cochin case outside the conditions prevailing in British India, where there are two separate concessions—one for backwardness in literacy, and the other for improving the position of untouchables. But Mr. Joseph is not content with establishing this point. He threatens us that, if we persist in our interpretation, he will along with his fellow-Christians "consider whether Mr. Jinnah is wrong in his fears about the Congress."

It does not matter to us in the least whether Mr. Joseph supports Pakistan or not, but for his own sake it would be well if he gets over his present confusion. Mr. Joseph's petulant outburst presents him and Christians in a very unfair light. Surely he does not mean that they are for a united India for what they can get out of it.—Editor.]

## THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S WELFARE SOCIETY (BOMBAY).

Over 160 persons of all classes and creeds attended the first public meeting last Sunday in St. Xavier's High School Hall of a new social welfare association called the Catholic Women's Welfare Society which has been founded by His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay to combat the evils of prostitution and child slavery rampant in the city. Though actually founded in the latter part of 1938, the Society's work hitherto has been carried on without publicity of any kind as it was considered that an exhaustive enquiry into the causes of the evils was an essential preliminary to tackling the evils themselves.

However, as the Report read at the meeting demonstrated very forcibly, this preliminary inquiry was no academic affair. For over two years a small band of Catholic women in Bombay and the suburbs have been doing practical rescue and preventive work *as a basis of their enquiry* into the conditions responsible for the appalling traffic in women and girls that goes on the city. As a result, certain definite conclusions have been reached, and it is now felt that the time has come when the work of the Society should receive the widest possible publicity in order that the fruits of this preliminary inquiry may be made accessible to all communities. As His Grace the Archbishop (President of the Association and Chairman of the meeting) pointed out, much of the rescue work done by non-Catholics is done among Catholics, and the C. W. W. S. can do much to contribute to a solution of a social problem which is partly due to the unchecked immigration of Catholic girls and women into Bombay in search of a livelihood.

After the reading of the Report by the Hon. Secretary of the Society, Mrs. F. W. Platts, M. Sc., the Archbishop called on Professor Aloysius Soares, M. A., LL. B., to address the meeting. Mr. Soares referred to the Report as "a human document, some chapters from life," and said that the band of devoted workers had earned the gratitude and admiration of all social workers, Christian and non-Christian alike. They might well have been daunted by the magnitude of the problem and the inadequacy of the means at hand to deal with it, but he was certain that now that their quiet and unostentatious work had been made known to the public, ready help, financial and personal, would be forthcoming. The Report had shown clearly the need for workers with special gifts and sufficient leisure, and he hoped such people would come forward and offer their services. Rescue work was a matter mainly for private enterprise, said Mr. Soares. Public authorities could not do much except under the pressure of public opinion, and if bad housing conditions were a prevalent source of danger to young people as the Report had stated, then public opinion should be organized towards remedying those conditions.

Introducing the second speaker, Dr. (Mrs.) Socrates Noronha, D. T. M. H., D. T. M. (Lond.), J. P., His Grace commented on the wisdom of having two doctors among the speakers and expressed



the hope that the Guild of Catholic Doctors founded in Bombay in 1939 would work in close collaboration with the C. W. W. S. In her address on "Woman's Role in Rescue Work," Mrs. Noronha laid stress on the fact that the social evil of prostitution cannot be eliminated by laws and legislation. There will always be people who will find ways of evading such laws. The social worker is, therefore, indispensable and on the character of the individual depends the success of the work done. Women are especially suited to this work for they have qualities of sympathy, patience, gentleness and above all *intuition*, which are most necessary when dealing with the unfortunate and despairing. "The overwhelming success," continued the speaker, "of those who make use of religious influence as compared with what is usually termed a sense of duty or philanthropy is manifest to all. You will turn a fallen soul aright far quicker if you make her realise her loss of dignity in the eyes of God rather than simply point out to her degradation in the eyes of man, and when she has been safely rescued, make her realise that she may yet hold up her head in the sight of God whatever man thinks of her."

Dr. A. C. Rebello, M. B. B. S., D. T., M. H. (Lond.), followed with an excellent speech in which he indicated the great assistance that could be rendered to the Society and its work by professional men. Trained *economists* and *research students* with great profit to themselves also, could go round and study the conditions under which these girls and women live. *Doctors* could do much to advise and help the Society, and they could also serve as links between their patients and the Society, recommending the former to the latter in cases where the Society's help was needed. *Nurses* and *midwives* could similarly put their often distressed patients into the care of the Society. *Lawyers* could give legal advice on points concerning adoption and terms of employment, and could help in rescuing child servants from their cruel and unscrupulous employers or relatives. *Preachers*, too, and public speakers, clerical and lay, and journalists and *writers*. "So much journalistic talent in our community," said the speaker, "is wasted on periodicals noted for their undignified language, which could be put to good account writing articles and stories to respectable papers with the object of giving correct and continued publicity to social work." As the work developed, homes, hostels, and clubs would be needed, and *architects*, *engineers* and *artists* and all engaged in the building trade would be called upon. Finally, there would be the need for *catechists* and *teachers* to instruct the women and girls saved from disaster by the Society both in their religion and in some useful home industry; in this field some Sodalities were already doing great work which could be extended. In conclusion Dr. Rebello appealed to the professions to help the Society, irrespective of race and creed, thus "giving an opportunity not only to the women and child-victims but also to their cruel masters and mistresses and to their seducers and unscrupulous relatives to live honourably for the greater glory of God."

Professor Correia-Afonso, M. A. (Oxon), LL. B., after referring to the urgent and arduous work of the Society during the two preceding years, work which had been carried on so quietly that few had heard of it, said that now the time had come when its light should be hidden no longer but must come forth to illuminate the darkest corners of our social life. "We have in our midst," said the Professor, "to an alarming degree the social evil which is the darkest blot in the chequered history of man: the

exploitation of the child and the exploitation of woman. We see from this Society's illuminating Report that something has already been done, but it is pathetically eloquent of the much more that remains to be done." Practical proposals had been made, continued the speaker, as a result of the inquiry and work of those two years, and among them were the founding of hostels, clubs and training classes, where the young immigrants into the city would find the atmosphere of home. *Everyone* could give one positive help toward solving the problem, namely, by doing his best not to create it.

His Grace the Archbishop then addressed the meeting. Saying that it would be an impertinence to comment on the Report, he urged that it should be widely read and studied, and copies circulated to many outside their present number. The magnitude of the problem, said His Grace, should inspire all to help. His Grace also welcomed what he understood to be the statement of Dr. Rebello that Goa was forming a similar Society. Addressing particularly the non-Catholic social workers present, His Grace thanked them for coming and remarked as noted above, that hitherto the Catholic body in Bombay had contributed rather more to the problem than to the remedy, but that the Christian spirit was the greatest thing ever given to India and that the experience of the Church during 2000 years in all parts of the world was at the service of this new Society and of all Welfare Societies. Appealing for membership of the C. W. W. S., His Grace said that its work was done for God and that no-one should be able to say "No" to Christ, Our Lord.

Proposing the vote of thanks to the Chair, Mrs. Leo Rodrigues, M. A., remarked on His Grace's well-known love for children as evidenced in his interest in St. Catherine's Home, Andheri, the Foundling Home and other similar institutions in the Diocese. It was known, moreover, that he had "adopted" a little crippled Hindu boy at Chembur. The Founding of the C. W. W. S. would enable help and protection to be given to the many young girls (mere children) coming into Bombay. Anyone who felt they had a vocation for social work should attend the Juvenile courts and train themselves for Voluntary Supervision and Probation Work. In conclusion the speaker thanked the Rector of St. Xavier's High School for allowing them the use of the Hall for their meeting and of the Sodality Chapel for the Mass which had been celebrated by His Grace that morning in the presence of the members of the Society.

#### MADRAS HIGH COURT ON INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES.

Their Lordships Panduranga Row and Somayya J. J. delivered judgment in an appeal relating to the validity of inter-caste marriages. They held that though such marriages were permitted during the time of the Smritis, they had become obsolete in the "Kali" age. S. Janakirama Murthy, a Brahmin Vakil of Nellore, was alleged to have married N. Venkatasubbamma, a woman of the Sudra Kapu caste in September 1926. He had also children by her. He had previously married a Brahmin woman and had issues also by that marriage. After the death of Janakirama Murthy, Venkatasubbamma for herself and on behalf of her children by the said Janakirama, Murthy filed a suit before the District Judge of Nellore against the estate of Janakirama Murthy, in the possession of the Brahmin wife and her sons, for recovery of maintenance for herself and for her children. The defendants disputed the fact and validity of the first plaintiff's marriage. The

District Judge upheld the marriage of the plaintiff with Janakirama Murthy and awarded a maintenance of Rs. 20 a month to her and her children. Against that decree, the defendants preferred the above appeal.

On the factum of marriage, their Lordships differed. Panduranga Row J. agreed with the lower court and held that the marriage was true. Somayya J. held that it was not true. But both the judges agreed on the question of law that a marriage between a higher caste Hindu and a lower caste was not valid in Hindu law. Their Lordships held that the decision in Moraaryi's case of Venkatasubba Rao J. that Anuloma marriages were good in the present age was not correct and was based on a misunderstanding of the observations made in a Bombay case. Somayya J. who delivered the leading judgment on this question of law, elaborately reviewed the smritis and commentaries on the subject, and held that such a marriage was condemned for the present "Kali" age and is obsolete though it was tolerated during ancient times. His Lordship approved of the view taken in Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar's edition of "Mayne's Hindu Law" that such marriages were void. His Lordship also referred to the writings of foreign travellers, who visited India to show that at least from about 900 A. D. such marriages were not in vogue in India. In the end the appeal was allowed.

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Messrs. M. S. Ramachandra Rao, D. R. Krishna Rao and M. Krishna Rao appeared for the appellants and Messrs P. V. Rajamannar and K. Subba Rao for the respondents.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**War Fund or Red Cross?**—Gandhiji has informed a correspondent that Congressmen may subscribe to Red Cross activities without violating the principle of Ahimsa if they do so of their own free will and not under pressure. It is difficult for many people to satisfy themselves that they are doing a thing of their own free will and not under pressure of circumstances. What Gandhiji means, however, is obviously pressure from officials and not from circumstances. But the official is a part of circumstance. If the boss of the firm or the office calls his staff together and suggests that it will be a good thing for them all to subscribe a handsome sum to the Red Cross or the War Fund, it becomes a circumstance which few of the members present could resist. Gandhiji's condition, therefore is not likely to be of any use except as a salve to one's conscience. But we want here to ask seriously whether paying to the Red Cross is less objectionable on humanitarian grounds than paying to the War Fund. The Quakers and other conscientious objectors—not all of these—think as Gandhiji does. But we disagree. Not only does it seem to us that there is nothing to choose between the two. We feel that it is more humane to subscribe to war funds than to the Red Cross. The latter seems to us to be a most illogical institution, to heal the wounds caused in the fight to which we deliberately send our soldiers. We send them knowing that if they are not killed or captured outright, a proportion of them must come back maimed, blinded, disfigured and disabled. One of the most pathetic cases is that mentioned in Dr. Axel Munthe's "Red Cross and Iron Cross." An officer is brought to the hospital and is put into an overcrowded ward. The man had lost his sight but he keeps crying, in ignorance of the terrible fact, "Open the window, Open the window," all the day long. We have been since reading this, asking ourselves whether it

would not be more rational as well as humane, if we must engage in war, to equip sufficient numbers of men in the most complete manner possible so as to minimise their chances of being wounded or killed or captured by the enemy who, indeed, should be intimidated by the strength and armaments of the opposing army from seeking to try conclusions with it. And it seems to us that by collecting a large War Fund this can be done so that the irony of the Red Cross may be dispensed with to a considerable extent, if not altogether. It is the old and wise principle, Prevention is better than cure. The attempt to salve our conscience or save our face by subscribing to the Red Cross and not to the War Funds seems to be a pitiful piece of casuistry.

**Need for Non-Sectarian Welfare Work:**—In the Report of the Catholic Women's Welfare Society and even more warmly in the speech of the Archbishop of Bombay at the first public meeting of the Society, acknowledgments were made to the readiness and cordiality with which non-Catholic and non-Christian institutions and workers responded to the request of the Society for co-operation and help. The Society also expresses its readiness to help other workers in a like spirit. This is as it should be. In a country like India where from of old different religious communities have lived together and in a city like Bombay where they come in intimate contact in the course of business and pastimes, the establishment of watertight compartments in social service are unhelpful though, of course, each community has special opportunities and facilities to look after its own members. The field of social work among women is wide and, as the testimony of the League of Nations Committee shows, success has attended both religious and secular efforts at rescue and reclamation. The Houses of Bethany are managed by a special order of Benedictine nuns dedicated to this work while the Soviet institution is conducted without any religious, if not with an anti-religious, bias. The common feature which, perhaps, accounts for their success, is that in both, no distinction is made from the first between the rehabilitators and the to-be-rehabilitated. We rather think that the Catholic Women's Welfare Society, judging from the Report, is not equally careful to avoid the appearance of such a distinction between workers



and beneficiaries. The work which they are doing benefits the sisters in misfortune directly. But the afflictions of these women are infectious morally and physically and may have seriously detrimental effects on the community as well as on other communities. Thus in trying to save them we are trying also to save ourselves. We should welcome, therefore, an organisation open to all communities in which and through which all social work of a like tenour may be co-ordinated. Every member of it may and should retain his or her own religious beliefs or disbeliefs. One can disbelieve, it has been wisely observed, as reverently as one can believe. But there should be no attempt at proselytising. This will cause no difficulty to Hindus who do not believe in organised proselytism. And there are enough men and women of goodwill in all communities to form and work a non-sectarian organisation for the rescue and redemption of women and girls.

**N. M. Joshi:**—At the Legislative Assembly Mr. N. M. Joshi who has sat in it as a representative of Labour and Liberal interests, nominated by Government, moved for a Committee to enquire into the treatment of detenus under the Defence of India Act. The Home Member of the Government of India, Sir Reginald Maxwell, who has the reputation of being an official of balanced intelligence, unaccountably lost his bearings and indulged in a diatribe which would have made Englishmen whom we have known, blush for its "bad form." Government having put these detenus under lock and key, have no moral right to vilify them by the mouth of their spokesmen in the Assembly. These men, be it remembered, are detained without trial, a procedure repugnant to the fundamental principle of criminal jurisprudence that every man should be assumed to be innocent until he is proved in a duly constituted court of law to be guilty. There have been recently public references to the Magna Charta, the original of which is now entrusted for safe custody to the Government of the United States. The Home Member might have read of it. The Magna Charta does nothing more than emphasise and confirm the elementary principle of justice that a man should be heard before he is condemned. Perhaps it was the consciousness that the detention of these men was more in the line of the Fascist than of the British tradition and that an English official could not justify it on the principles recognised as just and lawful, that made the Home Member fly into a temper. Sir Reginald mentioned "a secret visit" he paid to the detenus when he was "mistaken for a P. W. D. man." This resembles Gestapo tactics except in that there seems to be no point in it. After heaping epithets on the unfortunate detenus who may be all that Sir Reginald described them to be, but who are entitled to be regarded as innocent until they are proved to be rascals, the Home Member tried the trick of

luring Mr. Joshi to his view by suggesting in a parenthesis that he, Sir Reginald, was sure that Mr. Joshi had no friends among the detenus. This gave Mr. Joshi the opportunity of administering a rebuke to the Home Member which was as severe as it was deserved. And that gives us the opportunity to express our long-felt appreciation of Mr. Joshi as a man of rare intellectual integrity, whom nothing can divert from the path of what he regards as the truth and right. Mr. Joshi is not a religious man. Indeed, he somewhat needlessly parades his indifference to religion. He has been afflicted by serious illness, has suffered cruel bereavements, has been recently obliged to resign from an institution to which he had devoted himself for life. He is a nominated member of the Assembly depending on the Government, that is, the Home Member, for the opportunity to continue his honourable career in the Assembly. His nomination to the League of Nations where he won distinction by his ability and character, need no longer count, as the League itself has been dispersed. He was speaking to a man who can send any man in the country to the detention camp without assigning any reason whatever except that in his opinion and that of his subordinates he was not a person fit for decent society, whatever that may mean. In these circumstances, not many in his position would have cared to stand up for the men who were not there to answer for themselves as faithfully and unflinchingly as he did.

**Enemy Internees and Political Detenus:**—For many months past there has been, in public and private, comparison made between the treatment of enemy aliens interned since the war and Indian political detenus. The reason for the difference in favour of aliens was understood but the Home Member for the first time stated it publicly. He spoke of international conventions but no one nowadays cares for these conventions when it is in their interest to break them and they can be broken without bringing down retribution. The real reason is that the enemy countries hold British detenus and prisoners of war—among them the Viceroy's son and heir and probably the relatives and friends of other high officials also—and any inconsiderate treatment of enemy aliens here would be promptly reciprocated in those countries. There is a strong agitation in Great Britain against needlessly severe measures against citizens of enemy countries held in detention, and we entirely sympathise with it. We should be very sorry indeed if the Government of India do not set an example to other countries of the utmost courtesy, consideration and even generosity to men and women whom they have been obliged to intern owing to the accident of war. Nor, for our part, do we think that the standard adopted in the case of war detenus or prisoners is necessarily the proper one for political detenus in this country. The standard for these should be determined with reference to their habitual manner and standards and should in no case

fall short of them. What we should deprecate is the regarding of the absence of the power of retribution as an argument for inflicting hardships on men whose only offence is that their activities in pursuance of their convictions appear to the authorities to be subversive of the existing order.

**The Arya Samaj and the Census:**—Much pressure is being brought to bear on Arya Samajists to declare themselves as Hindus in returns for the forthcoming Census. From a letter in the *Leader*, it seems that the Aryas had agreed to do so. Meanwhile the column of sect after religion was omitted from the enumeration form, and, as Aryas do not wish their identity to be lost, they have decided to enter "Arya Samaj" in the column for religion. All this fuss is unnecessary since in the Arya Marriage Act introduced by the President of the International Aryan League, Delhi, the preamble describes the Aryas "as a class of Hindus." The Census officials cannot ignore the statute. The obviously proper thing would be to enter Hindu Arya in the column for religion. The column for religion itself is out of place in the Census and should be deleted. Every sect and denomination should take its own census if it desires to have a statistical record of its adherents.

**The Turko-Bulgarian Pact:**—In the past week Bulgaria which had sprung to the fore-front of world politics by the brusque reply which its Government gave to Britain's charge that Nazi troops were in Bulgaria, held the limelight by a non-aggression pact which it concluded with Turkey, on Monday. This was followed by the signing of a cultural pact the next day with Hungary and the initiation of trade negotiations with Soviet Russia in Moscow. On Friday news came through that a non-aggression pact has also been put through with Yugo-slavia. The Bulgarian Foreign Minister has declared that these diplomatic moves are intended to establish Bulgarian neutrality. This must mean at the least Balkan neutrality as well. At best the Allies can expect that the Balkans will be neutralised in this war, enjoying a position somewhat similar to that of Scandinavia in the last, though not quite as easy. The pact with Turkey does not affect previous agreements entered into by either country, but the prospects now are greater of its keeping Turkey out of the war, than of turning Bulgaria anti-Nazi. The position of Turkey is an unenviable one and President Inonu must be regretting his failure to arrive at an understanding with Russia in the early stages which would have allowed his people to enjoy a securer neutrality. As matters stand, the indications seem to be that Russia and Germany are hoping to repeat their Polish adventure in the South-East. Greece has in some ways facilitated this scheme, since Italy is kept out of the picture so long as she is entangled in her Greek quarrel. Persistent reports of Japanese initiation of a peace move indicate a surprising development in the international sphere. Both parties to the European conflict disclaimed interest in it.

**Mr. Roy's Cave of Adullam.**—The miscellaneous crowd which Mr. M. N. Roy is sweeping into his army for the destruction of Fascism, reminds one of the Cave of Adullam. For the benefit of readers who are unfamiliar with Bible history, it may be explained that in the Cave of Adullam everyone that was in distress, and everyone in debt, and everyone that was discontented in Gath, gathered round David who had fled from the wrath of the king Achish and became a captain over them. Mr. Roy seems to have won over a section of officialdom and the Anglo-Indian press to believe in his mission to save the country from Fascism as well as from the Congress and from Gandhiji. The Indian public, however, are suspicious of this erstwhile "right-hand man" of Lenin and participator in other abortive revolutions, and of his aims and objects. Immediately, he declares that Fascism must be destroyed. As it happens Fascism is destroying itself. When it is destroyed with or without Mr. Roy's co-operation, what will he do? What is his programme? Will he revert to Leninism which is dead in Soviet Russia or will he seek to start India on the Stalinist road? When Mr. Roy was restored to freedom and to Indian public life some years ago, a reception was given to him in Congress House in Bombay and the late Home Minister, Mr. K. M. Munshi, in his ecstatic style hailed him as the great liberator who with his experience of six or seven revolutions in other countries, would lead him and his friends to the promised land. *The Reformer* demurred and it was the only journal that did so. Now Mr. Roy is the most determined antagonist of the Congress and the whole Gandhian ideology. It is astonishing how fortunate Gandhiji has been in the sequence of events which consolidated his leadership. The death of Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta, left Lokamanya Tilak and Dr. Besant as competitors for the Congress gadi. The Lokamanya, with Gandhiji's neutrality, won. Just when the issue of non-co-operation was hanging in the balance, the Lokamanya who regarded it as a mad project, died and left the field clear to Gandhiji. The late Lord Lloyd next gave him a timely and much-needed "leg up," by the strange prosecution in which the judge delivered a sort of Gettysburg oration in reply to a Ciceronian deliverance from the prisoner, not standing at the bar but sitting beside him on the bench. Then came the Swaraj split. Gandhiji had to yield to Deshbandhu Das but the latter died shortly after. Pandit Motilal Nehru would certainly have prevented the Gandhi-Irwin Pact but at the critical moment he too breathed his last. Subash Chandra Bose who dared defy Gandhiji and might have proved a serious rival, has turned spiritual and has mysteriously vanished. "In Vishnuland, what avatar?" To complete Gandhiji's triumph, Mr. M. N. Roy has unfurled his flag. And people, including Congressmen, who were showing signs of violent disagreement with Gandhiji's policies are saying, "Better to err with the Mahatma than shine with M. N. Roy."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 22, 1941.

## INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON.

To the Government motion that the documents relating to the Indo-Ceylon conversations be taken into consideration, Sir Raza Ali, ex-Agent-General in South Africa, introduced an amendment as follows:

And this Assembly regrets the failure of the Indo-Ceylon conversations as revealed in the verbatim report and supports the attitude adopted by the representatives of the Government of India which faithfully represents the point of view of Indian public opinion; and, while recognising the desire of the Ceylon State Council to maintain its independence of action, appreciates the message sent by the Governor of Ceylon to that body with respect to the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government and by the Government of Ceylon to the Government of India and expresses the hope that it will serve to emphasise the importance particularly under present circumstances of nothing being done by the Government and people of Ceylon which will endanger the good relations which should exist between the two countries whose interests are so intimately bound together.

The mover of this self-contradictory amendment as well as many of the other non-official members who spoke in the debate, warmly supported the attitude of the Indian delegation. Nevertheless the key-note of the amendment which was carried unanimously, was "regret" and not "satisfaction." This note of regret at the failure of the conversations was prominent in almost every speech in the debate as was the approval of the attitude of the Indian Government. Sir F. E. James whose support of the Government action was much appreciated by the Assembly, began by expressing his "profound regret" at the failure of the conversations. Of course, everybody agreed that the failure was due to the intransigency of the Ceylonese representatives. Sir Raza Ali, however, let fall the remark that some non-official members might have been associated with the Indian deputation. Mr. M. S. Aney who has won recognition in the country and the Assembly as a wise and farseeing leader, expressed his gratification at the unity manifested in the debate:

Unity in the regret at the failure of this phase of the negotiations; unity in the hope that better understanding would be achieved in the future; and unity also in the resolve that so far as India was concerned, if there was to be a settlement, it must be on the basis of justice and fairplay to Ceylon, but justice and fairplay also to Indians in Ceylon.

Mr. Aney's sentiments were received with acclamation by the Assembly. If Sir Raza Ali and Mr. Aney had been with Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai on the Indian delegation, the deadlock might have been postponed, if not definitely averted. Non-official co-operation is more likely to be effective in the informal stage than when negotiations have become ripe for a formal discussion. The fact is, and the people of Ceylon will no doubt note it, that nobody in India is happy at the failure of the negotiations. The Ceylonese delegation would have secured substantial terms from India if it had not deluded

itself with the analogy of South Africa. That the Government of India have failed in South Africa is no reason why they should submit to the expatriation of Indians domiciled in Ceylon. At the same time, we in this country should note how the failure to sustain the rights of Indians in one part of the British Empire reacts to the injury of Indians in others.

A delegation from Burma headed by the Prime Minister, the Hon. U. Baw, arrived in India a few days ago on the same kind of mission as the Ceylon delegation and we trust that it will not also end in a deadlock. Burma does not stand in precisely the same close relation to India as Ceylon. The Burmese are a Mongolian people. They received Buddhism not from India but from Ceylon. They have a just cause of estrangement from India for the loss of independence of their country. Historically, the conquest and annexation of Burma by India stands on the same footing as the conquest and annexation of Abyssinia by Italy. On the introduction of the reformed constitution, Burma was separated from India by what the Governor-designate of Burma has happily termed 'a major operation,' which had left some ragged edges behind. One of these is the prohibition of the levying of duties on imports from India into Burma. According to the Burmese Premier, Indian imports have increased largely since the separation and he has come among other things to get the Government of India to agree to the levying of duties by Burma on Indian imports. This will be an important addition to the revenues of Burma. The Burmese Premier, anticipating a retaliatory demand for a duty on Burmese rice imports into India, pointed out that India did not produce enough rice for her consumption and a duty on Burmese rice would injure the Indian consumer. But the Burman can not eat up all the rice which he now grows and, if India imported less of it, he would be the first to suffer because his income from his fields would be correspondingly reduced. Prices will fall and he will have to sell the surplus at a loss. So far as India is concerned, it has been for years our opinion that we should make ourselves self-sufficient in the matter of food grains, if necessary by cutting down our cash crops like cotton which, exported to Japan, comes back to compete with Indian manufactured cloth.

The Burmese Prime Minister is labouring under an illusion if he thinks that levying duties on Indian imports will materially strengthen the economic position of his country. Burma will either not get the present amount of Indian imports or will have to pay a higher price to get them from other countries. The Burmese Premier has also in view to make an agreement with the Government of India restricting immigration of unskilled labour to Burma. He says that it is not to the benefit of the Indian or the Burmese that there should be free immigration of Indian workers to Burma. The Indian knows best

what is to his benefit and what is not, and he goes to Burma because he finds it to his advantage and not because he wants to create a problem for the Hon. U. Baw. At the same time, it behoves the Government and the public of India to set about seriously thinking of ways and means to put an end to the emigration of unskilled labour from this country. More than any other single cause, it is responsible for the low esteem in which Indians have come to be held in various parts of the world. The Burman and Ceylon Governments may also bear in mind that the rapid industrial development which is taking place both in the Tamil and Telugu districts from which they make good the deficiency in their own labour market, will at no distant day greatly reduce the quantity and quality of Indian labour available to them, and adopt measures to develop their own native resources. A friendly understanding on the basis of these considerations is easily attainable between India and her two neighbours. We should, indeed, look forward to an arrangement in the nature of a Zollverein between Burma, Ceylon and India which together constitute a single, ideal, economic unit. But the time for it is not yet and the mere suggestion may alarm our suspicious neighbours.

#### EDUCATIONAL CONCESSIONS IN COCHIN AND TRAVANCORE.

In the controversy which has arisen over the question of educational concessions to Depressed Classes in Cochin, it is repeatedly suggested that, before the appointment of a popular minister in Cochin, no distinction was made between the Depressed Classes and members of these castes who had been converted to another religion. Frequent reference is made to the Cochin Educational Code which has stated clearly, it is said, that the word "depressed" has an exclusively educational meaning and does not relate to social status. This is not borne out in any other record of the Cochin State. Certainly it is not the meaning usually attached to the words, "depressed classes," all over India. A reference to the Census Report of 1931 and the Administration Reports issued annually during the past five years should be valuable in explaining the meaning generally attaching to the term in Cochin.

The Administration Report of Cochin for 1937-38, the year just preceding the appointment of a popular minister, in a chapter on the Uplift of the Depressed Classes, notes that "several special facilities and educational concessions are extended to them (the depressed classes) with a view to help forward their educational and economic progress." It proceeds, "A few backward communities, such as Kudumi Chettis, Tholkollans, Perumkollans, Kumbharans, Kusavans, Boyans and Velans were classed as depressed classes for purposes of educational concessions during the year under report." In the chapter on Public Instruction, there is a significant passage which reads, "For the purpose of educational concessions, a few communities which were found to be 'backward' in point of education were included in the list of backward classes, and a few communities which had already been classed as backward were temporarily declared depressed during the year."

It is worth noting that classes which have been moved from the "backward" to the "depressed" category are of the Hindu castes and to our

knowledge no non-Hindu backward class has been put into the depressed group. In the 1933-34 report, there is a mention of the classes which are "depressed" which clearly shows that there is no room for any doubt as to its being restricted to Hindus. The Report reads:

The category of depressed classes includes Kannians or Padanans, Malayans, Sambavas or Parayas including Tamilian Sambavas, Vettavas, Nayadis, Kadirs, Pulayas, Ulladans, Pulluvans and Kavaras. A few backward communities such as the Vathis (barbers of all backward classes), Perumannams and Velans, Naickens, Odas, Panans, Kudumi, Chettis, Tholkallans, Perinkollans, Kumbharans, Kusavans, Boyans and Velans, have also been classed as depressed classes for purposes of educational concessions for a period of six years.

In all these Reports there are indications of what classes form the depressed group and what the backward; and in none of them is there anything to show that converts to other faiths form part of the first of these groups.

The practical difference lies in the concessions made to the two groups: The backward classes being given half-fee concessions and the depressed classes being allowed free education.

The concessions made to backward communities are not restricted to any religion for the obvious reason that they are solely intended to spread education in a group which is averse to it. This is borne out by the following passage from the Census Report for 1931:

The Jews have always ranked high in literacy, but their numbers are so few that no detailed examination of their figures is called for. It is, however, strange that they find a place in the list of communities backward in education though they rival the Christians in general literacy and far surpass them in English literacy. And yet the Jews, shrewd and practical as they are, have apparently no desire to be classed with the advanced communities, probably for the reason that they will forfeit the solid benefits accruing from the concessions extended to backward communities by the Education Department, if they go in for a hollow, unprofitable, title.

Some fifteen years ago the post of Protector of the Depressed Classes was created and ameliorative measures for the uplift of these classes were set on foot, a large part of them being connected with educational facilities. Whatever had been the practice before, there has been during all this period a growing emphasis on the use of word, "Depressed Classes," as relating to social status in the caste system. In the 1934-1935 Report, for instance, the section on "Uplift of Depressed Classes" followed as a brief paragraph after public instruction, and was solely concerned with opening of wells, hostels and other social activities. The Public Instruction section carried a short reference to the education of backward and depressed classes. In the 1936-37 Report, however, the "Uplift of the Depressed Classes" had been expanded into a separate chapter and the education of the depressed classes was noted in detail at the commencement of this chapter. There was also a very brief paragraph on educational concessions to "backward and depressed classes" in the Public Instruction chapter.

But for the paragraph in the Cochin Educational Code, there would be nothing to convey the impression that the concessions to the depressed classes were meant to be extended to members of non-Hindu communities. The Code itself introduces another confusion. One sentence urges that "in the case of children of the backward or depressed classes attending a school, a change of religion will not make

them ineligible for the concessions enjoyed by them," and the statement that the controversy involves only Rs. 100 also seems to indicate that the practice has been that no child who has been granted concessions will be deprived of them because he has changed his religion after the benefit of the concessions were extended to him. The next sentence lays down the principle that converts from backward or depressed classes shall be entitled to all the educational concessions granted to the respective communities. "Respective communities" is very vague phraseology. Does it mean communities into which they have been admitted or communities from which they have been converted? If it means the first, the present controversy is irrelevant. The second implies indirectly that change of religion does not affect the caste of a man, or his social status in the community. This has not been the policy of the Cochin State in the past. The great contribution made by Christians to education in the Cochin State, raises the Christian community as a whole out of the backward or depressed class for educational purposes—unless the Christians of Cochin, like the Hindus regard themselves as divided in social castes, in spite of their having appealed recently to the Cochin Government to enter Christians in Census records as just Christians. These concessions are given to a particular section of society which is "backward" or "depressed." However deserving a man might be, if he belongs to a community which does not fall in either of these categories, obviously he cannot claim the facilities accorded to members of communities which do. Nevertheless it is clear that in Cochin a confusion is introduced by the Education Code in the facilities accorded to certain communities between the concepts of educational advancement and social uplift. The term, "depressed classes," is throughout the Administration Reports used in the sense in which it is understood all over India. But apparently under the Educational Code it is possible to give a new meaning almost synonymous with illiteracy. But it is equally obvious that this confusion is a legacy taken over by the popular minister.

The system of educational concessions which is prevailing in Travancore, is in some respects more systematic and more easily comprehensible. A Press Note issued from Trivandrum on January 17th 1941 clearly explains the position. But a reference to some of the old Administration Reports shows that from the outset Travancore had built up its policy on more general lines.

A comparison of the two methods is not without interest, particularly in view of the fact that in religious issues Travancore has adopted a forward policy which has not been followed by Cochin. There is no parallel in Cochin to the Travancore Temple-entry Proclamation. In educational matters, however, Travancore does not grant concessions to members of the Depressed Classes because they belong to those classes, as Cochin, as we have seen above, does.

The Administration Report for 1932-33 remarks, it is true, that "fee concessions were granted to the poor pupils of the depressed and backward communities and also to the deserving poor pupils of other communities." Even that recognised larger principles. But the whole basis was changed in 1937 and the percentage of literacy of the several communities was adopted as the basis for the granting of concessions (Administration Report 1936-37). A further change was imperceptibly introduced in the next year and the Report for 1938-39 records that "according to the rules for the award of fee concessions, the percentage of literacy of the several communities as

well as their economic condition was adopted as the basis for the granting of the concessions."

The press note now issued is intended to answer the criticisms of the Bishop of Dornakal in an article in the *Madras Mail*, which apparently charged the Travancore Government with pursuing an anti-Christian policy in regard to educational concessions.

The note sets out the fee concessions which are now given and draws attention to the findings of the Education Advisory Board in 1935 which were given effect to by the Government in 1937. Here too there are two classes of concessions, half-fee and free. The basis of the concessions is the literacy index of the communities. The classification itself is based on the number of literates per thousand of the population over 7 years of age. The press note points out,

Some 22 communities were accordingly declared eligible for full fee concessions in all schools and colleges because they had a literacy index of less than 100 per thousand. In this group there is no distinction made between Hindu and Christian except in the case of Marakan, Pariah including Sambavar and Pulaya (Cheranar). The Christians among these as well as Hindu Nadars, Iynavar Christians, Catholic Arasars, etc., were declared eligible for only half-fee concessions in English and Vernacular schools in so far as the number of literates among them was found to be 100 or more per thousand.

The Travancore Government could not naturally set up one standard for a Depressed Class sect and for men of that sect converted to some other religion, where the converts very often, if not invariably, had a better percentage of literacy. The test after all in Travancore is literacy and that necessitated a different policy in regard to converts. However to effect a peaceful transition, the new rules were held in abeyance for three years.

Following this there are certain provisions relating to exemption from examination fees which is restricted to communities entitled to free education in all schools and colleges and even there to deserving scholars. The complaint of the Christian community that their religionists are being discriminated against, therefore, would seem to have little foundation in fact. The machinery set up by the Travancore Government guards against this reproach.

The differences in approach between Cochin and Travancore arise out of a fundamental difference in the attitudes adopted by the two administrations to converts. The Cochin State accepts at its face-value the Christian claim that a Depressed Class man on conversion sheds all the disabilities relating to his caste. "Their conversion to Christianity or Islam," says the Census Report for 1931 following earlier reports, "gives them a passport to tread over the field forbidden to them up to that time. When thus metamorphosed, he is able to engage himself in whatever work he can do, earn higher wages and lead a comparatively easy and comfortable life." It is true that this is meant to be a description of conditions some thirty years ago. But it has coloured Cochin policy.

The Travancore State pursues a different line of action. Though the Census of 1931 begins by stating that the Depressed Classes are those Hindu castes who suffer disabilities in the matter of entry into temples, untouchability, etc., it goes on to point out that, in the matter of land concessions, some Christian sects are classed as depressed and for educational concessions as backward. Moreover to both the Census writer and to those who draw up the administration reports, a converted Cheramar



for example becomes a Christian Cheramar, not a Christian as in Cochin.

This has the advantage of saving the less developed sections of the Christian community from being forgotten in the progress of the more advanced. But it perpetuates distinctions which in other spheres are said to die out on conversion. And it divides the Christian community into the castes and sub-castes of the parent Hindu fold. The problem is one for the Christian community itself to solve. It has to decide whether on conversion a Christian carries his caste over into the new faith or whether he enters a new casteless community. And the fact that the amount of State assistance involved is very small, though it does not affect the principle, should be an inducement to arriving at a farsighted decision. For the State the only way out of the dilemma in which the two alternatives place the Christians of Kerala, is for educational concessions and benefits to be made on the basis of individual and family necessity rather than of group conditions. But in no part of India has this pre-eminently sensible standard been adopted.

#### BRAHMOISM AND VEDANTA.

In the *Reformer* of the 8th February reference was made in an editorial note on the Brahma Samaj to the work of Pandit Sitanath Tatvabhusan and other scholars in promoting closer approach between Hindus and Brahmos in Bengal by establishing the identity of the Vedanta with Brahma principles. Replying to a congratulatory address presented to him at a public meeting in Calcutta, on the completion of his eighty-fifth year the venerable scholar gave an interesting account of his spiritual development.

"At a very early stage of my religious life," he said, "I learnt that every man's life has (1) a general object, namely, cultivating union with God, and (2) a special object which he must learn by prayer and self-examination. It was by a long search that I found out the second and special object of my life. I found it out only after a close association with prominent Brahmos and a close study of Brahma literature. Both these showed me that, though Brahmaism professed to be a free religion, rejecting both Sastras and Gurus as independent proofs or authorities, it had failed to prove its reasonableness. The special object of my life was to show that Brahmaism, both as a doctrine and an ideal of life, is reasonable—a religion conformable to the principles of philosophy. Since this discovery, my life has been devoted principally to the fulfilment of this task. The study of western philosophy led me to absolute Idealism, which is called Neo-Hegelianism in England. Its similarity to Vedantism led me to a much closer study of the Vedanta than I had yet gone through. With the help of Sankara's and Ramanuja's commentaries I studied closely and as thoroughly as I could, the three institutes, Prasthanatraya, of Vedantism, namely (1) the principle Upanishads, which are called Sruti Prasthanas, (2) the Brahma-sutram, called Naya Prasthanas. This study clearly showed me that the Upanishadic Rishis themselves, and not merely their exponents, differed from one another. I have showed in my edition of these Vedantic scriptures that the Brahma-rishis are unqualified monists, but the Rajarishis and Devarishis are qualified monists, believers in the unity-in-difference of the finite and the infinite. I found that my philosophical Brahmaism agreed, in all essentials, with the Vishishtadvaitabada of the Rajarishis and Devarishis. In fact it was this discovery, namely that true Brahmaism and true Vedantism are identical, which made me feel that for the promotion of the depth and power of Brahmaism, the gap produced by some ignorant Brahma leaders between Sastric Brahma-nanda (sic) and present-day Brahmaism must be removed. It was in this way that editing and exposition of our

ancient Theistic scriptures became a part of the special object of my life.

Pandit Sitanath Tatvabhusan, like many other Indians, was led to the study of Hindu philosophy through the door of Western philosophy. British culture stands apart from other cultures in that it throws one back on one's own personal and national resources and does not take the latter away from them.

The passage quoted above is taken from the report in the *Hindustan Standard*. Owing perhaps to exigencies of space, the report has omitted what should have been the most important passage in the Pandit's observations. It will be noted that, while he says that he made a careful study of the three prasthanas or foundation authorities, in the sentences which follow references only to two of them are made, while the third which is a synthesis and reconciliation of not only the Pure Advaita and Qualified Advaita but also, I think, Buddhism, is conspicuous by its omission. This third source-book is the Bhagavad Gita. We can hardly believe that the Pandit omitted to mention in his speech the philosophy of the Gita which embraces and reconciles all the three great schools of Hindu philosophy, the Yoga, the Sankhya and the Vedanta. Only fools and children, it declares, regard the Sankhya and the Yoga as two distinctive philosophies and the author of the Gita proclaims himself to be the founder of the Vedanta.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy and following him the leaders of the Brahma Samaj in Bengal start from the commentaries on the three classics rather than from the classics themselves. The Raja was himself inclined to the Sankara school of absolute monism. Pandit Sitanath Tatvabhusan, and Pandit Srischandra Vedantabhusan (in his article, "Brahmoism, a Religion of True Bhakti," in the Maghotsav number of the *Indian Messenger*) prefer the qualified Monism of Ramanuja. The two Pandits trace the origin of qualified Monism to the Rajarishis and Devarishis and that of absolute Monism to the Brahma-rishis. The Gita brushes aside the tripartite distinction and avers that the Devarishi Narada (not mentioned by Pandit Sitanath Tatvabhusan in the category) and three others, Asita, Devala and Vyasa, have declared that the promulgator of the Gita was the Supreme Being. Inasmuch as the Brahma Samaj identifies itself with one of the three schools of the Vedanta, it falls short of the synthesis of the Gita and that, in my view, is the reason why it has had to take a back seat now that the number has increased of Hindus who study, interpret and strive to live the Gita in its undiluted spirit independently of the three illustrious commentators accepted by orthodoxy. Swami Vivekananda led the way in this movement. He was himself for some time a member of the Brahma Samaj and had always a kindly feeling for it. But he realised its inadequacy for modern India and the need of a dynamic Hinduism comprising all the valuable elements contributed by the different religious movements of the past, not only in India but also in Palestine and Arabia, in the spirit of the Bhagavad Gita.

K. N.

#### Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Ranchi :—

To build up the general ward for men at the Tuberculosis Sanatorium of the Ramakrishna Mission at Ranchi in memory of late Rai Saheb Dr. Mahendra Das Gupta of Garurgaon, Vikrampur, Dacca, a donation of Rs. 10,000 has been made over to the President of the Ramakrishna Mission at Belurmath by Mrs. Savitri Gupta, B. A., the daughter and executrix of the will of the aforesaid Rai Saheb. This timely donation has given an impetus to the construction work of the Sanatorium for which 300 acres of land have already been purchased at Ranchi.

## TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM.

(BY S. R. BALSUBRAHMANYA, CHIDAMBARAM.)

To Manikka Vachakar the Lord manifested Himself in this place. Appar has celebrated Tirukkalukkonram with his hymns. Sambandar (7th century A. D.) has sung devotional songs on the Lord whom he calls 'Kallam Vallan' (an adept in the art of cunning), 'Ponnittar'—the Giver of Gold—is one of the appellations of this God; it is believed that He used to reward his devotees with gold. Sundarar came to this place expecting to get gold from the Lord; at first the Lord hid Himself and remained in the Western Gopura, but Sundarar entered the temple by the southern gate, and, by sheer perseverance in his devotion, received both gold and grace from Siva. The fourth day festival of this place still celebrates this incident in the life of this saint. Hence the name of the 'Lord who hid himself to Nambi' (i. e., Sunderar) "Nambik-kolitta-piran."

At the end of the 9th century A. D., the region of Tirukkalukkonram passed from the rule of the Pallayas to the Cholas who exercised their sway till the end of the 13th century A. D. It is the *Mulasthanam* that receives the homage of princes and people till about the end of the 11th century A. D. And an endowment is occasionally made to the Lord on the sacred hill. But after the 11th century the name 'Mulasthanam' drops and the God is named the Lord of Tirukkalukkonram. When the God of the Mulasthanam was abandoned and why, we do not know. But we learn that a general of the Pandya King Jatavarman Sundara Pandya of Madura (accession 1251 A. D.) made a new shrine and consecrated a linga. Perhaps it is the modern Bakthavatsala, and most of the inscriptions of this Pandya ruler call the Lord—the giver of gold—"Ponthisvaram udaiyar." After the rule of the Pandyas this region passed into the hands of the Vijayanagara rulers whose inscriptions in this place range from the fourteenth to the 16th century A. D.

## LOCAL INSCRIPTIONS.

According to inscriptions, Tirukkalukkonram, otherwise called Ulagalanda Chola Puram, is said to be in Kalathur Kottam, a sub-division of Jayangonda Chola mandalam.

In an inscription of the 12th year of Kulottunga I (accession 1070 A. D.), we are told that two persons went out together for a hunt; and, by accident, one of them killed the other by an arrow evidently aimed at an animal. So the assembly of the place resolved that the guilty person should make an endowment for a lamp to be burnt in the local temple. In an inscription whose script can be assigned to the 12th century A. D., a certain Suryadevan is said to have set up an image of Pillaiyar in the temple (on the top of the hill) of Vedagiriswara and to have constructed the flight of steps on the hill. In the reign of Kulottunga II (6 year 1189 A. D.) it is recorded that a military officer of a feudatory called Edirili-Chola Sambavaroya was killed by another; and thereupon, the wife of the deceased committed *sati*. At the instance of the elders of the assembly of the Nadu, the criminal was made to endow two lamps for the two deceased.

During this long period of recorded history of about eleven centuries or more, only two cases of serious theft are mentioned. In 1213 A. D. (35th year of Tribhuvana Vira Deva i. e., Kulottunga III) a certain man was caught red-handed while removing the forehead plate (Tiruppattam) of the deity. He was declared a *drohin* (enemy to the community)

and ejected from his house which was confiscated and sold. The proceeds were used for paying the charges of the masons and other workmen who were employed in the construction of the steps to the hundred-pillared mandapa in the third enclosure of the temple.

Another similar case of theft happened in the days of Vira Kumara Kampana Udaiyar (latter part of the 14th century A. D.) of Vijayanagar. It is recorded that a certain man was caught in the act of sealing the gates of the strong room after removing the gold leaf of the *tiruvasi* (worth about 150 pon) of the idol in the room. Thereupon the assembly of the Nadu met and confiscated his 'kani' rights, declaring him a *Siva drohin* (enemy to Siva), and the proceeds of these rights sold in auction to various individuals amounting to 850 panams were deposited in the temple treasury.

These instances indicate the general absence of serious crimes, and the large judicial powers, even in cases of crimes, enjoyed by local bodies in those times.

## A GREAT TAMIL MERCHANT GUILD.

The Nanadesis, were a great and flourishing Tamil merchant guild that were carrying on extensive overseas trade from at least the earliest Chola times. One of their records is found in Sumatra. In this place there is a reference to the shrine of the Desivitanka Perumal—evidently set up by them and called after them by the *Nanadesis* of *Sadiravasagan pattinam*. This is perhaps a variant of *Sadras*—a place well known in later times as a settlement of the Dutch—situated about ten miles from Tirukkalukkonram.

## STANDARD WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The existence of a standard liquid measure called *Salvi Rajakosari* kept in the temple, and of a standard linear measurement representing a rod of 16 spans (padinaru san kol) marked on the (upana part) of the basement of the temple, is recorded in one of the local inscriptions. It is further mentioned that the square measure of that standard rod was "six-makhani." The temples of South India filled the role which the British Museum of London did and, now, the Board of Trade does for the standardization of weights and measures in England.

## EUROPEAN VISITORS.

In the seventeenth century and the early 19th century, Europeans, chiefly the Dutch, were much attracted to Tirukkalukkonram; and there are more than twenty-five names of Dutchmen who visited the place and left their signatures on the hill. Some of them were persons who held distinguished offices in the Dutch service. Chief among them are:

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Antony Pavilion (1670). He was the chief at Masulipatam in 1658 A. D. and at Jaffna from 1661 to 1665 A. D. Then he became Governor of the Coromandel Coast with head-quarters at Pulicat, which position he occupied for 13 years (1665—78). Perhaps he visited Sadras in 1670 and halted on his way at Tirukkalukkonram.

(2) Lawrence Pit Junior (1663) was another Dutch Governor of the Coast (1687—1698). Perhaps he visited the place in the time of Pit Senior who was also Governor (1652—63).

(3) William Carel Hartsink (1681). He was the chief Merchant and President at Pulicat from 1679 to 1681 A. D.

A Dutch writer called Havart relates how he and ten others visited the hill on 8th January 1681 A. D. and saw the two sacred birds being fed about midday.

An Englishman who has recorded his visit to this place in the 18th century is George Dawson (1769)

who was a Madras Civilian. He came out as a writer in 1751, became a member of the Madras Council (1768); and in 1769 he was appointed Chief of Cuddalore. Perhaps he visited the hill on his way to Cuddalore.

There is a record in the 19th century of Jan Andreis Vam Braan (1818) who was the Dutch Commissioner appointed in 1817 in pursuance of the London Convention of the 13th August 1814 to take delivery of some of the old Dutch factories in India. He visited Sadras in 1818 and assumed charge of the factory from the British Commissioner (31st March 1818); and his visit recorded at Tirukkalukunram must be on his way to Sadras.

Such in brief is the romantic vista revealed from local legendary lore and the mute fragments of old records on stone spread over many centuries. The attractiveness of Tirukkalukunram will last as long as the hill and the lake endure, and man is not dead to the charm of natural scenery, salubrious climate and spiritual appeal.

### JESUITS AND NAZIS.

The Catholic *Examiner* reprints the following from an editorial in the *Times* (London) of September 27, 1940, as a "tribute to Jesuits, which not so long ago would have been inconceivable." The occasion was the fourth centenary of the Order. The *Times* observed:

The Jesuits undergo a training of the severest character solely designed to make them proficient in wielding the arms required for their warfare—philosophy, theology, and the special dialectic of the Society. Absolute obedience to the orders of their superior officers is the very essence of their discipline; and their readiness to shed their blood for their cause is attested by a long list of martyrs, which the tragedies of the present generation have shown to be by no means closed. By the practice of these virtues they made themselves the main army of the Church, and to them belongs the chief human credit for the survival of the Roman Church into the modern world. As a fighting order the Jesuits have always made enemies; indeed the Society will no doubt feel itself decadent if the day ever comes when it ceases to be hated as passionately as it is admired. They have contended furiously against princes, with no quarter given on either side; and the fact that in the service of their religion they were for so long the active enemies of Church and State in England, has left animosities that are not yet wholly allayed. In recent times they have found sinister imitators in the secular field. Discipline, specialized training, absolute obedience, and unquestioning devotion to a system of doctrines held in common by the whole body—these virtues of the Jesuits—are evidently the very core of the system on which the armies of the Fascists, the National-Socialists, and the Falangists have been built. We see to-day what an evil thing such a force can be, when it is ruthlessly used for evil ends. But the dedication—*Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*—makes all the difference. The disagreements that still divide Christians do not define the spiritual battle-line of our days, which ranges in one camp all who are ready to defend the ancient sanctities against a new paganism that is anti-Christian to its inmost essence. Englishmen, therefore, without compromising any distinction of creed, may today salute the memory of ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA, the first paladin of this spiritual chivalry, of ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, the "greatest missionary since St. Paul," and of all their fellow-soldiers who for four hundred years have fought what they believed to be the battle of the Lord.

The identification in the *Times* comment of the technique of the Society of Jesus with that of Fascists, National Socialists and Falangists, is noteworthy as confirming the view that these latter are not the original inventions of their

contemporary founders. After the Founder of the Society, Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier, who left Europe early in his career, the greatest men produced by the Society were Pascal, Descartes and Voltaire who quitted it to lead the new movement of Rationalism.

### NON-CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

The Catholic *Examiner* referring to *The Reformer's* comment on the discussions in the Senate of the Bombay University on the proposal to recognise the new Catholic Women's College, Sophia College, expressing aversion to entrusting the education of Indian youths to foreigners anti pathetic to Indian culture and tradition, states that most of the Sacred Heart nuns are British citizens. That does not make them less foreigners—the more's the pity. As for their being antipathetic to Indian culture and traditions, the weekly issues of the *Examiner* afford ample testimony. The "superiority complex" of Hindu and Muslim girls who attend Convent Schools, is largely due to the fact that they pay double or treble the fees of the Catholic children who are charged a nominal fee or none at all. It is a purely economic reaction. Besides the extra fees, they are also liable to petty exactions for the celebrations of the innumerable saints in the Catholic calendar, and, as the children can not easily wangle them out of their parents, they are sometimes obliged to resort to indirect ways. The nuns themselves, inured to hard discipline, are sometimes prone to inflict punishments for trifling childish pranks, which leave a permanent effect on the nerves of delicate children. It was not our intention to enter into an appraisal of the moral aspects of education in schools where children are exposed to the tremendous stress of a conflict between what they imbibe in their homes and what they learn in the school atmosphere. But the *Examiner's* criticism though ill-informed requires the courtesy of a reply. We should like to add here that there is no point in the *Examiner* referring to the "Brahmin" editor of *The Reformer*. He is no more ashamed of it than the editor of the, *Examiner* is ashamed of being a Jesuit.

### LADY LINLITHGOW ON NURSING.

Lady Linlithgow's observations regarding the difficulties in the way of recruiting competent Indian nurses, have attracted general attention. The *Guardian* of Madras, an Indian Christian weekly, points out that Government is chiefly to blame for the present situation. It suggests that the nursing profession was more attractive than it is at present but that it has suffered in popularity owing to the measures of Government affecting the pay and conditions of service of Indian nurses. The *Guardian* writes:

That nurses do not get fair treatment is a cry heard as much in the West as in India, though undoubtedly conditions are infinitely better where the profession is well-organised and established. This is one reason why women in India did not readily take to this work. It still remains the main reason. Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow, however, stressed, in opening the Conference of Trained Nurses Association, the reason that "responsible men among the Indian public look upon nurses as a necessary evil to be tolerated, but who must be made to feel that they are entirely subordinate to men." When the higher cadre was thrown open to Indian women, candidates were not lacking. The system had excluded them in the belief that they were averse to work among all and sundry in a public hospital. Till then only menial service was open which section

is not honoured by anyone, let alone Indian men and women. With honourable conditions guaranteeing them protection and self-respect, the way was made easy and the response was adequate. But the reaction on the part of the Government is the usual one. The popularity of the profession is made the excuse for depressing conditions, for the abundance of supply instead of being a means to extend the nursing profession introduces the market rule of bargaining for cheap labour. It is no longer popular prejudice—men's or women's—that rules recruitment, but the perpetual threat of retrenchment that is discouraging women.

#### HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS COMMITTEE.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In your note under the above caption in *The Reformer* of 1st February 1941, you have referred to the Committee of three experts to investigate and determine the property rights of Hindu women. I am afraid you have forgotten the name of the fourth man on the Committee. Rajaratna Vasudev Vinayak Joshi, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, High Court, Baroda, is a man who has devoted almost his whole life to this topic. It is he who is mainly responsible for the reforms in this direction in the Baroda State. He was an active member of the Baroda Committee which has produced a report on "Hindu Women's Property Rights." The Mysore Committee Report known as the "Women's Rights under the Hindu Law" has also acknowledged the valuable help received by that Committee from Rajaratna V. V. Joshi. The presence of such an eminent man on the present Committee is a good addition to the Committee. The exact terms of reference of the Committee are not, I am afraid, yet known. You will please publish them in your esteemed paper. The Committee, one does expect, should have full power and scope to examine in all its aspects the question of improving the position of women under Hindu Law. In this respect the report of the Mysore Committee would be a very good guide to this Committee.

The Committee should not only consider the property rights of Hindu women but should also consider the necessity of the law of Divorce, law of Monogamy and other topics for the welfare of Hindu women in general. In short, the reference to the Committee must be in the widest possible terms and must cover all the phases of the topics of Hindu women. Public support must be enlisted, opinions must be formed and for that purpose the agitation must be started in this direction at once.

Satara City, } Yours etc.,  
7th February, 1941. } K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Dr. Arundale on India's Dharma:**—We have received a pamphlet reporting an address delivered at Bikaner in December by Dr. George S. Arundale, President of the Adyar Branch of the Theosophical Society. The subject is "India's Dharma in the Present War." Dr. Arundale has made himself responsible for some of the wildest propaganda in order to arouse Indian emotion to a white heat but so far without much success. Some of this was stale and the rest fanciful. In fact, his efforts have only made people wonder why the President of a Society whose main object was to promote good understanding and goodwill among people of different races and cultures, should engage in a propaganda to exacerbate existing misunderstandings rather than to heal them. The dragging of Dharma into the arena is neither wise nor discreet. Dr. Arundale claimed that not only Right, but the great Rishis, the great Saviours of the world, were also on our side. "God is on our side and He shall prevail," he continued. "Even though here and there, out of our weakness, out of our unpreparedness we may fail, He will prevail for the new world is waiting; that new world which shall give to the peoples of the world a happiness, a contentment, and a prosperity which they have not known before." Dr. Arundale is less than usually clear here. Is God waiting for the new world or is the new world waiting for God? Why should God wait until Hitler has wrought his worst? He too claims to be acting under Divine inspiration. His Highness the Maharaja in his closing address reviewed the course of the war. While refraining from passing judgment on the surrender of Belgium, he added, "But I think people will generally agree that it was indefensible to lay down arms, no matter how hard pressed the Belgians were and how great the losses they had suffered." That is the old Rajput idea. A

man should come home either victorious or borne dead on his shield. But that is not the principle of modern war. A General who, finding that his army was in danger of annihilation, persisted in fighting the enemy, would incur the censure of his superiors if he survived his adventure. Mr. Lloyd George's Memoirs are full of censure of foolhardy adventures during the last War.

**Mr. Sinha on Secondary Education:**—Primary education is as much a political as an educational subject. It is on the programme of every political party. Higher Education is under the guardianship of powerful Universities and interference with them or any sign of encroachment on them would raise a storm of protest which even a puissant Viceroy like Lord Curzon found it difficult to overcome. But secondary education, as Lord Curzon himself observed, was an orphan. Neither Government nor popular politicians are concerned about it. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, in his address to the eleventh session of the Bihar Secondary Teachers' Provincial Conference over which he presided, dealt with some problems of secondary education in a comprehensive spirit. He pointed out that the lower middle class which is the backbone of society, is the product of secondary education. This is true as regards India but elsewhere secondary education opens the way to the highest positions in the State and its services. The Army, for instance, is officered from what Patrick Geddes called the "courage caste," the product of the British Public Schools. The Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, was not sent to a University as his father thought he had not sufficient brains for higher education. Owing to the closure of the Army to Indians except in the ranks, secondary education has been deprived of its most important stimulus. The other professions, teachers, lawyers and doctors, require a specialised education with for background a high standard of general education. The latter can be had only in universities. High schools are left to private enterprise by enthusiasts often working on inadequate salaries. The great majority of students who pass the primary stage, have to finish their scholastic careers at the secondary schools. In fact many of our colleges are little more than secondary schools

judged by standards prevailing in Europe. The division of Primary, Secondary and Higher is itself unscientific unless it is adapted not to the economic condition of the classes but of the ages of the pupils, childhood, adolescence and early manhood. Secondary education is education for the adolescent and should be carefully adapted to their intelligence and growing powers.

**Telugus in Bombay :—**Since the beginning of this century, there has been a steady migration of South Indians into Bombay. Forty years ago there were hardly a hundred persons. Today they count by thousands. Tamil and Telugu have been recognised by the Municipal Corporation and the University in their schemes of education and examination. The Tamils constitute by far the largest section of South Indians. They are mostly engaged in the white collar or black-coat occupations. The Telugus have come later and number, according to the first annual report of the Telugu Seva Sangh, 7,000 including women and children. Most of the adults are millhands, workers in bidi factories, or engaged in building construction. They are nearly all illiterate and the educated Telugus, some of whom have made a place for themselves in the legal and other professions in the city, started about a year ago the Telugu Seva Sangh with the object of improving the lot of the Telugus in Bombay. They had an advantage in that there has been in Bombay City for long a prosperous community of Kamatis whose mother-tongue was Telugu but who, for want of facilities for cultivating it, have generally adopted Marathi. The leaders of this old Bombay community have joined hands with the newer arrivals and the Telugu Seva Sangh is able to record noteworthy progress in its very first annual report. Worli, Naigaum and De Lisle Road are the principal Telugu centres and the Sangh has very properly decided that illiteracy is the first and most important problem with which it has to grapple. The workers have first to create a desire for education in the people and side by side to provide schools for the children. The Sangh acknowledges the cordial sympathy which its efforts have received from the Municipal Corporation and other authorities.

**Problems of Kamatipura :—**The Telugu Sangh's endeavour to get undesirable women removed from Kamatipura where many respectable citizens have made their homes but which for some reason had become the red-light district of Bombay, received the support of many prominent citizens and social workers. At a public meeting to call the attention of the Municipal and Police authorities to this grievance, Sir Sunderrao Patkar, lately a Judge of the Bombay High Court and President of the Hindu Social Reform Association, presided and representatives of other social service institutions supported the demand. But under the law as it is, however, the women cannot be compelled to shift, the landlords

cannot be compelled to give notice to quit to these women. The question, therefore, should be solved by persuasion and educative propaganda. We trust that the Sangh will boldly undertake this work. To give compulsory powers to have the women removed or to penalise landlords involves serious considerations. The abuses which in some countries have attended police control in such matters, are only too well-known. The work is distasteful as well as demoralising unless undertaken by specially trained men and women. In fact, the creation of a strong public opinion against exploiting the women, is the only sure way of eradicating the evil without calling into existence worse ones.

**Depressed Classes in Cochin :—**We publish this week Mr. P. K. Dewar's article on educational concessions to Depressed Classes in Cochin. Mr. Dewar's article is in reply to the arguments of Professor Joseph Pettah, President of the All Kerala Catholic Congress, in an article in the *Malabar Mail* advancing the claims of Christians to concessions made to Depressed Classes. Mr. Pettah's article has been sent to us for comment. Mr. Pettah's main contention that there should be some consideration shown to families not of these classes which are not in a position to give their children education, is partially met by Mr. Dewar's statement that provision is made in the concessions extended to backward communities. It could be fully met without raising any opposition from other communities if the State gave concessions to members of the Christian community who were in need, as they do to the Jews and Muslims. Mr. Pettah himself concedes by implication that this would meet his objections when he argues:

I may venture to point out that the Depressed classes converts to Islam will, in spite of the present Order, continue to get some educational concessions, not as Depressed Classes members, but as Muslims. It is only the Christian convert that is left entirely in the lurch.

It is absurd to place Christians and Muslims in Cochin, as Mr. Pettah does, in the same category either from a historical point of view or on their present needs. As for the Christian convert, there is no need for him to be left in the lurch. The proper remedy, however, is not to lay claim to relief through a side-door but directly for the reasons so eloquently urged by Mr. Pettah in his article. Mr. Pettah's article stresses in telling language the handicaps of the Depressed Classes converts to Christianity after the Indianisation of missions.

With the foreign missionaries, the foreign funds, too, have virtually disappeared from the country; the Depressed Classes have been left to rely on whatever help they could get from indigenous sources;.... and the converted members of the depressed classes are left severely to their own resources.

If this is correct, it is a scathing indictment of Indian Christianity. Mr. Pettah's references to the generosity of missionaries in opening their schools, hospitals and other charitable institutions to non-Christians fail to take account of the proselyting motive underlying that policy.

**Hindu Fairs and Christian Propaganda:**—The action of the Travancore Government in the matter of the Christian Convention at Mandakad has given rise to some controversy in the Christian press. We print elsewhere the press note issued by the Travancore Government, Mandakad is a village which would not attract so much attention but for the traditional importance it has as a place of Hindu pilgrimage. An annual religious fair is always held there in the month of March. What the Government communique means by Hindu religious convention is not clear but probably it relates to worship at the temple of Bhadrakali. The Travancore Government's action in placing restrictions on a Christian Convention planned for the same time and place, was foreshadowed last year by their appeal to Christian leaders in giving unrestricted permission, to hold the Convention in future either before or after the festival. The *Guardian* of Madras, we are surprised to see, completely ignores the fact that the appeal had evoked no response and that an application was made this year for permission to hold a Christian Convention during the Mandakad festival. If the "matter" was not "amicably arranged," it was surely through no fault of the Travancore Government. The *Guardian* justly observes that "the Convention will not gain in spirituality by insistence on its plans, if alternatives are available." "Alternatives" are suggested by the Travancore communique and they would not be unacceptable if the Church at Mandakad was important enough, apart from the fact that the Hindu festival attracts large crowds to the village, to hold a Convention. In a revealing comment the *Guardian* hints that "the Christian presence" must not be "eliminated from the extensive area of a (Hindu) festival." What is surprising is the indignation felt at any attempt to preserve the Hindu character of Hindu religious functions. If the spirit spreads we shall see Hindus insisting on Christian services beginning with an invocation to Ganesha. What the *Guardian* claims as a right is that Christian missionaries should be permitted to preach at Hindu religious audiences. The cuckoo, it is true, does lay its eggs in the nest of other birds. But, surely, it cannot claim this as an inalienable right?

**Street Preaching and Tracts:**—Indian opinion has always been revolted by the methods adopted by zealous Christian missionaries to push their faith. Raja Ram Mohan Roy protested against street-preaching and the distribution of tracts at Hindu religious gatherings in a vigorous representation to the Government. Nor is this reaction peculiar to India as non-Christian Chinese writings testify. The Madras journal itself is not quite clear as to whether it wants street-preaching and the distribution of tracts. It says that attacks on other religions are condemned by the authorities concerned as "a disgrace to the Christian religion" and that responsible Christian leaders would promptly stop such exhibitions. This is a very welcome assurance in view of the past

record of missionaries in the East. The argument that there can be no "clash" since Christian preachers are more martyrs than crusaders, is a disingenuous one. Does the *Guardian* mean that governments have no responsibility in preventing violence or provocations to violence? It should not forget, because it has so far been free from it, that there are missionary journals in India which suffer from a veritable persecution-mania, and between the rabid preacher and these journals the Travancore Government would have a rough handling. The two alternatives before any Government confronted by such a problem, are either to take precautionary action as the Travancore Government has done, or to give police protection to propagandists of proselytising religions, no matter how aggressive they may be. There can be no two opinions as to which is the better method. There is a certain naivete about the suggestion that there might be among the pilgrims to the Hindu shrine at Mandakad some who are "looking for messages such as" those distributed by the Christian propagandists. Why should they be going to the Hindu shrine instead of to the Christian Convention? The *Indian Witness* of Lucknow in its editorial on "bazaar-preaching," suddenly discloses a fondness for the example of Jesus and says that, as Jesus went about street-preaching, therefore Christians should also do so. There are many things Jesus did and preached which Christians are not doing today and, what is more, are not prepared to tolerate in fellow-Christians. In the matter of street-preaching, Jesus certainly did not claim State protection for his preaching nor did he have a large mission organisation at his back. He spoke to his people as one of them. The Travancore Government has given a much-needed lead and we trust that it will be followed in other parts of the country. Religious neutrality does not imply that the State will allow any religionist to make a nuisance of himself.

**The Gwalior Marriage:**—The marriage of the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior last week presented some striking features. It set a record for expeditious matrimony among ruling chiefs. The announcement of the event preceded its occurrence by barely forty-eight hours. Then, it was an inter-marriage, the bride being a descendant of a distinguished Prime Minister—the virtual ruler of Nepal. The family is highly conservative. The branch to which the Maharani belongs, is said to have been settled in the Central Provinces. Her education up to the B. A. standard in the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, shows that her parents entertained liberal views. The Maharaja is a Maratha and the Maharani, a Rajput. The *Times of India* confuses the Gurkhas, who are indigenous to Nepal, with the Rajputs who are the ruling class. Madhaji Scindia, the founder of the Gwalior House, would have laughed if he had been told that he was a Sisodia Rajput. The marriage is, therefore, an intermarriage. In all these respects the Gwalior marriage marks a notable departure from the clannish conservatism of the Mahrattas.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 1, 1941.

## THE "NEW STATESMAN" ON INDIAN POLITICS.

It is announced that a Conference of non-party leaders will meet in Bombay during the Holi holidays to concert measures to end the deadlock. Others also are speaking and writing about the deadlock. What exactly is the deadlock and where is it? There is none obvious in this country. The administration is functioning much as usual. Gandhiji's individual Civil Disobedience has already attained the proportions of an incipient mass movement but the Police and Magistracy are coping with it without much apparent difficulty. One or two men here and there have resigned magisterial posts of an honorary character. No stipendiary official has so far thrown up his job in sympathy with the Congress. The arrest, trial and imprisonment of some hundreds of men and women who do not belong to the criminal classes and whose offences have been happily characterised by the Home Member of the Government of India as "symbolic," have not created the sensation which they did on previous occasions. This is because these men are mostly of local repute and they shout slogans which have ceased to excite emotional responses even perhaps in their own breast. The individual civil disobedience movement is worked on mechanical lives with very little of moral incentive. The Governor-General who is practically the ruler of the country, seems to be confident that he can carry on by himself without co-operation from any body of the British Indian public. The situation is a curious one but the term "deadlock" is not applicable to it.

The best attempt at an analysis of the existing position in this country which we have come across, is a leading article in the *New Statesman and Nation* of the 14th December received last week headed, "India's Part in Victory." The *New Statesman* writes: "Ministers have probably good grounds for their calculation that in the material sense we have no serious physical opposition to fear. Congress has a divided mind: it will not help us till we meet India's claim, but neither will it actively promote a Nazi victory. It is unlikely, therefore, that it will resort to civil disobedience." This forecast has been belied by the event since the article was published. Civil Disobedience has been started and, though it is called individual, it has already attained the dimensions of mass civil disobedience. But that does not disturb Government. "We can levy our taxes," continues the *New Statesman*, "imprison the nation's leaders and govern seven of its eleven provinces by undiluted autocracy. This is a possible but an anxious feat and it would be manifestly imprudent to reduce the garrison rashly." This is an unnecessary precaution. In the last war, India was "bled white." Gandhiji's influence at the

time was insignificant and, indeed, he had himself not reached his present position as regards "non-violence." He was encouraging recruitment for the war. There were some groups bent on anarchic crime. Only three years before the War broke out, the Viceroy was seriously hurt by a bomb thrown at his howdah in his processional entrance into the new Imperial capital. Gandhiji's influence today is considerably more and he is himself firmly entrenched in the doctrine of absolute Ahimsa. He is now Dictator of the Congress and there is no group which is intent on starting a campaign of political violence.

The *New Statesman* points out: "In this abysmal poor country we can always hire troops and munition workers, though for this latter purpose we have had to make use of a measure of industrial conscription." Conscription had to be introduced not because of the reluctance or opposition of the workers but to overcome that of employers. "But," laments the journal, "all that is most intelligent and self-respecting in this nation stands aloof; the best of it neither volunteers for our army nor throws itself into the industrial effort." Here again, the *New Statesman* does not seem to be aware that the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberals and non-Congress leaders generally are carrying on a propaganda urging young men to enlist in the army, to militarise the whole population. The Indian people are by nature peace-loving and, even if a national government is installed at the Centre, there will be not much more enthusiasm for soldiering though as a means of livelihood a considerable force can be raised. The difficulty is about finding the money to maintain a large army on modern lines. Taxes will have to be increased still more and the cost and effort of collecting them will progressively increase.

The *New Statesman* refers to the declaration of a Congress Sikh leader that, if his party was satisfied with the British offer, he would undertake to raise a million Sikh volunteers. This might be an exaggeration, says the journal, but even a tenth of that number would make a splendid army. But Gandhiji does not approve of such declarations and probably the Sikh leader responsible for it, has already been expelled from the Congress. It was a Sikh leader prosecuted for shouting slogans, who, when questioned by the Magistrate, whether he seriously opposed the enrolment of Sikhs in the army, replied that he did it as a matter of Congress discipline. He was at once hauled over the coals by the High Command for having given away the show. The *New Statesman* also recalls the declaration of Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya that, if India was granted a national government, she would make good for Britain what Britain had lost by the defection of France. Gandhiji has repudiated this declaration and so has the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Rajagopalacharya had also said that he would get Congress to co-operate with a Moslem League Prime Minister. Not even



Mr. Jinnah seemed to be enthusiastic about this open-handed political generosity. It is beginning gradually to dawn on the Indian mind that neither in Britain nor in India is there a real desire to secure Indian co-operation. The impression produced on foreign nations by the estrangement between Government and Indian political leaders, does not trouble the minds of Mr. Amery and the Viceroy as they do that of the *New Statesman*.

Notwithstanding the discrepancies we have indicated, the *New Statesman's* article is, as we said, the best and most honest attempt to analyse the position in India as it was last December. This is the more creditable because in its opening sentence the *New Statesman* refers to the curtain of censorship behind which lies India growing steadily more painful and disturbing. Since December many things have happened. Government have, in response to the representations of the Indian Press, withdrawn their ban on the publication of satyagraha news. Whole columns and pages in our dailies are filled with the names, classified according to localities, of persons who were dealt with for shouting slogans. Their statements, in the cases of women and prominent men, are freely published. Gandhiji's reason for stopping the publication of the *Harijan* has thus been largely deprived of its force. The *New Statesman's* first suggestion for conciliating the Congress, namely, the unconditional release of Civil Disobedience prisoners will, if given effect to, be a step in the direction of the present Government policy and will save expenditure in administrative power and cost of maintaining in prison a considerable number of Congressmen. But we are not sure that the other suggestions are equally practicable, or if practicable, would have the desired effect. On the surface, there is apparent no sign of a deadlock. But the factors which may end in deadlock are there for everyone to see. They are mostly economic and financial. The economic aspect of British Indian administration has always been its weak point and no Government which pretends to be national, can function without at first bringing the cost of administration within the means of the Indian taxpayer. It is already in excess of the latter and threatens to grow still more burdensome.

**Japan's Peace Move?**—The Japanese offer to "take whatever action is necessary to end war not only in the Far East but also anywhere else in the world," has after a good deal of speculation, proved to be nothing more serious than a debating point. Britain's rejoinder that there will be no peace until she has achieved complete victory, shows that Britain regarded the Japanese message as a serious peace move. It is now apparent that it was meant as a reminder to those in the U. S. A. and in Britain who express anxiety over conditions in the Far East, that there are other parts of the world also where a war is on.

### JESUS' WAY WITH SINNERS.

Several years ago, a friend, the Rev. R. E. Hume, now of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, on leaving Bombay, presented me with a small volume. Its title was "Jesus's Way" by William de Witte Hyde. The author had explained with reference to the Gospel narrative why Jesus was particularly attracted to sinners. It was because the sinner had many of the qualities of good citizenship. Only they were carried to excess. He said :

These men and women who fall lowest in our moral scale, often do so in consequence of an excess of those very traits on which the welfare and perpetuation of the race depends. The saloon keeper has often a great deal more of the milk of human kindness in his heart, and is a much better fellow to spend the long winter evenings with, than the temperance reformer who swears out the warrant against him. The harlot on the street often retains more of generous womanliness than the querulous, censorious matron in her luxurious drawing-room, robed in outwardly spotless respectability, but inwardly full of vanity and pride and exclusiveness and uncharitableness. The men who drive hard bargains and grind down their employees are often at heart quite as well meaning as the pale, impractical moralists and socialists who rail at them, but have not the energy or enterprise to earn a decent living for their own families. Now Jesus saw all this with perfect clearness, and in consequence he liked these impulsive, spontaneous, excessive men and women, and became the recognized friend of publicans and sinners.

Jesus' own words imply that he sought out the publicans and sinners because the respectable had turned their backs on him. Hyde's theory that Jesus was not thrown on the company of the left-outs by necessity but sought them out by choice, will come as a revelation to many readers. His explanation will strike the average man as a bit forced. Many saints in all religions have been reclaimed sinners. In fact, one sect of Christians went so far as to insist that unless a man was a sinner he could not become a saint and the greater, therefore, the sinner the greater the saint. Rasputin was of this sect. In many of these cases, however, the sinner, before he became a saint, relinquished his sinful tendencies, it may be to resume them, and to repeat the process by repentance. But in the case of the Dharmic butcher mentioned by Sir P. Sivaswami Aiyar in his speech on non-violence, he not only did not relinquish his trade but actually claimed that it was no sin in his case because it was his ancestral trade. The story has no moral or religious significance. It is clearly one invented to bolster up the system of hereditary castes. Why Sir Sivaswami should have introduced it into his lecture is somewhat of a puzzle. The most that it shows is that Ahimsa in the case of a butcher is consistent with selling butcher's meat. Gautama Buddha whom Sir Sivaswami mentions as having pushed the doctrine of Ahimsa further than Hinduism, as a matter of fact permitted meat-eating even by monks. It was a rule of the Sangha that the monks on their begging rounds should accept whatever was put in their begging bowl without question. Several times it happened that meat was given as alms. The Buddha being approached gave his decision. It was that it was no sin if they accepted meat provided it was not specially killed for their benefit. Very probably it was in this spirit that he himself partook of the boar's flesh at his last meal in the virtuous blacksmith's feast. This is suggested by his advice to the host to bury the remnants deep under the earth so that no one else should eat it.

K. N. —

## THE NATIONAL INCOME OF INDIA. \*

( BY A. B. LATTHE, BELGAUM.)

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has made the latest in a long series of attempts to compute the total income of India. The late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji began the series several decades ago and his calculation that the *per capita* income of Indians is about Rs. 20 a year has become the most striking and impressive argument in the armoury of Indian agitation for freedom from foreign domination and consequent exploitation. Digby followed Dadabhai with a still lower estimate. Lord Curzon held that the figure must be raised to Rs. 30. Mr. Shirras went very much further and tried to prove that the average income of an Indian is over Rs. 100, Rs. 107 to be exact. Dr. Rao's first estimate based on an investigation relating to the quinquennium of 1925-29, was made at the request of the Dadabhai Memorial Committee. He has followed up this study in another volume which is just now before me for review. The advantage of the first study was that it related to a period which was neither a boom nor a depression period. But some of the basic statistics he had to take were from the Census Report of 1921 and could not, therefore, be quite accurate in 1925-29. Dr. Rao realised this even while he was carrying on his investigations relating to the quinquennium. The new volume, second on the same subject, deals with the Census year 1931-32. This study, therefore, avoids the criticism to which his first volume was open. Like his first book on the subject, the second one being intended to be a thesis for a Cambridge Doctorate was written with an academic purpose and is free from all political considerations.

It is one thing to approach a study of this problem to prove how grievously India has been wronged by the economic policies of Britain. However much one may wish to be fair, such an approach is likely to be vitiated by prejudice. A strong nationalist that Dr. Rao undoubtedly is, he has worked in both of his volumes on this subject with a sincere desire to find the truth as correctly as may be possible. Particularly in the volume under review, he has been even more cautious than before in coming to his conclusions, more guarded in his language. Dr. Rao has more than once admitted that he had to work on what is after all very defective material. He has availed himself of everything that was available and has tried to supplement it by *ad hoc* investigations of his own. With all this attempt to be thorough and accurate, there is much that is wanting in reliable statistics in this country and even where statistics are available, their accuracy is not beyond question. Although Dr. Rao had thus to work on a most complex problem with admittedly insufficient material at his disposal, he has produced results which all students of the subject will feel inclined to accept as fairly accurate, at any rate as accurate as they could at present be. His conclusion is that the total income of British India in 1931 was "between Rs. 16,651 millions and Rs. 18,677 millions." The degree of accuracy which may be expected may be gauged even from this broad statement of the results of an elaborate enquiry. This is inevitable in the present conditions of this country. Even if a Government were to make an attempt to be more exact, the machinery they will have to work through will not produce material justifying much more definite conclusions.

What after all is the purpose of an enquiry such as Dr. Rao has spent so much time and labour in making? Obviously the result of the enquiry can only produce or confirm the conviction that the economic or financial resources at the disposal

of the country are extremely limited and are insufficient for a huge and fast-growing population like ours. Everyone knows this even without a mathematical calculation of the annual wealth available for the support of our 400 millions. A more useful corollary to the study of the total wealth is an enquiry into the distribution of the existing wealth. Dr. Rao touches the question in his concluding pages. It deserves a more detailed study which one hopes Dr. Rao may be able to devote to it at some later date.

The discovery of the total income of the country would be comparatively of little use if it is not followed by an investigation into the ways in which that income is distributed among the people. By dividing the income equally among the population, Dr. Rao assigns between Rs. 60 and 70 to an average Indian. I am sure millions in India would consider themselves "passing rich" with a *per capita* income like this. The fact is that the share of our millions in this total is extremely small. Besides this, the idea as to what constitutes the income of the country with which Dr. Rao starts the enquiry, produces a confusion which to some extent leads to wrong impressions. The market value of "services" of several kinds, transport services, public force and administration, professions and liberal arts, domestic service and so on, is included by Mr. Rao in his calculation of the total income of the country. Dadabhai and some others held that the nature of these services is not relevant to the calculation of the total national income. If the question is, whether these services are essential to the production and use of material wealth, one could certainly agree that they are part of a nation's wealth. Arguing on this point one could say that the poets and philosophers who have contributed to the mental make-up of Indians which enables them to live in contentment in such abjectly impoverished conditions, are as good producers of wealth as others and, therefore, the earnings of Mr. Tilak from the sales of his *Kesari* or his "Geeta Rahasya" should be included in the total. Mr. Rao has devoted some pages to the question. If the practical utility of this study is to form the basis of further studies into the question of the equitable distribution of the income, so that it could properly be called the income of the nation, the incomes earned by the Railway or the Police Force or the Judiciary or even domestic servants should not be allowed to swell the total of the national income for the simple reason that such income, except in the case of excessive salaries or fees, is not wealth which can be diverted into any other channel. There is also a great deal of double or treble calculation of the same income in the method adopted by Dr. Rao. A Zamindar earns Rs. 5,000 from his lands. He pays Rs. 1,000 to his domestic servants. In Dr. Rao's total, the income become Rs. 6,000 while, as a matter of fact, it is no more than Rs. 5,000. Another source of confusion in the calculation of income in monetary value is that very often the rise in this money form of income may not really mean a rise in the real wealth of the nation. Rs. 30 a year fifty years ago when Dadabhai made his estimate, will not be the same thing as Rs. 30 in 1931 for which year Dr. Rao has made his enquiries. Rs. 60 in the latter year may even be less than Rs. 30 in 1876. If one desires to find out by these periodical calculations whether there has been an increase or decrease in the wealth of the country, some account must be taken of this factor also.

Admittedly a study of this kind is very difficult particularly owing to the paucity of the material available. A comparison of the estimates of income

\* Messrs. George Allen and Unwin ; London. Price 6 s.

for different countries or for different years in relation to one country are liable to lead to misleading impressions. With all these difficulties, Dr. Rao has succeeded as well as any one could.

#### WHY SWADESHI?\*

That is the question which Mr. Agarwal attempts to answer in this volume of 120 pages. As an engineer, Mr. Agarwal attacks the problem before him in a direct downright manner. His language may not be always chaste or even correct. But it is vigorous. For him it is the problem alone that matters, neither the past nor presumably the future. Hence, the survey lacks a historical perspective or an economic background. Mr. Agarwal's economics is like his language, vigorous but often unscientific. Particularly typical is his denunciation of socialism and communism. Socialism, according to him, "contradicts human nature and the history of mankind in its very essence, while communism never has been practically anything more than a regimentation tool for international capitalists." Further, both discourage individual initiative and incentive and substitute for natural productive effort "a competition for laziness which makes the people face starvation;" and, finally, Mr. Agarwal's researches into the realm of economics lead him to the interesting conclusion that the question of distribution "does not arise at all."

The swadeshi that Mr. Agarwal wishes to propagate, will be a curious economic phenomenon if it is based on economic thinking of the type that has been quoted. Fortunately that swadeshi which has grown out of the economic thinking of Dada bhai and Kanade, has more substantial foundations and is not built on quicksands. The exact form of swadeshi that is to be practised by the people at any given moment may vary but the basic idea, as Gandhiji defended it sometime back, is that the swadeshi product should be that of an industry which is demonstrably in the interest of the masses of our population. Gandhiji went further and insisted that the capital and machinery utilized in the undertaking should be Indian and that the labour that is employed should enjoy a living wage. Such labour should, he postulated, be comfortably housed while the welfare of the children of the labourers should be guaranteed by the employers. That, however, as Gandhiji himself recognizes, is an ideal definition and even the industries popularized by the All India Spinners Association or the All India Village Industries Association may not be in a position really to conform to it. Another description of Swadeshi is referred to by Mr. Agarwal, namely, that it represents the spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings exclusive of the more remote. Mr. Agarwal is apparently not satisfied with the definitions that are in vogue and propounds one of his own. He defines swadeshi goods as those goods made in India, the money spent on which goes to the hands of persons who spend it immediately to buy further swadeshi goods, so that, by the purchase of such swadeshi goods, we stimulate the demand for swadeshi. Though the definition is logically neither complete nor accurate, it represents a line of economic thought that is in consonance with modern economic conceptions. Production deserves to be encouraged mainly in so far as it stimulates the demands for consumable goods, and Mr. Agarwal's attempt to base the creed of swadeshi on the need for creating an increased demand for goods and, therefore, for a better distribution of the wealth of mankind is

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indeed commendable however much one may disagree as to the manner in which he arrives at this conclusion.

V.

#### DEPRESSED CLASSES IN COCHIN— EDUCATIONAL CONCESSIONS.

(By P. K. DEWER, ERNAKULAM.)\*

Of late the subject of educational concessions to depressed classes converts has drawn copious comments from the press and the public. Those, who can trace the genesis of the movement of depressed class protection, will readily concede that it is but an organised attempt to discover, develop and fortify the best in these people. To what appeared a mute mass of forlorn humanity, a stimulus was sought to be applied under the aegis of the benevolent Government of Cochin. The response so far has been good. That the depressed classes should awake from their age-long torpor, that they should shake off their manifold disabilities and take their rightful place among the contemporary communities, were the inspiring ideals that supplied the momentum for this generous gesture. Nobody can afford to ignore the solid wisdom that lies behind such a policy in a state, where communal representation has been declared as a cardinal article in the code of administration.

In an article of considerable length in the *Mala'ar Mail* Professor J. Pettah expresses the hope that the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development in Cochin will not hesitate to do "justice to all members of the down-trodden, depressed classes, irrespective of their religious persuasion." It is worthy of the professor that he should dedicate himself to the proposition that everyone in distress should be given a concession. But here is a State where the communal mind dominates in politics and appointments. The State's income is limited. The appropriation of funds for the uplift of Depressed Classes is small and shows a tendency to grow smaller as years go by. It was after examining the general and specific disabilities of communities in Cochin a few years ago, that some were labelled depressed and a few others backward. Depressed Classes were not heard of among the Christians and Muslims. Neither are these communities or any section of these communities known to have been included among Depressed Classes. The few communities that by common consent and current usage have been accepted as Depressed Classes are the Pulayas, Ulladas, Nayadis, Vettuvass, Kanakkans, Parayas, etc., whose common interests have been upheld in the Cochin Legislative Council by members nominated by the Government from time to time from among them. The term "Depressed" may lend itself to elastic interpretations until every community is brought under its widening fold. But those with any concern for the social and civic progress of the original set of depressed classes, will find it hard to acquiesce supinely in such an interpretation. Instead of raising the level of their life and helping them to find their place among sister communities, it would only divert the munificence and patronage of the Government to strengthen those who are already strong in the State.

It is not to be hoped that the Government would continue to coddle even the genuine depressed classes, if I may use such a phrase, for all time to come. In the race of communities and in the scramble for power, the weaknesses of these classes became patent. It was, therefore found to be a moral obligation on the part

\* Mr. Dewar is President of the Pandit Koruppan Memorial Mahasabha and a Municipal Councillor of Ernakulam.

of the Government that until a certain degree of social progress is attained, they should be tended with special concessions. Though Mr. Pettah may console himself that "the law of the land gives them complete equality with other communities in the State," I am sure that no member of the depressed classes will to-day admit that his community has outgrown the need for special protection. The equality that the law ensures, will remain but an abstraction so long as communities and individuals want the resources to exercise and assert it in the face of conflicting interests and environments. It again depends on the forbearance and moral capacity of stronger communities to practice that equality. Considered against such a material, human background, the claim of the depressed classes for liberal if not exclusive protection for years to come, becomes incontrovertible. If the Cochin public brought pressure on the Government to confine the concessions to non-converts only, it is, far from an example of the tyranny of the majority, a noble assertion in the cause of human happiness and liberty. The late Mr. K. P. Vallon (M. L. C.), it may be recalled here, uttered from the floor of the Cochin Legislative Council, a strong protest against the inclusion of new sections of the population under the category of the Depressed Classes for purposes of educational concessions. My readers may not hasten to infer from this, that Mr. Vallon was a selfish reactionary. He was only emphasising the shortage of funds. The quota that fell to the depressed classes for whom the provision was originally intended, would grow less with the increase of the number of communities. For backwardness, the State has provided special concessions. There are, for example, scholarships and stipends, and other educational concessions for students of communities like the Nambudiris and Muslims whose opulence will compare with that of any other. If the Christians believe that there is a section among them that is educationally "backward or otherwise depressed and down-trodden" they can plead their case and get such concessions as the Government would be pleased to extend to them. The Funds now allotted for the Depressed Classes may then be entirely used for the Depressed Classes born and brought up as such.

Far be it from my purpose that the policy of protection should operate as a strangle-hold on the conscience of men or women of the depressed classes. In living memory have occurred numerous conversions, where it is difficult to decide whether it is the appeal to conscience or to the elementary appetite of our race, like hunger and thirst that resulted in the change of creed. Of course, in this connection, the noble band of European Missionaries comes in for unfeigned gratitude and admiration for their splendid sacrifices in the cause of education in India. But it would be blasphemy on the fair reputation of this illustrious community, were we to say that, in spreading education or in teaching the gospel, they discriminated between the depressed and the upper classes or the rich and the poor. That was not their purpose. The gospels, the theory of human fraternity and the example itself of those devoted servants of God and mankind, indeed exerted a magic charm on the minds of people whom centuries of ill-usage had condemned to hopeless slavery and intellectual darkness. Those for whom the glamour was irresistible and those who hoped for an atmosphere of relatively better freedom and not unlikely better livelihood, changed their creed; and who will gainsay that many of our Christian brethren are the products of such a wave of proselytism that once swept across the land? Not to have

exhibited any peculiar aversion for any community, least of all to depressed classes, was undoubtedly to the advantage of these pioneers of education and conversion. They only angled patiently where the catch was sumptuous and unfailing. But admiration for those noble souls cannot prejudice our attitude towards the problem of depressed classes' protection to-day. That they were the torch-bearers cannot be an argument to rob the present-day depressed classes of a fraction of the concession and distribute it among those who feel the urge of conscience to go out of their midst.

Conversion is made out to be a matter of conviction or conscience. How far school-going boys and girls of the depressed classes will be in a position to compare the merits of different religions and exercise discretion or choice in transferring their allegiance from one to the other, may remain a subject for meditation. Whatever be the guarantee for salvation for the soul, the learned professor who is also the president of the all Kerala Catholic Congress, makes no secret of it, "that for the time being the socio-economic handicap is still upon them in all its fulness." One is tempted to ask in this connection whether all the converts of a previous generation are now above the need for concessions. On the authority of the learned Professor himself, it may safely be assumed, that converts are in different stages of social progress and it is not improbable that many of them may still be entitled to concession. It would be up to the promoters of conversion to institute a statistical enquiry into the population of such down-trodden and depressed classes among the Christians and organise a movement for educational or house-building or other concessions, without, however, claiming any portion from the allotment for concessions to depressed classes. It is confidently hoped that the springs of justice and sympathy vigorously flowing towards the converts, will not be choked and dried up when directed to the region of the truly lowly and depressed classes of Cochin.

To those whose conscience is still lured by the superior virtues or high philosophies of Christianity, Mr. Pettah's article must be an eye-opener. It is beyond the writer's competence to hazard any view about the spiritual fortunes of the converts. The bold and frank expositions of socio-economic life among the Christian converts, which the learned professor furnishes in the course of his article, must go a long way to melt the charm of the creed for the depressed classes of the day. The type of people known under the name Depressed Classes were popularly supposed to be a morbid growth of certain century-old customs and practices of the upper crust of Hindu society. Now that Mr. Pettah pleads so fervently for concessions to "the down-trodden and depressed classes" among Christians, one could hear the explosion of the legend of equality and human fraternity among the followers of Jesus Christ. Again when he tells us that it is only in the course of generations that the new religion will effect a substantial change in the habits of ways of the converts and in consequence some changes in their economic status, the only residual inducement for conversion must be the salvation of the soul.

#### CHRISTIAN PREACHING DURING FESTIVALS.

The Government of Travancore have issued the following press communique :

The Mandakad festival is an annual religious event of great importance and is visited by thirty to fifty thousand people. A Hindu religious Convention is also held at the time as well as a fair.

This year, the festival commences on the 19th Kumbhom 1116 and arrangements have been made for holding the usual religious Convention and fair.

Last year it was brought to the notice of Government that certain missionary agencies were about to hold a Christian Convention near the temple, and that such a convention was likely to result in a clash. Government, while not desiring to interfere with the arrangements made for the Christian Convention, expressed the hope that the Convention would, in future, be held before the commencement of the festival or after its termination. But an application has now been made to Government to allow the holding of a Christian Convention at Mandakad during the festival this year.

Government have received complaints that missionary and other proselytizing agencies hold open-air meetings and public gatherings at the time of Hindu festivals and religious or other processions and that attacks are sometimes levelled against the tenets and practices of the Hindu faith coupled with exhortations to join other faiths. The attitude of Government cannot but be one of complete impartiality among the various religions; but it is their duty to see that the followers of any religion do not insult or disparage the tenets or beliefs of the followers of any other religion. In regard to the Mandakad festival, on account of the feeling that now exists, it is specially necessary to guard against propaganda or preaching, which might lead to friction. It is neither the policy nor the intention of Government to prevent religious exercises or sermons conducted within the precincts or premises of any church, mosque, temple or bhajanamatam, nor to prevent open-air functions, so long as these do not give occasion to conflicts with similar activities of other persons. Government are, in these circumstances, prepared to allow the holding of the Christian Convention, provided an undertaking is given that there will be no street-preaching or distribution of pamphlets during the festival and fair, and that the Convention is held within the precincts of the Church.

#### THE CONGRESS INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Writing on the Independence Pledge with particular reference to the economic effect of British rule, *The Reformer* of January 18 observes, "that the sentiments expressed in the preamble are not those actually felt by the large majority of the people including Congressmen," and cites in support of the above the declaration of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj that, under its aegis, he had amassed wealth. Indirectly the same fact is brought home by a passing reference to the opinion of those Indians like Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade and others "who did not perhaps possess the masterminds of the Wardha group," according to *The Reformer* and who, therefore, held that British rule wrought "more good than evil."

It is commonly asserted that one swallow cannot make a summer and it may be pointed out that the economic condition of the people in general ought to be taken into consideration, in arriving at a just and balanced conclusion relating to the economic effect of British rule instead of stray instances. Can a Bajaj and a Nehru prove most conclusively that India is prosperous and rich and as such that there is little to be desired in the economic sphere? What about the condition of the teeming millions who form the backbone of the nation? Strange to say,

that a good deal of light is thrown over the screen, by Dadabhai himself in "The Causes of Discontent." One of the causes noted by Dadabhai is "the unrighteous 'bleeding' of India." He observes:—

The British people stand charged with the blood of the perishing millions and the starvation of scores of millions, not because they desire so, but because the authorities to whom they have committed the trust, betray that trust and administer expenditure in a manner based upon selfishness and political hypocrisy and most disastrous to the people. Under the British Indian despot, the man is at peace, there is no violence, his substance is drained away unseen, peaceably and subtly, he starves in peace and perishes in peace with law and order. I wonder how the English people would like such a fate.

Perhaps, the picture is a bit overdrawn but none the less the hard fact of Indian poverty cannot be glossed over. It is an unique feature of present-day Indian political life and, as such stands, by itself.

North Eluppai,  
Natteri P. O.  
February 9, 1941.

Yours etc,  
E. GOVINDAN.

[*The Reformer* article on the Congress pledge was not exclusively concerned with the economic portion of it. All it pointed out was that even in the economic sphere where there is some reason to subscribe to the view that British rule has not been conducive to progress, there are men in the Congress, and leading men at that, who cannot honestly take the pledge. "We are sorry," we wrote, "that the Congress should use its influence to get some thousands of persons to subscribe to the terms of the pledge which are in direct contradiction to their behaviour in daily life." Mr. Govindan's remarks are irrelevant to that position.—Editor.]

#### THE FAMILY TO-DAY.

Mr. Dwight E. Stevenson writes in the *Christian Evangelist*:—

Someone has said, "Educate a man and you educate an individual; educate a woman and you educate a whole family." We are beginning to learn that education for marriage is not the same as education for breadwinners. A few years ago it was; men won their bread as families. The family was the economic unit, and what increased the physical welfare of a family also knit more closely the meshes of interdependence and love which made a home.

According to a paper now preserved in an American Museum, an American farmer in 1787 reviewed the previous year on his farm in the following words: "At this time my farm gave me and my whole family a good living and the produce of it; and left me one year with 150 silver dollars, for I never spend more than ten dollars a year which was for salt, nails, and the like. Nothing to eat, drink or wear was bought as my farm provided it all."

Such a man would find little temptation in the suggestion that he go to Reno and establish residence to secure a divorce. Even if he fell before the temptation, where would he find the money to finance it? In the early days, when the economic as well as the social life centred in the family, there was a natural rampart of strength thrown about the institution of marriage which protected it from the storms which have set upon it so furiously in recent years. It was not necessary to plan a successful marriage; circumstances themselves almost guaranteed it. The man could be a breadwinner, but he was unwittingly planning to be a family man at the same time. Husband and wife together were primarily concerned day and night with the building of the home.



Picture the change which only a century and a half have brought about. The family is no longer an economic unit. Breadwinning involves leaving the family and going away to some factory, store, or office as individuals. The natural social ties which bind families together as families today, are fewer and more tenuous than those of a hundred years ago. And yet no one of us in his senses can for one moment discount the importance of the home as the womb of all truly social personality and the biologic guarantor of the sturdiness of sons of the future. The family is just as indispensable today as it ever was, but it will not built itself as readily as it used to.

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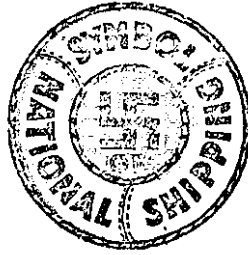
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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## NOTES.

**The Jagdish Prasad Conference:**—Thursday the 13th March has been fixed for a Conference of men prominent in the public life of the country, the object being to end the present "deadlock." We pointed out in the leading article last week that there is no deadlock at present in the sense that the working of the administration in any department has been brought to a standstill. At the same time, we noted the presence of factors tending towards a deadlock, particularly in the economic life of the country. The Indian Budget has been since published and, while it is formidable enough in all conscience, it is less formidable for what it immediately imposes than for what it portends for the near future. The increase of the Excise duty on matches and the raising of the scale of income-tax on all incomes including the low minimum at which it starts, are burdens which will hit hard the poorest classes. The Excise duty on rubber tyres will also affect the same classes who nowadays prefer buses to the irksome restrictions of railways for their short trips from one village or township to another. But these and the other measures proposed do not cover even one half of the deficit of 20 crores and about Rs. 13 crores have to be made up by borrowed money. The next budget will have, unless a miracle happens, to face heavier imposts. How this is to be done without reducing the people to the last extremity we are unable to imagine. In the long speech of the Finance Member introducing his budget we have not found any reference to this grim prospect. There is not even a word of sympathy for the taxpayer who is called upon to make these heavy sacrifices. In the last war, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, expressed the appreciation of his Government for India's contribution for a cause which was not hers. But now the claim is that this war is as much India's as of Great Britain's, so there is no room for any special appreciation. The Prasad Conference, if it seriously means to

prevent a real deadlock in Indian administration, will have, as we observed last week, to find a way to bring the cost of administration within the means of the people. The enlargement of the Executive Council will not of itself be of material help. Much less the appointment of Indian Governors in some of the provinces.

**Mr. Sastry on Indians Overseas:**—It was for him an unusually severe speech which the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry made in Madras the other day on the position of Indians overseas. The occasion was a reception given to Dr. Goonam, a South African Indian lady, who after taking a medical degree has come to India to settle down to practice in the mother country. Dr. Goonam in a short speech dispelled the idea prevalent here that South African Indians can not be assimilated to the life in the old country because of their outlook gained by long residence in a foreign country. She declared that this was not the fact and that Indians, wherever they may be, cherished the ancient traditions of the motherland. She declared that conditions in South Africa for Indians were growing worse. Mr. Sastry in his speech referred to the renunciation by India of the right to emigrate freely to any part of the British Empire, on which Indian leaders have insisted always, on the understanding that Indians domiciled in the Dominions would be treated as equals in all respects of the white population. Gandhiji and Gokhale had assented to this in the belief that the condition would be honourably observed and Indians in the Dominions would be freed from all vexatious restrictions and will enjoy full citizenship. This condition, Mr. Sastry declared, has been flagrantly violated. He went on bitterly to complain that the example of the South African whites had infected the Sinhalese in Ceylon who had themselves emigrated to Ceylon several centuries ago from Bengal. "They are our own kith and kin," said Mr. Sastry, "men who owe everything to us. The slight culture they have, the slight civilisation they have, the slight claim to refinement they have, all these things they owe to us." These, in our view, are the reasons why we should be patient with the Sinhalese politicians who, through the chances of the ballot box, have installed themselves in the seats of power. We do not despair, as Mr. Sastry seems to do, of the present differences between

India and Ceylon yielding to the resources of statesmanship on both sides. Incidentally, we welcome the suggestion of the English President of the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce that a Federation of India, Burma and Ceylon offered the most hopeful prospects for the future of these countries. We had ourselves hinted at a zolverein for the three countries. Mr. Sastry strongly advised Indians in South Africa to line up behind the Agent General, now the High Commissioner, of the Government of India, instead of constantly cavilling at him. Referring to the suggestion of a coalition with the Bantus in order to present a common front against the Europeans, Mr. Sastry definitely disfavoured it. "I believe," he said, "we should be stronger in getting redress if we fight our own battle, for our causes are not exactly identical with those of the Blacks. Their status is greatly inferior to ours and by making common cause with them, I am fully persuaded, our community will be only disabling themselves in the very severe combat which has fallen to their lot."

**Sir Douglas Young and the Congress:**—Sir Douglas Young is the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. When he wears his robes and sits on the Bench his views must be received with the utmost respect. He is protected, while acting in his judicial capacity, from criticism of his competence by penalties attaching to contempt of court. These privileges are exclusively reserved for judges. The Viceroy enjoys none of them. In return for this privileged position and as the condition of it, a time-honoured convention requires from judges abstinence from the rough and tumble of politics. If and when a judge descends from his high pedestal and rushes into the political arena, his position is just that of the ordinary politician and his views are no more sacrosanct than those of other politicians. The *Reformer* has often remonstrated against the tendency for the Executive to invoke the help of judges in matters outside their proper purview. An extreme case of a judge dabbling in a matter of acute political controversy, is the speech which Sir Douglas Young made at Lyallpur. Sir Douglas began with an interesting review of the war situation. If he had concluded with an appeal to his hearers to render their utmost support in men and money, to the prosecution of the war, he would have been entirely within his right as a citizen, which is unaffected by his being a judge. But he was not content with this. He made what we must call a rabid attack on the National Congress and Gandhiji, quoting some passages from his writings on non-violence. We can best express our reaction to this part of Sir Douglas' speech by adapting the scriptural verse: "Thou almost persuadest me to be a Congressman." Sir Douglas went so far as to insinuate that Satyagrahis were encouraged by the fact that they are ruled by "a people who, whatever their faults, are not

cruel or brutal." Surely, Satyagrahis know all about Amritsar happenings and have read of the Black and Tans, the South African Concentration Camps, of "Clemency Canning" and "The Other Side of the Medal" by Edward Thompson. The British are not wanting in tiger qualities. If they have not displayed them in all their fury in India it is because there is something in our atmosphere which makes for sanity. Satyagrahis may be foolish and misguided but they are not cowards as Sir Douglas would make them out to be. British self-righteousness is famous but Sir Douglas Young has outstripped all previous manifestations of that quality.

**The Government and the Press:**—The reply which the Additional Secretary to the Government of India wrote last week to the President of the Editors' Conference, was on the whole responsive to the resolutions adopted at the February meeting of the Standing Committee. There are a few points, however, on which it would have been more in keeping with the relations which have existed between the Press in India and the Government since last November, had the Government of India accepted completely the views urged by the Committee. It is, to say the least, not convincing to hear the Central Government uttering pious hopes for uniformity in all provinces of the country. The United Provinces Government's action in delaying remedial measures in the matter of the *Sainik* and the *National Herald* in spite of the resolution of the open Conference last November, has no excuse in itself. It becomes more difficult to understand when the Government of India has recognised the machinery of contact set up by the Editors' Conference. It is a complete mystery when one realises that the United Provinces is a province administered by the civil service. If the Editors' Conference had claimed inability to persuade newspapers in a province to accept its views on Government-Press relations, we are confident that the Government would not have accepted it as valid. Yet there would have been more justification then, than the Government of India can now offer for failing to make effective a uniform policy throughout British India. In two passages the Additional Secretary has failed to appreciate the distinctions made by the carefully worded resolutions of the February meeting of the Committee. In its frequent insistence on Defence and military interests requiring secrecy, the Government fails to note that the Committee itself has exempted these spheres from its demand for publishing the fact of a ban on publication. Then, again, it would seem to bring back the whole burden of restrictions on the press through the side-door of voluntary censorship in the reference to not publishing news and comment which would incite persons to take part in the anti-war movement. In both these matters, however, the difference is almost entirely one of words and, if the Government of India's words



sound worse than the policy it has been pursuing, the only sufferer is the Government. The main trouble has been localised in the United Provinces and in view of the fact that both the Press and the Government of India are eager to see this disturbing factor set right, there should be no difficulty in reaching a satisfactory solution. Time, however, is an essential factor in the situation and the earlier normal relations are restored there, the healthier it will be for both parties.

**Reclaiming Fallen Women:**—The League of Nations Report on "Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitute" bracketed together as equally successful the "Houses of Bethany" conducted by Dominican nuns and the Prophylactoria in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We reproduce from the Report an account of the organisation and working of the Houses of Bethany. Bethany, says the Report, is a daring attempt to carry to its logical conclusion the Christian conception that the repentant sinner may aspire to a higher level than the innocent. The general rule in the Homes is that the rehabilitant and the rehabilitated are treated without distinction. But there is one exception. It is formally recommended to the Mother Superior of the Convent not to promote the rehabilitated to tasks giving them authority over other persons before they enjoy the right of vote which is eighteen years after they have taken their first vows. A rehabilitated woman can be elected as Mother Superior only after twenty-five years after taking her first vows, and then only by the special authorisation of the Holy See. An exemption is made in the case of fallen women who wish to become nuns after serving their probation. They are excused the dowry and the trousseau which every novice has to bring. There were only a few Houses of Bethany in Belgium and France when the Report was made and probably they are now closed. The whole scheme of the Bethany Homes hinges on the Christian doctrine of sin and redemption and is, therefore, incapable of general adoption. Not only is this doctrine unacceptable to other religionists, but even large numbers of enlightened Christians find it a stumbling block in the way of their spiritual growth.

**Dr. Deshmukh's Bills:**—In the *Reformer* of November 2, 1940, were published two Bills drafted by Dr. G. V. Deshmukh. One was to provide for judicial separation and divorce amongst the Hindus under certain circumstances. The other was to provide for separate residence and maintenance under certain circumstances in the case of married Hindu women. The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has drawn up a detailed appreciation of the two Bills. We publish today that on the Bill to provide separate residence and maintenance. The references to the different clauses are as the Bill was published in the *Reformer*.

**Planned Marriage:**—This is an age of planning. Towns are planned, industries are

planned, economics are planned, everything must be planned. Mr. Dwight E. Stevenson in the *Christian Evangelist* has come forward with a design for happy marriages. The background against which he develops his planned matrimonial felicity, is American. But his ideas are of interest to Europeans as well as to us in India where conditions radically differ. Planning is the antithesis of growing. Growth implies self-direction; planning is working up to a pattern formed by one-self or others. Mommsen in his history of the Roman Empire incidentally observes that the smallest insect which crawls on the earth is more wonderful than the most ingenious mechanism contrived by man, because the insect is self-directing, the machine is not. In the same way a living society should direct itself at every stage instead of following some plan prepared for it by a few experts who can never be in possession of all the data which alone can make a plan complete. Before the planner has made his blue print, circumstances have changed and it often happens that the plan becomes the dominant of, instead of, what it should be, an accessory to, social life. Turning to planning for marriage, the most perfectly planned marriage was that of Havelock Ellis and Edith Lees. They had planned to retain their complete independence and individuality in all matters including the course of their sexual love. They were both highly cultured and their reading extended over the widest fields of psychology and religion. They were both agreed on the superfluity of religious sanction to marriage, on the importance of economic independence, regarding birth control and regarding the perfect freedom which each should possess in the choice of friends and sweethearts. Indeed no marriage was ever planned beforehand with such minute attention to every detail of their mutual relation. But it did not work. The feeling that comes over one as one reads the pages of "My Life" by Havelock Ellis, is sometimes of pity, more often of disgust. Ellis does not seek to gloss over, much less to conceal, the fact that their marriage was a grim and rather a sordid tragedy. He is too much of an intellectual to be insincere. Notwithstanding his failure he maintains that his ideas are the right ones and their miscarriage was due to circumstances personal to himself and Edith. We do not think that Mr. Stevenson's design of marriage is likely to carry the problem to a solution.

**Census Dissensions in U. S. A.:**—There is no column for religion in the regular Census schedules in the United States. A separate Census, however, has been instituted since 1906 for religion. In 1916 and 1926 the religious Census presented no difficulty. In 1936, there was trouble. The trouble in this country has its origin in the fear that members of one or another community may be left out of the statistics. In the United States, it was the fear that enumeration in an official Census portended the interference of the secular State with religious autonomy.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 8, 1941.

## A WORD FOR WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

We have always regarded Gamaliel as one of the greatest names in the Biblical narrative. His name occurs only twice, and that in a solitary context; but his words will ever remain the quintessence of wise and profound statesmanship. When after the Crucifixion, the Apostles were indicted before the Jewish elders for preaching blasphemy, Gamaliel who was held in high respect as a scholar and a man of principle, stood up and, citing previous examples of disruptive movements which came to grief, adjured his colleagues not to persecute the Apostles "for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye can not overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." And greatly to the credit of the Pharisees who were, as a class, much more estimable and liberal-minded men than Jesus's denunciations of them as hypocrites have misled sixty generations into thinking, they heeded Gamaliel's wise advice and let the disciples go after a formal reprimand. The words of Gamaliel again and again come to one's mind nowadays. They come to mind when the Congress in its Independence pledge denounces Britain as having destroyed the moral, material and spiritual heritage of the Indian people. They come to mind again when we read the denunciation by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan of western civilization. Speaking at a largely attended public meeting in Calcutta to celebrate the 78th anniversary of the birthday of Swami Vivekananda, Sir Sarvapalli observed :

It was represented to us that modern civilisation, of which Britain is the greatest representative, can be symbolised by the ballot box, the cricket bat, the authorised version of the Holy Bible and the limited liability company. There are the four principles. We have out political democracy, we have appearances of great sportsmanship, we have also the appearances of being a truly religious people. But it is a civilisation which centres round banks, factories, corporations, companies and enterprises of individual men who want to make themselves wealthy and luxurious at the expense and degradation of many people. That is what civilisation actually stands for. We talk about religion. Can you show one single instance where religious and national aspirations were in clash and where national aspirations were surrendered to religious aspirations? Can you show me one single instance where you put religion as the first thing in the first place, and politics, economics, etc., in the second place?

We have taken this passage as reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the fullest that we have at hand. It is hard to believe that this is the whole of what Sir Sarvapalli described as the content of Western civilisation in his eloquent address. He is perhaps the most rapid speaker in India and expert shorthand writers have to strain their skill to their utmost to keep up with him. It is, therefore, likely that the *Patrika* reporter has skipped some parts of the speech, without which the description of western civilisation

seems to be a travesty. We are no admirers of the ballot box which everywhere, and more especially in India, is a source of much demoralisation and corruption. Nor are we more enamoured of the cricket bat. We are, indeed, often tempted to echo Rudyard Kipling's lines about "flannelled fools." Sir Sarvapalli has omitted horse racing, and table tennis which has now attained international status. Elderly as well as young men and women devotees spend a large part of their nights to qualify for the championship in hitting balls over dining tables. We are at a loss to know why Sir Sarvapalli has included the authorised version of the Bible in this category. It has a high place in the world's literature apart from its value as the sacred book of Christians. As regards joint stock companies, Sir Henry Maine pointed out many years ago that the failures of some of them were made possible by the success which attended them in a large number of cases, evidencing public confidence in the integrity of the large majority of promoters. To many in India British civilisation, which Sir Sarvapalli places at the top of Western civilisation, does seem an incoherent jumble of politics, sport and finance with religion thrown in as an oddment. But to Englishmen, born and brought up in it, it is a coherent and impressive unity. Otherwise, it is inconceivable why the British are fighting so desperately to preserve their freedom to live their own life. Even the Labour Party which represents the classes least enjoying the benefits of the British industrial economy, has thrown itself wholeheartedly into the struggle side by side with the propertied and the privileged classes.

But this a priori reason is not all that there is to show that Western civilisation has a spiritual core inside its materialistic sheathing. That is to say, it is a true civilisation, not a savagery masquerading as civilisation. The perfect civilisation is an ideal and all our civilisations are attempts to approximate to it. The faults of western civilisation are patent to the most superficial observation. The bomb and the bayonet are symbolic of one side of western civilisation as the bow and arrow were symbolic of an older and; it may seem to some, a happier civilisation. Some one has said that you can do everything with a bayonet except sit upon it. Certainly you cannot found or maintain a civilisation on bomb or bayonet. Civilisation is one, neither Western nor Eastern. It is the supremacy of the moral and spiritual elements of our nature over the brute elements—the ape and the tiger. Each in its own measure the generations in every age and clime have done something to advance mankind towards the golden gleam beckoning it from afar. Asia has contributed most in this noble task. The great religions of the world were born in the three peninsulas, India, Asia Minor and Arabia. We are proud of that fact. But great nations, as has been observed, fall upon sleep; and the nations of Asia, after their

mighty tasks, have for a thousand years rested from their labours. Europe taking the thread where it was broken, has forged ahead and by developing talents which had become obsolete among us, has carried civilisation a step farther than where Asia left it. In a pregnant passage in one of his great addresses to the National Social Conference, Ranade enumerated the qualities and virtues which both the Hindu nor Muslim civilisations lacked and which we had to learn from the West through the British connection. He certainly did not think that the British connection has ruined us morally and spiritually as well as materially; and he recognised that the West had many things to teach us. Even Swami Vivekananda, on whose birth anniversary Sir Sarvapalli was speaking, did not regard western civilisation as a derelict without any worthy features, and it was his especial ambition to make Europe and America the vehicle of his Master's message to mankind. Even in the East where the grasping, predatory side of western civilisation has been more prominent than its creative, humaner side, glimpses of the latter have not been wholly wanting. India has learnt valuable lessons from English literature and history. The great humanitarians, Howard and Wilberforce, Florence Nightingale and Josephine Butler, have inspired our own social movements. In the intellectual sphere, we owe a great debt to the liberal thinkers of the nineteenth century, John Stuart Mill for inspiration in the cause of women's freedom, to mention only a single instance. Adam Smith and *laissez faire* have contributed most to the economic chaos of the present day and India has bitter cause to remember them because they were imposed by the sheer weight of political power upon us. But why forget our obligations to Ruskin who described Adam Smith as "the half-bred and half-witted Scotchman who taught the deliberate blasphemy: 'Thou shalt hate the Lord, thy God, damn his laws and covet his neighbours' goods?'" Neither the Government in India nor western civilization is in the position of the Apostles before the Sanhedrin. But Gandhiji and Radhakrishnan are with good reason regarded throughout the world as the authentic voice of India. When they speak the world listens. When they pass sweeping judgments on western institutions and achievements, two things happen: the youth of India assuming every condemnation of the West as a compliment to the East and to themselves personally, harden their hearts against light from western windows; and the West itself, which has shown its appreciation of the Indian leaders in no grudging spirit, feels aggrieved at their failure or omission to give it credit for its achievements and intentions while dwelling, as they have a perfect right to do, on its shortcomings and failures. The great redeeming feature of western culture and civilization is their gift of self-criticism. It is a gift which we in this country have not yet learnt to value at its proper worth.

#### BOMBAY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION ON DR. DESHMUKH'S BILL.

Under the Hindu Law marriage is indissoluble and the husband is entitled to require his wife to live in his house from the moment of his marriage. So long therefore as the Hindu law does not recognise divorce, a claim for separate residence and maintenance is the most effective remedy which the Hindu wife has against her husband's injustice, or cruelty. During recent years Courts in India have held that the grounds which would be available to a wife to defeat a suit for restitution of conjugal rights would also entitle her to live apart from her husband and claim separate maintenance. The question, however, whether a particular ground is sufficient or justifiable, would, in the absence of a specific legislation on the point, depend solely on the discretion of the judge. It is, therefore, desirable to have a legislation laying down specifically the grounds on which a Hindu wife should be entitled to claim separate residence and maintenance. For these reasons the Association is entirely in favour of the principle underlying Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Bill to give Hindu married women a Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance.

The Association however feels that if the law is to be really useful and effective, the Bill would require considerable amendment. Firstly, the Bill does not contain any definition of 'Separate Residence.' It is no doubt true that a decree for separate residence in favour of the wife would not amount to a dissolution of the marital tie and consequently children born to the wife, who has obtained such a decree, would in law be legitimate unless it is proved that the husband had no access to the wife. The absence of a definition of 'Separate Residence' is, however, likely to serve an unscrupulous husband with a weapon to deprive the wife of her maintenance. On the birth of a child to her, he may be able to plead unchastity against the wife and thus deprive her of her maintenance. The Baroda Hindu Code has by Section 161 defined 'separate residence' as meaning 'separation of the husband and wife in board but not in bed, without dissolution of marriage.' The Association would suggest that a similar definition should find a place in the Bill under consideration.

Clause 2 of the Bill is the most important and will have therefore to be examined carefully. Inasmuch as it abrogates all custom or law contrary to the provisions thereof, the grounds set forth therein will have to be seriously considered. *Sub-clause 1* makes leprosy or any loathsome disease in the husband a ground for the wife to claim separate residence. This has already been recognised as such by the judicial decision (see Premkuvar V. Bhika Kallianji, 5 H. C. R. (A. C. J.) 209; Shinappaya V. Rajamma, 1922) (I. L. R. 45 Mad. 812); and no objection could therefore be raised against it.

*Sub-clause 2: Venereal disease:* Under the English Law it is cruelty to communicate a venereal disease (see Hailsham, Vol. X. P. 651 see 956). As later on 'cruelty' has been mentioned as a ground for separate residence it is considered not necessary to have this ground mentioned specifically. If the clause is to be retained, the Association would suggest the word "incurable" be inserted before the words "Venereal disease."

*Sub-clause 3: Incurable Lunacy:* The Association has been of the opinion that lunacy, if it existed at the time of the marriage, should by law be made a ground for nullity of marriage. It is not clear from the clause in the Bill whether it refers to lunacy which was in existence at the time of the marriage or to lunacy supervening after marriage. If it is the former, it is hardly fair to make it a ground for

separate residence as it could have been noticed before the marriage was entered into. There is also the likelihood of such a provision being abused. The clause must, therefore, be restricted to lunacy supervening after marriage. The Association feels that a further restriction laying down the period during which it has existed and has been found to be incurable, should be inserted. Similar restrictions are to be found in the Baroda Legislation.

*Sub-clause 4: Cruelty:* The Association feels that if this clause is left as it is, the Courts may restrict its application only to physical violence. Judicial decisions have by now gone much further. The Lahore High Court has, in *Ude Singh V. Mst. Daulat Kaur* (1934) I. L. R. 16 Lah. 892, laid down that it was not necessary to prove actual physical cruelty. In *Kondal Raval Reddier V. Ranganayaki Ammal*, (1923) I. L. R. 46 Mad. 791, the Madras High Court held that a course of conduct which, if persisted in, would undermine the health of the wife, is a sufficient justification for refusing to the husband a decree for restitution of conjugal rights. As has already been pointed out above, under English Law communicating a venereal disease is also cruelty. The Association, therefore, considers that if this clause is allowed to remain as it is there is a chance of the benefit of the progress made through judicial decisions being lost. In *Julias V. Julias A. I. R. 1932 Oudh 231* it was held that to constitute cruelty there must be danger to life, limb or health, bodily or mental, or a reasonable apprehension of it. The Baroda legislation defines cruelty as "जेनायी (अ) जिदगी, (आ) शरीरतुं कोई अंग, अगर (इ) शारीरिक के मानसिक तंदुरुस्ती जोखममां आवे अथवा जोखममां आववानी व्याजनी बीक राखवाने योग्य कारण उत्पन्न थाय एवी वर्तणूक."

This is sufficiently wide to cover the objections mentioned above and the Association would recommend an amendment on those lines.

*Sub-clause 5: Desertion:* The word 'desertion' will have to be qualified by some such phrase as 'without reasonable or justifiable cause.' It may be that the husband has deserted his wife on account of some misconduct on her part such as unchastity and in such a case it would be unfair to make the husband responsible for the separate residence and maintenance of the wife. Desertion without reasonable or justifiable cause has been recognised by Courts as a ground for the wife to claim separate maintenance. Desertion presupposes separate residence and consequently desertion without sufficient cause for a certain number of years has been recognised as a ground for divorce in communities where divorce is allowed. Here also it would be necessary to fix a certain period during which the wife is deserted and neglected. It may be that a husband deserted his wife in a temporary fit of anger or through misunderstanding and it is but natural that there should be some scope for *locus penitentiae*. The necessity of such *locus penitentiae* has been recognised by the Courts so far. Reference might be made to the case of *Bai Jivi V. Narsing Lalbhai*. I.L.R. 51 Bom. 329 at 341. The Association therefore suggests that this sub-clause be so amended as to read as followed: 'desertion without reasonable cause for more than one year.'

*Sub-clause 6: Second marriage by the husband:* The Association has all long held the view that a second marriage by the husband during the subsistence of the first marriage should be prohibited by law. It had also drafted a Bill in that respect. What the Association however feels is that making a second marriage by the husband a ground for separate residence and maintenance would not serve as an effective check on

this growing evil. As however the courts have so far held that such a marriage would not entitle the wife to claim separate residence and maintenance, the Association has no objection to the clause as it is.

*Sub-clause 7: The husband's turning a recluse or changing his religion:* The Association sees no objection to the change of religion by the husband being made a ground for the wife to claim separate residence and maintenance. The question of the husband's turning a recluse is not so easy. In *Muni Knativijayaji*, (1932) 34 Bom. L. R. 587 Sir John Beaumont C. J. observed that marriage involved status and that a man by taking vows and becoming a sadhu could not affect the status of his wife. It is therefore natural that the husband's taking a religious order may rightly and properly be made a ground for divorce. It is, however, difficult to understand why it should be made a ground for separate residence and maintenance. As for separate residence the husband on becoming a recluse would be staying away from his wife and no question of separate residence would arise. If there is an absolute abandonment by him of all secular property and a complete and final withdrawal from earthly affairs, the property originally owned by him would go to his heirs and under the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937, the wife would be one of the heirs. If there is no absolute abandonment of all secular property, even under the present law, the wife would be entitled to maintenance. However it would also amount to desertion without reasonable cause, which has been separately provided for. The Association has, however, no objection to the husband's turning a recluse being made a ground for separate residence.

It is unfortunate that the draft Bill does not include adultery on the part of the husband among the grounds for separate residence and maintenance. The Association would suggest the inclusion of that ground. It is apprehended that the term 'adultery' would not include the keeping of or visiting a prostitute by the husband. The definition of 'adultery' as given in the Indian Penal Code would not cover such cases. Keeping of a prostitute in the family house has been recognised by the Calcutta High Court as a sufficient justification for the wife to ask for a separate habitation and maintenance (see *Dular Koeri V. Dwarka Nath Missar* (190) I. L. R. 32 Cal. 224). The Association would therefore suggest that adultery and keeping a prostitute in the family house should be included among the grounds for separate residence and maintenance.

*Clause 3:* It deals with the Courts in which the suits under the Act may be instituted but there is no provision in the draft Bill dealing with the procedure to be followed by such Courts. A provision in that respect should be added to the Bill. The Association would suggest the following addition:

"The provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, shall, as far as the same may be applicable, apply to proceedings in suit under this Act, including proceedings in executions and orders subsequent to the decree and in appeals."

*Clause 4:* This clause specifies the amount of maintenance allowable to the wife. The Association is of opinion that the amount of maintenance should not be so fixed, as in the case of a very rich husband possessing an income of a lakh of rupees per month, maintenance at Rs. 1,000 per month would be adequate though it would fall short of the quantum proposed by the Bill. The Association would therefore recommend that the amount of maintenance

should be reasonable and adequate according to the circumstances of the case. The clause is defective in more ways than one. If a wife were to sue her husband for separate residence and maintenance, under the present conditions, it would be very difficult for her to maintain herself during the pendency of the suit. As a result of the suit the husband would refuse to make any arrangements in that respect and provision will have to be made in the Act giving the Court power to award her maintenance pending the suit. Then the Court should also be given power specifically to award to the wife at the time of passing the decree maintenance during the life.

*Clause 5:* This clause deals with the question of the custody etc., of children. The clause will have to be so modified as to vest in the court the power to make an interim order in that respect. The order relating to the custody etc., of children after the date of the decree should form part of the decree and a similar clause giving that power is necessary.

This finishes the several clauses in the draft Bill. The Bill as drafted does not contain any provision in respect of the following matters, namely (1) the ownership by the wife of the property acquired by her or vesting in her subsequent to the decree, (2) the liability of the husband for any acts committed by the wife after the decree; and (3) the exercise of joint powers. As a decree for separate residence and maintenance does not dissolve the marriage, provisions will have to be inserted in the Act dealing with all these matters. It may also be advisable to have in the Act a clause enabling the parties to have the decree varied or rescinded.

#### HOUSES OF BETHANY

The task of this study is to describe the work of the Dominican nuns of Bethany and the rules governing it, not to give a full account of the religious aspect. But it must first of all be stated that "Bethany" is founded on the ideas of the redemption of sin and the imitation of Christ. The system is only an attempt to create the necessary frame-work for this spiritual endeavour.

The first "House of Bethany" was founded in 1866 by Father R. L. Lataste, of the Order of St. Dominic. The Dominican Sisters of Bethany constitute to-day a separate diocesan congregation. Apart from the observance of the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, common to all catholic orders, the special aim of this congregation according to its constitution is "the rehabilitation of released women prisoners and the moral regeneration of those who have acted wrongly and dishonourably without undergoing imprisonment. The congregation gives the means of persevering and growing in virtue to all who are genuinely converted through repentance and the love of God; to those who may have a religious vocation to the point of making their profession."

The congregation, therefore, accepts all ex-convicts who come of their own accord and are willing to remain there for the rest of their lives, but "Bethany" addresses itself not only to ex-convicts, but also to other women who have led lives outside or counter to society.

The Dominican Nuns of Bethany have always been allowed to visit women's prisons, though the number of these visits has occasionally been subject to regulations; they go from cell to cell and inform the prisoners that on release they may, if they wish, enter the "Bethany" houses; sometimes prostitutes come of their own accord to seek admission. Women are welcomed from the ages

of 16-35; other women are, however, often admitted. Where a minor has voluntarily sought admission, enquiries are made as to who exercises paternal authority over her, and arrangements are made to obtain this person's consent. The nuns never agree to receive women with children permanently: the women are given to understand that their first duty is to bring up their children and they are directed to institutions that are able to assist them in this task. It not infrequently happens that many years later, when the children are grown up, the mothers return and seek admission to the "Bethany" house which could not accept them so long as their maternal duties remained unfulfilled.

The chief characteristic of the work of "Bethany" is the gradual assimilation of the rehabilitated women to the rehabilitant. Ex-convicts or ex-prostitutes entering a "House of Bethany" of their own free will are taken from the beginning into an atmosphere of family life.

If they feel the urge of a religious vocation and if they are considered worthy, they can raise themselves to the dignity of a Dominican sister, and neither in duties, position nor dress will they be in any way different from the other sisters of the congregation. This can be accomplished after they have spent five years in the convent, after very severe probationary period. The woman is an "aspirant" for one year. The practical reason for this five year period is that the police authorities are entitled to keep ex-convicts under supervision for five years and it seemed to the founders of "Bethany" quite out of the question that a woman wearing the dress of a Dominican sister should be under police supervision.

It is evident that this vocation is only destined for women of exceptional strength of character. Those who do not feel that they can follow the vocation and who do not want to remain "little sisters" living in the community without becoming nuns, can leave at any time. Others who have not been able to adapt themselves to the austere atmosphere of the place are asked to leave the community.

"Bethany" however, does not relinquish such women to their fate, but attempts to place them in occupations giving them moral and material safeguards against a return to their former lives.

The life in a "Bethany" house shows a number of characteristics which shed light on the methods in force.

(a). The general rule in convents lays down that every novice must bring with her a dowry and trousseau. Exemption is only granted in very special circumstances. It is characteristic of "Bethany" which tries to eliminate the difficulties confronting the rehabilitated women, that this rule is waived for the rehabilitated in their convents and they are admitted to the novitiate without dowry and without trousseau.

(b). If a rehabilitated woman, in the course of her postulate or novitiate, finds the religious life too austere, she is allowed to resume the habit of a "little sister" and to return to the group in which she has been living for several years. In order to safeguard the sensibilities of the woman, who must feel that she has failed in following a higher vocation, she is sent to another house of the congregation.

(c). Great care is taken to cut the woman off entirely from her past. This is done not only from the dress she wears, which is entirely indistinguishable to the outside world from that of a rehabilitant, but by the fact that her past is known to nobody inside the convent but herself and the Mother Superior.



In contrast with any other rehabilitation home or institution, there is no separation between the rehabilitants and the rehabilitated inside the house, except for those rules in force in all convents, which are prescribed by the Pontifical Law, and which are due to difference in the rank of the inmates. Recreation is taken in common, and there is no isolated quarter for the little nurses, *i. e.* the rehabilitated.

"Bethany" is a daring attempt to carry to its logical conclusion the Christian conception that the repentant sinner may aspire to a higher level than the innocent. The juxtaposition of those who have never known the world and those who have fallen victims to temptation, and the fact that the repentant sinner can rise higher in the world of "Bethany" than those who have never gone astray, constitutes one of the most courageous spiritual experiments ever attempted. It has much in common with the most modern attempts in the most progressive lay institutions, which also try to raise the rehabilitated above her original station in life. "Bethany" has realised the highest aim of any attempt at rehabilitation.

### CLOGS ON THE WHEEL OF LITERACY.

(BY E. GOVINDAN.)

In this brief article, I greatly desire to point out a few of the outstanding obstacles that stand in the way of the spread of literacy in rural areas. They are as under :—

1. The present agency for the spread of literacy in the countryside is the elite of the people, who constitute themselves into various local bodies and carry on their work. Lack of experience and, to a certain extent, also of public spirit, may prevent them from making the best use of the opportunity for self-effort in education given by the powers that be. That is as it ought to be; for, human effort, at first, reaches perfection only through successive stages of effort and, and it is no wonder, therefore, that literacy progress, at present, is rather tardy and, hence, lays itself bare for outside criticism.

2. The parents also come in for censure. They want, without doubt, that their children should learn at least to read and write but their mental make-up is not conducive to it; the mass mind is more prone to immediate tangible results. To speak the truth, it cannot look beyond its nose, as matters stand at present. This is well reflected in the enthusiasm with which they send their children to the school, which is, often, at a low ebb.

3. Irregular attendance may also be attributed to the ill-conceived type of work that a teacher, in general, turns out at the school. "No pains, no gains" is a well-known motto. To set matters right in this respect, the work in the school must be approached in a missionary spirit. A teacher should be imbued with the spirit of a Miller or a Sastry to force the pace of progress and this, coupled with thorough-going preparation on the part of the teacher, will raise the level of school work and may also lead to better results.

4. Regular attendance is the *sine qua non* of progress and this may be secured by crying halt to the policy of drift and at the same time by making elementary education free and compulsory as desired by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale. He made out a strong case for free compulsory elementary education but the authorities concerned turned down the proposal with the result that illiteracy is still stalking naked in the land.

5. The greatest clog in the wheel of progress is the lack of funds. No sphere of human effort can

make headway without funds and this is being felt more and more in a poor country like India, as days pass on and the nation-building departments are generally starved.

In the matter of spreading literacy, the State has a definite duty to do; its responsibility is evidently greater than that of any private body.

The State must, therefore, step in and take control of primary education by finding adequate funds for it and also by making it free and compulsory.

### DESIGN FOR MARRIAGE.\*

(BY DWIGHT E. STEVENSON.)

The circumstances of the day call for intelligent planning and consciously directed effort to make of the home what we all intuitively know it can be and desperately want it to become. Why should a man spend four to eight years training for a profession, when he gives almost no consecutive thought to the making of a successful marriage? Why should men and women enter this most strategic of all social experiences with blinkers on, and expect through sheer trial and error to blunder into paradise? If impersonal economic and social forces will not build the home for us, than we must build it ourselves, consciously and intelligently—and reverently. The times call for a design for marriage. Fortunately we do not need to wait upon the school system to do this for us. We can do it for ourselves, before marriage, after marriage and "until death do us part." The education of a man and woman in the meaning of marriage is like all education—a process simultaneous with life.

It is time that we drop some of this loose talk and loose thinking about the contemporary failure of marriage in which our times have indulged. Marriage itself cannot fail, for marriage is nothing active and intelligent or existent by itself. Marriages are made by men and women, and their success or failure is the success or failure of men and women. No one ever saw a marriage walking around by itself anywhere in the world; wherever it is, it has a man and a woman connected with it, and the quality of the marriage depends upon what that man and that woman bring to it.

The times demand that we shall weave a design for marriage into our pattern of life. Here are a few ways in which we can weave that all-important design.

First, and simplest of all, to make marriage a success, bring something to it, and bring nothing less than the best. Bring your best faith, your deepest love, your integrity; bring a life of which you can make an open book before the eyes of your bride or your groom without shame. More specifically, because it is so fundamentally important, bring a life that is chaste.

It is necessary, if marriage is to be a new departure in the growing experience of individuals, that they should keep something in reserve, bright and shining and clean just for marriage, and that this experience shall be a discovery which they come upon joyously together. Every man owes at least this much to his bride, and every bride owes nothing less than this to her husband.

A boy or girl in his or her teens can be doing something right now about the success of marriage. He can be guarding his chastity, which he will bring as a bright and shining tribute of deepest love to lay at the feet of his mate at the time of their marriage. There is no other gift which can quite compensate for the loss of this.

\* *The Christian Evangelist.*

Into our design for marriage should go a second strand—an attitude toward marriage. We need to regard marriage as a stage in growing into completely rounded life. We need to teach and reiterate to ourselves the obvious truth that life should increase in wealth of experience and richness of satisfaction as years increase.

We need to kill the poisonous, though generally accepted notion, that youth contains all happiness, all light, and all of the true elixir of life, and that the end of youth ends all. Such an erroneous attitude as this toward youth and age has led a man like Disraeli to say "youth is a mistake, manhood a struggle, and old age a regret."

The oldest people I know are those who go around looking in every beauty parlour and in every cosmetic cranny for the mythical fountain of youth. They need to learn that the only way to be young is to be one's own age gracefully, to seize gladly upon the now and the here.

As a matter of fact, older people do not want to be like young people. They only want the vitality of youth and the unstained idealism of youth and, in some cases, the irresponsibility of youth. But they know that life is richer in its meanings, that abiding satisfactions go deeper for them than they ever did in their youth. One need not be set adrift from his idealism. Those who grow gracefully into life, know that nothing on earth can compare with the solid satisfaction that husband and wife and children have in one another.

The time must come when we stop conferring omniscience upon youth and reserve at least a crumb or two for later years. The goal of a great many nit-wits of all ages may be stated in semi-scriptural language: "Remember now thy reflexes in the days of thy youth, lest the years draw nigh when thou shalt say, I have rheumatism and my digestion is not what it used to be, and I have no pleasure in them."

We need to write this conviction into our philosophy of life: marriage, rightly considered, is an advance stage in the art of growing up.

A third strand in our design for marriage must be a downward adjustment of selfishness. It is not possible to make a success of marriage without co-operation, and that co-operation must be inwardly rooted in values which go far beyond egoistic individualism.

A contemporary psychologist informs us that we often fool ourselves about this disturbing emotion of love. Sometimes we think we are in love with another person, when in reality we are in love with love. We are wrapped up in the thrill of our own emotions and what we want is to experience that thrill. Young women get the notion sometimes that every boy ought to look and love like their favourite movie actor. This is being in love with love, and it is essentially self-centred. A real marriage cannot be formed by two persons who are using each other as instruments of their own thrills. Real marriages must be based upon love which has grown up, love of the other person.

Such love as that means a playing down of selfishness and heightening of the interests and needs of one's mate and one's children. A true marriage is never a contest between two wills, or a kingdom with one ruling monarch and a band of obedient and respectful servants. It is a partnership of which it is utterly childish to ask, "Who is the boss?" The relationship of master and servant drops out of the marriage relationship altogether when the marriage is real; it becomes a venture in intense democracy.

Love which has this quality about it, must also be founded on the notion of permanence. It does not add to the quality of love to make it a mere bird of passage in a world of changing

marriages—here today, gone to Reno tomorrow. Love that goes beyond egoistic individualism has the quality of permanence.

That is illustrated in the remarks of a three-year-old girl recently reported. A mother was scolding her infant daughter for unbecoming behaviour and she said, "If you do things like that, I don't think I want to be your mother." To this the daughter replied, "Now you look here, Mother. When you start being a mother, you can't stop." Neither is it possible to stop any of the trends of momentum which are set up by this most intimate of all relationships. It is a love which can continue its quest and arrive at its goal only in the atmosphere of unselfishness and permanence. When the minister asks a bride and groom to pledge their faith to one another until death do them part, he is asking for one of the secure bases upon which beautiful marriages must always rest.

Build a design for your marriage. Build its arches and its buttresses with the patience and the care of an architect. Do not expect to blunder into married bliss, like Alice stumbling into Wonderland. Marriage is ordained in heaven, but its quality is determined on earth by you and me. Having brought to it our best in thought, purity, and affection, there is every reason to suppose that we will be able to echo for our marriage the words of a popular song which says, "I love the life I live, and I live the life I love."

#### BUDDHISTS AND MEAT-EATING.

Gautama Buddha protested against animal sacrifices and since his time animal sacrifices have been given up as a part of the Vedic ritual by Sanatanist Hindus. There has been, however, doubt how far the Buddhist doctrine of non-killing applied to the eating of meat by Buddhists. In the Buddhist countries, Ceylon, Burma, Thibet, China and Japan the diet of the people does not exclude meat. Even monks in Ceylon do not object to meat. A correspondent writing in the *Buddhist* for February observed:

"In a recent "Dhana" (sic) ceremony I happened to attend, I noticed with deep concern that meat, fish and egg omelettes were served to the venerable priests. Now I wish to know from you who sins in this respect—the people who served these forbidden foods, or the priests who accepted them? I remember reading that it is not proper for the priests to refuse any food offered by the Buddhist laymen. But I would like you to clarify this point."

The Editors, Sir D. B. Jayatilaka and Mr. S. A. Wijayatilaka, referred the point to Dr. Cassius A. Pereira. Ceylonese names are no index to the religion of those who bear them. A Pereira in Bombay is invariably a Christian and generally a Catholic. In Ceylon many Buddhists bear Portuguese surnames which they were obliged to adopt to meet legal requirements during the Portuguese regime. Dr. Pereira in reply to the reference sent a note to the Editors and it is published below the letter of the correspondent quoted above. Dr. Pereira writes:

"The question errs in assuming three things. (1) That all meat, fish and eggs is forbidden to Bhikkhus, or to Buddhists. The Buddha has prohibited only human, elephant, horse, dog, serpent, lion, tiger, panther, bear and hyena-flesh. (2) There is no "sin" in Buddhism, meaning transgression of some divine law. Instead, there is each one's skilful (*kusala*) or unskilful (*akusala*) action. These words are loosely translated "good" and "bad." The unskilful act leads a doer to more suffering, whereas the skilful act leads to the doer's happiness and ultimate deliverance from all suffering. To eat prepared fresh flesh is not

unskillful action if the meat is eaten only to assuage hunger, and not to satisfy greed. If there is greed, then eating is unskillful, though the meal be only rice and salt. (3) It is quite proper for a Bhikkhu to refuse food offered by a layman if he suspects, has seen, or heard that an animal has been killed *specially* for his individual food, even when the animal is not one of the prohibited ten kinds. Obviously even the eggs of the omelette-*alms* could not have been broken with the thought 'This is for so-and-so, and this is for so-and-so.'

"Therefore the Dana (not aspirated D) in question was probably quite in order with reference to the Bhikkhus partaking of it. It is a different matter with regard to the slaughterers of animals, and the fishermen; their action was unskillful. Butcher's meat is in order, provided an animal is not killed on a personal order, or specifically for one's individual food. And it is *akusala* for anyone to break a fertilized live egg, or order its breaking or cooking.

"The whole of this question has been ground from immemorial time for much worn debate. Misstatements that Buddhists may not eat butcher's meat are done mostly by Theosophists, Europeans; and Hindus (and latterly, even by a few Bhikkhus, who should know better) have complicated matters needlessly. There is an instructive scene, from Kassapa Buddha's time, which was re-enacted in that of our Buddha. It was no coincidence. There always have been, are, and ever will be "Doubters" like the Brahmin of this incident; and, alas, few of the doubters are intelligent enough to understand,—as this Brahmin did.

"A certain Brahmin noticed with deep concern that the Buddha was taking a meal of curried snipe-flesh and rice, and charged the Blessed One with partaking of defiling food. The Buddha replies (I give only a few out of about fifty "defilements")—

'Killing, stealing, falsehood, fraud, worthless reading, greed, back-biting, arrogance, bigotry, conceit, harshness and disrespect,—all this is defiling—but not the eating of flesh.

'Not flesh or fish, not fasting, not nakedness, tonsure, matted hair or rough robes, not penance, fire-worship, hymns or sacrifices can purify an individual who has not overcome Doubt.'

"The Doubt is doubt about the Supremely Enlightened One, who not only knew what is the Highest Dhamma, but who abode by it.

"We are told that the Brahmin, who was very learned, understood the Buddha's words, worshipped the Tathagata, sought ordination at once, and later became Arahant."

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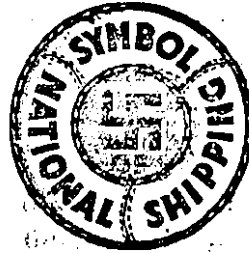
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**China in the Modern World:**—After all these years of united resistance to the Japanese aggressor, the old Communist-Nationalist struggle in China threatens to break out once again. The Chinese Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, has appealed for loyal collaboration between Communists and Nationalists to enable him to repel Japan. The reason for the recrudescence of the Communist trouble would seem to be a certain over-confidence in China's position today and a fear that American assistance, however scantily rendered during the war, may work to decide the complexion of China's foreign policy and her domestic institutions. Contributory to this have been the recent pessimistic utterances of the Japanese Premier. An interesting article by Lin Yutang in the *New Republic* for January 27, throws some light on the situation. Mr. Yutang pleads that "statesmen of the Western democracies might see the important strategic value of defeating Japan through China and set about planning for it in a more positive manner." He further suggests that "a spiritual solidarity with America and Britain will go a long way to influence the shaping of China's future foreign and domestic policies." The inability of Russian Communists, on the other hand, to allow Communists in other countries freedom to develop in accordance with national needs has been one of the tragic features in a complicated world situation. The struggle between the democracies and Communism threw Spain over to the Fascist States in Europe. And there seems to be every danger of history repeating itself in China. Mr. Lin Yutang sees the urgency of Britain's need but he pleads for fuller appreciation of the necessity of helping China. Of American policy in the past he writes:

As far as the average American is concerned, aid to China sounds very much like charity. As a matter of fact, China was forced to discuss the terms of the loans, except for the last one, just as the owner of a

bicycle shop would discuss the terms for borrowing on a mortgage, and China has, in spite of the war, delivered the goods in payment for payments. One might look at aid to China somewhat differently.

Faith in the ability of the U. S. A. to act as an unlimited source of help to democracies is more widely seen outside that country than within it. The columns of the *New Republic* and the *Nation* bear evidence each week of the feeling of many Americans that the United States of America is not working on a production basis which could allow of effective help to Britain. A writer whose facts and conclusions have not been questioned, Dr. Fritz Sternberg of America, has pointed out, and his figures are often quoted, that, while the British and German worker puts in 4 hours a day, on an average, to armaments, the American worker gives thirty minutes—fifteen for American defence and fifteen to Britain. The effort he calls for is two hours a day. The demand on Americans is for greater readiness to shoulder larger burdens in taxation.

**Helping Aggressor Nations:**—There is also a great deal to show that national interests, in some cases personal interests, come first. The *Nation* for January 4 begins a revealing article with the sentence, "Despite much-discussed embargoes and licensing system—and the increased aid given to China—the United States continues to be Japan's chief source of war supplies." Although there is a grave shortage of machine tools in the American defence programme, still they are being shipped to Japan. "How much longer," asks the *Nation*, "is our government going to confront Japanese aggression with strong words—while winking at the profitable back-door business of supplying the weapons of that aggression?" The *New Republic* mentions that Soviet Russia has entered the market for American cotton in October—November—December buying nearly 50,000 bales each month. Russia has not for the past five years been on the market for cotton from America. "Her own reports," says the *New Republic*, "show that she has just had the largest crop in her history, producing 4,300,000 bales, a rise of 300,000 bales over 1939... There are persistent reports of heavy freight movements to Germany from Vladivostok, the latest declaring that Japanese goods are moving to the Nazis by this route. Is American cotton being transported in the same way?" All these are disturbing signs. But even more ominous is the reason assigned by the

*New Republic* for supporting the lend and lease bill. In an article discussing the merits of the "lease-lend bill" which the Senate has now passed after seventeen days of debate, the *New Republic* candidly observes, "However the war ends, America will have need of strong armaments in the immediate post-war years, and the lease-lend plan is a way of ensuring the return to us of at least a substantial portion of the armaments we have provided, or their equivalent." All this is calculated to cool the ardour of the most enthusiastic champion of the "war for democracy." But the realisation that this forms the background of President Roosevelt's fervent appeals for aid to the democratic powers, should go far to explain the gap between appeal and performance.

**Sir T. Saprú's Convocation Address:**—The Convocation address delivered by Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú at the Calcutta University last week was refreshingly free from the rather querulous and pessimistic tone of his pronouncements on education in recent years. The topic of unemployment came in only incidentally and as a minor issue. Sir Tej Bahadur struck the synthetic note much as Ranade used to. The Hindu, Muslim and Western cultures have found a home in India. A fusion of the three was necessary to solve the problems which confronted the world and their juxtaposition in this country pointed to its being the scene where the synthesis would be accomplished. He concluded with an exhortation to University men to apply themselves to the solution of world problems without caring too intently for results. Failures are as useful in the march of mind as successes. They may indeed be more useful. Every educated man can find for himself in what way he can make his greatest contribution to human welfare though there may be none to employ him and reward him for his labours. Sir Tej does not expect much from politicians. He thinks that University men who from their training can be expected to bring a detached mind to bear upon all subjects, are best qualified to seek and find remedies for the diseases which afflict the body politic. It follows that a University man who allows himself to become and behave as a political partisan, is not true to the high ideals of University education.

**The New Ministry in Sind:**—The refusal of the Sind Premier, the Hon'ble Mir Bunde Ali Khan, to resign the Premiership on February 15 led to a heated controversy in the press not only as to the nature of the settlement arrived at by the intervention of the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, but even as to the fact of any settlement having been arrived at at all. The explanatory statements which leaders in Sind thought fit to issue, revealed nothing more than a suggestion that some of the outstanding men in that province had, under the influence of a greater personality, committed themselves to a certain line of action from which they sought uneasily to wriggle out. The Sind

Premier, however, who was the central figure in the agitation, did not show any indication of either resigning or of denying the terms of the secret agreement which had come out in controversy. A vote of no-confidence had been tabled by the Opposition in the Sind Assembly for Friday (March 7) and Muslim League members had planned, it was said, elaborate demonstrations before the Secretariat on that day as a protest against the motion. On Thursday (March 6), however, three out of the six members of the Sind Ministry sprung a surprise on the Assembly by announcing their resignations. The Premier seeing his old colleagues on the Opposition benches, declared his intention to submit the resignation of himself and his remaining two colleagues to the Governor. The House adjourned after an acrimonious discussion as to the possibilities of Mir Bunde Ali Khan going back on his word. Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, one of the Ministers who led the revolt, has been called on to form the new Cabinet and the two Hindu Ministers who acted with him on Thursday, are back in office. The two Muslim Ministers collaborating with Mr. Allah Baksh are outside the Muslim League. Mr. Allah Baksh has one more seat to dispose of. Attempts are being made to enlarge the Cabinet to eight so that two Muslim League Ministers and a Hindu may be appointed. Press reports state that the ex-Premier and an ex-minister both offered to join the new Cabinet "in their individual capacity," evidently until the League agrees to co-operate. The predominant feeling in Sind seems to be that the Muslim League has received a set-back. The irresponsible speeches made at a public meeting by leading Muslims of that party bear out this impression.

**Two Repudiations:**—Mir Bunde Ali Khan himself has issued a statement repudiating the Azad agreement as a document into which he was manoeuvred. His contention that a casual remark made by him to the Congress President in the presence of some friends to the effect that he was tired and proposed to resign from the premiership in February, was seized on and incorporated into a letter which was soon after released to the press, is not likely to convince readers. The repudiation, for one thing, comes rather late. Then, again, no Premier ought to indulge in statements which he is not prepared to stand by, particularly when he is in the midst of crucial negotiations. There is a certain family resemblance between the Mir's statement and the querulous objection of the Calcutta Premier, Mr. Fazlul Huq, who has recently protested against the publication of a secret circular in which he urged the advantages of grayhound racing as a method of financing, among other things, a Muslim newspaper and offered, as Premier of Bengal, to license this form of gambling under conditions which would secure the profits for his party. In both cases the revelations came at a time when the

personal unpopularity of the two Premiers was high. If Sind is still to continue as an autonomous province working the 1935 constitution, we should have preferred to see Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as the Premier of Sind rather than as a member of the Allah Baksh Cabinet. Sir Ghulam Hussain has had executive experience in the Bombay Government and, for that reason alone, he may be expected to take a larger view of Sind problems than other Sind leaders who have come up with the introduction of provincial autonomy. While Sind conditions are distressing enough, there is a gleam of light in the history of Sind cabinets under provincial autonomy. Sind Cabinets have depended almost solely on their ability to conciliate both the Congress and the Muslim League. The moment this becomes impossible, even the semblance of constitutional government will disappear. The Congress decision not to seek office in coalition governments holds good in Sind and is partially responsible for the success of conciliation attempts. The responsibility for the administration has fallen largely on the Muslim members of the Sind legislature and these members have shown, even when they were in the party, a strange apathy to the Muslim League. Whatever might be the case in the country as a whole—and one has no means of judging from the Central legislature as it is today—in the provinces the differences between the Congress and League have no reality.

**Mr. Ganguli on the Press:**—We publish this week an article on the Indian Press by Mr. J. M. Ganguli of Calcutta. Mr. Ganguli has with considerable force pointed out some of the obvious weaknesses of the press. Particularly interesting are his remarks on the discrepancies between the editorial and advertisement sections of many leading nationalist newspapers, with special emphasis on the Swadeshi question. The Swadeshi movement, however, does not seem to have been sufficiently strong, at any stage, to have influenced the business side of newspapers in India. Mr. Ganguli's remarks on the Editors' Conference do not allow for the changes that have come about in the attitude of that body since the first meeting in November. The February meeting of the Standing Committee put through a solid amount of work and the reply given by Government to the resolutions of that Committee show conclusively that in principle all its representations have been accepted by the Government of India. As we pointed out last week, the question of uniformity of procedure is now the outstanding issue and the only trouble there is in the application of it. The resolution on the war and in condemnation of the totalitarian theories of Nazism and Fascism, to which Mr. Ganguli takes exception, represents the opinion of the Standing Committee, and its purpose was to clear the press in India of the insinuations cast against it by reactionary officials, who sought opportunities in this field to create trouble between the press and the Government. This

has now been set right by the definite declaration of its own attitude by the Standing Committee and the issue is now dead. Mr. Ganguli is wrong in seeing a connection between the Editors' Conference President's interview with the Viceroy and the decisions of the Standing Committee. The interview did not figure at all in the deliberations of the Committee. Surely Mr. Ganguli does desire that the President of the Conference should, because of his position, refrain from any contact with officials. The constitution of the Conference which is printed elsewhere in this issue, contains in its aims and objects, the setting up of liaison bodies for the press in its relations with the Government. The Editors' Conference is not a political party, and it would be well to recognise this fact.

**Cure for Plague:**—The Haffkine Institute, Bombay, announced this week the discovery of a cure for plague. The Institute bears the name of the scientist who produced the anti-plague serum as a prophylactic. But the drug now put out by the Institute is an effective cure. In the course of a statement in the *Times of India* on Wednesday, Lt.-Col. Sokhey, the Director, gave an account of the process which led to the important discovery. The drug was first tried on mice with surprisingly successful results. Then it was tried on human patients first at Bettiah in Bihar and then at the Plague Hospital at Latur in Hyderabad, Deccan. Dr. Sokhey said :

At the latter place the result was just as satisfactory as in the experiments on mice. The percentage of recoveries in non-septicæmic human plague cases was cent per cent, while in septicæmic cases the cure was 80 per cent. The tremendous importance of this discovery can be fully realised only when it is viewed in contrast to the cent per cent mortality in septicæmic cases when combated with the usual treatment in vogue in hospitals. A point of great merit is that all these experiments were carried out with the drug prepared in the Institute itself. It is fortunate that in these troubled times the Institute is in a position to make this drug in quantity at a very cheap cost—at Re. 1 per cure-dose of 50 tablets.

The name of the drug is "sulphathiazole" of the same family as the one discovered by a German scientist which has revolutionised the treatment of the dreaded pneumonia.

**Christian Inter-Marriages:**—The *Indian Christian Messenger*, in an editorial on the draft of the Indian Christian Marriage Act which is now before leaders of the community, writes:—

According to the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872 (now in force) marriages can take place between Christians and non-Christians provided one party is Christian (sic). According to the same Act they can also take place in Churches and can be performed by clergymen. What is proposed now is that Churches be given permission to lay down the law that such marriages will not be performed in Churches and that such an injunction will be binding on all congregations and ministers.

What the *Messenger* seems to want is that the Churches should recognise marriages which are not performed in their precincts and are even forbidden within them. How can them be called "Christian Marriages"?

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 15, 1941.

## THE CENSUS SQUABBLE.

For over thirty years past, the Indian Census has been the subject of acute controversy. This is largely due to the scope of the Census being extended to various matters which have nothing to do with its primary purpose, namely, recording the movement of the population in space and time. The questions which the Census has in view are, whether the population of a country has increased or diminished and whether there has been any movement of considerable numbers from one part of the country to another. The age, sex and civil condition of the population are relevant to arrive at a correct estimate of the former. Infirmities have also a bearing on the question. Occupations are necessary to explain the movement of population from one place to another. Beyond these matters the Census, if it is a true demographic document, has no business to transgress. In this country, however, the Census authorities have been allowed practically an unlimited field for speculation. Race, caste and creed have been brought in. Ethnography, Philology and even Theology have been included in its scope. A Census Commissioner with a bias for racial origins was free to wander as far and as long as he chose in the uncharted field of cephalic indices and facial angles. A Commissioner who had a taste for linguistics, was equally free to trace or invent genealogies for languages and dialects. The theologically minded Commissioner can expatiate at length on the doctrines of various sects and the relation of the sects to one another. But the one conclusion towards which these speculations invariably tended, was that the people of India were divided by race, language and religion into innumerable divisions, irreconcilable divisions. The Commissioners themselves or those who decided their methods for them, might have been innocent of any intention to lead the public in India and outside to the view that the principle of nationalism is opposed to the structure of Indian demography. But all the same Indian Census Reports for the last thirty years and more have been less scientific than propaganda documents. The 1911 Census was preceded and followed by a controversy regarding the separation of Animists from Hindus with whom they had been grouped in the four previous Censuses. The 1921 Census was attended by a similar inquisition about the depressed classes. In 1931 the Hindu-Muslim question made itself felt in the Census operations. It has been observed above that the Census Commissioners themselves might not have been influenced by any extraneous motive. This is rather vitiated by the explanation offered by the Census Commissioner for 1931 for the inclusion of religion in the schedules. Dr. Hutton observes:

Although on the face of it religion would appear to be a concern purely for the individual, yet strongly held religious convictions inevitably react on political situations and cannot be divorced from those aspects of social life of which the State and therefore the Census must take cognizance. This is particularly the case in India, which is still the most religious country in the world, and must be regarded as the justification for the importance attached to religion in the Census of India as compared, for example, with that of United States of America, where culture is comparatively independent of religion. In India the two are so inseparably bound up that religion, always a conservative force, appears as an obstacle to cultural unity.

In the face of this candid statement, which is but a paraphrase of Lord Minto's famous declaration in support of basing the franchise on religious belief, it is vain to argue that the Indian Census Report has no political object and is a purely scientific document.

As regards the present Census we had a minor agitation about the Arya Samajists returning themselves as Hindus. But the major controversy has raged in Bengal and the Punjab. In the Punjab the complaint is that the enumeration of Hindus has been far from complete. Several families and villages were not visited by the Census operators. Raja Narendranath has publicly called attention to these omissions and has called upon Hindus who have not been enumerated, to report to him for the purpose of his communicating the facts to the Census authorities, with a view to their inclusion. In Bengal the controversy has taken a very serious turn. No less a person than the Prime Minister of Bengal, Mr. Fazlul Huq, has denounced leading Hindus of having engineered a conspiracy to reduce the number of Muslims at the Census. He forecast that the returns will show the Muslims of Bengal to be 30 per cent and the Hindus over 60 per cent of the population. Bengal is now included among provinces with a Muslim majority and they will now be shown as a decided minority. The language in which Mr. Fazlul Huq proclaimed his apprehensions, was so sweeping that the late Law Member of the Government of India presiding at a public meeting of Hindus in Calcutta, repudiated the accusations of the Prime Minister in a speech of withering sarcasm. The position of the two communities in respect of population figures at the last Census was somewhat curious. According to the All-India Census Report, it was this:

If adults only be regarded, the comparative figures of Muslim to those of Hindus (in Bengal) are lower, the higher fertility ratio rather naturally being accompanied by a higher rate of mortality. In the Punjab, on the other hand, the respective ratios of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs are very much the same whether the total population be considered or the adult population only. Earlier in the same paragraph, the Report discusses the practice of polygyny, of widow remarriage and, on the whole, of a later consummation of marriage than is the prevailing practice among most Hindus, as causes for the greater rate of increase among Muslims than among Hindus. The effect of these customs are exaggerated. Polygyny among Muslims is not more

pronounced than among Hindus. The sentiment against remarriage of widows is not altogether absent among Muslims. The Age of Consent Committee found that child marriages were prevalent among Muslims though not to the same extent as among Hindus. So far as they operate to increase the birth-rate they should do so more in the Punjab than in Bengal, because the Punjabee Muslims are less influenced by Hindu ideas than the Bengalee Muslims. If a higher death rate is the natural sequel to a higher birth rate, the same phenomenon of the disparity between the adult and juvenile populations as in Bengal must be found in the Punjab also. But it is not. The Census Report does not attempt to solve the riddle.

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta in an article in the current number of the *Indian Review* headed "Manipulation of Census," comments among other features on the anomaly of the number of Muslim males between the ages of 0-25 at the Census in 1921 being 19 per cent less than the Muslim males in the next Census in the age category of 30-35. There has been no immigration to account for the increase at the 30-35 age category. The only explanation we can think of is the notorious unreliability of the ages given by a considerable proportion of the ignorant and illiterate masses and the tendency for them to cling to some digital figures noticed in repeated Censuses.

#### THE INDIAN PRESS.

(BY J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

The echoes of the Editors' Conference have not died out. Comments and criticisms of its proceedings and resolutions are continuing on the one hand and their defence as also their different interpretations are being made on the other. While these are not often of much interest they have at least to some extent drawn public attention to the conduct of the Indian Press and to the press personalities. It is an important function of the press to make comments on public affairs, but that in so doing, it itself is open to public criticism for faults of omission and commission has not been generally realised by the press, because the disapproving readers rather seldom want to express their impressions openly in the public. They have opened the papers to satisfy their news hunger, and if at off-moments they have felt inclined to read the editorial comments or carefully to look at and think over the general policy and conduct of the paper they have not carried their interest to drawing public attention to the criticisable features in the papers. This indifference of the readers has not been conducive to the development of journalistic standard and ideals in the country, nor has it induced newspaper conductors to look more to national interests than to their own. I should not be misunderstood here. I have good knowledge of the difficulties and dangers under which the Indian papers manage to exist, difficulties of finance and dangers coming from the repressive laws in the hands of a guilt-conscious bureaucracy. But with all that knowledge I cannot always justify the overcautiousness verging on timidity of some papers and the preoccupation with financial interests of some others. There are papers, flying the national flag, which sometimes sign contracts with

big foreign advertisers to the detriment of national interests. At the time of the tender call for the new Howrah Bridge at Calcutta some time back, by way of giving an example, a local engineering combine, which practically to all intents and purposes was non-Indian, paid for full-page advertisements in some nationalist papers and also paid well for propaganda on its behalf. Those papers, having thus acquired an interest in the combine, not only took up the cause of this combine but pleaded also that it was a national concern and therefore it should be given the contract. If one wanted to point out the thoroughly un-national character of the concern and to propose that the contract should be given to a really Indian one, one found the columns of those papers strongly barred.

So-called nationalist Papers have advertised foreign firms and foreign merchandise even though to keep up their national character and to align themselves to current national sentiment they have written on swadeshism. If the nationalist papers had stopped giving advertisements to foreign firms and to all kinds of foreign articles, they could have served the national cause and the cause of swadeshism much more effectively than by giving some publicity to the orations and perorations of the national leaders. But that has not evidently been in their mind; what was, instead, was the keenness commercially to exploit their carefully assumed national character. The advertisement pages have been kept open indiscriminately to all, and foreign advertisers have even been canvassed for patronage while public sentiment has been supported editorially to win public favour and thereby to swell the circulation.

It is not only in things like these that the nationalist papers have, in looking to mere self-interest, played false and have been, indirectly at least, obstructive to national progress. In other respects also they have failed to rise to the ideals of journalism, namely, to lead and guide public ideas and inclinations. What they have done has been only to watch and study which way the popular feeling is blowing and then to blow in that direction. Open a national paper and you will be convinced of this fact, the moment you see therein prominent advertisements of varieties of beer and wine, of cigarettes, of numerous medicines which, purporting to cure sex, diseases and to prevent conception, encourage sex vice and immorality, and also obscenely illustrated advertisements of the most dangerous vice of modern civilization, namely the film shows.

How could all that be consistent with the true mission of journalism which is to educate, to uplift, to correct, to admonish when necessary, to idealise and to lead up people to the purest human ideals and the loftiest human conceptions? Because other papers here and in other "civilised" parts of the world are doing the same, or because all that is an incidence of modernism, or because the readers wanted look for them—to produce such arguments as cover to the mere commercial mentality of the paper conductors, might avail only against a few casual critics, but would be uselessly urged against those who seriously believe in journalism having a definite duty of doing public good. This duty is fulfilled not merely by removing the inconsistencies exemplified above, but also by providing educative and good and inspiring reading matter. But few journals care to remember that. They rather concern themselves with pandering to current tastes and not with elevating and showing up the badness and ultimate injuriousness in such taste, getting behind the bland though specious excuse that the readers do not evince interest in idealism but in day-to-day social and political trends. As a result, good



literature, thoughtful articles, provoking comment, comprehensive and penetrating survey of events and wise and judicious estimate of passing tendencies are seldom to be found in the papers and journals, but in their place are stories without a lesson or a striking thought, common-place political notes, hackneyed reasoning in defence of the present day loose and self-gratifying social and individual tendencies, and some contemptuous denunciation of old social and religious taboos, with vacant spaces filled up usually by indecent pictures of women presented as pieces of art, or by some crossword puzzle.

Such are the common features of the present-day papers. Those who conduct them display a lack of sufficient realisation of their duties and responsibilities. Regrettable as that is, it is no less so to find them showing at times an excess of timidity in speaking out their mind. As a recent example of it, the repeated and full-mouthed denunciation of what are called Nazism and Fascism by them, in season and out of season, whenever they want to say a word against the Government war policy may be mentioned. Every such criticism of the Government is elaborately prefaced by the declaration of faith in anti-Nazism. The Editors' Conference and its committee meetings, for instance, were occasions not obviously meant for such declaration, but, in voicing their grievances and in resolving on a united course of action that might impress the Government, the first idea of the editors was not to risk the displeasure of the Government, and so they took pains to make it clear that they too, like the Government, were strongly against Nazism and Fascism and also that they never meant to obstruct Britain's war effort. Such statements by the Indian press have become so stale through unnecessary repetition that they have almost lost their significances, but nevertheless they were tagged on to whatever were resolved at the Editors' deliberations. And yet perhaps very few of the editors were clear in their mind as to what constituted Nazism and Fascism on the one hand and Imperialism or Imperialism covering Democracy on the other. Even if they were, they did not know which to prefer on merit, because all those catch-words, as they themselves at times pointed out, meant on last analysis no more and no less than exploitation and domination of militarily weaker peoples and weaker countries.

There have been naturally some adverse comment on the President of the Conference negotiating with Government officials privately and also on his viceregal interview on the second occasion. If he sought the interview himself that could not reflect credit on his fearless and independent character, however it might be attempted to explain it away. But such inferiority complex and want of fearlessness some other press conductors also display when in private they want to clear their position to Press officers who may be watchful of their nationalist tendencies.

I have said above that I appreciate the difficulties of the Indian Press, but I feel also that in addition to placing high ideals and thought-provoking matter before the public, it has, in the present economic and political condition of the country, the further duty of giving a bold and unequivocal lead to the country, which it can not fulfill with the present mentality and much too cautious outlook in the controlling body and editorial staff. I should add here that the reading public can exert this influence in bringing about a change for the better by effectively expressing their disapproval. Just as the advertising and the reading public can express their resentment against Anglo-Indian and reactionary papers, which do anti-national propaganda and which

show a mean spirit by describing national leaders including Gandhiji day after day as cranks, by withholding advertisements and by not subscribing them, they can also admonish the nationalist papers which forget their responsibilities by more vigorous and outspoken criticisms than they do.

#### ALL-INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

The following constitution for the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was adopted by the Standing Committee at its meeting of February 5, 1941, to come into operation on a date fixed by the President:—

(1) **Name.** The name of the Conference shall be the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

(2) **Objects.** The objects of the Conference shall be: (a) To preserve the high traditions and standards of journalism. (b) To safeguard the rights of the Press in regard to freedom of publication of news and comment. (c) To secure facilities and privileges to the Press for the due discharge of its responsibilities. (d) To represent the Press in India in its relations with the public and public institutions; and, particularly in its relations with Government, to set up Committees which would act as liaison bodies between the Government and the Press as a whole. (e) To establish and develop contacts with Associations having similar objects in other countries.

(3) **Membership.** (a) Any periodical for the publication of which a declaration under the Indian Press Act is necessary, may be enrolled as a member on submitting an application prescribed in Form A. (b) Any registered News Agency may be enrolled by a special resolution of the Standing Committee.

(4) (a) Each member shall be represented at the Conference by its Editor or the Editor's nominee. (b) No person shall, even though he may represent at any given session more than one member, have more than one vote at the Conference.

(5) (a) Journalists of standing invited by the President to join the Conference may be admitted as special members. (b) Special members shall pay the same subscription and enjoy the same rights and privileges as other members but shall be exempt from disqualification arising out of want of connection with newspapers.

(6) Each member shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 50 within a prescribed period.

(7) **Membership shall become vacant:** (a) When the member paper submits its resignation. (b) When there is a declared default in the payment of subscription. (c) When the member paper ceases publication or suspends publication for more than three months.

(8) **Annual Meeting.** (a) The Conference shall meet once a year on dates and at a place previously fixed by the Standing Committee. (b) An extraordinary session of the Conference may be called by the President or by a resolution of the Standing Committee.

(9) The President of the Conference shall continue to hold office throughout the year. He shall preside over any extraordinary session that may be summoned during the year and he shall be the Chairman of the Standing Committee.

(10) **Standing Committee.** (a) At every ordinary session the Conference shall appoint a Standing Committee consisting of 21 members elected by those present. (b) The President of the Conference shall have power to nominate additional

members to the Committee but the number of members thus nominated shall not exceed seven.

(11) (a) The Standing Committee will ordinarily meet once in three months. (b) Special meetings may be summoned by the President whenever he may think it necessary. (c) The quorum for the meeting of the Standing Committee, special and ordinary, shall be seven. (d) A notice of ten days shall be given in the case of ordinary meetings and four days in the case of special meetings.

(12) (a) The Standing Committee shall elect one or more of its members as Secretary or Secretaries of the Conference. (b) One of the Secretaries shall also act as the Convener of the Standing Committee. (c) The Standing Committee shall elect one of its members to act as Treasurer. (d) In the absence of the President, the Standing Committee shall elect its own Chairman of the meeting.

(13) A seat in the Standing Committee shall be deemed vacant: (a) When a member submits his resignation and it is accepted. (b) When the member ceases connection with the paper on whose behalf he attended the Conference. (c) When the paper ceases publication or suspends publication voluntarily for more than 3 months.

(14) All vacancies which occur in the Standing Committee during a year, shall be filled by co-option by the Committee at its next meeting.

(15) Central Advisory Committee. (a) The Standing Committee shall at its first meeting after the Conference make recommendations for nomination to the Central Press Advisory Committee. (b) The President of the Conference shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Central Press Advisory Committee. (c) All representations to Government shall go in the name of the President.

(16) Provincial Committee. The Standing Committee may constitute Provincial Committees to carry on the work of the Conference in their respective provinces.

(17) Every member of the Conference shall also be a member of the Provincial Committee in the Province in which the paper is published.

(18) Subject to the directions of the Standing Committee, the Provincial Committees shall constitute their own Executive Committees to carry on the work of the Conference.

(19) (a) All nominations to Press Advisory Committees and other similar bodies shall be made by the President who will be guided by the recommendations of the Standing Committee or the Provincial Executive Committee as the case may be. (b) A seat in the Provincial Press Advisory Committee constituted under the above rule shall be deemed vacant when: (1) A newspaper ceases publication or suspends publication voluntarily for more than 3 months. (2) A member submits his resignation and it is accepted. (3) When a member ceases to be connected with the newspaper on whose behalf he was nominated. (c) All vacancies occurring in the above manner shall be filled by nomination by the President.

(20) All residuary powers in regard to the work of the Conference shall vest in the Conference itself and, when it is not in session, in the President.

(21) The constitution of the Conference shall not be amended save by a special resolution of the Conference approved by three-fourths of the members present constituting not less than two-thirds of the total number of the members of the Conference.

#### BOMBAY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION ON DR. DESHMUKH'S DIVORCE BILL.

The following is the opinion of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association on Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Divorce Bill:

Though the word, 'Judicial Separation,' has been used in the title of the Bill, there is nothing in the Bill itself to indicate what the mover of the Bill wants to convey by the word. The draft Bill does not contain a definition of the word and a perusal of the provisions of the Bill leads one to believe that the mover of the Bill does not make any distinction between 'Separate Residence' and 'Judicial Separation.' If this view be correct, it is difficult to understand the necessity of this Bill when a Bill for separate residence and maintenance has been introduced by the same Hon'ble Member.

The term 'Judicial Separation' is generally used to describe a partial divorce. It causes the separation of the husband and wife, but does not dissolve the marriage, so that neither of them can marry during the life of the other. As under the ordinary Hindu Law, it is permissible for the husband to marry any number of times, the restriction upon the second marriage would affect only the wife and not the husband in the absence of an express prohibition. Realising this position the Association, though favouring the introduction of divorce among Hindus, has not favoured a decree for judicial separation. It, therefore, deliberately refrained from inserting any provision for judicial separation in the Divorce Bill drafted by it. While giving its opinion on Mr. B. D. Lala's Divorce Bill also, the Association observed that it was not advisable to introduce 'judicial separation' at the initial stage of the legislation especially when divorce itself was being introduced for the first time in the Hindu Society. The Association still adheres to the view that, if there is to be a severance of the marital tie, it should be complete and without any reservation and consequently is unable to support this Bill.

The grounds given in this Bill for a decree for separate residence (or judicial separation) are practically the same as the grounds for a decree for separate residence and maintenance as contained in the other Bill in that respect. As the Association is not in favour of the idea of judicial separation, a detailed examination of the clauses of this Bill is considered unnecessary. It may be mentioned that the criticism offered against the several clauses of the Bill relating to separate residence and maintenance is generally applicable to the clauses of this Bill also.

If this Bill is to become law, it will have to be considerably added to, altered and amended.

#### HENRI BERGSON.

Mme Maritain, wife of the Catholic professor, has now revealed that Henri Bergson, the French-Jewish philosopher, was baptized by a Catholic priest some months before his recent death, writes the *Examiner*. This was related on Tuesday by Vatican Radio. The fact of his conversion was kept secret at Bergson's own wish, because he did not want to hurt the feelings of Jews by appearing to desert them just when the French Government at Vichy was adopting an anti-Jewish policy. It will be remembered that, although this State professor was expressly exempted from the Vichy law dismissing Jews from official positions, he refused to take advantage of the exemption.

## POPULAR GOVERNMENT AND PLANNED ECONOMY.

Is Popular Government, that is, Government of the people, for the people, by the people, compatible with "Planned Economy"? Many Indians think it is. But American businessmen do not. At the Congress of American Industry held by the National Association of Manufacturers in New York last December, the opinion, decisively expressed by individual representatives as well as by the Congress in the shape of "A Platform of American History," was that it was not. The National Association of Manufacturers, it was stated, comprises 8,000 employers with 2,000,000 workers. The President of the Association, Mr. H. W. Prentice (Jr.), speaking on "Total Preparedness for America's Future," observed: "All of the collectivists—socialists, communists, nazis, fascists, new liberals—whether they recognise that fact or not—are blood-brothers under their skin. All of them deny the sanctity of the soul." He added, "Dorothy Thompson and the Archbishop of York are cited as illustrations of prominent persons who have been more or less misled by the idea of a 'Planned Economy.' Twentieth Century liberals of this type find the fleshpots of Egypt quite alluring."

Other noteworthy statements made at the Congress, relate to the illusoriness of war profits. Mr. Clifford S. Stillwell, Vice-President, speaking on the "Problem of the Supply of Labour," remarked; "War Profits are called Fool's Gold." Another of the vice-presidents, Mr. J. Howard Pew, declared that the "programme of government planning and control invariably led to dictatorship. We have already gone half-way down that road. Congress," he added, "no longer makes the laws. It has delegated its authority to a horde of little bureauorats who now rule the American people."

We are indebted to the *Information Service* of the Department of Research and Education, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for the "Platform of American History" adopted by the Congress of American Industry. It reads as follows:

Under the heading "Safeguarding Our Freedom:"

*What We Need to Protect.*

1. "We Americans intend to remain a free nation of free men and women. We have faith in constitutional representative democracy, in private enterprise, and in civil and religious liberty as the inseparable fundamentals of our freedom.

"Freedom, as we Americans know it, means that we may attend any church we prefer; elect our government representatives in free elections; say and write, hear and read what we please; live and work where we will; invest our savings in a home, in a neighbourhood shop, in a corporate enterprise, or however else we choose. Such liberties as these are the most precious heritage of every American..."

*"2. Providing Our Military Defences.*

"The strength to defend America is the first concern of this nation. Three major problems are involved:

"(1) To determine the vital interests to be defended, and how far beyond our continental borders these interests extend. This is the responsibility of government.

"(2) To determine the nature and size of the military establishment, and the equipment and supplies required. This also is the responsibility of government.

"(3) To produce the required equipment and supplies. This is the task of industry—of America at work.

*"4. Strengthening Our Economic Defences.*

"Our economic machine must be geared to the

production of both the equipment needed for national defence and the goods needed for everyday living.

"For several years prior to the outbreak of war in Europe, the totalitarian countries had been using a large part of their resources for armament purposes. Confronted with the necessity of increasing even further their production of war materials, they were forced to restrict still more drastically the production of goods entering into their standards of living.

"In this country in contrast, we start our armament production for national defence with ample natural resources, with unemployed but employable men, with an expansible plant capacity, and with idle capital, all of which can be put to use not only to make the nation secure against external dangers but also to work at the task of producing the goods and services needed for normal living conditions.

"National defence is national insurance. The American people can secure this necessary insurance without experiencing a reduction in their standard of living to the extent suffered abroad. But the effort to maintain the American living standard at its present level can hold hope of success only if labour, capital, and management work together with a united purpose for production, more production, and still more production.

"Among the fundamental conditions necessary to this end are the following:

"(1) an equitable relationship between the prices of agricultural products and the prices of other commodities;

"(2) opportunity for industrial management and labour to operate efficiently and effectively in the processes of production and distribution;

"(3) taxation carefully and intelligently adjusted to meet at least non-defence expenditures, and designed to facilitate the flow of private capital and remove uneconomic barriers to the production and distribution of needed goods and services;

"(4) avoidance of production by government of goods which private enterprise can furnish;

"(5) recognition of the value of the profit motive as a powerful incentive to productive effort, and of the economic need for profits in industry sufficient to maintain and expand productive enterprise;

"(6) maintenance of such equitable wage rates and condition of employment as will promote increased production and employment and a higher actual income to workers;

"(7) encouragement of the investment of private capital in production, research, and continued economic venture;

"(8) preservation of competition as the best assurance to the consumer of reasonable prices and high and improving quality of product and

"(9) maintenance of the buying power of consumers by all possible improvements and economies which will reduce costs of production and distribution..."

*"4. Fortifying Our Moral and Spiritual Defences.*

"Essential to America's defence effort is the moral and spiritual strength of the people. There must be a resurgence of faith in God and country, of confidence in each other and in ourselves; there must be self-reliance and a willingness to sacrifice immediate self-interest for the common welfare. These have been outstanding American qualities in all our history.

"Where dictators rule, they have tried to create national pride and zeal and to induce united action in their peoples by absolute control of sources of

information, prevention of free discussion, and suppression of civil liberties. These are means that would never be tolerated in the United States.

"In the free society which this nation is arming to defend we can in our American way strengthen the moral and spiritual vigour, the purposeful unity, that are needed now more than ever."

Under the heading "Preparing for the Future :"

**1. When Peace Comes.**

"The time will come when millions of workers engaged in producing goods for national defence will be released from that employment; when a large army of young men will have completed their military training; when the support provided by the defence programme to employment in non-defence occupations will cease....

"Consistent with the maximum defence effort itself, the policies and practices followed during the existing emergency by business, labour, agriculture, and government should be such as to lessen the dangers of a post-war depression or cushion the effects if one should occur.

"Among such fundamental considerations are protection of government credit, by keeping reserves of borrowing power for future use if needed, and by encouraging the use of private funds for productive defence facilities; prevention of an inflationary spiral of runaway prices and wages; curtailment by industry of any tendency to over-mortgage the future or to build up inventories unnecessarily, by unwise expansion of credit through instalment selling or otherwise; efficient expenditure of defence funds; and rigid economy in non-defence expenditures of federal, state, and local governments.

"Such measures would not delay or obstruct armament production; yet they would contribute much to preventing a subsequent economic depression.

**2. The Longer View.**

"America has been built to its present stature by the free enterprise and individual initiative of its people.

"Fifty years ago our geographic frontiers had disappeared. We found that new industrial frontiers offered opportunity for even greater expansion. There are other industrial frontiers before us today still more extensive, still more promising.

"Here in America we have an abundance of natural resources, of man power, of machines, of capital, of organizing and technical skill.

"Inventors' workshops and research laboratories are constantly supplying new things that create new jobs and contribute to a higher standard of living as they are developed into commercial products.

"The main assurance of the future welfare of America lies in the present and potential wants of the people and in the ability of free enterprise to provide the goods and services the people desire.

"Today and for the future, the American people want strength and security, built upon the freedom of individual opportunity. It is this freedom of opportunity that has served America so well in the past; that can make the nation strong and secure in the existing crisis; that can bring security to the individual in the years ahead in such measure as his individual effort can achieve.

"Our heritage and our vision is a free, happy industrious America—a vital, dynamic America of self-reliant individuals. It is a heritage which Americans acting together can preserve and enlarge. It is a vision which Americans working together can realize and fulfill."

## ROMAN CATHOLICS AND INTER-MARRIAGES.

The Archbishop of Colombo has issued, writes the *Examiner*, a severe condemnation of "a scandal which is being repeated too often nowadays," the practice of Catholics marrying outside the Catholic Church. In a circular letter to his subjects, His Grace writes :—

"The Catholic Church is quite clear and definite on the laws of Marriage. All Catholics—even those marrying a Christian of non-Catholic denomination, or a non-Christian with special license or dispensation from the Ordinary—must have their marriage celebrated in the presence of a duly qualified Catholic Priest and two witnesses. It, therefore, follows :—

"1. That a Catholic who marries a non-Catholic (Protestant or non-Christian) in a Protestant Church or in a Registrar's Office not only commits a sinful act, but such an attempt at marriage being invalid, the persons who have gone through it have fulfilled an empty ceremony and are no more husband and wife after it than before.

"2. That relations and friends who by their presence in church or at the Registrar's Office, or at a reception or At Home in that connection, participate in such an invalid marriage, co-operate in sin and scandal.

"Catholics who would attempt such marriage and Catholics (even close relations) who would co-operate in it are hereby warned of the gravity of this sin, for which a fitting reparation must be made. The scandal must be great indeed when Catholics who ought to know better, spurn Holy Church in this fashion and trample under foot her sacred ordinances.

"We, therefore, warn you, Beloved Brethren, of this sin and scandal resulting from an attempt at marriage which is null and void and by co-operating in it by your presence."

## INDO-CEYLON-BURMA FEDERATION.

"I often wonder whether the solution of the whole problem would not be a Federation of India, Burma and Ceylon," declared Mr. F. C. Gibbs, President of the European Association of Ceylon, with reference to immigration and the economic problems of Ceylon in the course of his speech at the annual meeting of the Association. He added that the power behind such a Federation would be enormous. There were defence, cultural, ethnological and business reasons for such a combination. Future immigration could be controlled by mutual consent.

**Sir Shah Sulaiman:**—The death occurred about midnight on March 12 of the Hon. Sir Muhammad Shah Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court of India, at the age of 55, at New Delhi.

**Franklyn Medal for Sir C. V. Raman:**—News is just received here that the Franklyn Institute of Philadelphia (United States of America) has unanimously decided to award Sir C. V. Raman the Franklyn Medal which is the highest honour that the Institute can bestow. The award, it is understood, is made to Sir C. V. Raman in recognition of his many brilliant contributions to physical science and his leadership in the renaissance of scientific work and scientific education in India during the last thirty years.

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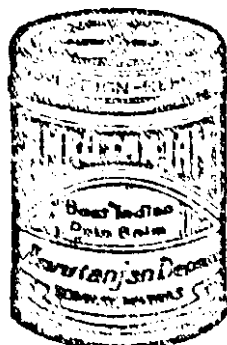
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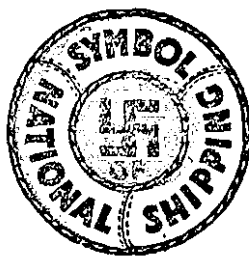
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Politics and Industry**—In last week's *Reformer* we reproduced what was called "A Platform of American History" adopted at the Congress of American Industry held in New York in December. The "Platform" presented the political, social and industrial trends which together constitute the American spirit and have shaped the course of American history. Just such a "Platform" is an urgent need of India. The political, economic and social life of a people can not be divided in water-tight compartments. The American Manufacturers' Congress rejected every form of "planned economy" as repugnant to the American genius. Planned economy, by whatever name it is called, is opposed to the ideal of American Freedom. The reviews received by the last mail comment on the giving of large war contracts by Government to Henry Ford who refuses to abide by the terms of the American law which make it obligatory on the contractors to observe certain conditions guaranteeing the rights of workers. One gathers that Government owing to the urgency of war is unable to enforce the law against Henry Ford or to withhold contracts from him. A situation such as that cannot arise in Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany where regimentation is the rule in every sphere. In India the intimate relation between the political and industrial systems is not understood. We have advocates of democracy in politics advocating totalitarianism in industry. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the most prominent member of this group. Another eminent Indian whose devotion to the industrial regeneration of India has been as great as it has been consistent, is the most convinced advocate of "planned economy" in India, Sir M. Visvesvaraya. During his Dewanship of Mysore he did much to associate the people with the administration. In his latest pronouncement as President of the Court of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, he seems to believe that the Government of India, irrespective of any constitutional changes, can, if it wills, do

all that is necessary to raise India to an equality with the advanced industrial countries. "If it wills." There is the rub. For nearly a century Indian economists and politicians have been crying themselves hoarse about the neglect of Indian industrial interests. After many years of agitation they secured what is known as "discriminative protection." During the last twenty years, some important industries such as steel, sugar and cement have grown up under this policy of discriminate protection. But ever and always the Damocles' sword has been hanging over their heads. Protection might be withdrawn after the period for which it was granted. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's speech expounding the policy of Government in the Legislative Assembly the other day, is far from calculated to allay apprehensions and encourage private enterprise to promote new enterprises.

**Science and Industry**—Another important matter on which there needs to be a clearer definition among us is the relation of Science to Industry. Indians who have won recognition in the world of Science, maintain that the advancement of pure science is an object in itself, of vital value to the growth of a nation and the world at large. On the other side, there are eminent Indians who maintain that pure science is a luxury which a poor country like India can not afford and the application of science to industry should be the aim of science institutes and organisations in this country. This was bluntly stated in the presidential address at the Science Institute of Bangalore in these terms:—"Results of theoretical research carried on in other parts of the world will be easily available but it is usually difficult to get access to results of industrial research." Without in the least underrating the importance of industrial research, we seriously suggest that a man who does not understand the theory of the work on which he is engaged, is merely a mechanic and the President's dictum resolves itself into the simple proposition that the Indian Institute of Science should make the training of mechanics the main end of its educational scheme. If this principle comes to be generally accepted, India, even in respect of her industries, must be content always to lag fifty years behind the rest of the world with which she is anxious to claim equality. The more serious consequence will be that there is bound to ensue an intellectual atrophy which in the not

very distant future must impair even the capacity for imitation needed for copying the machinery and organisation of more advanced countries. The country and the people will be doomed for decades to an apish existence, waiting on the intellectual efforts of other lands. With some knowledge of the origin of the Institute of Science at Bangalore, we may say that this was not the aim of its great founder. The practical consequences of this doctrine can be illustrated with reference to the aircraft industry which is being planned in Bangalore. Within the last eight months the belligerent countries have been constantly searching for and adopting improved types of machines, that is, machines which will fly quicker, will be less visible, carry more bombs, scatter them more widely, killing more people than any previous machines. Similarly in regard to submarines and other weapons of war. Now, at Bangalore the factory will have to produce a single model borrowed from Great Britain or the United States. Before the first machine is delivered some time next August or September, the Germans would probably with the help of their scientists have evolved a new type which will make the Indian type obsolete. The United States is "trading" to Great Britain, or was until recently, machines which had been discarded in the American army. The prospect of becoming the jari, puranawalla of the world, is not very inspiring.

**Loss of Faith :—**This is strong language but we feel it is called for because this theory of mechanisation vitiates much of the discussions on education at the present time. Men of great zeal for the public good, men of much experience and genuine patriotism, are convinced that the poverty of India in the industrial sphere is the root-cause of her position of inferiority among the nations of the world. Our own firm belief is that the economic poverty is itself the direct result of the spiritual starvation for the past one thousand years. The nation had lost faith in itself, lost confidence in the capacity of her own men and women to aim high and achieve greatly. Evidence of this is plentiful on all sides. The first thing to do is to raise the national morale, by instilling into our boys and girls the faith that they are as good as the youth of any other country, that they can go anywhere and do anything. Technical or technological education will not enable a youth to get that spirit in him. First and foremost our elderly leaders should cease from the habit of stressing interminably the backwardness, the poverty and the incapacity of the young Indian. We want faith which alone will give us courage and initiative. When we have that everything else will follow. Without it, nothing that we are set to do will be permanent or morally uplifting.

**The Rau Committee Questionnaire :—**We publish in full the questionnaire issued by the Committee, of which Sir B. N. Rau is the Chairman, to examine and report on certain non-official Bills introduced in the Indian

Legislature to amend the Hindu Women's Property Rights Act of 1933 (which was itself an amending measure of an Act passed in the previous year). The questionnaire focuses with admirable clarity the issues to be considered. We must reserve for the present detailed answers to the questions bearing directly on the subject-matter of the Acts under examination. But there are two questions which may be disposed of immediately. The first is a technical one. The Government of India Act of 1935 made a division of subjects assigning some to Provincial and others to the Central Legislatures. In this division, legislation pertaining to agricultural land fell in the scope of the Provincial and legislation concerning non-agricultural property in that of the Central Legislature. The Hindu law makes no such distinction and amendments in it previous to the 1935 Act—the Jayakar Act of 1929, for instance, which made important changes in the order of succession—did not make a distinction between agricultural land and other property. As the two Acts under examination are amendments of the Hindu law and as that law makes no distinction between agricultural and other property, it stands to reason that the division of subjects in the Government of India Act cannot affect the principles of the Hindu law. The jurisdiction of provincial legislatures so far as agricultural land is concerned, is obviously intended to cover only revenue matters. The question, however, has been referred for clarification to the Federal Court by the Government of India, and the Committee will be guided by the decision of that Court. Pending that decision, the Committee suggests two alternatives. The first is to legislate regarding succession to property other than non-agricultural land, leaving the provincial legislatures whenever they begin again to function, to deal with succession to agricultural land. The second is to put off legislation until the provincial legislatures have resumed their function. To our mind, the first seems to be the preferable course. The Federal Court may find that the Hindu law which makes no distinction between agricultural land and non-agricultural property, is not affected by the administrative reasons for which the distinction was introduced in the Government of India Act. In which case, there will be no occasion for the provincial legislatures to pass any further legislation. If the Federal Court finds otherwise, the Act of the Central Legislature will apply only to non-agricultural property but it will also give a strong lead to public opinion and to the provincial legislatures in dealing with succession to agricultural land. The Government of India Act confirmed and extended the franchise for women, and it cannot surely be construed into imposing a disability on women which the old Hindu law-givers had not imposed in the cases where women were held to have property rights.

**The Indian Succession Act :—**The second question with which we may deal today is the last

in the questionnaire. The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association in its representation to Government on one of Dr. Deshmukh's Bills, had elaborated a suggestion to enable Hindus to bring themselves within the provisions of the Indian Succession Act by declaring their desire and intention to do so before a competent authority. At present, a Hindu who registers his marriage under Gour's Act automatically relinquishes the Hindu law and assumes the Indian Succession Act. The Association suggested that this should be made possible for Hindus who marry under their personal law. The Committee suggests two alternatives. The first is that a Hindu who wishes to retain the present law, should declare that he wishes to do so; otherwise he will be compulsorily brought under the Indian Succession Act. We consider this as a wholly indefensible procedure. The second is that suggested by the Bombay Social Reform Association. This involves no arbitrary interference with the traditional order and is wholly dependent on the individual's choice. In this connection, the Committee calls attention to the monogamous basis of the Indian Succession Act and notes that it will be necessary to make provision for polygamous marriages if the Act is to be applied to Hindus generally. This contingency will not arise if the second alternative is adopted, especially if, as we have suggested in these columns more than once, a husband is enabled at or after his marriage to acquire the monogamous status for his marriage by a declaration before a competent authority, and the declaration in respect of succession is made either contingent on or identical with the declaration in respect of monogamy. Hindu society, according to the most conservative opinion, is ripe for the change over to monogamy. More than one Bill to make monogamy compulsory has been drafted. Mrs. Munshi introduced one in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. If legislation to that effect is passed, there will be no need for a declaration such as we have suggested. In fact, we are prepared to go so far as to maintain that the character of monogamy must be secured by legislation for Hindu marriages before any effective change can be made in the law relating to women's rights of property.

**The Chamber of Princes :—**On the 15th March President Franklin Roosevelt broadcast an important pronouncement on the war, which has been hailed throughout the British Empire as a trumpet-call to the defence of democracy. Two days later His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Chamber of Princes and his address almost wholly dealt with the war efforts and objects but had not a single reference to democracy. On the contrary, Lord Linlithgow pronounced a fervent encomium on the Princes :

Your Highness, representative of innumerable famous Ruling Houses, the inheritors of a great tradition of service, of an authority that has come down to you through long ages, need no reminder from me of the importance of taking all possible measures to safeguard that priceless heritage, to continue to deserve the

reverence of your subjects, and to strengthen and buttress the foundations upon which it rests. For this is a time of changing ideas and of new political conceptions, and the importance of taking such measures, and taking them in time, needs no emphasis from me.

Nevertheless, His Excellency concluded with an appeal. We confess we do not understand what exactly Lord Linlithgow meant by "the pooling of cherished sovereignty" which he was wholly satisfied would be amply repaid by results. We trust that the Princes understood His Excellency's meaning. As regards war aims, Lord Linlithgow merely said that they were fighting for the cause of human freedom, for ideals well-known, readily accepted, commanding the full support of all. The Chancellor's reply to the Viceroy's address avoided with equal care any reference to democracy. It accepted Freedom as the aim of the war. Freedom is a general term. It may be taken to mean freedom of the Princes to go their own way. For the rest, it was made clear that their Highnesses were co-operating in the prosecution of the war out of personal loyalty to the King-Emperor and not for the ideals set forth in President Roosevelt's broadcast. The time will come—it must come—when the President's pledge that "the light of democracy must be kept burning," will have to be redeemed not only in British India but in the States also. Perhaps, Lord Linlithgow meant that when he spoke of the "pooling of cherished sovereignty."

**Gandhiji to Restart the "Harijan":—**The news that Gandhiji proposes to restart the *Harijan* weeklies on March 30 will be welcomed generally. This is in a way a triumph for the Editors' Conference—in securing Gandhiji freedom to restart his journals and in persuading Gandhiji that conditions permit him to do so without endangering the printers, etc.—a fear which decided him to close down the *Harijan* weeklies. This first achievement in establishing normal conditions might well lead to a solution of the other problems of the satyagraha movement. With the Working Committee in jail, Gandhiji is in complete control of the Congress which is committed to pacifism for the duration of the war. To reverse that decision, the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee would have to meet. This can only happen if there is a general release or if the Congressmen who have seats on the Committees are permitted to meet in session. Even if the Government decides on releasing the satyagrahis, the final decision on the necessity of calling a meeting of the Working Committee or the A. I. C. C. must now rest with Gandhiji. In the past six months Gandhiji has had opportunity to gauge the strength of his following in the Congress. Whilst he has no reason to be dissatisfied with the number who have accepted non-violence as a principle, he must have also realized that Congressmen as a whole are not convinced of its universal application. The remedy is obvious and Gandhiji is not the man to shrink from it.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 22, 1941.

## THE SAPRU CONFERENCE.

The Conference of representatives of non-Congress, non-Muslim League Indian opinion which met in Bombay on March 13 and 14, concluded its deliberations after adopting a single resolution concentrating on the demand for an all-Indian Executive Council of non-officials drawn up from important elements in the public life of the country, functioning on the basis of joint responsibility, at the Centre. The published speeches, and particularly the two delivered by the President, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in opening the Conference and in winding up the proceedings, are vital to an understanding of the resolution. In declaring the Conference open, Sir Tej referred to the purpose for which the thirty odd leaders of Indian opinion had been brought together. He said at the outset :

This Conference is a conference of men who were approaching the Indian question as it had tended to become, not from the point of view of any particular party but from the point of view of the country as a whole.....He had reason to believe that even men who were identified with strong party organisations, realising the supreme importance of the occasion, had put in the background their party views and had brought themselves into line with the general feeling that everything should be done in the interests of the country to ease the situation. They were making an earnest attempt to solve the deadlock.

He went on more specifically to point out what, in the opinion of the leaders present at the Conference, that deadlock was :

The country had been helping in the war effort if they were to believe all those broadcasts and statements issued by the Government of India, and that was about all the Government of India told them. Money was forthcoming in abundance from all parts of the country and there had been no trouble about recruitment. Still, many believed that there was a great deal more which might be done with the willing co-operation of educated Indians. It was with a view to helping in the successful prosecution of the war that they had assembled, to take stock of the situation and to make suggestions as to how that end might be achieved.

Sir Tej went on to say that he attached the greatest importance to the portfolios of Defence and Finance which were the key positions in the Government of India. The resolution which we publish this week, is in effect in the nature of a guarantee that the reconstructed Council would not disturb the policies initiated and developed during the past eighteen months in the two vital spheres of defence and finance, in return for the handing over of these portfolios to Indians. Is a transfer in these conditions anything more than a mere change of personnel? As for the war effort, it is significant that the very day on which the Conference passed the resolution unanimously, His Majesty the King had an exchange of cables with his representative, the Viceroy of India, in which they congratulated one another on the war effort put forth by the people and Princes of India. Neither His Majesty's Government nor the Government of India apparently shares the expectation of an increase in India's "magnificent

support" through "the willing co-operation of educated Indians." Sir Tej conceded that the delegates to the Conference did not know all the facts. In the circumstances, India has to accept the position that the two Governments have every reason to be satisfied with the war effort. There is accordingly no deadlock in this sphere and it was gratuitous of the distinguished leaders who had assembled at Bombay last week, to insist on postulating one.

The position would have been entirely different had the Conference come into being as a result of Government's confessing its inability to carry on the work of supplementing Britain's war effort. Now when Britain and her representatives in India declare themselves vastly satisfied with the country's help, it is ludicrous for Indian leaders, however eminent they may be, to express discontent with the way that help is rendered. It is utterly futile to try and hypnotise the British into granting self-government to India with glowing pictures of the assistance to Britain a contented India could give. The British do not expect effective help from the highly industrialised U. S. A. until 1943, even though American opinion has been largely pro-British. As for money collections, Lord Linlithgow's Government concentrating on the single object of the war can surely expect better results than twelve men whose desire to help Britain is restricted, on paper at any rate, by considerations of the "best interests of India."

From the point of view of the Indian taxpayer and the Indian who is being asked to join the army, acceptance of the representations of the Bombay Conference can only mean, in the historic words of Mr. Churchill when he assumed the premiership, "nothing but blood and toil, tears and sweat." That the Bombay Conference is not the group to stir the people of India to any enthusiastic acceptance of the call to continued sacrifice, is borne out by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's rejoinder to the criticism, expressed by the more pessimistic members of the Conference, that these men have no following. "It was true," he said, "that large followings were at the back of great leaders but it was equally true that if any leaders were worth their salt, they could create a following of their own," if they were given power. This has been Mr. M. N. Roy's thunder ever since war broke out. But it shows immediately that there is no national demand for the leadership of these men as there was in England for Mr. Churchill's. When Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru pointed out that men in power had won followings in other countries, he opened out a large field for political speculation which has not been followed up. In so far as the observation is true, it certainly does not apply to democracies. The Labour Party in Britain and the Congress in India are striking instances of great parties disintegrating on the assumption of power. Partly this is due to the traditional democratic distrust of political power. Partly it may be put down to the eternal problem of distributing seven loaves and five fishes among the

multitude. It has happened in all countries where, as in India today, the political centre of gravity had not been found. But even there it took several years for the persons in power to establish themselves as representatives of the nation. Nowhere were the methods of doing so free from violence of deed and thought and the result has almost invariably been the setting up of an arrogant political caste. The examples of Italy, Russia and Germany are the most outstanding in recent times. No one, not even of those who lead such a movement, has been able to forecast the trend of events and the ultimate outcome, whether in domestic affairs or in foreign policy, of attempts by a party in power to win or coerce all sections of the nation to its side. At the Bombay Conference itself, however, the promise was definitely made to existing political parties in Indian by almost all speakers and most emphatically by the President, that nothing will be done to disturb the political *status quo*. For if the Conference began with an appeal to the Congress and the Muslim League to compose their differences, it ended with the reiterated assurance that the reconstructed Executive would be composed of members who would make room for men from either of these two parties if they decide to co-operate at a later date. And in no country has a ministry which regards itself and is generally regarded by everybody as a stop-gap, any chance of winning a following.

So far as the constitutional changes demanded at the Centre are concerned, therefore, they are nothing more than an elaborate and rather cumbrous machinery for solving the constitutional deadlock. Nothing much is expected of the reconstituted Executive Council which, like all interim arrangements, will have solely to mark time. That the thirty politicians assembled at Bombay should have been content with this modest part in India's politics is all the more surprising when one considers that all of them have the greatest antipathy to the policies of the Muslim League and the Congress, the two parties for whose representatives seats on the Council are to be kept warm. It is not very difficult, in spite of the frequent jibe cast against all Indian leaders by British politicians and often applied to all non-Congress Indians by irresponsible Congress extremists, to appreciate the readiness of the distinguished members of the Bombay Conference to surrender power and position in the interests of the country. But what passes one's understanding is their seeming willingness to relinquish India's destiny to parties in whom, to say the least, they have no confidence. Before the Congress and the Muslim League can cooperate on the terms of this resolution, Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah will have to show a similar capacity for setting aside their own principles and policies, even if they continue as leaders of the two parties. The Congress must turn away from Pacifism; the Muslim League from Pakistan. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's suggestion of forming a Centre Party was

more realistic and more logical. The objection that it would take time—two or three years—applies equally to Sir Tej Bahadur's hopes of building up a following from seats of power. The opposition which the very suggestion aroused, shows that the Conference was not prepared to face realities. A Centre Party will not, it is true, lead immediately to the seats of office. But it will help to educate the country politically and will build up a solid body of opposition on principle to more sensational organisations like the Congress and the Muslim League. Mr. Chandavarkar's fears that such a party would be composed of eccentrics and would break up the moment the self-interest of its members diverged, may be an indication that the time is not ripe for such a move. But it would apply equally to the members chosen for the Viceroy's council "from important elements in the country." It must apply even now to the men who participated in the Bombay Conference. To take an example, the unanimous acceptance of the resolution urging an all-Indian Executive Council should mean that none of them is prepared to accept less than that. Yet we wonder how many members of the Conference are prepared to stand by the "minimum demands" jointly put forward by all of them.

When we come to the part of the resolution relating to the India's place and status in the Commonwealth, we are in complete agreement with the remarks that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru let fall in his inspiring concluding address. Sir Tej referred to "Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety" as a very vague concept and, speaking as a constitutional lawyer, made pointed reference to the changes which had taken place since 1926 and were taking place during the course of the war. The Provisional Government is to have equality in international and inter-imperial matters with Dominion Governments even now. He very rightly stressed the need for demanding for India complete equality with every other unit of the Empire after the war. As he said repeatedly, four hundred million people cannot be kept down for ever. Sir Tej attached the greatest importance to representation at the Peace Conference which must come at the end of the war and he asked that the authentic voice of India be heard at that conference table. In saying all this he gave what was sorely lacking in all the other speeches, a moral basis for the Conference demands. We have repeatedly pressed for such a stand. What is necessary now is that the people of this country should be made conscious of their importance. If the precedent of Versailles is followed, nations will be represented only through their Governments. We are glad that a statesman of Sir Tej Bahadur's standing has brought this issue to the forefront. If it is kept before the country and the Government, it is sure to make itself felt. We trust that the Sapru Conference will not set aside this larger question in an anxiety to achieve immediate results.

## HARIJANS OF THE UNITED STATES'

The existence of the Depressed Classes in India has been made the basis of attacks on Hinduism. Christian Missions are engaged in "converting" these classes. It has also been made an argument against granting self-government to India. A people who tolerate the existence of depressed classes, are unfit to govern themselves, the argument runs. Our Missionary friends, particularly those from America, cannot surely be unaware of the existence of twelve million Negroes in their own country, the greatest democracy in the world and the champion of all democracies, whose condition in some respects is worse than that of the depressed classes in this country. As in India so in America, there are reformers who are working earnestly to remove this blot from their respective civilisations. But no one has seriously urged that because the lot of the Negroes in the United States is miserable in all conscience, therefore Christianity—the Negroes are devout Christians—is a sham and the United States is not entitled to call itself a Republic. February 6th was to have been observed as a special day for the discussion of means to improve Race Relations in the U. S. A. In anticipation of it the Bulletin of the Federal Council of Churches in America has summarised the conclusions arrived at in four books bearing on the political, social and economic position of American Negroes. The first of the books is by Professor E. Franklin Frazier of Howard University. It is a study of "The Negro Family in the United States." The author is a Negro himself and as such and as a teacher of Sociology, he may be expected to know his subject thoroughly. After a reference to the Negro family under slavery, Professor Frazier deals with the movements to the North since the beginning of this century. His conclusions are thus summarised in the Bulletin:

The development of Negro family life in the United States has involved "waste of human life,...immorality, delinquency, desertions, and broken homes." But Mr. Frazier believes that they have been "the inevitable consequences of the attempt of pre-literate people, stripped of their cultural heritage, to adjust themselves to civilization. The very fact that the Negro has succeeded in adopting habits of living that have enabled him to survive in a civilization based upon *laissez-faire* and competition, itself bespeaks a degree of success in taking on the folkways and mores of the master race. That the Negro has found within the patterns of the white man's culture a purpose in life and a significance for his strivings which have involved sacrifices for his children and the curbing of individual desires and impulses indicates that he has become assimilated to a new mode of life."

The author finds "evidences...that in the urban environment, where caste prescriptions lose their force, Negroes and whites in the same occupational classes are being drawn into closer association than in the past...In the final analysis, the process of assimilation and acculturation will be limited by the extent to which the Negro becomes integrated into the economic organization and participates in the life of the community."

The second book summarised in the Bulletin is "Children of Bondage" by Allison Smith and John Dollard, one a Negro and the other a White American. The book is a study of personality development of Negro youth in two cities of the Deep South, Natchez and New Orleans. The Negroes in the Deep South are, it is stated, in lower classes than elsewhere in the United States. President Roosevelt denounced the other day the doctrine of a master race in vehement terms. The doctrine is present in his own country. The authors point out that the Whites have great difficulty in understanding the feelings of the Negroes because they are taught so thoroughly

the white doctrine of racial superiority in regard to Negroes, "which has changed but little in many essential points since the days of slavery." There is one respect in which the Indian system protects the depressed classes:

While the Negro is not "allowed to seek sexual relationships with white women.....society does permit white men to seek such relationships with Negro women." In situations observed by the interviewers, this meant that "a Negro man could not attack a white man who sought out his wife or daughter. He must submit and let the woman go if she wishes..... A Negro minister who protested in his Church against the numerous liaisons between white men and coloured women was visited the next day by a group of white businessmen who warned him not to mention this subject again, under threat of being made to leave the city."

The third book summarised is also by Professor E. Franklin Frazier, "Negro Youth at the Crossways." It is a study of conditions of Negro Life in the Border States dividing North from South. The capital of the Republic is situated in this region. Conditions here are much better. Lynchings are few.

Negroes say that relations between the two races have grown worse in recent years in Washington. In general, Negroes are restricted to "unskilled or menial tasks" while white people fill the more responsible positions. In government employment the colour line is not so rigid as in private employment, although it does exist. The great majority of Negroes are employed as common labourers or as janitors, porters or watchmen. In some of the New Deal activities there are Negro units with Negroes in administrative as well as clerical positions.

While Negroes in the Border States do not have to endure the brutalities from white policemen that they experience in the South, the Police courts especially "tend to treat all Negroes as buffoons or criminals or members of a subordinate caste. Negroes are excluded from white theatres. Some department stores do not want Negro customers."

The fourth book summarised in the Bulletin is "The American Caste System" by Buell J. Gallagher, president of the Talladega College. Mr. Gallagher maintains that the caste system of America is nation-wide. The Christian Church for the most part is no exception to the rule. "Only occasionally do the Churches break away from the caste system recognising that Christ has made all one."

A fifth book which is not included in this Bulletin but which really belongs to the same category, is the terrible indictment of the American system, "The Native Son," in which the conditions which make an intelligent Negro with a high school education a murderer, are depicted in the form of a story.

The only real solution to the problem, sums up the Bulletin,

is integration which would "remove all artificial barriers to the free social movement of people of all races and classes." Its advocates would attempt to realize something of the meaning of the brotherhood of man. Whether this can be done or not "depends largely on the Christian churches." Individuals or groups who are concerned about the present situation should, it is believed, "begin in their own local communities." In addition to "the simple fraternizing of individuals and groups," study and research along a number of lines are needed: problems of housing for Negroes and other minority groups, the difference in recreational opportunities for the two races, educational facilities for Negroes, political and civil rights for Negroes the importances of caste restrictions as factors causing crime and delinquency, economic opportunities for Negroes, race relations within the churches. These are some of the "sore spots" suggested for study and action.

## PLIGHT OF PUNJAB BRAHMINS.

Professor Gulshan Rai's articles in the *Tribune* of Lahore have always a deep sociological significance. His contribution in last Monday's *Tribune* on the depressed condition of Brahmins in the Punjab, opens a field for deeply interesting investigation. The stock of Brahmins at present in this country tends rather to be at a low level. The Brahmin is depicted as having usurped by machiavellian means all power and influence from those to whom it legitimately belonged. Professor Gulshan Rai shows that this is not true so far at least as the Punjab is concerned. The Brahmin there is a depressed class. The Punjab Brahmins are extremely poor, so poor that they are obliged to take to the two occupations expressly forbidden to them, the plough and the sword. Professor Rai thinks that the root-cause of the depression of the Brahmin in the Punjab is the general indifference to the old religious ritual and the consequent loss of opportunity for them to earn a livelihood. We do not know that at any time the profession of purohit was a lucrative one. Some few leaders in the profession were held in high esteem and had good incomes. But the rank and file were always obliged to live from hand to mouth. At all times a considerable proportion of Brahmins followed secular occupations. Even in the Mahabharata days they were employed as emissaries between belligerents, being protected by their caste from violence at the hand of the ruler to whom they were accredited. A few of them had hereditary lands. But all were seoured against starvation by the charitable endowments which were almost universal in the country from Himalayas to Cape Comorin. In contrast to the plight of the Punjab Brahmins is the condition of Brahmans in other parts of the country. Abbe Dubois wrote a century ago that, whoever was the ruler, Muslim or Briton, real power remained in the hands of Brahmins. Some twenty years ago Sir Walter Lawrence expressed similar views in a book on his Indian experiences. Poverty is everywhere the badge of the tribe. But poverty, except apparently in the Punjab, has not prevented Brahmins from maintaining a high proportion of literaoy. The reason is the high value attached to the education of boys particularly by parents, by the mothers even more than the fathers. A Brahmin mother would make any sacrifice to have her boy educated. She will feel unhappy if any son of hers is deprived of the benefits of education through any lack of sacrifice on her part. This is why, notwithstanding the hostility of which he is the object in so many parts of the country, the Brahmin is able to hold his own. Professor Rai remarks that the leadership of the Hindus in the Punjab is in the hands of trading and commercial classes. "From the very nature of things," he adds, "these people cannot take an impartial and disinterested view of public affairs. They are unfit to be the political, social and religious leaders of the community." Lala Lajpat Rai was not a Brahmin but he was certainly one of the foremost Indian leaders of his generation. So were the leaders of the Arya Samaj in the early days of the movement. It is not the geneology that matters. It is the Brahmanical ideal that should be preserved. That ideal may be described in the rather hackneyed phrase, "Plain living and High thinking." Many people who were not born in a Brahmin family have adhered to this ideal more than many born Brahmins. Leadership of right belongs to them, not to the ones who have no claim to the name except the accident of birth.

## RACE AND FEDERAL UNION.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Because of my deep interest in the mission of your publication, and my deeper interest in the establishment of sound and lasting peace among all nations and all races, may I venture, in all kindness and friendship, to say a word in reply to certain misconceptions in Mr. Ralph T. Templin's interesting and valuable article on "Racialism and World Order" which appeared in your issue of October 5, 1940.

Mr. Templin appears to believe that the movement for "Federal Union," represented in England by one society and in America by another, is a movement in the interest of "the continued domination of the coloured races." I happen to have close associations with both these societies and happen also to sympathise with Mr. Templin's detestation of the sin of racial prejudice. As I understand the aims of "Federal Union" whether in England or in America, they are precisely the opposite of those to which Mr. Templin quite properly objects. The movement represents a desire for a reorganization of the world, with the individual, and not the "sovereign nation," as the unit. I have, in all of my associations with the movement, seen nothing to indicate that the individual of the white race was to be considered as in any way superior to the individual of races, black, red, brown or yellow. These are not alike: they will never be alike: and I think the existing diversity an advantage and not a disadvantage. The world will progress towards the desired unity sought by "Federal Union," not by the establishment of monotonous uniformity, but the protection of the infinite variety. But Mr. Templin speaks for and not against the principles of "Federal Union" when he says: "The way of religion and of God is the way of absolute equality with all peoples."

Mr. Templin speaks wisely when he refers to the "sin of inferiority." "Federal Union" plans for a world future in which there will be neither the "sin of superiority" nor the "sin of inferiority" but in which every individual, by virtue of divinely given individuality, will belong to a world community with the same liberty, equality and fraternity—and protection—for all.

I am confident that Mr. Templin does not desire that the influence of his name shall help to block the pathway to such a union.

Florida, U. S. A. }  
January 20, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
ROBERT MCELROY.

[Professor McElroy's letter will be read with great interest. Professor McElroy succeeded President Woodrow Wilson at Princeton University and was later Professor at Oxford University. Mr. Templin in his article began with a tribute to the idealism underlying Federal Union. But he regretted that, when it came to applying those ideals to the suppressed races, Federal Unionists were prepared to let the existing conditions prevail. Union was only meant to hold the White nations together. On grounds of practical politics, it is urged that India should remain as she is, that Africa should continue being "looked after," and that China's four hundred millions should not be allowed to run away with the Union. Union among the White nations would seem no less practicable than race equality. This appears from their own writings. Apart from that Professor McElroy's reference to diversity and the need for "protecting the infinite variety" of the races has a tremendous scope for mischief. We do not question the Professor's sincerity.—*Editor.*]

## HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO PROPERTY.

The following questionnaire has been issued by the Hindu Law Committee :—

The plan of this questionnaire is first of all to explain how each question arises and then to state the question. It is hoped that this will facilitate the task of those who have to answer it. The questionnaire will be divided into parts, each part covering, as far as possible, separate groups of Acts or Bills. The first group which the Committee have to examine, comprises the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937 (Act XVIII of 1937), as amended by Act XI of 1938, and the following connected Bills:—

- (i) The Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Bill promoted by Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta.
- (ii) The Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Bill promoted by Mr. A. N. Chattopadhyaya and others.
- (iii) The Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Bill promoted by Dr. G. V. Deshmukh and Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal.
- (iv) The Hindu Women's Property Bill promoted by Mr. N. V. Gadgil.
- (v) The Hindu Women's Estate Bill promoted by Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.

The following questions, which arise out of the above Acts and Bills, accordingly form Part I of the questionnaire.

### PART I.

#### QUESTION 1.

A. This question relates to certain constitutional difficulties that stand in the way of immediate legislation. Under the present distribution of powers between the Central and the Provincial Legislatures, the Centre can legislate with respect to succession to property other than agricultural land, but not with respect to succession to agricultural land. The result is that, until Central legislation is supplemented by Provincial legislation, there will be one law of succession in regard to agricultural land and another in regard to property other than agricultural land. Most of the Provinces are now without their normal Legislatures, so that Provincial legislation on the subject can hardly be expected under present conditions. In these circumstances, there appear to be two possible alternatives :

- (1) The Centre should legislate (with respect to property other than agricultural land) at once but the legislation should not come into force until some future date dependent, in each Province, on the date of the necessary supplementary Provincial legislation.
- (2) The Centre should legislate (with respect to property other than agricultural land) at once and bring the law into force at once throughout British India, leaving it to the Provinces to do whatever they think fit with respect to agricultural land.

The advantage of the first alternative is that the law will not be effectively altered until the alteration can affect all forms of property, but there will be delay in making the alteration. Under the second plan there need be no delay, but the alteration will be partial and will result in different rules of succession in regard to agricultural land and property other than agricultural land. It has, however been contended by some that Act XVIII of 1937, as amended by Act XI of 1938, has already disturbed the pre-existing uniformity and created different sets of rules for the two different kinds of property.

Q. 1. Which of these two alternatives would you prefer? Or would you prefer to have no Central legislation at all until there are normal legislatures in all the Provinces? Or have you any other suggestion to make?

B. We now come to a group of questions arising out of the fact that the Acts of 1937 and 1938 have the effect of excluding from inheritance various blood-relations of the deceased owner, such as (to mention only some of the female relations) the daughter, the mother, the father's mother, and the sister, if there is a widowed daughter-in-law surviving. Each of these cases requires examination.

#### QUESTION 2.

A Hindu dies leaving only a widowed daughter-in-law and a daughter. On one interpretation of the Act of 1937, as amended by the Act of 1938 (leaving out for the moment the distinction between agricultural land and property other than agricultural land already mentioned), the daughter-in-law takes the estate during her life-time and the daughter gets no share. It was probably thought that a daughter, if unmarried, would be entitled to maintenance and marriage expenses out of the estate, and, if married, she would be provided for in her husband's family, and it was probably on these grounds that she was not given a share of her father's estate.

Q. 2. What would you desire to be the position as between the widowed daughter-in-law and the daughter in such a case?

As sub-questions under this question.

- (a) Should there be different rules according as the daughter is unmarried or married, rich or poor? (At present Hindu Law makes these distinctions).
- (b) Should a daughter who is a widow without male issue be excluded? (She is at present excluded under the Bengal School).

#### QUESTION 3.

Under the Act of 1937, as amended by the Act of 1938, the widow of a Hindu owner and a widowed daughter-in-law each inherit his separate property to the same extent or in like manner as a son. If, therefore, a Hindu dies leaving a widow, a widowed daughter-in-law, and a daughter, the first two would each take half the estate and the daughter would get nothing during their life-time.

Q. 3. What should be the position as between these three in such a case?

As a sub-question,

- Q. 3 (a). When a Hindu dies leaving only a widow and a daughter, should the daughter take equally with the widow, exactly as a widowed daughter-in-law would do under the above Acts?

#### QUESTION 4.

If a Hindu dies leaving a widowed daughter-in-law a son and a daughter, then, according to one interpretation of the Act of 1937, as amended by the Act of 1938, the widowed daughter-in-law and the son each take half the estate and the daughter gets nothing.

Q. 4. What would you desire to be the position as between these three in such a case?

#### QUESTION 5.

Under the Act of 1937, as amended by the Act of 1938, a widowed daughter-in-law is arguably on the same footing as a son in regard to the separate property of deceased owner. Assuming that the daughter is to be put on the same footing as the widowed daughter-in-law,



Q. 5. Should this be done in all circumstances, *e. g.*, even when there is a surviving son of the deceased, or only in certain defined circumstances, *e. g.*, when there is no surviving son?

As a sub-question,

Q. 5 (a). When a Hindu dies leaving only a son and a daughter, should the daughter take equally with the son exactly as a widowed daughter-in-law would do under the above Acts?

Please also answer Question 2 (without the sub-question), Question 3, Question 4 and Question 5 (including the sub-question), when instead of the daughter there is respectively (a) a mother, (b) a father's mother, and (c) a sister, besides a pre-deceased son's widow.

C. We next come to a group of questions arising out of the fact that Hindu Law recognises various sons whose position is not in all respects that of an ordinary son, *e. g.* (a) an adopted son, (b) in the case of Sudras, a *dasiputra*, (c) in certain parts of India, the son of an *anuloma* marriage (that is, a marriage where the wife is of a caste inferior to that of the husband). The result is to make the law as expressed in the Acts in question ambiguous in certain cases.

#### QUESTION 6.

A Hindu dies leaving a widow and an adopted son. Under the Acts mentioned she is entitled to the same share of the deceased's estate as a son.

Q. 6. Should she take the same share as a son born to her after the adoption or the same share as the adopted son?

The result would be different in the two cases, as the rights of the adopted son as against an after-born son are different in different schools of Hindu Law.

#### QUESTION 7.

A Hindu dies leaving only a widow. She thus takes the estate and thereafter adopts a son. The Acts of 1937 and 1938 are silent as to the effect of the adoption.

Q. 7. Should the adoption divest the widow of the entire estate or only to the extent of one-half of the estate?

#### QUESTION 8.

A Sudra dies leaving a widow and a *dasiputra*. Under the Acts of 1937 and 1938 the widow inherits "the same share as a son."

Q. 8. Should she inherit the same share as an ordinary son or as the *dasiputra*?

In the former case she would take three-fourths of the estate and the *dasiputra* would take one-fourth, and in the latter each would take one-half.

#### QUESTION 9.

A Hindu dies leaving a widow and a son of an *anuloma* marriage (locally valid),

Q. 9. Should the widow inherit the same share as an ordinary son or as the son of the *anuloma* marriage?

In those parts of India where *anuloma* marriages are recognised, the son of the marriage takes a smaller share than an ordinary son.

As a sub-question,

Q. 9 (a). Should any provision be made to place the legality or otherwise of *anuloma* or other intercaste marriages beyond doubt?

D. We now come to various other ambiguities or possible defects in the Acts of 1937 and 1938.

#### QUESTION 10.

A Hindu dies leaving two widows and a number of sons. Under the Acts in question the two widows

together are entitled to the same share as a son, whereas under the law as it stood before the Acts each of the widows might, on a partition between the sons, have taken a son's share.

Q. 10. Should the position created by the Acts be maintained?

#### QUESTION 11.

Under the Acts of 1937 and 1938, if a Hindu dies leaving two widows, they are both entitled to inherit; but nothing is said as to their shares *inter se*: *e. g.* where one of the widows is of the same caste and the other of an inferior caste (where *anuloma* marriages are permitted).

Q. 11. Should all the surviving widows take equally, irrespective of caste? If not, what rule would you prescribe?

#### QUESTION 12.

The Acts of 1937 and 1938 are silent as to what should happen if any of the widows provided for therein were unchaste, or if they remarried, or become converts to another religion, or incurred any other disqualification under Hindu Law.

Q. 12. What provision should be made for each of these contingencies?

#### QUESTION 13.

The Acts in question are silent as to what should happen upon the death of any of the heirs provided for therein. Thus, suppose a Hindu, with separate property, dies leaving a widow X, a son Y, and a widowed daughter-in-law Z. Under the Acts, each would get one-third of the property. If thereafter Z dies, should her share go to X and Y equally or only to Y? Or more generally,

Q. 13. What express provision, if any, should be made for the devolution of the estate upon the death of any of the heirs provided for in the Acts in question?

#### QUESTION 14.

Under the Acts of 1937 and 1938, the interest which a widow inherits is "the limited interest known as a Hindu woman's estate." Before the Acts came into force, a Jain widow sometimes took, not a limited estate, but an absolute estate in her husband's property and in Mithila (North Bihar) she took an absolute estate in her husband's movables. The Acts have thus restricted rather than enlarged the widow's interest in certain cases.

Q. 14. What remedy, if any, would you propose? Would you provide for (a) a limited estate in every case as under the Acts in question, or (b) an absolute estate in every case, or (c) an absolute estate in a certain specified share of the inheritance, such as one-sixth, or (d) the same kind of estate, whether limited or absolute, as the widow would have taken under her own personal law but for the Acts? If (b) or (c) what course of devolution would you propose for the estate or share thereof upon her death?

As a sub-question,

Q. 14. (a) Do you consider that any special provision should be made for women in families with Impartible Estates or would you extend the same rules to them as may be formulated in the case of ordinary estates?

#### QUESTION 15.

A Hindu governed by the Mitakshara school (outside the Madras Presidency) dies, leaving a widow, a mother, and a brother, all members of a joint family. By Section 3 (2) of the Act of 1937 as amended by the Act of 1938, the widow will have the same interest in the joint family property as her husband had, except that hers will be a limited

estate. If this means that she will be deemed to be a coparcener exactly as her husband was, the result will be that, upon the brother's death, the entire property will pass to her to the exclusion of the mother. If, on the other hand, it means that the widow will have the same interest as her husband would have obtained, had he separated from the coparcenary immediately before his death, the position will be different. For, had there been a partition immediately before his death, his mother, his brother, and he himself would each have got a one-third share, so that this last-mentioned one-third share would pass to his widow. In other words, his death must be regarded as effecting the disruption of the joint family and the transfer of his share of the property to his widow.

Q. 15. Which of these two positions (or which other position) would you wish to see established?

QUESTION 16.

E. In order to promote the gradual growth of a uniform law of succession for Hindus throughout British India, while avoiding piecemeal legislation, the following suggestions have been made:—

(1) that every Hindu (whether male or female) should be empowered to make a formal declaration before a prescribed authority that his or her property (whether separate or joint) shall devolve according to the rules of Hindu Law applicable to the case and that, in default of such a declaration, the property will devolve according to the rules laid down in the Indian Succession Act.

(2) that every Hindu (whether male or female) should be empowered to make a formal declaration before a prescribed authority that his or her property (whether separate or joint) shall devolve according to the rules laid down in the Indian Succession Act and that, in default of such a declaration, the property will devolve according to the rules of Hindu Law applicable to the case. (It will be noticed that this is, so to speak, the converse of (1)).

(3) that either (a) the rules in the Indian Succession Act or (b) a set of rules representing the 'greatest common measure' of the rules of succession in the various schools of Hindu Law, should be made applicable to the property of all Hindus throughout British India after a specified date which may be five or even ten years hence.

In order to give effect to (1) or (2) or (3) (a) it may be necessary slightly to adapt certain provisions of the Indian Succession Act, e. g. where the declarant has two wives—a contingency which is not provided for in the Indian Succession Act. As to (3) it may be explained that the object of postponing the application of the new rules until a specified date is to give adequate notice of the change to all concerned.

Q. 16. Which, if any, of these alternatives would you prefer? If you prefer (3) (b) can you suggest a suitable table of heirs or the principle (whether of "propinquity" or of "spiritual efficacy") upon which such a table should be prepared?

Would you suggest any other course as, for example, one set of rules for those territories where the Mitakshara is the leading authority and another set for those which are governed by the Dayabhaga.

THE SAPRU CONFERENCE RESOLUTION.

The following resolution was passed unanimously by the Sapru Conference of Indian non-Congress political leaders on Friday March 14, 1941:—

"While India should not take advantage of Britain's difficulties in her heroic struggle, the Conference is equally desirous that India's domestic problems should not be pressed to her disadvantage. As a first step towards the removal of the present deadlock and until a permanent constitution is brought into force, the Conference desires to emphasize the immediate need for the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

"The Conference considers that the present Council which consists of three European members from the Indian Civil Service, and three Indians of whom two are non-officials and one is a member of the Indian Civil Service, in addition to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, is neither adequate nor sufficiently representative to organize and direct India's war efforts at this moment of grave peril. This Conference is anxious that India's defences should be put on a firm basis and that the resources of this great country in men and material should be used to the fullest advantage not only for defending her own frontiers but for helping the British people to the fullest extent possible consistently with the best interests of India.

"For the reasons mentioned above, this Conference is of the opinion that the whole Executive Council should consist of non-official Indians drawn from important elements in the public life of the country. This would naturally involve the transfer of all portfolios, including the vital ones of Finance and Defence, to Indians.

"The Conference would be content during the period of the war that the reconstructed centre remains responsible to the Crown; and, so far as Defence is concerned, the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the Executive head of the defence forces of the country should not be in any way prejudiced. At the same time the Conference is strongly of the view that the reconstructed Government should not merely be a collection of departmental heads, but should deal with all important matters of policy on a basis of joint and collective responsibility. In regard to all inter-imperial and international matters, the reconstructed Government should be treated on the same footing as the Dominion Governments.

"The Conference is further of the opinion that with a view to create a favourable atmosphere for the working of the reconstructed Central Government, it is necessary to remove the doubts and misgivings of the people of this country as regards the genuineness of the intentions of His Majesty's Government by making a declaration simultaneously with the reconstruction of the Government that, within a specified time-limit after the conclusion of the war, India will enjoy the same measure of freedom as will be enjoyed by Britain and the Dominions.

"The Conference authorises its President, the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, to communicate the terms of the resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and to take such other steps as may be necessary to achieve its objects."

Those who attended the session numbered nearly 40, but none was there in a representative capacity. They included Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, Dr. B. S. Moonje, the Vice-President, and Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. M. S.

Aney, Leader of the Nationalist Party, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, President of the All-India Liberal Federation, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Leader of the Independent Labour Party, the Hon. Sirdar Sir Suleman Cassum Mitha, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Sir Sultan Chinoy, the Maharajahdiraj of Burdwan, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir Kailas Haksar, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Raja Maheshwar Dayal, Sardar Sant Singh and Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor, the *Hindu*.

#### THE INDIAN PRESS ON THE SAPRU CONFERENCE.

The *Hindu* of Madras writes :—

"The reconstructed Central Government that the Bombay resolution contemplates, will not be very different in essentials from the National Government for which the Congress stipulated in making the Poona offer. We do not, of course, overlook the fact that, whereas the Congress wanted that the Government should be responsible to the Legislature, the Bombay Conference would be content to allow the present legal position, under which the responsibility is to the Crown, to continue for the duration of the war. But a Government 'drawn from all important elements in the country' required to act on the principle of joint and collective responsibility, and expected to mobilise the sympathy and resources of the people, can be successfully formed only from among the leaders of the great political parties enjoying popular support.....The scheme posits, implicitly no doubt, unmistakably, such co-operation of the great parties as a *sine qua non* of its successful working.....It seems to us that if the British Government evince a sincere desire to seek a way out of the deadlock on the lines suggested at Bombay, they will not find the Congress unresponsive. But they must give up once for all the convenient habit of falling back on the excuse that there must be a preliminary agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League before they can do anything."

The *Indian Express* of Madras writes :—

"A Government of Indian officials is, of course, better than a Government of non-Indian administrators, just as a Government of non-official Indians is better than a Government of officials though Indian. It would admirably accord with the limitedness of non-Congress tradition for each non-party leader to attempt to take advantage of this position to the utmost extent of his resourcefulness in the name of improving the situation. But why should they in their anxiety to pursue their plans, make misguided allowances tending to weaken the validity of the national demand? Nothing short of complete independence is what the country is entitled to by right, but there seems to be too much readiness on the part of our protagonists of peace to damage that right with ill-conceived surrenders in the pursuit of limited objectives of their own, without reference to large questions of national welfare.....In India, a simple undertaking that the Legislature's wishes will be respected, along with the formation of an executive commanding popular confidence, which necessarily must include a majority of Congress members, will immediately clear the way for peaceful India-British understanding. The plain fact is that British authority is unwilling to make a fair response to patriotic elements bent on national freedom. Of what avail can it ever be to ignore that fact and seek for solutions in directions that can lead to no satisfaction

of the main issue in dispute between the two countries?"

The *National Herald* of Lucknow writes :—

"Apart from the Congress which will have nothing to do with these peace moves, which it considers to have a dangerously diversionary effect upon the movement it has launched, the appeasement-mongers are up against British obstinacy, which does not show the slightest tendency to abate, with the Churchills, the Amerys, the Linlithgows and the Maxwells in power—these can be broken only by the massed might of the Indian people under the leadership of the Congress. Knowing the enormous implications of democratisation of the war effort, the British Government have wisely given it up in India, being satisfied with the exploitation of India's human and material resources as best they can. If it was the hope of the organisers of the Bombay Conference that they would not be understood as interlopers trying to steal into places which belong to others, they will find themselves mistaken. They will also soon realise the fact that the British people who are themselves courageously standing up to their enemy in a mortal fight, can have no use or respect for a troop of politicians who go before them on bended knee."

The *Leader* of Allahabad writes :—

"Without any desire to make party capital out of the Bombay proceedings we make bold to.....claim that the resolutions of the Liberal Federation during as many as the last 16 years have pointed in the same direction. The acceptance by the British Government of the demand made by the Bombay Conference will so change the political atmosphere that the elements in public life not belonging to extremist ranks will stand a real chance of getting a hearing from their countrymen, of being returned to the legislatures and of serving their country wisely and well, instead of continuing to be trounced by those who lose themselves in emotional appeals. Political appeasement has everywhere been followed by the growth among the public of the twin qualities of moderation and responsibility...The whole trouble hitherto has been that the British Government has given no chance to the moderate and reasonable elements in Indian public life.. Will England honour her pledge and see that India is placed on a level with herself and the dominions? Or must things drift? Must agitation, repression, anarchy, be the inglorious end of nearly two centuries of the British connection with India? Is the last chapter of that connection to be written in blood and tears or, there being a better way and an easier way, the way pointed by the Bombay Conference, will they act as true-hearted Englishmen would?"

The *Tribune* of Lahore writes :—

"The most important things to be said against the proposals contained in the speech of the Chairman of the Leaders' Conference at Bombay and the draft resolution appear to have been said at the meeting of the subjects committee of the Conference itself... ..It was contended, and quite rightly, that if the British Government took such a step, it would not improve the present position and that the expanded Executive Council and the new Indian Defence Minister would, constitutionally speaking, be no better than the present Executive Council or the present Defence Minister. Our readers will remember that this is exactly the view we have from the first held and expressed. Equally are we in agreement with the exponents of this view that, if the organisers of the Conference are in earnest about ending the present deadlock, they should address themselves principally to the task of

creating a machinery for bringing the parties to the deadlock together."

The *Sunrise* (Muslim weekly) of Lahore writes:—

"The Government of India, as it is, is making satisfactory contribution towards eliciting the country's response to war. There is no gainsaying the fact that more could be done by placating the Congress and the League; but whatever the dimensions of that extra fillip to the war effort that might be gained by League and Congress help, no further intensification of war measures can be reasonably expected to be practically realised through the labours of an Executive Council composed of people selected mainly from outside these bodies. ....The substantial issue now is the issue of war, and the Government can in no circumstances compromise their position on that issue. The Gandhites are past cure so far as that issue is concerned. The Government would, therefore, be well advised to tap the League, the Mahasabha and the non-Gandhian element in the Congress to formulate a panel of popular representatives in the Central Government, not for the purpose expressly of ending the provincial deadlock but of tiding over the intervening period and eliciting a maximum of war effort from the masses."

The *Hindustan Times* of Delhi writes:—

"Almost all the speakers agreed that the best way of resolving the deadlock would be for the Congress and the Muslim League to make up their differences, but if these bodies would not make up their differences, there should be some alternative to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs. From the text of the resolution passed by the Conference, it looks as though the Conference was more anxious to seek this alternative than find a way out of the deadlock which would prove generally acceptable...To be fair to the participants in the Conference, it must be admitted that what they had suggested was only an interim solution implying readiness to give way to popular parties whenever they felt they could assume the burden of responsibility. But our grievance is that the Conference devoted its energies towards establishing a stop-gap Indian Government which would continue in office only so long as the Congress and the League did not agree among themselves, rather than concentrate on the task of formulating a non-party but just solution of the problem."

The *Nagpur Times* of Nagpur writes:—

"With regard to the reconstruction of the Centre, Congress will have no truck with this August offer in a new shape. It is fruitless pomposity to try to impress on the people the manifold advantages of the August offer, factory-rebuilt and reconditioned. The Executive should be a Cabinet enjoying the confidence of the legislature. There can be no compromise on this issue. It is good that the Conference has told that British Government that India's domestic dissensions should not be pressed to her disadvantage and that a communal settlement should not be insisted upon as an essential preliminary to constitutional advance. That does not go to the root of the matter. But the Conference by its composition and credentials cannot do more than what it has done. It is brandishing a broken key to open the deadlock, when a master-key is needed."

The *Hilavada* of Nagpur writes:—

"It is difficult to say at this distance what exactly were the ideas behind the leaders' demand that the newly replaced Executive Council should be treated as a Dominion Government. Is it the proposal of the Conference that the newly formed Executive Council should have the powers of directing the

manner in which the new constitution should be framed?.....The demand of the Conference, instead of dealing with the dispute between these three parties which would once again bring into relief their irreconcilable differences, has attempted to steer a way which will be broadly acceptable to the country and will be in its best interests. The replacement of the Viceroy's Council by a non-official body, albeit responsible to the Crown during the war, in itself means a drastic change in the character on the Central Government, which will be in the best interests of the country and the demand for Dominion Status with a time-limit will commit the British Government to a course of constitutional action which they have dexterously avoided by a policy of skilful evasion on the plea of differences between the Congress and the League."

The *Searchlight* of Patna writes:—

"We confess we are wholly unable to understand the contradiction represented by the demand that defence will be in charge of an Indian Member and the reservation that the position of the commander-in-Chief should not in any way be prejudiced. We wish the Conference had enlightened the country as to who will play the second fiddle to whom or as to whether there will be a duality of responsibility in respect of such a responsible matter as Defence. We have no hesitation in asserting that the panacea offered by the Bombay Conference will not only not enthuse the country but irritate the people who will be bound to feel that, with spirited phraseology on their lips, the Moderate leaders have once more played their historic role of making things easier for our rulers at a psychological moment. They have, in the name of easing the political deadlock, provided to Britishers a golden bridge by which they can get out of their difficulty and, if we may say so, evade their real obligations to the country, obligations rendered the more binding because of the war aims they profess and protest so vehemently. To hope that an Indianized Executive Council will rally what the leaders characterized as unattatched opinion in the country in support of the Government is to trifle with realities and to approach them with blinkers on. With the best of intentions, we are afraid, the distinguished leaders have served neither the British Government nor their country by their deliberations. They will never do so as long as their attitude is that of mediators between their country and its foreign rulers."

The *New Orissa* of Cuttack writes:—

"The main outlines of the draft resolution which the informal meeting of the leaders on Thursday approved are admirable in principle and should, if accepted, transfer substantial power to the hands of Indians. The suggestion to appoint Indian Ministers for Defence and Finance is a matter of detail which is implicit in the Viceroy's offer of August 8 to enlarge his Executive Council by the inclusion of representative Indians. That offer still stands and though its vast potentialities for good have been explained on many occasions by both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, it has not been formally accepted with or without modifications by any political section in India. The Government have also been reluctant to invite non-party leaders to occupy seats in the Central Cabinet for the simple reason that it appeared to the Viceroy doubtful whether those estimable gentlemen would deliver the goods, in the shape of intensification of India's war efforts, which was the only thing that really mattered at the moment. In the Viceroy's opinion only a combination of the Congress and the League would be able to bring out the best in India and as there appeared to be no prospect of these two

coming together, it was best to carry on as before, which had at least the merit of efficiency. The Leaders' Conference does not appear to have taken into consideration this very real difficulty."

The *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta writes:—

"An Indianised Executive Council can be no substitute for National Government. In the existing conditions, responsibility to the Crown can only mean responsibility to the British Cabinet which is just the position today. A change in terms of the Bombay resolution would mean no change either in the status of the country or in the character of the Government. It may, in fact, prove worse since "non-official Indians drawn from important elements in the public life of the country" are certain to exclude, in the existing circumstances, the most important elements whose representative the Congress is. The retention of the existing status and functions of the Commander-in-chief would neutralise even the little autonomy the demand for which may have been incorporated in the resolution. An Executive Council, the members of which would not derive their sanction from the people but would look to Whitehall for support and, for all practical purposes, would be subordinate to the C-in-C in respect of all defence matters, might soon degenerate into a soulless bureaucracy."

The *Bombay Chronicle* of Bombay writes:—

"The resolution adopted by the Bombay Conference on Friday though it does not go far enough to meet all the needs of the situation, indicates fairly what may be called the greatest common measure of the demands of the more important political parties in the country.....It consists of two parts, one demanding a declaration about India's freedom and the other urging an immediate reconstruction of the Central Government on a popular basis. Congress will not peck at the present formula for the purpose of a transitional stage, though it will continue to adhere to its creed of complete independence as an ultimate objective.....It may also be pointed out here that the creed does not militate against a friendly treaty between India and Britain, providing for mutual rights and obligations for the benefit of both. As Sir Tej Bahadur said, the question is not one of status but of powers."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**America, Britain and the War:—**Whatever might be the final outcome of President Roosevelt's declarations in support of democracy, immediately they would seem to bring on fresh difficulties for Britain. The week after the President's last pronouncement the battle of the Atlantic was waged with intensity so much so that a Reuter's message felt called upon to draw attention to the greater importance this phase of the war had over the Balkan negotiations. It is true that, as this was just a day before the collapse of Yugoslavia's resistance to German pressure, it bore all the appearance of distracting public attention from the main event. But it is not easy to ignore Mr. Churchill's plain warning to the U. S. A. that the war was becoming hers as much as any other country's by reason of German activities in the proximity of American shores. Several leading Americans have acclaimed the Lend-Lease Act as tantamount to American participation in the war though mass opinion as assessed by Gallup Surveys still records an 83 per cent against entanglements in Europe's wars. President Roosevelt's speeches seem latterly more aimed at circumventing American prejudice against intervention than at directly overcoming it. It is not difficult to conceive of a situation in which Americans, whether 83 or 100 per cent against joining in the war, might be forced into hostilities. Germany might find herself forced to declare war on the U. S. A.—a contingency in which the non-interventionist case vanishes in smoke. If she is serious about preventing American supplies from reaching Britain, it must mean readiness to launch hostilities.

**Blockades and Embargoes:—**The news that German naval vessels were operating a week ago in the Atlantic, was an indication that Britain's blockade had its weak points. However, subsequent reports show

that the position is improving and that less damage is now being done to British shipping. The moral embargo on Russia which the United States had placed soon after the outbreak of Russo-Finnish hostilities, was lifted by Washington in January, three days before Lord Halifax took charge at the British Embassy. Mr. Cordell Hull justified the lifting of the embargo to press representatives on the ground that it was merely designed to remove a point of irritation. Lord Halifax, however, disclosed to the American press that large amounts of materials were reaching Germany through Russia and that the British Government was pressing the United States to stop essential supplies. Mr. Hugh Dalton, British Minister of Economic Warfare, made a similar statement in the House of Commons, qualifying it by saying that there was no proof of American supplies reaching Germany direct but ample proof of their replacing Soviet exports to Germany. A correspondent in the *American Nation* suggests that Mr. Dalton's speech was followed up by a cable from the British Government to the State Department which said that Mr. Dalton's statements were not to be construed as criticism of American action in lifting the moral embargo and that since then an understanding had been reached between Soviet and British representatives on the subject. What is amusing, in view of Lord Halifax's press interview and events following it, is the report that owing to American pressure, Britain had been obliged to relax her blockade so as to permit food supplies from the United States reaching unoccupied France.

**The War in Europe and Africa:—**The two events of the week have been the inclusion of Yugoslavia within the Axis orbit and the messages exchanged by the Governments of Russia and Turkey guaranteeing neutrality and entire understanding in the event of either country being involved in a war in defence of its own territory. Yugoslavia signed an Axis pact on Tuesday but it was preceded by a Cabinet split and followed by a military revolution. The Regent Prince Paul has fled the country and the seventeen-year old King Peter has assumed charge. The Soviet-Turkish agreement might be a gain to Turkey but it is hardly a matter for congratulation to the British. Its explicit restriction to war conditions brought on in defence of one's territory, renders the old Anglo-Turkish Pact, so long inoperative, void altogether. By the

terms of that Pact Turkey should have been in the war long ago. It has had two opportunities when her assistance was directly called for by the Pact. First, when hostilities were initiated in the Mediterranean area and, secondly, when Britain was involved in war as a result of her guarantees to Greece. Probably Mr. Eden's delicate negotiations at Ankara were designed to release Turkey from her old obligations in order to contract a new agreement with Soviet Russia. The two incidents increase the menace to Greece, by neutralising at the least Yugoslavia and Turkey. In Africa British troops are pressing hard on the Italian forces. In Eritrea Keren has after resisting for six weeks fallen and in Abyssinia Harrar, the second largest city, is in British hands.

**Indian Industries and the War :—**Any group of Indians, however influential they may be, which wishes to put its ideas across the Government of India during this war period, has to prove that they are calculated to accelerate the pace of India's war effort. Politicians of every shade have used these tactics to advance their schemes. The editors in asking for freedom of the press brought their agitation in line with Britain's war effort. And now the business community, through the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries, has argued for more rapid industrial advance in order to speed up the war effort, though it is no secret that Indian businessmen tend largely to regard the war as an opportunity to develop Indian industries. It is not likely that the Government will be moved by these representations any more than they have been by the earlier ones. Mr. Amrit Lal Ojha, in his comprehensive presidential address to the 14th annual meeting of the Federation, began by a severe indictment of the British Government's failure to grant India as favourable terms as South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and even a non-Empire country like Egypt in contracts relating to agricultural produce. Had Mr. Ojha read his own speech through, he would have seen the reason for this anti-Indian policy towards the conclusion of his address. India, more than any other Empire country, has been anxious to mark her indifference to the war and she should not expect to derive any benefit from it beyond what is unavoidable in helping Britain. As for Egypt, the reasons for conciliating Egypt are obvious. We are surprised to see several Indian newspapers echoing Mr. Ojha's grievances against the Government in this matter. In Mr. Ojha such an attitude is understandable; a businessman does not quarrel with any important element in his country. But that nationalist newspapers should seek to have the best of both worlds is inexplicable. Mr. Ojha proceeded to urge the claims of Indian enterprise to Government support in setting up aeroplane and motor car factories in this country. Then pursuing a conflicting idea, he congratulated the Government of India on acquiring

three railway systems and three telephone systems which, he said, would be more economically run by the State. This is open to question and experience in other countries has not always shown that economy and efficiency are more easily attainable under a bureaucracy. But that apart, surely Mr. Ojha's arguments in favour of State management of railways and telephones should apply equally to the ownership of aeroplane and motor factories. These, however, are problems which the Chambers of Commerce will find growing more acute under a national government.

**Sir M. Visvesvaraya on Scientific Research :—**The Indian public naturally attaches more importance to the views on national advancement of Sir M. Visvesvaraya than of British experts who have seldom been able to detach themselves from the long-established policy that India economically and industrially should play a subsidiary part in relation to Great Britain. For long India's role was to produce raw materials for British and European countries. Now it seems to have advanced to the extent of allowing that India may half-finish articles to be finished by other countries. We are sure that this is not the view of any Indian leader, least of all of one of such great authority as Sir M. Visvesvaraya. We are, therefore, glad to be assured that Sir Visvesvaraya does not underrate the importance of Pure Science and we clearly stated that we do not underrate the importance of Science applied to Industry. Some remarks in the Presidential address did not bring out, to say the least, the importance of Pure Science. Rather there seemed to be an undercurrent of dissatisfaction that too much was being done for it. "The chief defect (in the work of the Bangalore Institute)," said the President, "is that the primary aim of the Institute, namely, industrial research, was not properly attended to. Subjects were chosen either because the men in control knew them better or the subjects themselves involved smaller outlay." Two members of the staff of the Institute have been signally honoured by the conferment on them by the two leading scientific societies of the United States and Great Britain of the Franklin Medal and the membership of the Royal Society, for work so remote from industries as the composition and behaviour of Light and Sound and the mysteries of the Cosmic Ray and the atom. Not only the Institute but the whole country is honoured by these honours. The Nobel Prize of late years has been suspected of being influenced in its Award by political considerations but American and English Science are above such reproach. Mr. J. H. Bhabha is the fourth or fifth Indian to be elected to Membership of the Royal Society and Sir C. V. Raman is the first Indian to be awarded the Franklin Medal. The value which the Western world attaches to achievements in Pure Science may be gauged by the reference to Sir C. V. Raman in Professor Hocking's important book "The Spirit of World Politics." A country which has produced a man of Raman's intellectual



eminence, urges Hocking, can not be deemed unfit to guide its own destinies. So Pure Science has also a political significance. Sir M. Visvesvaraya maintains that industrial research is the primary object of the Institute. It may be so now but, as we remarked last week, it was not originally so. This is shown by the fact that Sir C. V. Raman was Director of the Institute for several years. It will not be a gain to the country or to science if what should be a great international centre of scientific studies be turned into a glorified technical institute.

**The Prime Minister on Man-Hunting;—**Commenting on the onslaught of the Home Member of the Government of India in the course of his speech on Mr. N. M. Joshi's motion for the appointment of a Committee to report on the conditions in the detention camps where a number of men are kept on suspicion of their being associated with communal activities, we observed that we had known Englishmen who would have blushed for its bad form. Happily there is at least one Englishman living of whom the same may be said. He is the British Prime Minister. "Anything in the nature of persecution, victimisation and man-hunting," Mr. Winston Churchill told the House of Commons last week, "is odious to the British people." The occasion for this remark was the action of the British Broadcasting Corporation in placing a ban on a number of persons who had attended a meeting at which several Communists were also present and at which some subversive speeches were made. The explanation given by the Corporation was that the public would resent the inclusion of those persons in its programmes because of their having attended the gathering. In response to protests, the Corporation had modified its ban. It has had to lift it completely, evidently on the personal intervention of the Prime Minister. It was in connection with this that Mr. Churchill made the observation which we have quoted. The Prime Minister would not tolerate a ban on musicians and others entertaining the public because of their being pacifists or communists. Here in India young men are held in detention on suspicion that they had Communist tendencies and for shouting slogans against war. Many of these men have not been charged with any offence. They have had no opportunity of testing the information on which they are held in detention.

**Priestley Resumes Radio Talks:—**Several months ago we were agreeably surprised to hear J. B. Priestley, whom Lord Baldwin described as the most typically English man of letters of our time, broadcasting from the British broadcasting station. Usually, speakers on the air are the "safe men" who never aspire to rise above the level of the talks at the weekly lunches of the Rotary Club. Priestley is an authentic intellectual whom it is not easy to harness. If we remember, he prefaced his first broadcast with some observations as to how and

under what conditions he had agreed to "come on the air." His talks were fresh and inspiring amidst the stale commonplaces of the average output of the London station. The general estimate of the London programmes may be illustrated by an incident. It was reported some time back that when a Government spokesman mentioned in Parliament that among the amenities provided for German war prisoners, were the British radio programmes, a member exclaimed, "Serve them right!" Priestley in this crowd was like manna in the wilderness. He was severe against the Nazis and their creed but he would not shut his eyes to the shortcomings of his own people. He was suddenly dropped. He has, however, been called back. Though the British Broadcasting Corporation is a close corporation unlike the American system which allows the free ventilation of opinion as illustrated by the broadcast on American Democracy by the able and independent-minded President of Chicago University, selections from which are reprinted in this issue, still public opinion in Britain is a force before which it has to bow. In India the heads of the broadcasting stations arrogate to themselves the right to indicate the heads of talks which persons are invited to give. We reprint the observations of the London correspondent of the *Hindu* on the talk which Priestley gave on resuming his activities on the air.

**Lord Halifax on Peace Aims:—**Lord Halifax has given his American public a sketch of the peace aims of Britain, at a dinner at the Pilgrims' Society on Wednesday. Like Sir Samuel Hoare at the Round Table Conferences on Indian Reform, Lord Halifax could not draw detailed plans for the future structure of the community of nations now but he was already in a position to see the basis of it. Much of what he said was wisdom born of experience. Had the British Commonwealth been, as he described it, really a free association of nations, much of its present troubles would not have arisen. There would have been no need for men like Mr. Priestley to plead for a declaration of peace aims. They would have been there clear for all to see. The British Ambassador wanted all nations in the future world to regard their obligations to their neighbours and not to seek to dominate others in the comity of nations to which he looked forward. Unwilling nations could not usefully be forced into such an association, he said, but conditions should be created in which a real sense of community of interests would grow among the peoples themselves. Every nation would have its own place and make its own contribution. Lord Halifax has an unhappy gift of phrase. He it was who drew a subtle distinction between the "goal" and the "road" after declaring that India was on the road to Dominion Status. There is full scope for similar casuistry in his world order speech in which the only definite statement is that Herr Hitler's new world order is not acceptable to Britain.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 29, 1941.

## BOMBAY EXCISE POLICY.

A Government Press Note issued on the 28th January, began with the following observations:—

A steep decline in the consumption of liquor and drugs, a decrease of Rs. 88 lakhs in excise revenue and an increase in offences against the excise law are the features of the report of the Bombay Excise Department for the year 1939-40. These results are mainly attributed to the introduction of prohibition measures.

In the course of his statement on the Budget last week, His Excellency the Governor remarked:

Excise revenue is up by 50 lakhs over the original estimates. I must draw special attention to the fact that less than half of this—in fact, only 20 lakhs—can be attributed to the changes which have been made in the policy of Prohibition during the year (1940-41). The major part of the increase in excise is due to several causes, mentioned in the note, which would have operated even if there had been no change in Prohibition.

The "note" referred to does not seem to have been supplied to the Press and we do not know what the several causes are which would have operated even with Prohibition before the changes made this year. But we may ask, Were these causes in operation last year? Or did they suddenly spring up this year? And will they continue next year? The principal change introduced in the excise policy during the year was to remove the restrictions on foreign liquor while stiffening those on country liquor in the Prohibition areas. Against this one-sided policy *The Reformer* protested citing the opinion of the Foreign Liquor Committee appointed by the Bombay Government thirty years ago. That Committee had recommended that any restrictive measures should be simultaneously applied to foreign as well as country liquor as the consequence otherwise would be to encourage the consumption of cheap and injurious foreign liquors in place of the comparatively wholesome indigenous products.

The decrease of Rs. 88 lakhs in 1939-40 has been succeeded by an increase of Rs. 50 lakhs in 1940-41. His Excellency estimates that the increase of revenue due to the changes in the excise policy will be Rs. 24 lakhs in the coming year and he has decided to reduce the property tax by exactly that amount. He went on to say:

It is sometimes said that Prohibition is no longer in force and that, therefore, the whole of the Property Tax can be abolished. I must, however, point out that the bulk of exercise revenue used to come from country liquor and toddy, and that under the present arrangements in the Prohibition areas, practically no revenue comes from these sources. So long as that fact remains, it is obvious that Provincial revenues will need to be reinforced by other forms of taxation.

Apart from the Property tax, the allegation that there is no Prohibition policy in force today is fundamentally sound. The policy in force today is freedom to every person to drink as much foreign liquor as he likes and an equally complete ban on the indigenous stuff on pain of severe penalties. This is certainly not Prohibition.

His Excellency is naturally impressed most by considerations of revenue but the whole policy of Prohibition must be viewed from a social standpoint. It makes no difference to a man's family if he gets drunk on scotch whisky or country spirits. From the industrial point of view, it is a distinct loss to the province and also to the revenue that a local industry should be sacrificed in the interests of a foreign industry. The consumption of foreign liquor might not have reached the high proportions which it would normally have reached owing to shipping difficulties due to war. Prohibition is deprived of its moral basis when the Government tell people, "Drink as much as you like of foreign liquor but do not touch the country stuff on any account." We repeat that that is not Prohibition. It is well to call things by their right names, even from an administrative point of view.

In reply to a question from the pressmen present, His Excellency said that the illicit manufacture and smuggling of liquor was merely a trickle. That is not the general impression. In the Excise Report for 1939-40, it was observed that there was a big increase in the consumption of country liquor into the tracts abutting upon the Bombay Prohibition area in the south and west. The report went on to say:

On Saturdays and Sundays, particularly, large numbers of persons belonging to the classes who form the chief consumers of country liquor went by steamer across the harbour to Mera, in the Uran Petha in the Kolaba district, and by train or motor omnibus to such places as Kalyan, Bhiwandi and Bassein in the west of Thana district. Special excise arrangements were found necessary in both south and west to deal with this increased consumption. We have heard it said that it is unsafe for women to travel by the evening trains to and from these places on Sundays and holidays. A Prohibition which is no prohibition is a source of great and constant demoralisation. The Government can do what they like with the Property Tax. But let it not be claimed that it is levied to finance Prohibition.

On the other arrangements proposed for the next year there is little to say. We welcome the increased grants to education, sanitation and medical relief. The Road programme is in large part a continuation of that of the Congress Government. As regards the rest, it might perhaps be better to concentrate on fewer essential items than to distribute the sum available over a number of less urgent projects. For instance, there might well be a larger programme of village wells and village chavdis, and dust-proofing of village roads might have waited. The chavdi was the symbol of village self-government and its ruined condition is an index of the disappearance of village self-government. Village reconstruction on the old lines, is a mere stunt. As for dust on the roads, the Indian villager is inured to it and would not have organised a satyagraha if the dust-proofing of his roads had been postponed. But drinking water is a dire necessity.

## RECENT CONFERENCES.

(BY K. NATARAJAN.)

Now that Gandhiji has decided to restart the *Harijan* and the allied papers, I hope that the Editors' Conference will not relinquish its main object of securing real and full freedom of the Press—for which it was convened. So far, it appears to have pursued as its principal object the provision for the Mahatma of a plausible ground for resuming his weeklies which he had suspended in a fit of resentment. The order of Government or the instruction of the Press Adviser against publication of satyagraha news, deprived the movement of its essential ingredient. Publicity is the breath of life of all such movements. Gandhiji was evidently not prepared for this countermove on the part of Government. He, of course, knew that the channels of communication are all under the control of Government but he did not expect that Government would use their power to choke off his non-violent individual satyagraha. In all Gandhiji's movements there is the tacit assumption that the authorities in British India will play the game as he wants it to be played. The action of Government threw Gandhiji off his stride. He stopped his papers. To his surprise he found that no other paper, including the two avowedly Congress organs at Delhi and Lucknow, followed his example. He was isolated. He could not get his last two statements prior to the February meeting of the Standing Committee of the Conference published in any newspaper.

The convening of the Conference offered a means of escape from the impasse. It summoned its Standing Committee members to meet at Delhi to protect the freedom of the Press. No mention was made in the invitation of Gandhiji or the *Harijan*. When it met, however, it let itself be side-tracked on a personal issue. I cannot understand how Gandhiji's personal grievance came to be admitted into the agenda. But there it was. It was in the shape of a request to Gandhiji to resuscitate his papers since Government recognised his importance and uniqueness in Indian public life. When this recognition was made and in what form, it was not stated. When this along with other resolutions of a general character was submitted, Government solemnly replied to them point by point practically endorsing and accepting the Conference's suggestions. On the resolution relating to Gandhiji and the *Harijan*, they very properly remarked that this was a matter for Gandhiji and not for them. The President of the Conference, while admitting this, in his recent letter to Government suggested that Gandhiji would be helped to come to a decision if it was indicated that he could resume his papers with the goodwill of Government. Government have not yet expressed their goodwill but Gandhiji has announced his decision to restart his papers. So far as the Freedom of the Press, the main object of the Conference, is concerned, the situation is much the same as it was when the Conference met. The press of India remains a licensed press. Milton did not ask for the Press to be free from legal responsibility for its writings. His protest was against the licensing of the Press, that is the Executive deciding by a fiat whether it should live or die.

Even the immunity allowed to Gandhiji, if there is any, is tenable only on sufferance. He gets it by favour of Government out of consideration for his importance and uniqueness, at the request of the journalists assembled in Conference. That this is the case is shown by the fact that the *Sainik* whose case the Conference has sponsored has not been excused the security demanded of it. The Bengal Government has passed under the Defence of India rules an order requiring the Press to

submit all news and comment relating to the riots at Dacca and in two or three other places, to the Censor before publication. According to the resolution of the Conference accepted by Government, this order should have been first referred to the local Press Advisory Committee before being promulgated. It is not known whether the Home Ministry followed this procedure. Even the Bombay Government which has won recognition for its moderation, has recently demanded security from a newspaper. Was this done after consultation with the local Advisory Committee? Even if it was, and even if the Committee had, without interviewing the offending editor, approved of the demand for the security, it does not alter the position that a licensed press is not a free press and that the freedom of the press in India remains much where it was before the meetings of the Conference.

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The one sentence amidst the oceans of words of the Leaders' Conference which met in the Taj Mahal Hotel last week, that offered a foothold to my perplexed intelligence, was that in Sir Jagadish Prasad's speech to the effect that the Government should make us feel that this is our war as much as that of the British. An eminent friend to whom I turned for explanation of the meaning of this sentence, said that it included all that we wanted. For an analogy, he referred to the story of Savitri who, when her husband died, followed his ghost to the abode of Yama, the God of Death, and saluted him in the customary Hindu way. The Lord of Death also responded with the traditional formula wishing her a long and happy married life and many children and grandchildren. Savitri cleverly turned the tables on him by asking how, after having deprived her of her husband, he expected his blessings to be fulfilled. Yama thereupon had no choice but to release her husband lest his own plighted word should be falsified; and the couple went home rejoicing. Just as Savitri's reminder involved all the requirements of conjugal felicity though it was superficially a simple one, so Sir Jagadish Prasad's pleading that Government should make us feel that the war was ours, included everything—Self-Government, Independence, dominion status, Indianisation of the Army and nationalisation of the Government. I pointed out that there is no sign of reciprocation on the part of our rulers, citing as an example the offer of Lord Halifax in Washington, Sir Samuel Hoare in Madrid and Sir Stafford Cripps in Moscow to forego their salaries and the absence of a similar gesture from our Viceroy who is reputed to be quite as rich as the three men. That also is included in the Jagadish Prasad formula, insisted my friend. The analogy between the Savitri incident and the Leaders' Conference, I persisted, is not on all fours. The God of Death was an orthodox Hindu holding to the ban on the remarriage of Hindu widows. If he were a modern Viceroy he would have suggested that Savitri might avail herself of the provisions of the Widow Remarriage Act!

I really do not understand what Sir Jagadish meant by saying that the Government should make us feel that the war was ours. Does Sir Jagadish and his friends who promoted the Conference, believe that it is so, or do they not? If they believe that it is why ask the Government to adopt the measures which they recommended to make the country including themselves, feel that it is our war? There are many among us who, notwithstanding the Congress Independence Pledge and in spite of it, believe in their heart of hearts that the British connection on the balance has been beneficial and not a curse to the

country. I am one of these and I have availed myself of the opportunities open to me to state my belief publicly. But, try as I might, I have not been able to convince myself that this war is my war. This is not because Lord Linlithgow declared India to be at war without consulting the India Legislature. India would have been in the war all the same if the Viceroy had said nothing. I take Lord Linlithgow's declaration to have originated in a well-intentioned desire to assert the individuality of India and to create a precedent paving the way to future Dominion Status. My feeling is the outcome of study and appreciation of the conditions since the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles. The European cauldron was bound to boil over because of the intense heat of conflicting nationalisms uncontrolled by a sane world outlook. And I feel that the setting up of an interim Government on the lines suggested by the Leaders' Conference will not have the effect of making me feel otherwise than I do at present. I do not generalize from my case to the whole country. But I should like to be shown the reasons which led the Leaders to feel that the country will regard this war as its war if an interim, stop-gap all-Indian Ministry was substituted for the present Viceroy's Executive Council.

#### COLONIES AND BRITAIN.

Mr. A. Creech Jones, M. P., contributes an ingenious article to the *Political Quarterly* on "The Colonies in the War." Stripped of all its padding, the article suggests that Britain, with the aid of the other three European countries commanding colonial possessions, should set up an international Council for the better administration of the colonies. The plan is all the easier to work since Belgium, Holland and France will be represented by men who now function as the governments of these countries from British soil and look to British victory against Nazism as the means of converting their shadow cabinets to more substantial ones. The position of Holland is obscure but any attempt to arrive at "an inter-colonial understanding" now on the part of Britain, would be likely to strengthen the Vichy Government in France and King Leopold in Belgium, just as fear of German domination over Vichy and Brussels gives a certain life to General De Gaulle and M. Pierlot. Mr. Creech Jones has a naive way of putting his plans forward. He writes :

Discussion on colonial collaboration between the French and British Governments last spring opened out a prospect of immense usefulness..... The adherence of Chad, the Cameroons, and Gabon to Free France, and the promises of British help to these territories for the continuance of the struggle, will probably lead to the organising of many of the arrangements contemplated by M. Mandel and Mr. MacDonald before France collapsed. The Belgian Congo is on the friendliest terms with the neighbouring British colonies in Africa and has also placed its great resources at the service of the common cause. The Dutch empire has also vast reserves of wealth and population, and their West Indian colonies are already occupied to defend their important oil refineries. The combined overseas territories of France, Belgium, Holland and Britain make an impressive picture of colonial administration, readily adaptable for mutual and beneficial co-operation.

Britain ought to demonstrate its willingness to go on furthering in the Colonial Empire the ideals and the purposes which are actuating the British people. An inter-colonial Council would impress both Britain and the world, give greater confidence and stimulate propaganda work among the subjected peoples in European countries.

There is nothing surprising in Mr. Jones' suggestion

though it is difficult to see why these obvious advantages of co-operation were not observed earlier and put into practice. We are confident that it could have been made attractive for Signor Mussolini and to Dr. Salazar also and six European powers with practically the whole of Africa at their back (or feet) could have had things their own way without any fear of outside menace. From the fact that no one thought of this earlier, it is obvious that for its acceptance it was necessary to have one dominant country and the rest of a status inferior to the first but still imperial in relation to their own colonies. For the duration of the war, presumably the position of the Belgian, the French, and the Dutch Free Governments is one of "responsibility to the British crown," to quote the resolution of the Bombay Leaders Conference. There is also the consideration that most of these imperialist countries will be in no position by themselves to administer colonial territories after the cessation of war. A pooling together of resources by the four powers may help each of them to assert their dominance but at the same time each imperial power will have the temptation of exclusively using its colonies for its own reconstruction. The reason why Britain does not press for "co-operation in the Colonial sphere" is because of the necessity of maintaining clearly before the peoples of Belgium, Holland and France primarily, and of other countries whose free governments are functioning from Britain, the distinction in methods and in ultimate objective between Herr Hitler and the British Imperial Government. For any attempt to improve Britain's position now, if it cannot be resisted by rival imperialisms, will nevertheless alienate sympathy in the subdued nations of Europe on whose attitude towards Germany a great deal will depend. Fortunately the British Government realise this more definitely than Mr. Creech Jones seems to do.

Mr. Creech Jones has some interesting observations to make on the position of the colonies since the outbreak of war. Some of it is incredible. Referring to the collections for war made in British colonies, Mr. Creech Jones says, "The grants were not officially inspired. On the contrary, the Secretary of State was obliged to say in one instance, that is typical of others, 'While these magnificent gestures are greatly appreciated, the local needs of the Native Administration (Nigeria) must come first.'" Then again, "This widespread generosity has been accompanied often with somewhat embarrassing expressions of goodwill. The leaders of political opinion in Cyprus sent a deputation to the Governor to tell him that during the war all political agitation was suspended." And one more, "Executives have, of course, been armed with unusual powers to deal with emergency and military needs. In the early days of the war, the Secretary of State expressed his jealous regard for the maintenance of civil liberty." These ecstatic accounts make one almost long to settle down in the blessed colonies. India presents a very different picture. Not only have war donations been officially inspired, but Governors of some provinces have made it their business to raise record sums for the war. Accusations are freely made of pressure being applied by petty or important officials to raise money, and some of them at any rate are documented. No Indian State, for one thing, has to our knowledge been asked to retain for local needs what has been collected for Britain. In fact it is surprising to see money pouring in for the war when only a few months ago essential services were starved and necessary reforms withheld for want of funds. So far are we, indeed, from offering to suspend all political agita-

tion that an editors' conference has specially grown during the war period to safeguard the freedom of the press. If the Government of India is anxious to preserve civil liberties, it has successfully disguised its intentions. The Communists are being rounded up in the country. In fact, it is a common line of argument which is used by even the highest officials, to excuse local excesses, that worse would be in store for India and Indians "if Graziani came to India." If the British Colonies enjoy a better or greater measure of freedom, it must be because they are politically not sufficiently advanced to be troublesome.

The proof of the slow growth of the political mind in the Colonies is indicated best by Mr. Creech Jones' description of the attitude of the "more educated colonial people" towards the war. He writes, "The war was seen as at first a European conflict in which the colonies could help Britain with money and goods; now it is seen to be of vaster dimensions, in which even their man-power may be allowed to contribute. In the widest sense, the interests of the colonial people are involved in the issues of this tragic breakdown of civilization." This is, indeed, a very delicate way of explaining a situation which others unfortunately have dealt with more directly. It is a fact well-known to most Indians who visited Britain before 1938, that no Briton visualized the next war as one in which large drafts of men would be sent to Continental Europe. The navy and the air force were to be the chief weapons of British intervention. Even after Mr. Chamberlain's pact with Colonel Beck gave British foreign policy a Continental colour, there was a general feeling that not much would be expected of Britain. To quote Edward Thompson in his "Enlist India for Freedom":—

The National Congress focussed their quarrel on the claim that no country has the right to commit another to a war without its consent. 'India,' a distinguished soldier said to me, 'has a strong moral case.' He added, however, with emphasis in his tone, 'No one is going to ask India to suffer any casualties.' (Italics author's).

You see, last autumn it was a 'phoney war,' all we had to do was to enforce as much blockade as we could and make cheerful speeches, and Germany would crack from within.

Mr. Creech Jones' description of the mind of the "more educated colonial people" shows it to be a reflection of the minds of the British official classes. Mr. Jones has read a great deal of his own views into the educated colonial people's minds and in his anxiety to prove that the colonies are enthusiastic about Britain's war effort, he has exceeded his brief.

#### VACANT GADIS.

(BY A STUDENT OF POLITICS.)

The question of succession to vacant gadis in the Indian States is full of complexity. When a ruler dies without an heir or otherwise arranging for a successor, the State passes through a period known as an interregnum, when the administration is conducted either through a Regency Council or by some other arrangement sanctioned by the Government of India. This arrangement terminates as soon as the new ruler is selected and is invested with powers.

What is the criterion adopted by the Government of India for selecting the ruler to a vacant gadi? The Political Department may have its own standards of selection, but no one knows with certainty what they are. But it is well-known that the people over whose destiny the new Prince is to preside, have scarcely any voice in his selection.

The British Government is the sole deciding authority in the matter of succession to gadis in the States. It is a prerogative which the Government has claimed and strictly enforced from the time it became the paramount power in the country. In 1891 it was laid down thus: "It is the right and the duty of the British Government to settle successions in subordinate Native States. Every succession must be recognised by the British Government, and no succession is valid until recognition has been given." Commenting on this Sir William Lee-Warner says: "There is no compromise or qualification in this public declaration of an obligation common to all States."

While this policy has undergone no change in its fundamental aspects, the position was reviewed in 1917 when certain modifications in respect of successions were sanctioned by the Government of India. In a "Memorandum on the Ceremonies connected with Successions" issued by the Government in that year, it was laid down, to quote the Butler Committee Report, "that, where there is a natural heir in the direct line he succeeds as a matter of course, and it was arranged that in such cases the recognition of his succession by the King-Emperor should be conveyed by an exchange of formal communications between the Prince and the Viceroy. In the case of a disputed succession, the Paramount Power must decide between the claimants, having regard to their relationship, to their personal fitness and to local usage." It is in the fitness of things that paramountcy should confer upon the British Government the supreme privilege of settling disputed successions in the States which would otherwise be reduced to a shambles if the question was allowed to be decided locally.

But the States people have no voice in the selection of their rulers, although they are much more vitally concerned with the question than any other party. According to the present procedure, they are faced with a *fait accompli* from which there is no escape. It may be that the Government of India demand high standards of personal rectitude and accomplishments from the successful aspirant to a gadi, but what is good choice from the Government's point of view, may eventually prove to be a misfit. The pages of the States' history are replete with instances of how rulers of Government's own and careful choice have proved themselves utterly unworthy of the great hopes reposed in them and how the Government itself was forced to compel their abdication. If there have been no abdications or depositions in recent years, it is not because there has been any salutary improvement in the situation, but because the attitude of the British Government towards the Princes has undergone a radical change. But the complaint of the States people that they are not consulted in the selection of their rulers, still remains.

I contend that a double wrong to the States people is implicit in the present system of selection to the gadis. In the first place, the choice of the Government of India cannot always be appropriate and is never acceptable to the people unless their opinion is fully ascertained; and, secondly, by ignoring their feelings the Government becomes responsible for the growth in their minds of a feeling of indifference towards so vital a question as the selection of their own ruler. I realize that the policy of the Government of India does not provide for the consultation of public opinion in the States even when vital decisions are taken; I also realize that the Princely Order derive much edification from a continuation of this policy. The Princes could argue with much plausibility that they are in no way responsible to their



people, just as the latter are not responsible for the choice of their rulers. That the Princes have not been slow to exploit the situation has been amply borne out. Their supporters have been arguing with a good deal of forensic fervour that the obligations of the Princes to the Paramount Power preclude them from divesting themselves of their authority without the express consent of the other "contracting party." It is not intended to examine this contention here, but it must be emphasized that grave injustice is being done to the States' people by ignoring their feelings on the succession question.

But is it practicable to ascertain public opinion in the States in the present stage of their evolution? The answer is, of course, in the negative. But the same question will confront us to the end of time so long as the caprice of the ruler continues to be the basis of governance. How could there be any organized public opinion in the States so long as the ruler unblushingly and with impunity claims that he is the fountain-head of all authority and keeps his people leagues away from the administration? An overwhelming majority of the States have no legislatures even of the "deliberative, consultative and advisory" type. An introduction of even these rudimentary methods of ascertaining popular opinion is acclaimed by the States people as a big step forward because, to quote Sir Sidney Low, "the machinery of consultation and discussion modifies the technical autocracy of the rulers in all the important units."

We know from the recent experiences of the States people that popular legislatures even of the consultative type are suspect to the Princes. They realize that, whatever their modest beginnings, popular legislatures have an infinite capacity for growth and resistance to autocracy. Hence the free use of rifles to suppress political aspirations in the States. The British Government, which has compelled the submission of the Princes on many issues of imperial concern, has remained unmoved by popular agitations in the States. There has been no dearth of platitudinous utterances from high quarters, but obviously they have had no compelling effect upon the Princes. On the other hand, the States people's cry for redress is treated with studious indifference in the thrice-blessed name of non-intervention.

This short digression was necessary to prove in the sequel that none of the excuses I have mentioned exist for not introducing responsible government in the States during the minority and interregnum periods. There is some plausibility in the argument that the British Government cannot intervene in the internal concerns of a State when its ruler is in possession of sovereign powers. But what excuse is there for the Government for not introducing responsible government when the administration is directly under its control? It is well-known that it undertakes no such responsibility and merely carries on the routine administration till the new ruler is invested with ruling powers. It then hands to him the government of the State in all its pristine antiquity and assumes once more an attitude of complacent unconcern.

The Princes object to the introduction of "major changes" in the States administrations during the minority and interregnum periods on the ground that they constitute an "intrusion of the wedge into their sovereignties." The question of the sovereignty of the States was argued with a good deal of legal ingenuity before the Butler Committee by the counsel for the Princes. It was pointed out that the States were independent and sovereign before the

coming of the British and that they have remained so even to the present day except in such matters as have been expressly ceded to the Paramount Power by treaties and engagements. The sovereignty of the States being inherent, there could be no derogations from it by any unilateral act on the part of the British Government.

But the position taken up by the Princes is most untenable. Today many of the treaties and engagements on which they place so much reliance have only an antiquarian interest. So thickly have they been overlaid with political usages and customs, necessitated by the exigencies of the changing times, that shorn of these accretions, the treaties are reduced to a dead-letter. And the growth of political practice has been so exuberant that it defies all efforts at analysis and codification. No useful purpose is, therefore, served by according an exaggerated importance to the treaties, as is being done by the Princes, for they are in reality, to quote Professor Hall, "little more than statements of limitations which the Imperial Government, except in very exceptional circumstances, places on its action."

Moreover, from the States peoples' point of view, the treaties have become obsolescent because the people have not been accorded their rightful place in them. It is true that some of them enjoin upon the ruler the necessity of governing well, but no specific provisions as to the ruler's duties and responsibilities towards his subjects have been made in the same manner as his obligations to the Paramount Power have been set out. The fact of the matter is that these treaties were concluded at a time when the necessity of recognising the existence of the States people was scarcely realized. The ruler was always spoken of in terms of his States, and it was believed that all engagements with him had, *ipso facto*, a binding effect upon his people as well. But the States people are no longer prepared to accept such a preposterous position.

The reluctance of the Government of India to introduce salutary changes in the States administrations even when they are under its control is not, therefore, prompted by any considerations of the "sanctity" of the treaties, which the Government is in fact most responsible for rendering nugatory. It is a concession made to the Princes for political reasons.

#### DR. HUTCHINS' INDICTMENT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago, broadcast in January last an extraordinary indictment of social conditions and political shortcomings in America. The following excerpts are from the address:—

"Have we freedom of speech and freedom of worship in this country?"

"We do have freedom to say what everybody else is saying and freedom of worship if we do not take our religion too seriously. But teachers who do not conform to the established canons of social thought, lose their jobs.

"People who are called 'radicals' have mysterious difficulties in renting halls. Labour organizers sometimes get beaten up and ridden out of town on a rail.

"Norman Thomas had some trouble in Jersey City. And the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to let Marian Anderson sing in the

national capital in a building called Constitution Hall...

"What of the moral order and justice and supremacy of human rights? What of democracy in the United States? Words like these have no meaning unless we believe in human dignity. Human dignity means that every man is an end in himself. No man can be exploited by another.

"Think of these things and then think of the sharecroppers, the Okies, the Negroes, the slum-dwellers, down-trodden and oppressed for gain. They have neither freedom from want nor freedom from fear. They hardly know they are living in a moral order or in a democracy where justice and human rights are supreme.

"We have it on the highest authority that one third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. The latest figures of the National Resources Board show that almost precisely 55 per cent of our people are living on family incomes of less than \$ 1,250 a year. This sum, says *Fortune Magazine*, will not support a family of four. On this basis more than half our people are living below the minimum level of subsistence. More than half the army which will defend democracy will be drawn from those who have had this experience of 'the economic benefits of the American way of life.' We know that we have had till lately nine million unemployed and that we should have them still if it were not for our military preparations. When our military preparations cease, we shall, for all we know, have nine million unemployed again....

"As for democracy we know that millions of men and women are disfranchised in this country because of their race, colour or condition of economic servitude. We know that many municipal governments are models of corruption. Some state governments are merely the shadows of big-city machines. Our national government is a government by pressure groups. Almost the last question an American is expected to ask about a proposal is whether it is just. The question is how much pressure is there behind it or how strong are the interests against it. On this basis are settled such great issues as monopoly, the organization of agriculture, the relation of labour and capital, whether bonuses should be paid to veterans, and whether a tariff policy based on greed should be modified by reciprocal trade agreement.

"To have a community men must work together. They must have common principles and purposes. If some men are tearing down a house while others are building it, we do not say they are working together. If some men are robbing, cheating and oppressing others, we should not say they are a community. The aims of a democratic community are moral. United by devotion to law, equality and justice, the democratic community works together for the happiness of all the citizens. I leave to you the decision whether we have yet achieved a democratic community in the United States. ...

"If we would change the face of the earth, we must first change our own hearts. The principal end that we have hitherto set before ourselves is the unlimited acquisition of material goods. ...

"We must now learn that material goods are a means and not an end. We want them to sustain life, but they are not the aim of life.

"The aim of life is the fullest development of the highest power of men. This means art, religion, education, moral and intellectual growth. These things we have regarded as mere decorations or relaxations in the serious business of life, which was making money.

"The American people, in their own interest, require a moral regeneration. If they are to be missionaries to the world, the regeneration must be profound and complete.

"We must try to build a new moral order for America. We need moral conviction, intellectual clarity and moral action; moral conviction about the dignity of man, intellectual clarity about ends and means, moral action to construct institutions to bring to pass the ends we have chosen. A new moral order for America means a new conception of security. Today we do not permit men to die of starvation, but neither do we give them an incentive to live. Every citizen must have a respected place in the achievement of the national purpose. A new moral order for America means a new conception of sacrifice, sacrifice for the moral purposes of the community. In the interest of human dignity we need a rising standard of health, character and intelligence.

"These positive goals demand the devotion and sacrifice of every American. We should rebuild one-third of the nation's homes. We must provide adequate medical care in every corner of the land. We must develop an education aimed at moral and intellectual growth instead of at making money. A new moral order for America means a new conception of mastery. We must learn how to reconcile the machine with human dignity. We have allowed it to run wild in prosperity and war and to rust idly in periodic collapse. We have hitherto evaded the issue by seeking new markets."

#### J. B. PRIESTLEY ON WAR AIMS.

J. B. Priestley came back on the radio the other night after a silence of many weeks. For quite a while he did the Sunday-night talk on the war, and created a big impression. The belief gained ground that his views about war aims and peace reconstruction were too advanced for some people and that he had to be taken off the air for that reason. However that may be, Priestley's ideas were, writes the London correspondent of the *Hindu*, very popular and set people talking on the question of what victory ought to mean in the way of a new world and a better order of society. When he came back to the subject two nights ago, Priestley was found to be more insistent than ever that we must now plan for the future, and above all that we must state without delay what we propose to make out of the victory which he believes we shall achieve. He made out to my ears an unanswerable case for an early and clear definition of war and peace aims, and he denied emphatically that because we have to concentrate all physical effort on winning the war we cannot at the same time do the other thing and set up a charter of human rights of a character to stir the imagination and fire the enthusiasm of a world of common people eager to smash Hitlerism, get rid for all time of war, and remake this universe on lines of sanity and right. Priestley has no patience with the "one thing at a time" argument, and here he is in company with countless millions of others.

Priestley is in line with many thinkers in claiming that the war can be shortened and victory be made more certain by the provision out of Britain of such a charter of human rights as he has advocated. Strategical or tactical considerations no less than immediate propaganda advantages, make it plain enough that the cause of a decent kind of Democracy will gain help everywhere as soon as it is devised and the solemn assurance is given that this is what Britain and her Allies are fighting for. "The Defeat of Hitlerism" is almost as

empty and meaningless a slogan as to declare solely that we are fighting for a better world order. I disagree entirely with Priestley when he says that Hitler has gained some kind of moral initiative by declaring that he is creating a "New European Order." There can be no doubt whatever what a worthless thing this is—whatever it is—when one knows what is happening in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in Norway, or in Rumania. Who but Hitlerites wants the "Fuehrer-prinzip" with all its corollaries of prison camps, mass executions, suppression of free speech and press, and the denial of argument and discussion, with the Gestapo the leading authority on what is humanly permissible. Hitler has certainly not impressed the common people of Europe that he has a "new order" worth any enthusiastic support. It is doubtful whether even the Germans think much of the system, however much they may admire Hitler for his military and other achievements.

Hitler has gained no advantage that cannot be speedily overtaken by the other kind of declaration called for by Priestley and everybody else who believes that the world is waiting for a real lead back to reason and right. That is why the demand for a declaration of that character is so insistently being maintained. It came up yesterday in Washington when Lord Halifax held his first Press Conference in the United States and he was asked to state specifically what Britain's war aims were. The former Viceroy of India seemed to feel himself under some obligation in the matter, and indicated that he might have the opportunity soon of saying something publicly about war aims. Quite probably he has already sensed that the American people want to hear Britain—as they say—"get down to brass tacks" in the matter. Mr. Churchill himself has not been oblivious to the growing clamour for a definition in some detail of our peace objectives and certainly for some prevision about the state of things to come. He has given two Ministers a specialised job of work to do. Lord Reith is in charge of rebuilding and reconstruction in the physical sense, and Mr. Greenwood is entrusted with a different kind of planning and reorganisation which will presumably cover social reconstruction.

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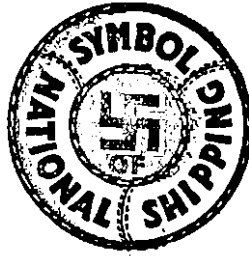
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also been the recipients of the major contracts. The matter has been ventilated in the Legislature. The replies given by Government have been unsatisfactory. However that may be, the greatest service that the European community can and should have rendered in this crisis, has remained unfulfilled. That is to act as a link between the British and the Indian people, harmonising their interests and sentiments. The European in India has completely isolated himself from the important currents of national life. In some cases, he has even acted as an irritant by his bumptious assumptions and affectations in the face of the world disaster. No outstanding personality has arisen in the European community in this country during the last fifty years. "There seems good reason to expect," said His Excellency, "that out of this great world disaster India may emerge greatly benefitted in her economy." Immediately he qualified his optimism: "It can at least be recognised that up till now India has received some substantial economic benefit to set against the inconveniences brought to her by war." Some people have certainly benefitted but vastly more are the people who have suffered. If a balance is to be struck we are sure that the benefits will not outweigh the inconveniences. That any benefit can come from War, is itself a fallacy. It is very popular among some people today and we are surprised that it is so. The last war brought us a sham prosperity. Important families, household names in the city, disappeared with it. We shall no doubt get a few fortunes made but war fortunes can never last. They are made through the blood and tears of millions of men, women and children, on the ruins of desolate homes.

**The Vigilance Association :—**At its last annual meeting the Bombay Vigilance Association elected the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bombay as their President for the current year. His Grace, it was reported, hesitated to accept the office on account of his unfamiliarity with local conditions but he was advised that that was not an insuperable disqualification. We think it is. Social problems have their origin in conditions of social life and, without a clear understanding of those conditions, it is hardly possible to devise solutions which have a chance of proving effective. Even with a full knowledge of conditions, men who approach the problems with a definite bias are likely to prescribe remedies which only aggravate the disease. The Archbishop suffers from both disabilities—his ignorance of local conditions and his strong bias as Catholic Archbishop against what he must regard as the paganism around him. The Catholic Church has, as acknowledged by the League of Nations Commission, achieved notable success in the reclamation of fallen women. But so has Soviet Russia, on the testimony of the same authority, approaching the problem from a diametrically opposite point of view. In between there have been many attempts with varying degrees of

success and failure. Archbishop Roberts, it is no reflection to say, is a convinced believer in Catholic theory and technique. He is also a man who is not cut out for the role of figurehead. The Vigilance Association deals largely with cases of non-Christians, chiefly Hindus. The best solution for the problem of rehabilitation, as experience has shown, is the provision of opportunities for the women of settling down in married life. The Committee of the League of Nations has recorded its opinion that this seems to be less difficult in the East than in European countries. In the nature of things, the chances of a young Hindu girl who had yielded to temptation, being married, are greater in a Hindu Home like the Shraddanand Rescue Home than in the Shelter of the Vigilance Association presided over by an Archbishop. We have not seen the Report of the Association this time but some of the cases dealt with during the year were published in the daily papers. They were all Hindus and we are at a loss to know why they were not sent to the Shraddanand and other Hindu Homes in Bombay. Hindu men who cannot find wives in the normal way are more likely to seek them in the Hindu Homes than in a Shelter run under the auspices of a Catholic Archbishop. The head of an institution of this kind should be one who is known to the public more as a social worker than as a religious potentate.

**God and the Nazis :—**Mr. H. S. L. Polak has released to the press two letters which he received from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Winston Churchill, in reply to a communication from him asking for clarification of their references to the present war as a war of Christianity against the non-Christian world. Mr. Polak feared that in the existing confusion in India such phrases might lead to trouble and he asked if it would be correct to substitute anti-Christian for non-Christian, as this would placate Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist subjects in the Empire. Mr. Polak's inquiry has produced, if we may say so, more than satisfactory results. Both the Archbishop and the British Premier have made it clear that by non-Christian they mean anti-Christian, and by anti-Christian, anti-all-religion. Indians, there can be no doubt, will be greatly reassured by the authoritative pronouncement of Church and State, that, though they may not be fighting for independence or for democracy or for a new world order, they are fighting on the side of the angels—whatever faith they profess. The next world at any rate is guaranteed. We do not profess to be in the confidence of the Almighty as the Archbishop and the British Premier now find themselves to be, but to us it has always seemed a sign of weakening intellectual powers to claim divine support for one's side in a war. From German sources parallel passages to the claims of the Archbishop and of Mr. Churchill could readily be culled. So far as we can see, only the Jews can claim for the present war any religious complexion and in

their case it was Germany which declared war on them, not they on the Germans. Frankly we would like to know which part of Nazi-Fascism is anti-religious. If it is domination by one nation over another, there is no religion which has not seen this happen within its fold. Jesus, if orthodox representatives of Christianity are right, himself not only did not protest against Roman domination over the Jews but rather asked his co-religionists to give Cæsar his due. If it is the inhuman cruelty of the Nazis, other adventurers who worked with the blessings of their Church or Mosque or Temple, have also disregarded the sanctity of human life. Nor should it be forgotten that, by submitting to the inhuman crucifixion, Jesus followed methods different to the ones now employed to overcome cruelty. Another question inevitably arises in reading Mr. Polak's letter: Did Nazi-Fascism become non-Christian, anti-Christian and anti-religious only after September 3, 1939?

**The End of Pakistan** :—The Pakistan idea had never any vitality. The spurious life which it enjoyed for the last twelve months is entirely due to the panicky outbursts of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders. The strongest opposition to it has, as we expected, come from devout Muslim leaders, to whom their religion was much more than a pawn in a political game. That Islam which at one time aimed to be the religion of the world, should now beg for a small part of India in which to pass its days, was to them a humiliation. Aurangzebe failed in his endeavour to extend the Muslim regime over the whole of India. It was hoped that with the help of the British, Mr. Jinnah might be able to accomplish what the Great Moghul was unable to accomplish. Instead, it was proposed to impound Indian Islam in a few districts in Northern India under the name of Pakistan. The Hindu opponents of the scheme made use of it as a means of propaganda. They told the Hindus that the Muslim raj was going to be re-established and that the evils associated with the term "Moglai rule" will return with it. The Government did not make any pronouncement on the Pakistan scheme, and rightly. They can not go on repudiating every fantastic proposal that may be started by political partisans. But the Mahasabha leaders made so much of it that Government have had to make some sign. The retiring Governor of Sind, Sir Lancelot Graham, on the eve of his handing over his office to his successor, Sir Hugh Dow, gave an interview to the Press in which he repudiated the idea that Government favoured Pakistan. He did not stop there. He attacked the local leader, Sir Abdulla Haroon, and wondered how he, whose ancestors were all Hindus, could support the scheme. On the same day the *London Times* in a leading article contemptuously waived aside Pakistan as an idea which no Government of India can countenance. The next Muslim League session is to be held in Madras in a few days and it will be interesting to see how Mr. Jinnah meets the new situation. He has already offered to drop it for

the duration of the war. If he repeats his offer at the League session, it should be accepted. Conditions after the war, it may be assumed, will make the revival of the idea out of the question.

**Bombay Government's Loyalty** :—Much as we appreciate the loyalty of the Bombay Government to the late Congress Government, as shown by its desire to continue its predecessor's measures as much as practicable, we can not help thinking that it is wrong to sacrifice the interests of the people on this sentimental ground. In the case of Prohibition, the present policy of favouring foreign liquor and penalising country liquor, has reduced the policy to an absurdity. The whole scheme should have been scrapped and the *status quo* restored. The Congress Government, without knowing how long it will be allowed to continue in office by the Congress High Command, introduced schemes which could not be carried out in a short few months and, just after digging up the ground for the foundations, abandoned them, leaving a mighty mess behind. Nothing more irresponsible or more ill-calculated to serve public interests can be thought of. The responsibility for the mess they have made can be brought home to them only by restoring the *status quo*. Prohibition is not the only subject in which the Congress Government's backsliding has produced confusion. Two other important measures passed by the Bombay Legislature—the Tenancy Bill and the Agricultural Debtors' Relief Bill—have been left for the present Government to implement. The two Bills are of such a far-reaching nature that the effects of their application can not be foreseen. A Government Press Note observes:

Each of these Acts is complicated in character and will present numerous administrative problems of a complex nature. Furthermore, both Acts will involve substantial changes in the economic structure of the Province. It is difficult to gauge the nature of the problems, both administrative and economic, which will arise, and the enforcement of the Acts throughout the Province simultaneously in all areas might well result in a state of chaos, both economic and administrative, which would present very grave problems.

Government in these circumstances would have done well to hold these measures in abeyance. They have instead, decided to apply them in a few areas as an experiment. The results of the laboratory are not always obtainable in free conditions. Further the dislocation of the economic life of the selected areas will be as acute as if the measures had been applied to the whole province. The period of ten years for which the experiment is to be tried, is long enough to set up a movement of population into the selected areas where tenants and cultivators are to enjoy special protection. More than that, measures of this kind depend largely for their successful working, on the men who direct their operations being in full sympathy with their aims and objects. The present Government of Bombay is more apprehensive of their dangers than confident of their benefits. Their estimate as to the success or failure of the experiment, however conscientious they may be in overcoming their fears, can not be assumed to be correct.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 5, 1941.

## SECONDARY EDUCATION.

In his presidential address to the Eleventh Session of the Baroda Secondary Teachers' Conference held at Kalol on March 21 this year, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Principal of the S. L. D. Arts College of Ahmedabad, struck a note which is unfortunately not very common in even academic discussions nowadays. Symptomatic of the growing interest in secondary education is an increase in the number of conferences and speeches at conferences reported in the press. But the temptation to secure national figures from one or the other of our leading political parties has rarely been resisted by the organisers and, even where the public might have expected a real contribution to the subject of secondary education, we have had digressions usually into the rights and wrongs of the present war. Dr. Rao's address was very much to the point and he struck a happy note at the outset by expressing his conviction that all education, primary, secondary and collegiate, is one, "a technique of unfolding to the individual the various potentialities which he inherits as a human being." He referred to secondary education as the "corner-stone of the edifice." With this perspective Dr. Rao discussed in his address two essential conditions which he postulated for an efficient system of secondary education: First, he urged that those who are in charge of secondary education "as well as those who are not," must know definitely what they expect out of secondary schools. Secondly, he laid the greatest importance on the quality of secondary teachers who ought to be men of ability, enthusiasm and industry and "continuously conscious of the high mission of their profession." Dr. Rao's description of what is expected of secondary education, was rather one of what ought to be hoped for in our secondary schools. Very few parents or guardians, we are afraid, look to the secondary schools to "facilitate self-discovery," or "to enable a boy or girl to obtain a sense of his or her uniqueness." And very probably even fewer teachers, who too often tend to measure their success by their ability to secure docility in class. There is frequently a lack of co-operation between parent and teacher, unless it be co-operation in curbing the independent spirit of some specially recalcitrant boy. If there happens to be any difference between one secondary school product and his fellow-student, it must be traced to some cause other than an enthusiastic fostering of individual differences by the teachers. In justice to the teacher, it must be said, however, that it is not humanly possible to expect better results with the mammoth classes now run in secondary schools. We are glad to note that Dr. Rao has expressed himself strongly though casually against the pernicious system of private tuition. He

deplored the necessity imposed by meagre salaries on school teachers to implement their earnings by tuition. Private tuition has nothing to commend it and it means nothing less than the breakdown of the school system every time it has to be resorted to. The head of one of the leading schools in Bombay recently remarked that he never permits members of his staff to accept tuitions for students of his school. From the student's point of view, if one seeks to bring about the fullest development of personality, the all-sided training of mind and body, there can be little justification for after school hours tuition.

For, in his suggestions for making education more complete than it is at present, Dr. Rao, to use a much-abused term, is totalitarian in his outlook. In "Germany Speaks," Herr Bernard Rust, "Reich Minister of Science, Education and Popular Enlightenment," observes that it is the totalitarian aim of Nazi education to train the "faculties of the body, the character and the will just as the intellectual ones;" and that its need arose because German pre-Nazi education was too "intellectual." Dr. Rao divides education into the more usual divisions of Physical, Vocational, Mental, Social and Moral; and says the present system is too "Mental." As a matter of fact there is as little reality in this division as there is in the vertical differentiation of Primary, Secondary and Collegiate. Two of them are superfluous. The first, Vocational, arising out of Gandhiji's recent Wardha plan, is but a subdivision of Physical; and the other, Social, has grown largely out of an insufficient recognition of the family influence in moulding personality. Dr. Rao remarks on the Vocational needs of education:

I find myself unable to share such an exaggerated view of the place of crafts in education—(that crafts should take the place of language as the media of education).....But I am convinced that every boy or girl who goes to school should learn some craft compulsorily as a part of his or her education and the craft learnt should be connected with the student's environment.

The purpose of "Vocational Education" as it has evolved since the Wardha project was mooted, is claimed to be that of making the young boy or girl deft with their hands. This purpose is hardly likely to be achieved through training students to one craft even though the environment might point to one only. Familiarity with tools and implements, and in the large cities with machinery, is more to be aimed at than dexterity in any particular craft. "Crafts Education" will be a mechanical soulless training, so long as it is restricted to the teaching of one craft. Dr. Rao rejects the basis of training to a craft when, in discussing the pay of secondary teachers, he denounces all talk of making education self-supporting. It will be remembered that the idea first arose out of the Wardha scheme where it was suggested that the expenses of the teacher should be found through the product of the

manual labour of his pupils. If the responsibility for the education of the young is placed, where it rightly belongs, on the State and on the community—and Dr. Rao leaves no doubt as to his views in this matter—then there should be no difficulty in appreciating the superiority of the Sloyd system over the “crafts” method of training. On the Mental side Dr. Rao expresses the fear that the attention it now receives may not be continued in future because, in “this irrational age, thinking is getting increasingly at a discount.” At the same time, he regrets that it does not foster the spirit of inquiry in the pupils and that it tends to degenerate into a mere system of memory training. No one would hold a brief for cramming the young mind with a mass of things. Nevertheless, it is a fact worth pondering over for educationists that in the past thirty years there has been a notable change in the secondary schools in the direction of less memorizing, particularly in the field of literature; and that almost coincident with this there has also been a dulling of what one might call a sense of language.

Dr. Rao concludes with a discussion of the place of religion in secondary schools. Both in this and in what he calls the Social side of education he rather tends to forget the home. After all every child is born into a community, and education in living in it is something which has pre-natal origins. The instances he cites in support of social education, are all instances of unlearning the lessons of the home. Is it wise to introduce so violent an element of conflict between home and school so early in a child's mind? In education, moreover, the secularization of the school has followed, not preceded, the secularization of the community itself. That the reverse is not true is proved by the experience of the mission schools in India. Here though religious instruction is imparted, it has not effected any change in the community through the homes of the students. If the political communal agitation had any reality for the people, the secondary schools of today, based as they are on secular ideals, would be deserted. Dr. Rao has suggested that all students should be told something of the lives of the prophets. To do this in the way he wants, it would be necessary to “secularize” the founders of religions and separate their lives and their teachings from the reactions roused in the people among whom they lived. And the lives of the prophets apart from their teachings might not always have an edifying effect on the young mind. As for moral values, every good teacher does instil moral values in his pupils much more effectively than a thousand sermons. The emphasis should rather lie on example than on precept. If, however, religion is to be taught in schools, it might be well to follow the Czechoslovak (pre-Munich) example which recognized the inherent right to freedom of conscience. The formula of Czechoslovak education in religion was :

Religion is a compulsory subject of study in all elementary, civic, secondary, and normal schools except for pupils who are members of a denomination not recognized by the Government and those of recognized denominations whose parents make written request for their exemption. The courses in religion are prepared by the various denominational authorities and submitted to the provincial school board.

Czech education, however, was completely national in that the State had supreme authority over all instruction. But it should not be lost sight of that the Czech system is reared on the Czech social soil. All the teaching in the schools will be of no effect if the family does not cherish the same ideals as the secondary teacher does. Dr. Rao's appeal to secondary teachers to cherish a high sense of their mission was a very happy one.

#### C. F. ANDREWS AND INDIANS OVERSEAS.

(BY GURDIAL MALLIK, SANTINIKETAN)

Many people are aware of the herculean efforts which the late C. F. Andrews, the first anniversary of whose death falls today, made for a number of years to get recognition for our fellow-countrymen overseas as self-respecting Indians and the repeated frustration with which he met in colony after colony. It was this frustration which brought forth the warrior in him, otherwise he was one of the meekest of the earth. The existence of the colour-bar in countries which were administered by those who called themselves followers of Christ, was, to his mind, one more nail driven into the heart of the founder of Christianity. And, being a devoted servant of the Saviour, he could not tolerate its perpetuation by his brethren of the faith. Had the colour-bar in the colonies been lifted, he would never have advocated perhaps the ideal of complete independence for India with the fervour of an apostle.

But, besides the claims of our countrymen to be treated fairly and squarely within the British Empire, there was their birthright to a friendly treatment as members of the human race. For, if in Christ the Jew and the Gentile are supposed to meet, then the East and the West also must meet in the heart of man. And, if the present world war could teach people to put their common humanity above their own narrow-minded individuality as nationals, it would not have been fought in vain.

Apart from these considerations, however, there was one particular spiritual experience which had compelled Mr. Andrews to take up cudgels on behalf of Indians overseas. After his serious illness at Santiniketan in 1914 or thereabouts, which threatened his very life, he went to Simla to recoup his health. In the course of his convalescence on the hills, one evening he had a vision. He saw standing in front of him an indentured Indian labourer, with the marks of the planter's whip on his half-bare body. In the twinkling of an eye, in Mr. Andrews' imagination, the “oolie” was transformed into the Crucified Christ. Tears rolled down Mr. Andrews' cheeks and he exclaimed in accents of deep devotion, “Master!” And then and there he vowed to himself that he shall not rest till he had strained every nerve of his to have that abomination of indentured labour removed, root and branch.

But, alas, though the “form” of that species of inhuman employment was killed, the “spirit” of superiority of the White still stalks the British Empire. Would to God that the soul of Mr. Andrews could be made to feel at peace by being assured by those who run the Empire that they would hereafter be true, more to the Christ than to the Bank of England, and treat Indians and other non-white races as “members one of another.”

## TRADITION.

Herbert Spencer quotes in his *Studies in Sociology* a Wahabi exclaiming on seeing an athletic young man who did not share his creed, "What a log for hell-fire." Somewhat in the same spirit the proselytising missionary hails with satisfaction any sign of weakening of old beliefs and traditions among non-Christians as an opportunity for adding to his flock. The *Aryan Path* quotes the Rev. C. T. Walker as urging that missionary effort in the Near East should be intensified because, it is alleged, due to the secularisation of Turkey, the reversion of the Persians to pre-Islamic cultural traditions and the reform movement in Islam, "doors are open which were previously closed... Moslems are more open-minded." The *Aryan Path* welcomes the weakening of the hold of Islamic tradition in the Far East. It writes: "The enfranchisement of human minds anywhere, the shaking off of the fetters of blind belief by the followers of any orthodox creed, must give cause for rejoicing to everyone convinced of the importance of freedom of thought in the quest of truth. It is sad to find that rejoicing shared by some whose motives are not disinterested, namely, by the propagandists of an alien faith, who see in the dropping away of one set of fetters only the opportunity to clamp on a different set."

But the *Aryan Path* fails to note that it is only by way of return to the older "pagan" traditions to which the Turks, Persians and Germans are harking back. To the orthodox Christian, of course, the word "Pagan" is synonymous with all sorts of wickedness. But the more thoughtful even among professing Christians always recognised that Paganism was not the rank foulness pictured by the Churchman. Wordsworth's fervent lines will be recalled.

.... Great God! I'd rather be  
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn;  
So might I stand on this pleasant lea,  
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;  
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;  
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

The slogan that this war is a war against Paganism is not likely to appeal to any man of culture. Traditions are not always the shackles which the *Aryan Path* assumes them to be. They are the most powerful forces for steadying individual as well as group behaviour especially in times of crises. British steadfastness in the face of overwhelming calamities has won the admiration of the world. That steadfastness is due entirely to the fact that the British are a people with a tradition of unflinching fortitude in the hour of danger. This is true also of the Japanese. The Italian collapse is due to the fact that the modern Italian has lost the ancient Roman tradition in its endeavour to romanise the world. A century ago Byron lamented that, while the Greeks retained the Pyrrhic dance, they had forgotten the Pyrrhic phalanx. Twenty years ago they were swept out of Smyrna by the Turks almost without resistance. Today they seem to have regained the tradition of Thermopylae almost by a miracle. The individual or nation without a tradition has an initial advantage over one who has it. But in the long run the man with a tradition, that is, a principle of life and conduct which has become a part of his being, will survive when the flood of chance has overwhelmed the one who fancies himself on being his own ancestor. Of course, old traditions which have outlived their usefulness should be modified in the light of contemporary knowledge and conditions. But traditions man must have or make them for himself if he has none. Without tradition a man is like driftwood in the sea of life.

## MYSORE AND KOLHAPUR.

(BY A STUDENT OF POLITICS).

For the reasons set down in my article last week, I maintain that the treaties are no bar to the introduction of responsible government in the States when they come under the direct administration of the Government of India. By improving the administration and associating the people with it, the Government imparts stability to the State, which is impossible under an autocratic rule. Surely, it cannot be accused of having mulcted the sovereign rights of the State if its actions conduce to the improvement of the administration. This is the minimum price which the Princes must pay to the Government of India for shouldering the burden of administering their States during the minority and interregnum periods.

It is, however, necessary to ensure that the reformed administration does not relapse into the old system of irresponsible Government soon after the apprenticeship of the State to the rule of the Government of India ceases. In other words, the new Prince should not be allowed to deviate from the system of governance laid down by the Government. This can be best achieved by taking an undertaking from him before his investiture with ruling powers that he will strictly maintain the traditions of good government begun by the Government of India. It would be the special responsibility of the Political Officer to ensure that the engagement is faithfully observed by the Prince. Unless such an undertaking is taken from the Princes and its breach sternly discountenanced, one might as well despair of seeing good and responsible government in the States although they might pass under the control of the Government of India any number of times.

To illustrate my point I take the case of Mysore and Kolhapur. Both these States were for long periods under the direct control of the British Government and consequently enjoyed long spells of good government. But in the matter of progress there is no comparison between the two. Today there are in Mysore representative assemblies, an enlightened and vigilant public opinion, and good government. Could we say the same thing about Kolhapur? Why should there be this disparity? The answer is to be found in the respective treaties of these States.

After the fall of Tipu in 1799, the gadi of Mysore was restored to the Hindu Wodeyar dynasty from whom it was wrested by Tipu's father, Hyder Ali. But the Maharaja of Mysore did not prove himself to be a wise ruler and his continued misgovernment drove his people into rebellion. In 1831 the British Government intervened and, as a half-way house to annexation, placed the State under the administration of British officials who governed it with great ability till 1881 when the State was placed in the hands of the deposed Maharaja's adopted son. Stringent conditions were, however, imposed upon the Maharaja to render the reformed administration, the result of half a century's labour, immune from capricious onslaughts. Some of the clauses of Lord Ripon's Instrument of Transfer dated 1st March 1881 are worthy of reproduction here:—

19. All laws in force and rules having the force of law in the said territories when the Maharaja Chamrajendra Wodeyar Bahadur is placed in possession thereof, as shown in the schedule hereto annexed, shall be maintained and efficiently administered, and except with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council, the Maharaja of Mysore shall not repeal or modify such laws, or pass any laws or rules inconsistent therewith.

20. No material change in the system of administration, as established when the Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur is placed in possession of the territories, shall be made without the consent of the Governor-General in Council.

22. The Maharaja of Mysore shall at all times conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council may offer him with a view to the management of his finances, the settlement and collection of his revenues, the imposition of taxes, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture, and industry, and any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his subjects, and his relations to the British Government.

23. In the event of the breach or non-observance by the Maharaja of Mysore of any of the foregoing conditions, the Governor-General in Council may resume possession of the said territories and assume the direct administration thereof, or make such other arrangements as he may think necessary to provide adequately for the good government of the people of Mysore, or for the security of British rights and interests within the province.

The Rendition Treaty of 1881 is not merely one among the hundreds of treaties recorded by Aitchison. It is unique in that it has given a constitution to Mysore from which deviation is impossible. The secret of Mysore's steady progress is to be found in the stipulations I have quoted, although I am aware that the State has also been fortunate in its Rulers and Dewans.

Kolhapur provides an ideal study in contrast. The Treaty of 1862 with that State was fairly stringent, for, its first Article laid down "that in all matters of importance the Rajah of Kolhapur agrees to follow the advice of the British Government as conveyed by the Political Officer representing that Government at Kolhapur."

As in the case of Mysore, the Treaty of 1862 was concluded with the Maharaja of Kolhapur at the time of restoring the management of the State to the Ruler. The State has, however, failed to keep pace with Mysore because, despite the stringency of the Treaty of 1862, its stipulations were not specific. There was no binding clause in the Treaty, as in the Mysore Treaty of 1881, that the ruler should continue the traditions of good government introduced during his minority. The stipulation that the Maharaja should follow the advice of the Political Officer "in all matters of importance" lacked precision, and was capable of any interpretation which the Political Officer chose to make. Events have conclusively proved that it has had no salutary influence upon the administration.

Kolhapur has no representative assemblies and none of those appurtenances of responsible government. Owing to the recent death of its Maharaja, the gadi has fallen vacant. Although the Resident is not directly administering the State, nothing important can be done without his knowledge and consent. The Government of India is at perfect liberty not only to render the administration more efficient but to lay the foundations of self-government. The late Maharaja had declared his intention of establishing popular legislatures in his State. The British Government will only be fulfilling his declared wish if this is done now. His successor should have no legitimate grouse if good and responsible government is introduced in the State. None of the sovereign rights of the State are robbed if the people are more

closely associated with the administration in a constitutional manner. Moreover, we do not know who will come to the gadi, but the coming man could not have hoped in his wildest dreams that he would one day become the Maharaja of Kolhapur. He would, therefore, be guilty of looking a gift horse in the mouth if he should complain that introduction of self-government in the State would constitute an infringement of his sovereignty.

To ensure that the traditions of good and responsible government introduced during the interregnum are faithfully carried out by the coming Maharaja and his successors, an undertaking, as contained in the Mysore Treaty of 1881, should be taken from him. There is nothing unfair to the Maharaja if this is done. The Government of India felt called upon to impose stringent conditions upon the Ruler of Kolhapur in 1862 and there are stronger reasons for doing so now. To the future ruler of Kolhapur, whoever he may be, the possession of the gadi of Kolhapur is a windfall and no conditions, however onerous, should be galling to him.

Kolhapur thus affords an invaluable opportunity to the Government of India for reversing its present attitude towards the States when they come under its direct control.

#### SRI RAMKRISHNA PARAMHANSA.

(BY SIR SITARAM S. PATKAR, BOMBAY.)

Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa was born on 18th February 1836. The basic principle of his teachings that every faith is a path to God, is likely to eliminate the causes of friction between different classes and communities and is likely to foster a closer bond of union between persons belonging to different creeds and religions.

In this age of scepticism and rampant materialism, the shining example of a living faith which would give solace to and relieve the mental distress of suffering humanity requires to be placed constantly and prominently before the public mind.

The basic principles of Sri Ramkrishna's teachings summed up in his messages, "As many faiths, so many paths," is calculated to result in a better understanding among the communities belonging to different religions, not only in this country but in the whole world. It is said by some responsible critics that religion is the cause of all friction and misunderstanding among members of the different communities, belonging to diverse creeds. It is urged, not without some force, that crusades, wars, inquisitions, riots and other strifes and conflicts can be traced to religious prejudices and it is suggested that religion should be done away with if conditions of lasting peace and harmony are to be firmly established. It would, however, be recognized by such critics that notions of morality based on truth, equality and justice must regulate human conduct in order to preserve individual liberty and freedom. The fundamentals of all religions are based on eternal truths and principles of morality. The basic principles inculcated by all religions are identical. It is the dogmas and preachings of priests that lead to strife and conflict. The lesson to be derived from the teachings of Sri Ramkrishna is not only to observe tolerance but accept the tenets of other faiths in their entirety and respect them with the same piety as the tenets of their own faith.

The events in the life of Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa forcibly illustrate the same truth. Under the guidance of Bhairavi whom the saint adopted as his Guru, he attained union with God

by love or Bhakti. When later on he came under the influence of Totapuri he learnt the cardinal virtues of Advaita Vedanta. When he met a humble Mahomedan Govindrai, absorbed in his prayers, he realised the Mahomedan God. Romain Rolland observes "that Mussalmans or Hindus can only be reunited on the basis of the Advaita, the formless God." Sri Ramkrishna after some years realised Christianity. When Malik read the Bible to him, the life of Jesus pervaded him and he saw on the wall a picture representing the Madonna and Child and subsequently visualised the figures as animated by life and motion. Whatever may be the scientific explanation of these phenomena, the message of Ramkrishna is pregnant with great potentialities for the unity and peace not only in this country but the whole world. He observed, "I have practised all religions, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and I have followed the paths of the different Hindu sects. I have found that it is the same God towards whom all are directing their steps along different paths."

A criticism is sometimes levelled that the conduct of a Hindu in the journey of life from its inception to its end is regulated by religious precepts, that more attention is paid to the requirements of the dead ancestors and to the obligations necessary to secure eternal bliss after death and adequate attention is not paid to the alleviation of sufferings of the living. Some of the incidents in Sri Ramkrishna's life point to his earnest solicitude for the relief of distress of suffering humanity. Then Sri Ramkrishna went with his rich companion, Mathur, to Deogar during a famine, he compelled his companion to feed persons dying of hunger and forced Mathur to remit the dues from the tenants of his estate. The ideal of putting deeds before intentions and the good of others before individual emancipation was carried out by Sri Ramkrishna's disciple, Vivekananda, to whom he entrusted the mission of alleviating the misery of the humble and the poor.

The true test of religious life is love of humanity. Sri Ramkrishna preached the doctrine of 'God in Man,' a dictum of great significance in this world which is torn asunder by strife and discord for earthly gain and power.

The teachings of Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa constitute a rich heritage to this country especially as they are free from the taint of sectarianism and fervently appeal to a unity of all faiths and creeds. In the present stage of the evolution of society such teachings require a world-wide publicity. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of patriotic as well as religiously-minded Indians to popularise the message of Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa.

The Ramkrishna Paramhansa Society is carrying on educational and humanitarian institutions, and relieving distress on account of famine, flood and storm. It is carrying on religious work as well as beneficent and humanitarian activities. It is contributing to moral rearmament and fighting against distress and misery in this world.

**"Harjjan":**—The publication of *Harijan, Harijan Sewak* and *Harijan Bandhu*, which was to be made from Ahmedabad from next month, will remain indefinitely suspended. Mr. Mahadev Desai in a recent statement from Sevagram says: "I regret that the announcement made yesterday has been found to have been premature for a cause which I must not disclose and which has come to notice only today. The publication of *Harijan* weeklies must remain indefinitely suspended. I am sorry for the disappointment that must be caused to numerous friends by this announcement."

## PROFESSOR N. G. WELINKAR.

(By B. S. TURKHUD, BOMBAY.)

My contact with Prof. Welinkar commenced 45 years ago and as days rolled on, this contact developed into a very close and lasting friendship. His mere company was an education. He was one of the most brilliant products of the Bombay University of which he was a Fellow and an examiner for several years even after he had left Bombay. He occupied with distinction the chair of Professor of Latin and English in the Wilson College and earned the devotion of his pupils alike through his efficiency and his almost parental kindness and child-like simplicity. He led a most active life and was the founder of several cultural institutions in Bombay, such as 'The Dadabhoy Naoroji Poor Boys' Seminary.' This institution imparted vocational training which is one of the burning topics of the day. Professor Welinkar hit upon this idea in the early eighties so that he may well be recognised as the fore-runner of Gandhi's Wardha Scheme of Education.

Then he established the 'Union High School' where it was he who first began the experiment of imparting co-education somewhat to the dismay of the orthodox public. He successfully conducted it for several years and, as Principal, imparted to the students high moral ideals. Following this with the co-operation of devoted friends and men engaged in the educational line such as Messrs Aga M. J. Mowla, K. N. Shroff, F. D. Master and K. K. Santoke, he established the "Bombay Students' Brotherhood" some time in the early eighties. Gradually it drew widespread attention and its hold on the student world and the educated public generally may be accounted for by the fact that among the weekly lecturers were men like Sir Narayen Chandavarkar, the Hon. Mr. Justice Mirza A. A. Khan, Prof P. A. Wadia, the Rev. Dr. Scott, Jehangir Jamsedji Vimadalal, Prof. Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and many other educationists of distinction. The Brotherhood carried on several activities, the present writer being connected with it for many years as its Honorary Secretary.

He then turned his attention to the establishment of a Brahma Samaj at Hyderabad, Deccan, where he came to be domiciled in the latter part of his life. In order to collect funds for founding a Brahma Samaj Mandir, he made an extensive tour and his labours resulted in the ultimate founding of the institution.

All those who knew Prof. Welinkar knew him as entirely a self-made man. The distinction and popularity he attained, he owed solely to himself. His activities were varied. He was an erudite scholar, a profound thinker, a facile writer and a finished and impressive speaker, being meticulous in the treatment of his subjects. His utterances were consequently listened to by crowds of students with rapt attention.

Prof. Welinkar paid two visits to England where also he spent his time studying various educational and other institutions and contacting many people of note and culture. On his return from England he delivered a series of lectures on his 'English Impressions' which were very much appreciated and are probably still remembered by those who listened to them. They have been printed in book form. Equally vivid perhaps in the memory of those who listened to them from week to week are his masterly expositions of Shakespeare which bore the stamp of deep erudition.

Whilst at the Wilson College Prof. Welinkar's deep study of the Bible influenced him to embrace Christianity, but later he became, and remained to the end of his life, an ardent Brahma Samajist. Once when he was a Christian, Chappeker made an



ugly assault on him for having left Hinduism and an injury to his head resulted in an impairment of his brain faculties for a fairly long time.

For several years Prof. Welinkar was Secretary of the Schools Committee of the Bombay Municipality but he resigned the post from a feeling that his emoluments were quite incommensurate with his qualifications and the responsibilities of the post.

He thereafter proceeded to Lahore as the Principal of the Dayal Singh College which post he held for several years with great credit and made himself very popular among the students and the general public.

His services were then requisitioned by the Educational Department of the Hyderabad State where he served with considerable distinction and right up to his fatal illness.

His last visit to England which was principally undertaken for a change did not much benefit him. After his return he continued in indifferent health for more than ten years till at last he peacefully passed away at Indore on 26th March 1941.

Without exaggeration it may be stated that Prof. Welinkar, although not a highly distinguished personality as distinction is normally counted, was one of the rare souls living on this earth. Besides dedicating his life to the welfare and upliftment of his fellow men, he was in his own personality clean-living, modest, averse from publicity, and most amiable and kind towards all and sundry.

#### NON-SECTARIAN SPIRIT IN SOCIAL WORK.

The *Aryan Path* writes:—

The *Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of February 22nd makes a plea for a non-sectarian spirit in welfare work, commending "the readiness and cordiality with which non-Catholic and non-Christian institutions and workers" had responded to the request of the Catholic Women's Welfare Society of Bombay for co-operation in the rescue of unfortunate women and also that Society's expression of readiness to help other workers in a like spirit.

The genuine humanitarian does not restrict his benefactions to the members of his own caste or of his own community; the mark of the true philanthropist is his readiness to give what help he can to whoever needs help.

Concentrated effort can accomplish wonders. Pooling financial resources may be a simple matter of addition but pooling the more potent resources of mind and of heart means multiplication; any increases in the number of participants in a common endeavour represent a geometrical rather than an arithmetical progression in effectiveness. But it is the unity of aim and of purpose that gives men of good will their greater relative strength. That unity does not consist with any ulterior object and, if non-sectarian effort is to deserve the name, there must be no proselytising—a condition difficult to meet for followers of religions which make the holding of particular beliefs a condition of salvation.

**Record Premium for Red Light District:**—A record figure of Rs. 45½ per square yard as premium was reached for a plot of land in Gration Bastion Road popularly known as Bazar-e-Husan for which tenders were invited by the Delhi Improvement Trust. It may be recalled that this area has been earmarked for the women who were driven out off Chawri Bazar.

#### RAFFLE IN COURT?

The Mannargudi correspondent of the *Indian Express* writes on March 22:—

A comedy of errors occurred in the court of the Sub-Magistrate of Mannargudi as a result of which a man had to pay a fine twice over. Natesa Pillai, a jutka driver, was charged by the police with an offence under the Road Traffic Rules and he was summoned to appear before the Sub-Magistrate of Mannargudi on the 14th instant. Another villager by name Natesa Thevar was also charged for a similar offence and was summoned to appear on the same date. When the name of the accused was called out on the 14th instant, in the court of the Sub Magistrate, Natesa Pillai (jutka-driver) appeared, and pleaded guilty to the charge. As a matter of fact, the name called out in the Court was Natesa Thevar, the villager, who was not present at the Court at the time. Even the Magisterial clerk was unaware of the fact that the person who responded to the call was not the right accused. The Magistrate sentenced the accused Natesa Pillai to pay a fine of Re. 1. The "accused" also purchased raffle tickets for Rs. 3 (six eight-anna tickets.) When Natesa Thevar appeared the same evening, the clerk was reported to have told him that someone had paid the fine and that he might go. Natesa Pillai (jutka-driver) was served with a warrant of arrest on the evening of the 15th instant, for alleged non-appearance in the Court on the 14th instant. When the case against Natesa Pillai was posted yesterday for hearing, the accused represented to the Court that he had already paid the fine imposed by the Court and also produced the fine receipt and the raffle tickets purchased by him on that date. The Sub-Magistrate, after administering a rebuke to the clerk for his carelessness, told Natesa Pillai that nothing could be done in the matter. The accused pleaded poverty. He was, however, fined Re. 1 by the Magistrate. The raffle tickets were returned to him. The tickets stand in the name of Natesa Thevar of Mukkakarai village, though the jutka-driver was the real purchaser.

**Deserted Hindu Women:**—A meeting of the Hindu deserted women of Lucknow-Cawnpore and Unao and their parents, guardians and relations was held at Lucknow on March 24, at which the following resolutions were unanimously adopted: "This meeting of the Hindu deserted women and their guardians places on record its deep sense of abhorrence at the conduct of those Hindu youths who on the flimsiest pretexts, desert their lawfully married wives and remarry. This meeting further appeals to the Hindu public to take effective steps to put a stop to this growing evil. This meeting draws the attention of the Hindu community to the terrible plight of the deserted women and requests them and the M. L. A.'s to get a Divorce of Deserted Women's Bill moved and passed into law by the Central Legislature, inasmuch as the existing Hindu Law does not provide for the dissolution of their marriage and their remarriage. The meeting further calls upon the deserted women of every town, village and city to organize themselves and not to rest until they have got the necessary legislation which alone can bring them relief and without which their lot will continue to be worse than that of widows, who can, at any rate, legally marry whereas the deserted women cannot."

**Indo-Ceylon Relations:**—With a view to bringing cordial relations between the Indians and Ceylonese, a deputation consisting of about six members, including three members of the Central Legislature, it is understood, will visit Ceylon sometime this month. The deputation is being organised by the Indian Colonial Society.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Indo-Burma Trade Agreement:—**The negotiations between delegations of the Governments of India and Burma, were reported a few days ago to have reached a state of deadlock and it was even suggested that they may have to be broken off as those between Indian and the Ceylon delegations. The differences, whatever they were, have been overcome and an agreement was signed last week in New Delhi. Burma gets her chief demand—to levy import duties on Indian goods. India is allowed a preference over imports from other countries. The important questions of immigration and the position of Indians domiciled in Burma, have not been touched, although they are closely related to trade between the two countries. The Ceylon negotiations broke down on this issue. Probably it is expected that Burma having obtained the right to levy duties on Indian imports, might be inclined to be less uncompromising on the rights of domiciled Indians and the immigration question. It is highly improbable that she would do so. Burma's future is henceforth with China and not with India. She belongs to the Far East. The Burma-China Road has opened the route between the two countries and a railway will soon strengthen their communications. As we observed in our leading article some weeks ago, we have no claim on Burma comparable to those we have on Ceylon. Rather we have something to atone for. It was our subservience to British Imperialism which put an end to Burma's national independence. We do not expect the present agreement to be final. The preferences will in due course disappear and India in respect of trade will be in exactly the same position as other foreign countries. The Agreement now concluded makes our idea of a Zollverein between India, Burma and Ceylon, unattainable unless there is a complete change in the shape of things to come in Eastern Asia.

**Sapru-Viceroy Talks:—**As usual, the contents of the talks between the Viceroy and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the beginning of this week, are being treated as confidential. Press correspondents have been indulging in various surmises and none of them offer a reliable basis for comment. There is one exception. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* is also a member of the Leaders' Conference. It was in his home that Sir Tej met his colleagues of the Leaders' Conference after his talks with the Viceroy. There is one point in the correspondent's message to the *Hindu* which, whether it arose in the talks or not, should not be passed over without comment. It relates to the assignment of the portfolio of Defence to an Indian Minister. The *Hindu* correspondent suggests that this will necessitate consultation with the Princes and the Commander-in-Chief. He seems to think that the Commander-in-Chief is entitled to have a voice in the matter but not the Princes. We think the contrary. The Commander-in-Chief is the head of the Army and it is not for him to say whether a white man or a brown man should be his political chief. To hold otherwise would be to reduce the British Indian system to the level of the Japanese system where Army Chiefs decide who should be Prime Minister and who always insist on one of their number holding the portfolio of Defence in every branch. It was rumoured that, when the late Lord Sinha attended the Executive Council as the first nominated Indian Member, Lord Kitchener then Commander-in-Chief, refused to open army questions in the presence of the Indian. How the deadlock was overcome we do not know. Possibly Lord Sinha, one of the least contentious of men, managed to absent himself on the ground of indisposition or more important duty elsewhere, when Lord Kitchener had his day. It is also probable that Lord Minto used his influence with the Commander-in-Chief to withdraw his objection to the Indian's presence. It is not unlikely that this was the strongest objection urged by the Cabinet to the suggestion of King Edward VII to send out Lord Kitchener as Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Minto. Much water has flown under the bridge since, and today the Commander-in-Chief is anxious to take the Indian public with him in Army administration. Sir Claude Auchinleck is not likely to object to an Indian Defence Minister. Our point is that



it is improper to ask him to advise in the matter. As for the Princes, they have made vast contributions in men and money, the troops of several of them are in the battle-front and have distinguished themselves, and to deny them a voice in a matter of such constitutional importance is patently unfair. There is every reason to think that their Highnesses will warmly support the idea of entrusting the Defence portfolio to an Indian. When the first Indian was about to be appointed to the Executive Council of the Viceroy, the Princes were trotted out as the main obstacle until one of them, the Maharaja Bikaner, publicly repudiated the insinuation; and another, the late Maharaja Scindia, when he went to Simla, called first on the Indian Member. The *Hindu* correspondent's views are out of date and betray complete ignorance of the great change in the Princes' outlook during the last quarter of a century.

**New Reforms Commissioner:**—Reforms are not even dimly visible on the horizon but a Reforms Commissioner on a suitably dignified salary has been attached to the Government of India for some years past. Until now he was an official. It is announced that, as this gentleman is needed for war work, his place will be taken by the Editor of the *Round Table*, Mr. H. V. Hodson. The normal attitude of Government towards journalists is a mixture of contempt and cajolery. We are, therefore, glad that they have found one member of the species fit to adorn the Government of India's entourage. Mr. Hodson's knowledge of India is neither exact nor exhaustive. In fact, he knows little about it. That, of course, is a high qualification for any job in India. The requisite knowledge will be supplied by locally recruited persons and Mr. Hodson will have his fresh and blank mind as his chief asset. The irony of this appointment at a time when the Leaders' Conference composed of some of the most distinguished Indians with experience of public affairs, has been demanding that the whole Executive Council should be Indianised and that Finance and Defence should be under Indian Ministers, is not obvious to Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow. But it will not be lost upon Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who had two interviews with the Viceroy on Monday, and his associates.

**The War and Constitutional Reforms:**—The sole preoccupation of the Government of India at present is how best to assist in the successful prosecution of the war. This is also the preoccupation of the Provincial and States Governments. They have no time or thought to spare for anything else. Complex constitutional reforms requiring a changed outlook and new methods of adjustment of the relations between the administration and the people, should be left for more propitious times. There is, of course, another side to the question. It may be argued—and there is force in the argument—that this is the very time for introducing important constitutional reforms as, if these reforms stand the test of the present emergency, they

may be confidently expected to work well in normal times. A ship which has made a safe voyage in stormy seas, may be relied on to carry goods and passengers with maximum safety on smooth seas. The April number of the *New Review* publishes an informing article on the "New Constitution of Mysore" which has prompted these reflections. The author, Mr. A. Appadorai, has made a lucid analysis of the reforms and he is evidently satisfied that it meets in every respect the requirements of the conditions of Mysore. The constitution is bicameral but the legislative powers are vested in a single smaller Chamber, while the Representative Assembly or popular chamber has only advisory functions, though it has the right of expressing itself on the principles of proposed laws. Two elected members of either House are required to be nominated as Ministers. These two men can not be dismissed from office by a vote of no-confidence in either House. But it is suggested that the Maharaja will normally be guided by the opinion of the elected representatives and a Minister who had lost the confidence of his late colleagues may not be retained in office. In the ordinary course, the term of office of a Minister will expire with the term of his membership of either Houses. We cite these features of the reformed constitution to show the complex and difficult nature of some of the arrangements. How would this constitution react to the pressure of the war? Will the war efforts of the State fall within the cognisance of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council? So far as we know, the Mysore Treaty does not provide that the State should participate in wars between Britain and other countries outside India. So war efforts can not be said to come under Treaty obligations which are excluded from the purview of the two Houses. Delicate questions like this might have been left for consideration and settlement after the lapse of the war emergency.

**Lottery Tickets in Court:**—We published last week a news item from the *Indian Express* of Madras relating to an incident in a Mannargudi Court. The sub-magistrate, owing to a confusion in names, fined a man twice, once for an offence committed by another villager and then a second time for not presenting himself in court to answer a charge for a similar offence committed by him. The sub-magistrate rebuked the clerk of the court for carelessness in the matter but told the victim of the mistake that nothing could be done to meet the facts of the case and, in view of his plea of extreme poverty, fined him a rupee a second time. This in itself is peculiar, that a private individual should be made to suffer for an error of the court, and it has tended to overshadow in the report an even more striking feature of the case. The accused when, he was summoned on the second day, produced as proof of his having been present on the earlier occasion the court receipt of the fine and "raffle tickets worth three rupees." The tickets were returned to him. It is difficult to

see any connection between the raffle tickets and the court proceedings. Does it mean that the purchase of these tickets—for the accused was a poor man—was part of the penalty imposed on the accused? Whatever might have been the object of the raffle—we are not told whether it was for building a new courtroom, for improving the position of the constabulary or for the war fund—it is most improper that the judiciary should be so intimately associated with the sale of such tickets. There have been protests against executive pressure in the matter of collecting war funds. Here we think is a more dangerous innovation (or practice) which needs to be looked into.

**Small Mercies from South Africa :—**A Reuter's message conveys the news that General Smuts' Government have graciously decided that Indian passengers in ships calling at South African ports, should be treated courteously during their brief stay in Union territory, and are instructing their officials to that effect. They have also appointed a special officer to look to these instructions being carried out. We are as in duty bound grateful to the South African Government for this small mercy which has been vouchsafed to us in recognition of the bravery and endurance of Indian troops engaged in the African campaign!

**The 'Sentinel' and Press Advising :—**In a signed article in two issues of the *Bombay Sentinel*, Mr. B. G. Horniman, the veteran editor, discloses that he submitted a news-article relating to the death of a Japanese businessman in Bombay to the Special Press Adviser, and that he was asked not to print it. Mr. Horniman then goes on to publish the banned article and to raise objections against the official communication on the subject to which he was referred. Mr. Horniman adds, "It is my duty as a responsible Editor to resist attempts, official or otherwise, to mislead the public." We do not know what purpose Mr. Horniman had in sending his article to the Press Adviser as this is not compulsory. Surely he must have known that there was every possibility of the Press Adviser telling him not to use the article, at any rate in the form in which he had sent it to that official. When a "responsible editor" sends copy to the Press Adviser, it is to be presumed that he has in his own mind doubts about releasing the facts concerned to the public. The system of press advising means nothing less than a system of keeping from the public certain facts which it would be prejudicial to the safety of the country to be widely known. There is a definite field in which a "responsible editor" agrees to "mislead" his readers. We agree with Mr. Horniman that the facts disclosed in his news-article do not come in this category. That is why we are all the more surprised that he should have troubled to send it on to the Adviser.

**The Press In Wartime :—**Mr. Horniman's article in the *Sentinel*, however, carries the

revelations of the working of the press in wartime a step farther so far as the public is concerned. The press was asked at the outbreak of war not to mention the censorship at all. Such an understanding exists in Britain and everybody knows of it and nobody mentions it. But here it is different. Gandhiji in closing down the *Harijan* weeklies last October, referred to the instruction served on him by the District Magistrate officiating as District Adviser. The Editors' Conference in the six months' negotiations with Government gave further revelations from time to time assisted by disclosures made by official letters and communications. Mr. Horniman has now shown how the system of press advising works in daily practice. If anything, there is the danger that the public might run away with the impression that editors are compelled to consult the Press Adviser. In fairness to the system, it must be pointed out that this is left entirely to the discretion of the editor. It would be in the interests of Government itself if it issued a communique explaining the details of the machinery.

**Hindu Women's Right :—**We publish this week further instalments of the questionnaire issued by the Sir B. N. Rau Hindu Law Committee. It is not clear why the Committee has selected two Bills which were recently discussed in the Legislature or why this preference has been shown to Dr. Deshmukh's Bill for Separate Maintenances and Mr. Santhanam's Bill on inheritance. The questionnaire, however, uses them both as bases for discussing fundamental questions relating to the position of Hindu women. The Committee has done well in regarding its terms of reference in the broadest sense and we particularly welcome the straight question it raises on bigamy.

**Public and Private Opinion :—**Mass Observation has reached another stage. In an interesting article in *Political Quarterly*, Mr. Tom Harrison asks, What is Public Opinion? His study of the question has led him to distinguish between several layers of opinion in each individual. Mr. Harrison has six groups of what people say, according to the persons to whom they say it—to the stranger, to an acquaintance, to a friend, to his wife, to himself, and in his sleep. There should really be a seventh, what an individual does not say even in his sleep. This is more frequent in countries where governmental control is strong. But it is not unknown even where persons have comparative freedom to think. M. Ciliga in his "Russian Enigma" mentions his utter confusion when he was forced to realise that the bureaucratic regime in Russia which he detested, had the authority of Lenin behind it. The effort of good government is to reduce the gap between these opinions.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 12, 1941.

## THE WAR AND ISLAMIC COUNTRIES.

The news that, almost synchronising with the military coup d'état in Yugoslavia, there has been a similar bloodless revolution in Iraq led by Syed Rashid Ali Gilani, a military leader, brings once more before the public the position of the Islamic countries in the present war. Iraq along with Egypt broke off diplomatic relations with Germany in September 1939 when Britain declared war on Germany. Yet the placid immobility of these two countries even when war reached their very territories, has been a mystery. The resistance to Italian advance into Egyptian territory was left entirely to British Imperial forces. So far as Iraq is concerned, the most notable event that has occurred since the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany is the triumph, temporary or permanent but nonetheless definite since the Regent has fled to the borders of Iraq territory, of the military over the civilians. The military in Iraq has since 1936 been inclined, like military parties the world over, to pseudo-Fascist policies and theories which distrust of German and Italian promises has not completely overcome. Though Rashid Ali has declared that he does not contemplate any change in foreign policy and has emphasized his adherence to the Anglo-Iraqi Pact, it seems that Britain does not at the moment propose recognizing the Rashid Ali Government. Following Britain, Turkey too has decided not to recognize the new Iraq Government. This is not ununderstandable since it is not definitely known whether Syed Rashid Ali has been able to form a Cabinet. Civilians, however, are not likely to overcome army leaders in any country at a time when the war fever is widely prevalent. But Syed Rashid Ali's rule, can be shaken by another military coup. Whoever reigns at Baghdad, it is essential that the oil of Iraq should not fall into Axis' hands. "In British economic strategy," writes Mr. Louis E. Frechtling in his *Foreign Policy Report on 'War in the Eastern Mediterranean,'* "the Near East does not play a vital role. Petroleum products from Iran, Iraq and the Persian Gulf are consumed locally and in India, but few shipments are now sent west of Suez. Similarly the United States, Latin America and India are far more important sources of cotton than Egypt and the Sudan." Nevertheless Britain has been guarding against any external danger to Iraq, particularly from the Mediterranean. In the first months of the war, communications between Iraq and the Persian Gulf were strengthened. Strange to say, Soviet Russia too has shown an interest in developing its railway system leading to the Persian frontier. The Rashid Ali

revolt does explain to a considerable extent why Iraq, in spite of her treaty with Britain, has been slow to declare war on Germany and render effective aid to Britain. Political conditions in Iraq were not stable enough to allow of it, and the Government so long in power did not feel sufficiently strong to assert itself. If this is the position in Iraq, things are not very dissimilar in the other Arab States all of which have been subjected to intense Nazi-Fascist propaganda. The Shah of Iran has availed himself of the outbreak of hostilities to extract fresh concessions from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company practically absorbing all the company's profits for 1939. Peace with the Italian-influenced Imam of Yemen and with Ibn Saud who has preserved an ominous silence on the war issue, has been largely due to the proximity of the Royal Air Force. Palestine presents a slightly different picture. There the Zionists, many of whom have had intimate knowledge of Nazi rule or persecution in Poland, have flocked to Britain's side. But a writer in *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Albert Viton, gives a none too cheerful account of Palestine. Mr. Viton alleges that the economic system has collapsed, that essential foodstuffs are lacking, that unemployment is mounting up to unprecedented figures and that there is stark disunity in the National Home.

With the unrest in Iraq, the position of Turkey becomes even more important to Allied interests in the war. Nazi-Fascist forces have taken Salonika in Greece and in Yugoslavia also their ruthless methods have carried them into important centres. The stubborn resistance put up by these two nations and the rugged mountainous country may hold back the attack for a time but the result will depend on the amount of help Britain can render to the defenders. Though the Anglo-Turkish Pact intended and explicitly mentioned Anglo-Turkish co-operation in the event of two developments—war in the Mediterranean and war in defence of Greece against aggression—and it is some time since both contingencies have occurred, Turkey is not at war actively and has contented herself with a resolution pledging herself to "neutral defence." This was hardly what the Pact of October 1939 had led one to expect. It is, however, no small thing that Turkey does not feel imperial memories stirring within her and take advantage of the general confusion to reconstruct her Empire. Mr. Viton suggests in his article that Turkey is working out a policy in collaboration with Britain in not so far carrying out her obligations. "Was it," he asks, "thoughtlessness or calculated sabotage that M. Massigli, the French Ambassador at Ankara, asked Turkey to fulfill her obligations under the alliance at the very moment when France was suing for peace, and thereby created a situation which, but for the coolheadedness of the Turkish authorities, might have turned out very badly for the British?" Recent developments would seem to indicate that Britain had long contemplated large scale operations in the

Near East and that Turkey probably was expected to play its part at an agreed moment. Possibly the resistance put up unexpectedly by Yugoslavia and the strength of Greek defence activities have necessitated less active participation by Turkey than would otherwise have been the case. At present Turkey claims to fulfill a double purpose: It keeps the Nazi forces operating through Bulgaria in check on the Turkish frontier, and it completes the cordon round Syria which restrains the Axis from intrigues with the French force there which is believed to be 75,000. And Syria might well be the match which may set off the Arabian magazine. The next few weeks will present a severe test to Turkey and it will, we hope, emerge out of its present position of being not neutral but out of the war. Turkish diplomacy in the past has been one of accepting all advances but granting no favours. It has served its purpose. But persistence in this policy can hardly bring credit to the Republic.

With the revival of enemy activities in Libya, Egypt comes once more into the scene. Mr. Churchill in his speech last Wednesday in the House of Commons referred to the possible danger to Egypt. In discussions on Egypt's attitude in the African campaign in the American press, unfavourable comment is common on the neutrality observed by that country even when Italian forces had reached Sidi Barrani. It has become fashionable to see fifth column activities in the highest circles. But the conclusion of the Eritrean campaign and the national rising in Abyssinia have introduced new factors in Egyptian foreign politics which no longer call for timidity. Suspensions in the Arab States that King Farouk aims at a restoration of the Caliphate with himself at the head, have prevented a united effort on the part of Muslim nations. Nationalism has proved a sturdy growth in the Muslim world and the old affiliations to Islam have but a loose hold on the Chiefs. If Britain recognised this and adapted its Near Eastern policy to the new conditions created by the policies initiated by their own agents in the last war, there is every chance of rallying Arab leaders to its side. But the main effort in the war will have to be borne by the imperial forces, as it has been in Africa, and here Indian troops have to bear a very great share of the responsibility.

#### MAHILA SEVA ASHRAM.

"A Recent Experiment in Moral Welfare Work" is the modest title of an article by Miss M. K. Davis in the April *Ashram Review* of the Christa Prema Seva Sangha of Poona, outlining the policy and methods of the Mahila Seva Ashram, described as "a new type of rescue home for girls of all castes and creeds" at Yerravdvana, near Poona. The Ashram is intended to be an Indian Rescue Home on a very wide scale and "to

train the right type of Indian women worker in the work itself and to utilise the Home as a small field of practical social work whereby local public opinion can be educated regarding moral problems." The method of the Home savours of the idea of the original Christa Seva Sangh, namely, to present Christianity in a Hindu garb. The name chosen, we are frankly told, has been deliberately chosen because of its Gandhian reference and also because its very vagueness will prevent any inmate being labelled as a rescue case. The Home is intended for all creeds and classes. But, unlike the Bethany Homes and the Soviet prophylactoria—the two certified as the most successful by the Committee of the League of Nations—the inmates are not to be treated on a basis of complete equality. Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Jewish and Parsee girls and also Hindu and Muslim girls "of well-to-do families," are to be grouped together in one section. For Indian girls who are accustomed to a simpler mode of life, "the cottage system" is considered more suitable. Small groups of girls, in this system, are to be accommodated in quarters set part as small cottages where they could live in little families. The reason given for this arrangement is that the average Indian girl is so domesticated that she does not respond to ordinary institutional treatment. This is by no means the case only with Indian girls accustomed to a simple life. A section in the League of Nations Report to which reference has been frequently made in *The Reformer*, is headed, "The Dangers of Institutional Life." The following is quoted from the Belgian review of the work done in that country:

There is something artificial in institutional life. After a few years, the children acquire a special mentality; they are 'institutionalised,' fit to live in an institution but not fitted for life in the world.

The recognition of and provision for differences of race, caste, and class in the arrangements, is a rejection of the fundamental principle of an Ashram, which is the absence of all such distinctions. The promoters of the Yerravdvana institution do not evidently feel that they can make a "success" of it without accepting the prevalent distinctions. There is only one sense in which institutions of this kind can claim to be successful and in that sense the Mahila Seva Ashram, despite its name, can not expect success if they cannot cut themselves away from class distinctions. Since the promoters have been guided by Gandhian precedent they may note that there is no distinction recognised in the Gandhi Ashram, the same accommodation, the same food being assigned to all inmates. The word "Ashram" has never had associations with rescue work and its adoption by the Yerravdvana institution is an etymological violence. It will be unfortunate if the word comes to be associated with the rehabilitation of fallen women. All attempts to invest Christian institutions with a Hindu garb involve similar violence to tradition and usage.

The original Sangh as it was conceived by Jack Winslow, as well as the Rev. Father Heras' plan for a Catholic Church and liturgy on the Hindu model—His Holiness the Pope very properly vetoed it—ignored the fact that outward manifestations have no meaning when they are not inspired by the ideas which inspired them.

The conduct of the Ashram is entirely in Christian hands. The three senior workers belong to the Orders of the Holy Name and Christian Prema Seva Sangha. In view, however, of the fact that the main purpose of the Home is to serve the interests of unprotected women, it has been decided, we are told, to admit non-Christians as well as Christians and to seek their rehabilitation in ordinary life and not in their conversion to Christianity. This is not only a wise but it is also the commonsense course. Since Christianity, no more than Hinduism, guarantees women from falling—16 out of the 27 cases so far admitted, are Christians—conversion to Christianity is not an infallible means of rehabilitating unfortunate women. But this is only a negative safeguard. If the institution aims at being truly cosmopolitan all communities should be represented on the management and in the conduct of the institution. Actually the Home is now a Christian institution to which non-Christians are admitted from motives of expediency rather than those of principle. There are several such institutions in India. They depend for their funds largely on non-Christian sources but allow no voice in the management to persons who are not Christians. There is a movement even to evict non-Christian teachers from Christian colleges and schools though these depend for the greater part of their finances on Government grants and the fees paid by non-Christian students. Every member of the staff has, of course, the right to draw his inspiration from whatever source appeals to him but, in his work in connection with the institution, he should concede the same right to every other member. We are obliged to say this because we read in Miss Davis' article that it is intended to make the Church the power-house of the work for workers and girls alike. She adds that Christian workers and girls should find there both strength and inspiration and, from such inspiration, non-Christian girls should be able to receive the fear of Christian service. This seems to confirm our belief that the decision to make no conversions is motivated by expediency rather than by principle. Miss Davis has some provocative observations on the special urgency imparted to rescue work by the conditions created by the war. Referring especially to Poona, she says: "With the outbreak of war it was found that Poona became a much larger cantonment areas as well as a bigger munition centre. Such things must necessarily have a direct effect on the moral health of the adjacent city."

#### STRAY THOUGHTS.

In my observations on the Leaders' Conference in Bombay (*The Reformer*, March 22), I pointed out that with all my appreciation of the benefits of British rule I could not, try as I might, bring myself to regard this war as my war. I added that this might be my peculiarity and that I did not generalise from it to the whole country. Indeed, the 899,999,998 other inhabitants of India may, for aught I know, be with Sir Jagadish Prasad in thinking that this is their war and may be only waiting to manifest it by word and deed until Lord Linlithgow has agreed to form a national government on the non-party lines suggested by the leaders. In passing I may suggest the following names for the national government: Premier, Mr. M. A. Jinnah; Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, Finance Minister; Foreign Minister, Mr. Manmathanath Roy; Minister of the Interior, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh; Minister of Commerce, Sir Henry Gidney; Minister of Communications, Sir P. Ginwala; Minister for War, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. I am not able at the moment to suggest names for other portfolios. But they can be readily found from among the other minority communities. The main consideration underlying this Cabinet is that caste Hindus, the "majority community" as they are usually called, should not be included in the national government. If I had any influence with the Hindus, I would unhesitatingly advise them that the most signal service that they can render to the country at this juncture is to stand out of politics and let the minorities govern the country. A vast amount of internal reform has to be effected in the Hindu community before its representatives can effectively take their proper place in the national councils. That is by the way.

If this is not my war, can any war be my war? I can not say because I do not know. I am not an absolute pacifist and I do not think that violence as such, and apart from the motive and purpose of it, is wrong. I should never forgive myself if I did not prevent a child from being run over by a motor lorry by refraining from holding it back violently from getting under its wheels. I should be disconsolate during the rest of my life if I let a drunken man belabour a friend who tried to stop his orgies. I can imagine numerous other circumstances in which I should feel it my duty as a human being to prevent forcibly acts of omission and commission which I was in a position to prevent. But war is a different thing altogether. Innocent men in thousands are engaged or compelled on both sides to kill, blind and in other ways disable one another not only for further participation in war but, for purposes of civil life, from discharging their duties as parents to their children. The picture which the that word "War" pre-eminently brings up to my mind, is of hundreds and thousands of orphans thrown on the mercy of institutional charity.

I have never been in a war. But I have read a lot of war literature and have a vivid realisation of its social consequences. My feeling towards war is much the same as that of Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukshetra. The social demoralisation and the functional confusion resulting from war are a tremendously high price to pay for its illusory benefits. The Bhagavadgita as an apologetic of war has always seemed to me to be unsatisfactory. Sri Krishna's arguments urging Arjuna to fight belong to the category of begging the question. It is un-Aryan, infamous, not to fight. Your friends will point their finger of scorn at you. If you die in battle you go to heaven, if you emerge victorious out of it, you have the whole world at your feet. Your enemies have destroyed themselves by their misconduct, you are but the instrument to execute the doom of Nemesis. The



attempt throughout is to hypnotise the clear-eyed Arjuna into precipitating himself into the fight. The events as recorded in the Mahabharata itself show beyond the shadow of a doubt that Arjuna's fears all came true. The sequel of the war and the victory was a wholesale demoralisation of the Hindus from which they never recovered. The Gita as a metaphysical and ethical treatise has a high value but it is very poor stuff as a defence of war. My friend, Professor J. B. Pratt of Williams College, one of the leading American authorities on Indology, has, in his article in the *Vedanta Kesari*, drawn largely upon the Gita for ammunition against the anti-war attitude. But he is obliged finally to resort to the same question-begging tactics as the Gita. Those who are against war, he says, are simply trying to save their skins! Perhaps, he is right but some of these men have faced heavy odds in their life-long fight against social wrongs. It is generally admitted that physical courage is a comparatively more common quality in men than moral courage.

Early in my own life I laid down as a rule that I should never ask any one to do anything which I myself was not prepared to do. If I were of military age today I do not think that I would enlist for this war even as a non-combatant. Therefore, I do not feel that I could advise others to join the war even if a national government held the helm of affairs. Those who take a different view, are equally entitled to act in accordance with it and to persuade others to do likewise. I am indicating only my personal position.

I have been startled and shocked by some sentiments expressed by eminent Indians for whom I have much respect, in regard to the war. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner at a lecture by Dr. G. S. Arundale in his capital, made a long speech towards the end of which he expressed the following pious sentiment. "I have prayed, and I am praying," said His Highness, "that Hitler may attempt that invasion of Britain, because if he does, the English channel will be red with blood and the losses which the German troops will undoubtedly suffer in such an attempt would be so great that that may even prove to be the decisive factor in the war." Surely, His Highness might pray, as I myself do night and day, that war and bloodshed might by Divine Providence end soon and that peace and good will may reign on earth. The destruction of the Germans in the attempt to invade England is a human means of ensuring British victory. But surely God has it in His power, if He chose, to find a bloodless way to Peace, and, if we pray to God, let us pray that He might choose that. Another great and good friend, one of the gentlest of men, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, in his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Court of the Indian Institute of Science, criticised the failure of his countrymen to take full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the war to start new industries. "Our failure to take advantage of the present opportunity to give a fillip to industries, will mean a tragic waste of a chance which occurs only once in several generations." We had a devastating war less than one generation back. We shall probably have other similar opportunities at shorter intervals through the rest of this century unless the nations repent of their follies and turn over a completely new leaf. In no direction is the change more imperatively needed than in industry and commerce. This is recognised by every writer who has tried to think out a scheme of world order which would ensure peace and goodwill among men. I felt that this was, to say the least, not very happily put in the presidential address.

K. N.

## HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO PROPERTY.

### PART II

*Dr. Deshmukh's Hindu Married Women's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance Bill.*

In framing our questions on this Bill (as in other cases) we have held to take a liberal view of our terms of reference, so as to reduce the risks of piecemeal legislation.

The Bill provides

- (1) that notwithstanding any custom, or law to the contrary, a married Hindu woman shall be entitled to separate residence and maintenance from her husband on any of certain specified grounds;
- (2) that every suit for the purpose shall be instituted in the Civil Court within whose jurisdiction the husband and wife ordinarily reside;
- (3) that the amount of maintenance to be given to the wife shall not be less than one-fifth of the income of the husband; and
- (4) that the custody, maintenance and education of the children shall be in the Court's discretion.

The grounds upon which separate residence and maintenance may be claimed are described thus:—

- (1) If the husband is suffering from leprosy, or any loathsome disease;
- (2) If the husband is suffering from venereal disease;
- (3) If the husband is an incurable lunatic;
- (4) If the husband is guilty of cruelty towards the wife;
- (5) If the husband deserts the wife;
- (6) If the husband marries again; or
- (7) If the husband turns a recluse or changes his religion.

Some of these grounds are already recognised by the Courts as sufficient to found such a claim, e. g., where the husband suffers from leprosy or similar disease (45 Mad. 812) or is guilty of cruelty (19 Cal. 84) or changes his religion (6 All. 617). The case of venereal disease would probably be covered by cruelty, as in England [(1921) P. 438]. Lunacy also may be held to be covered by certain other words of the same text (Manu IX 79) that has been relied upon for admitting leprosy as a ground, although there have been differences of opinion on this point.

There are, however, certain circumstances which even under the existing law are sufficient to sustain a claim for separate maintenance and which are not mentioned in the Bill, e. g., where the husband keeps a concubine in the house (32 Cal. 231). It may, therefore, be necessary to add to the grounds mentioned in the Bill if the enumeration is to be as complete as possible. Certain other changes may also be necessary; e. g., "desertion" might require to be qualified by some such phrase as "without just cause." It may also be necessary to add detailed provisions regarding procedure, the effect of an order for separate residence on the property or other rights of the wife, etc., e. g. whether property acquired by her after the order by her own exertions is to be her absolute property or not.

Two of the grounds mentioned in the Bill, however, call for particular notice:

- (1) *Incurable lunacy.*—This raises the question how far a marriage is valid in Hindu law if one of the parties is insane at the time of the marriage. The law on the subject is not very precise. In the Privy Council case *Moujilal vs. Chandrabati* (83 L. A. 122) the validity of the marriage was impugned on the ground that the husband was completely insane. Their Lordships observed that "to put it at the highest the objection to a marriage on the ground

of mental incapacity depends on the question of degree" and that in that case the requisite degree of incapacity had not been established. In an earlier case (1821) the Madras High Court held that the person married may be a minor or even of unsound mind and yet if the marriage rite is duly solemnised, there is a valid marriage (14 Mad. 316, 318). According to West and Buhler (4th edition, p. 817) "the marriage of Hindu children is a contract made by their parents; the children themselves exercise no volition, so that insanity does not necessarily prevent marriage." According to Gurudas Banerjee, "Persons of unsound mind—that is, idiots and lunatics—though disqualified for civil purposes generally, have not been declared incompetent to marry. \* \* \* But, on the other hand, it should be noticed that the idiot and the lunatic being, where the loss of reason is complete, incompetent to accept the gift of the bride, which is a necessary part of the ceremony of marriage, it is not easy to understand how their marriage in such cases can be regarded as marriage at all." (Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan, 1923 Edition, pp. 40, 41). According to Trevelyan (1929 edition, p. 87) "unsoundness of mind does not invalidate a marriage." It would seem to follow from these authorities that in Hindu Law unsoundness of mind at the time of marriage does not in general make the marriage invalid, although, possibly, where the degree of mental incapacity is extreme, the marriage may be held to be void. In the latest edition of Mayne's Hindu Law (1938), it is said that the marriage of a lunatic or idiot is invalid, although it is added later that the degree of the incapacity is an important consideration for determining whether the disqualification has been clearly made out (pp. 150, 153). The first question, therefore, which arises upon this Bill, is:

Q. 1.—Should the law be made more precise, *e.g.*, by enacting that the marriage of a person who, from unsoundness of mind, is unable to understand its nature or meaning, is null and void?

If insanity of this degree at the time of marriage is made a ground for nullifying it, the question of giving the wife a right to separate residence and maintenance on the ground of the husband's insanity can only arise in other cases, *e.g.*, where the insanity starts after the marriage.

(2) *Bigamy*.—The other ground mentioned in the Bill, which requires to be noticed, is where the husband marries a second wife. This is a departure from the existing law. But there are some who are of opinion that it does not go far enough and that the only effective remedy would be to make bigamous marriages altogether invalid. The question, therefore, arises:—

Q. 2.—Has the time arrived for making a law that in future a subsisting marriage shall nullify any subsequent marriage of a Hindu? If not, do you favour the provisions in the Bill?

Upon the answers to the two questions set out above, the further question may arise whether the Bill should be split up into two parts, one dealing with all cases where a marriage may be pronounced null and void (on the ground of one of the parties being insane at the time of the marriage or the marriage being bigamous, etc.) and the other dealing with all cases where, though the marriage is good, the wife will be entitled to separate residence and maintenance (on the ground of the husband's subsequent insanity, cruelty, desertion, etc.). Hence:

Q. 3.—Do you consider that the Bill should provide separately for decrees of nullity and decrees for separate residence and maintenance? If so, what should be the grounds for each?

A sub-question arising out of this question is whether the time has now arrived for relaxing some of the rules of Hindu Law, in particular: (1) the rule that, unless sanctioned by custom, a marriage is null and void if the parties belong to different castes; and (2) the rule that except among Sudras, a marriage is null and void if the parties belong to the same gotra. It has been suggested that the reasons for these rules have no longer much force and that accordingly the rules should now be relaxed.

Q. 3 (a).—Has the time arrived for declaring by law that no Hindu marriage shall be deemed to be, or ever to have been, invalid merely on the ground that the parties belonged to different castes or to the same gotra?

The effect of such a declaration would be that the directions on the subject contained in the ancient texts would remain only as moral precepts.

The Bill contemplates suits in the ordinary Civil Courts. In England there is now provision for separation and maintenance orders, within certain limits, by special Courts of summary jurisdiction dealing with "domestic proceedings"; these consist of not more than three justices of the peace including, if possible, one woman. The proceedings are semi-private; newspaper reports are controlled; the Court may attempt to effect a conciliation between the parties through a probation officer or other person, instead of proceeding at once to make an order. The Courts have jurisdiction where the husband has been guilty of aggravated assault, or desertion, or persistent cruelty to the wife or her children and in certain other cases. The advantages of this plan (particularly of the efforts to effect a reconciliation) are obvious but we do not know how it has been working in England or whether it would be practicable in India.

Q. 4.—Do you consider it necessary or desirable to have any provision on these lines in India at the present stage in addition to, or in lieu of, the provisions of the Bill?

It has been pointed out that where there are several children and other dependants, a provision that the amount to be given as maintenance to a wife upon separation shall not be less than one-fifth (or any other specified proportion) of the husband's income may work hardship.

Q. 5.—Should any such minimum proportion be fixed or would it be better to leave the matter in the discretion of the Court?

It has been suggested that, on the basis of the decision in the case of *Gantapalli vs. Gantapalli* [(1897) 20 Mad. 470], the wife should be given the right to separate maintenance if the husband is living in adultery (with any woman not his wife). That decision was under a provision of the Criminal Procedure Code which has since been amended, and there may, therefore, be some doubt as to the position now.

Q. 6.—Do you consider that the suggestion should be adopted?

### PART III.

#### *Mr. Santhanam's Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Bill.*

This Bill purports to rectify an alleged oversight in the Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Act 1919. Under the Act, the son's daughter, the daughter's daughter, the sister and the sister's son were given rank in the Mitakshara order of succession immediately after the father's father and before the father's brother. Under the Bill five new heirs, namely, the son's daughter's son, the son's

son's daughter, the daughter's son's son, the son's daughter's daughter and the daughter's daughter's son are interposed between the daughter's daughter and the sister, and a new heir, namely, the sister's son's son, is added after the sister's son.

Before dealing with the new heirs, we may mention an ambiguity as to the existing heirs which has already led to a conflict of opinion. Does the term "sister" in the Act of 1929 include a half-sister? On this point different High Courts have held different views. The Allahabad High Court has held that it does not [(1933) 55 All. 725], and the Madras High Court has also taken the same view (1938 M. W. N. 44); on the other hand, the Nagpur High Court has taken the view that "sister" includes a half-sister (A. I. R. 1938 Nagpur 134).

Q.—Which interpretation would you desire to be established?

As sub-questions—

Q. 1 (a).—If you consider that the term "sister" should include a half-sister, what would you desire to be the position in a case where there are both a sister and a half-sister? Should the half-sister take after the full-sister, or should they take equally? If they take equally, should they take as joint-tenants with rights of survivorship, or as tenants-in-common?

Q. 1 (b).—If the only surviving heirs are a half-sister and a full-sister's son, should the full-sister's son take before, or after, or with, the half-sister?

The effect of the Bill, as already indicated, is to interpose five new heirs between the daughter's daughter and the sister. It is said that they are direct descendants of the last owner and, therefore, nearer *bandhus* than the sister or her son.

Q. 2.—Do you consider that the sister should be postponed to these five new heirs? And what should be their order *inter se*? Do you consider it necessary to add the sister's son's son after the sister's son and before the father's brother?

#### THE NINTH COMMANDMENT, POLYGAMY AND DIVORCE.

A writer in the *Examiner* of Bombay who signs himself "S" and is introduced to his readers as "A Layman on the Commandments," has revealed a bad state of affairs in the community in his latest contribution. He quotes a holy priest as writing to him that the Ninth Commandment—"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife"—is "like a nightmare trouble for most people and is responsible for three-quarters of man's sufferings." The layman, however, has reassuring news to give the seventy-five per cent in the distinction he draws between thought which is sin and thought which is temptation. "A temptation," he observes, "is not a sin; it may be a means of merit." To overcome temptation or to resist it is of course a very meritorious act. But surely the Christian prays, "Lead us not into temptation"; not "Help us to resist temptation into which we are lead for our, and incidentally Your, greater glory." Layman "S" observes that these thoughts and evil desires spring up in our minds at all times; "everybody has them; but these are temptations and are means of merit.... Sin does not arise until these thoughts are welcomed and allowed to remain.... If we at once resist and despise the evil suggestions, we have not merely not sinned but we have gained a great victory even though the suggestions return again and again and again until the whole mind seems saturated with evil desire." Not content with this unscriptural praise of temptation, Layman "S" goes on to advise as a means of helping the mind to resist temptations, frequent prayers and constant ejaculations in

recollection of God. This too, we would point out, has been expressly forbidden by the scriptural admonition not to take the name of God in vain. It is obvious that "S" is very much of a layman and we are surprised that the Jesuit Father who edits the *Examiner*, has allowed these side-doors to evil to be thrown open in the anxiety of an amateur moralist to make virtue easy.

As a matter of fact, though it is very creditable for laymen to interest themselves in these questions, it is really a matter of the gravest concern to the priests, that, after all these years of preaching, there should be general disregard of one of the basic principles of the faith. It is perhaps too sweeping an inference to draw from the experience of one priest, that three-quarters of man's sufferings arise from this commandment, and the obvious remedy would be either to transfer the padre to some other parish before he grows stale in contemplating human frailty in an accentuated form; or to equip him to meet the problem more effectively than in communicating his sense of hopelessness to others. If several priests confirm this impression, methods of approach may be considered to deal with the problem.

The same problem, but at an advanced stage, confronts the defender of Polygamy in a recent issue of *Sunrise*, the Lahore weekly of the Ahmadiyya sect. After arguing that polygamy is no offence against God but purely concerned with human rights, the writer urges that the first wife who dislikes the idea of her husband marrying again, might divorce him; and points out that "God has directed men, in case they have more than one wife, to treat them equally, or else be content with one only." The writer—by the way he is replying to an Arya Samajist who, of all persons, is reproaching Muslims for the non-monogamous character of their marriage—remarks at the outset that, in the matter of polygamy, "God's command is only permissive." He, however, warns up to his subject later and observes:

And to urge that polygamy is resorted to to satisfy one's lustful inclinations is to give proof of ignorance and prejudice. Our own observation tells us that if those dominated by lust take to the blessed practice of polygamy they abstained from sensuality and no longer indulge in adultery or fornication; polygamy makes them good and virtuous; or else, the fury and force of lust cause them to haunt houses of ill fame, rendering them victims of syphilis, gonorrhoea or some other serious disease: hidden and open acts of transgression and sin are their lot—parallel of which is not to be found among polygamous husbands. They might succeed in checking themselves for a time, but eventually, all of a sudden the flood of lust breaks the banks, devastating the countryside around by day or night. The truth of the matter is—it is intention which determines the nature of an act. Those who feel if they marry a second wife they would be safeguarding their chastity and that they would save themselves from sin, or that they would thus leave behind a virtuous progeny, they must take advantage of this blessed practice. In God's eye, fornication and impure look are such dirty sins that they invalidate and cancel good actions inviting eventually physical retribution in this very world. So, if a person marries more than one wife with the intention of entering the strong citadel of chastity, the practice is not only permissible in his case but also conducive to spiritual reward. One wishing to have recourse to polygamy with a view to safeguarding himself against fornication wishes really to live the life of an angel.

It is difficult to cope with so much fervour but two questions naturally arise on reading this eloquent

passage : Why restrict the permission to men only since there must very probably be women who are also dominated by lust ? And again why only four wives to legalise the evils of the lustful ? At first sight it would seem that the *Sunrise* writer does not deal with the problem raised by the *Examiner* scribe. But this is where the beauties of divorce come in. The coveter of his neighbour's wife should persuade the neighbour to a divorce.

\* \* \*

Much of the *Sunrise* defence of polygamy, resting as it does on denunciation of the Arya Samaj position in regard to marriage, is misplaced. The Arya Samajists, for reasons not generally known, have refused to have the monogamous principle incorporated in their modern Marriage Act. We do not know whether they will avail themselves of the arguments supplied by the *Sunrise* in defence of the polygamous system. As for the *niyog* which the *Sunrise* refers to as a practice among Aryas and denounces as an evil which deprives them of the right of objecting to polygamy, it, no more prevails among Arya Samajists today than the kindred practice of the levirate prevails among the Hebrews and those peoples who have derived their laws from the Hebraic code. The Arya who swears by the Vedas, will, of course, no more be prepared to be denounce those who practiced it in the past than Fundamentalists will disapprove of children of Abraham who resorted to levirate.

\* \* \*

If polygamy is no offence against God, certainly there is no divine virtue in it either. The instances cited by the *Sunrise* as per-eminently fitted for polygamy, are just those whom it would be extremely harmful to permit even to marry once. The man who enters on matrimony with a view to satisfy or quiet his lust, will not stop at one wife, if the law does not stop him. The *Sunrise* would provide a way for him by allowing him four. But neither will he stop at four. Here he must resort to divorce to relieve him of those of whom he has tired, before acquiring more. It is a bold claim that "houses of ill fame" and "hidden and open acts of transgression and sin" are unknown in polygamous communities.

\* \* \*

It is all very well to plead that the man has to treat all wives equally, but where is the test ? Any too rigid application of such restrictions ought to bring in all the evils which we are told polygamy will keep out. As for the women knowing what they are about, of how many victims of the polygamous male can this be truthfully asserted ? In the issue of *The Reformer* dated August 31, 1910, two distinguished Muslim women, Begum Mir Amiruddin and Mrs. Hamid Ali, expressed the emphatic opinion that polygamy was a degradation to women. Surely they are better qualified to express the women's point of view than the writer in the *Sunrise*. The Arya critic is told by the *Sunrise* not to interfere in matters that do not concern him as the woman about to marry an already married man is not going to marry him. If this were applied generally, progress would be impossible, whether in labour questions, in the removal of untouchability or in penal reform. I am glad that Arya Samajists are showing so keen an interest in monogamy and I hope that they will clear their own marriage law of that is at present a grave defect, instead of using opinion against polygamy as a debating point.

S.

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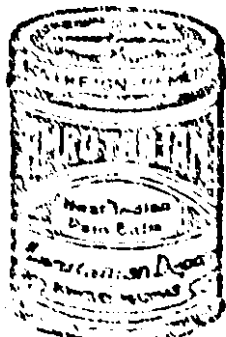
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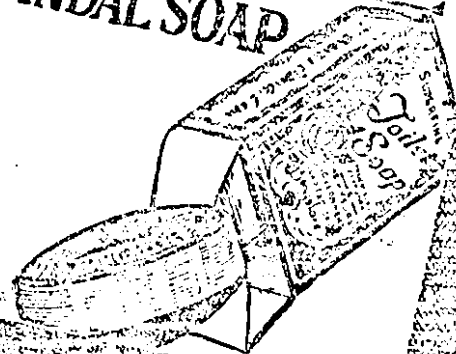


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*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Maharaja Sri Rama Varma** :—Maharaja Sri Rama Varma of Cochin passed away at midnight last Saturday at the ripe age of eighty. His Highness came to the throne at the age of seventy-one. The Cochin scheme of succession secures that the ruler, when he assumes power, has outlived the vanities of youth and middle age. His Highness Kerala Varma who succeeds to the gadi, is seventy-four years old. A minority administration with its trials and temptations is a practical impossibility under the Cochin rule of succession. The late Maharaja was a pious and conservative Hindu adhering meticulously to the traditions and customs of his forefathers. This, as we pointed out on a previous occasion, and not any special quality of His Highness was at the root of the broadminded appreciation of the various religions professed by his subjects. His Highness was fortunate in enlisting at an early stage of his rule the services of Sir Shanmukham Chetty, an advanced Liberal in politics and social reform, as Chief Minister. Sir Shanmukham had distinguished himself in the Indian Legislative Assembly and had served a term as its President. The chances of the ballot left him free to accept the invitation of the Maharaja. The combination of the wise conservatism of the Maharaja with the energy and experience of public affairs of his Dewan, has resulted in much good to the State. The new Cochin constitution is a symbol of their co-operation. Caution and courage are blended in it in what so far appears to be a harmonious proportion. The Cochin Harbour has been long in preparation but its present development is largely the outcome of His Highness' foresight and sagacity. The manner in which Cochin has handled the problem of the depressed classes, has resulted in the maximum of benefit to these classes with the minimum of irritation to caste Hindus. The

Maharaja is succeeded by his nephew, Kerala Varma, a highly accomplished Prince. He is a scholar, a renowned Ayurvedic physician and the founder of a Bank which has attained remarkable success in Cochin. His consort shares with him his scholarship and expert knowledge of the Ayurveda. His Highness will no doubt follow in the footsteps of his uncle and earn for himself and his State the reputation of a model ruler and a model State in an even larger measure than his predecessor.

**Japan and the War** :—Mr. Matsuoka, the Japanese Foreign Minister, is returning to Tokio from his visit to Moscow and to Japan's partners in the Axis. From his point of view the tour has been a success. The pact which Mr. Matsuoka negotiated with Moscow, has aroused different reactions. America and Britain have not seen the value of it for Japan and comments from both countries tend to regard it as a source of security for Soviet Russia in any adventure she may choose to enter on in Europe. On the other hand, east of Suez there is real apprehension that Japan may liquidate her Chinese war and launch out on a campaign against British forces in Asia and the Pacific. The different reactions are most evident in the attitudes taken up by the United States and by Australia. U. S. spokesmen have threatened drastic measures against Japan; the Australian Minister, Mr. Hughes, is more restrained in his language. While again, on the one hand, there is a tendency in America to link up the Chinese struggle with Britain's war in Europe, Australia in the counsels of the Empire has thrown her weight largely on the side of keeping the two conflicts distinct. The very simplicity of the Japanese-Russian agreement gives rise to suspicions that there are secret clauses which cover a more extensive area. As it stands, Russia has recognized Manchukuo and in return Japan respects the territory of Mongolia, and there is a neutrality clause operative for the next five years. Mr. Matsuoka's bearing in the Axis capitals was rather one of an interested observer than that of a partner. If anything, it tended to approximate to M. Stalin's own detached attitude and the Russian Dictator's presence at the Moscow station, a rare courtesy, on the departure of Mr. Matsuoka, was probably a tribute to the Japanese Foreign Minister's diplomacy. Those

who take a pessimistic view of world events, hesitate between giving Herr Hitler credit for bringing Japan and Russia together and seeing in Mr. Matsuoka a new link between the Nazis and the Bolsheviks. Both these events, however, must necessarily mean that Japan is to undertake fresh military adventures. This is extremely unlikely in view of the long-drawn struggle she has been carrying on in China. The Government of Chiang Kaishek has protested mildly to Russia against the recognition of Manchukuo and its policy in future will be even more strongly oriented to that of the democracies. Any Japanese move against Britain in the East will strengthen China's chance of coalescing her war with Britain's. Marshal Chiang Kaishek's recent protest against the failure of Chinese Communists to support him gave indications of an impending break with Russia. With the Russian pact which at the very least means non-embarrassment to Japan, and with the difficulties in which the possible allies of China find themselves today, China's problems increase. Prince Konoye, the Japanese Premier, declared two months ago that he took full responsibility for the complications of the Japanese campaign in China. Mr. Matsuoka's diplomacy obviously must have been directed to end them. If he can at the same time perplex the opponents of the Axis, he will use his opportunity as he has done in an interview in Berlin, where he told press representatives to wait till his return to Tokio to see the application of Japan's adherence to Axis policies. If Japan at any time contemplated a blow at Britain in Asia, the obvious time was when Italy launched her African campaign.

**U. S. A. Moves into Greenland:**—On Friday April 11, news came through that, following an agreement between the Danish Minister in America and the United States Government, the U. S. A. had decided to take over the defences of Greenland. If any proof were necessary of what President Roosevelt meant by rendering all help "short of entering on war" to Britain, it is now evident both in the action thus taken and in the explanatory statement issued along with it which expressed complete sympathy with the suppressed Danes and expressed the hope that they would be freed from the Nazi yoke. The position becomes all the more piquant as Denmark submitted to the German invaders under protest. The Danish Government sent out a message recalling its Minister for acting without authority and the Danish Minister at Washington has decided to ignore the recall. Nothing is likely to come out of the incident since Denmark can afford the luxury of a war even less after Nazi domination than it could before. But we trust that it will not be used as a precedent by other countries. It is significant that shortly after this, two Netherlands Ministers have gone to the Dutch East Indies to confer with the colonial administration on defence questions.

**"Roshni"** :—This is the name of the monthly organ of the All India Women's Conference. It is produced with considerable skill and enthusiasm and the articles published in it show a wide range of interest. In the current issue, the Editor complains with much justice that a woman member has not been included in the Rau Committee. The Committee is one of experts and we can not readily think of a Hindu woman who can be placed in the same category. That might have been the reason why such an obviously proper thing as the inclusion of a woman in a Committee on women's rights, was not done. Although no expert in Hindu law may be available, the woman member would have been a valuable help in apprising the Committee of the disabilities from which her sisters and herself most acutely suffer. Besides the technical questions are few. The bulk of the questionnaires issued by the Committee relate to matters of everyday experience and a woman's advice will surely throw much light on them. Hindu jurists themselves have suggested that in cases of doubt the women of the family should be consulted as they are the repositories of family tradition. While, therefore, we support the *Roshni's* criticism of the omission to appoint a woman member to the Rau Committee, we deprecate the acrimonious tone which it adopts towards the Hindu system as a whole. The *Roshni* forgets that the progress in women's position achieved in the last half-century is wholly due to the devoted labours of men and that no measure which is necessary to secure the maximum good to women is likely to meet with serious opposition from Hindu men. The task of adjusting an ancient and complex system to new ideas, is a difficult one which cannot be accomplished in a short time. We on our part have to complain that the women who take a prominent part in public affairs, are not sufficiently critical of some of the abuses which have crept into society to the great detriment of the interests and sentiments of their less forward sisters. We refer particularly to the conduct of educated women who have not scrupled to displace in the affections of husbands, wives who were married according to the customs of their castes. A resolution was passed at a single conference condemning such conduct but we have heard of nothing further being done in the matter. The crucial reform without which women's rights can not be secured is the prohibition of polygamy. India can not rise in the scale of nations until this reform is effected.

**Suspense in Kolhapur:**—We publish elsewhere a communication from Mr. M. D. Karkhanis expressing the discontent among the subjects of the Kolhapur State, and the people of Maharashtra generally, at the inordinate delay in selecting a successor to the gadi rendered vacant by the sudden and untimely death of the late Maharaja Rajaram. The correspondent sug-

gests various probable reasons for the delay but none of them is satisfactory. The absorption of Government in war efforts has not prevented the administration functioning more or less smoothly in other directions and should not hold up decision in such an important matter as succession to a historic gadi. Our correspondent hopes that an adoption will soon take place and the Maharani declared Regent for the adopted son who will be presumably a minor. We say "presumably" because some of the aspirants to the gadi and, consequently, for adoption, are persons well advanced in years. From our enquiries among people most competent to express an opinion on the subject, the feeling seems to be that it will be entirely in accord with Maratha sentiment and Kolhapur tradition if the infant princess is recognised as her father's successor, and a Regency Government with the Maharani as Regent be instituted. This is the view which we put forward soon after the demise of the Maharaja.

**New Press Chief:**—The appointment of Mr. Kirtchener, Managing Editor of the *Statesman* of Delhi, as Chief Press Adviser in place of Mr. Desmond Young who has taken up another post, is intrinsically a retrograde step. Mr. Young who was the Managing Editor of the *Pioneer*, was taken over a year after the outbreak of war. The *Pioneer* leading articles before Mr. Young took over his official work, were critical of British foreign policy and of Britain's conduct of the war—enough in fact to bring the newspaper within the mischief of the Defence of India Act. On the Narvik campaign and on Mr. Churchill's speech on the neutrality of small countries, Mr. Young's comments were perilously outspoken. Apart from that, the *Pioneer* has been during Mr. Young's editorship an Indian-owned paper. The *Statesman* which has lent Mr. Kirtchener's services to the Government of India, is a leading British newspaper in India and recently it out aged Congress sentiment by insisting on publishing satyagraha news under the general head, "Crank's Corner." An added disqualification against Mr. Kirtchener is that at the very time that his paper was rousing protests from the Indian press for these tactics, he, as one of the five members of the Central Advisory Committee of the Editors' Conference, gave his support to a memorandum pleading that newspapers might not be made responsible for any fast which Gandhiji might feel called upon to undertake because of the suppression of three of his statements, and seeking fair publicity for satyagraha news. The troubles of the press in India are not by any means over. Bengal has placed a gag on news relating to the Dacca communal riots under the Defence of India Act. And, while the Dacca situation has in no way improved, the public in India is left in the dark. The United Provinces has not so far responded to appeals to give the Delhi Agreement a fair trial. In the negotiations which are under way between the Govern-

ment of India and provincial administrations continuity is essential. If Mr. Young could not have been persuaded to see through the work he had begun, at least the Government of India could have seen its way to appoint somebody in his place who could be expected to take a firm stand on principle. Another point that occurs is that in the face of the agitation which has arisen for Indianisation even among moderate opinion as represented in the Bombay Leaders' Conference, no Indian is considered good enough for the post of even the Chief Press Adviser. There are many Indian journalists who could have filled the place admirably. Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, the provincial Press Adviser at Madras, has carried out his duties with marked success and he would not have been a bad choice at the centre.

**The War:**—Though the very fact of aggression gave the German forces an initial advantage and placed upon the Yugoslav, Greek and British imperial forces the role of defence, the seeker after news had to read carefully through his daily newspapers: to realise this. The radio has been somewhat more successful in its presentation of war news in the past week for the reason that no broadcasting equivalent of news display has not yet been evolved. From Wednesday onwards the gravity of the situation became clear. First came the news that organised resistance under unified control was over in Yugoslavia and that there the war had entered into the guerilla stage. Then we were told that the forces which had been released from the Yugoslav field, were resisting in Greece along with the other Greek and British imperial units. On Friday morning it was stated that the campaign in the Balkans is a delaying one and that the problem is largely that of co-ordinating action in the Balkans with action in East Africa. The indications at present are that next week should see a change in the fortunes of war and that Balkan resistance, in Greece at any rate, will be strengthened by reinforcements from Abyssinia, where, it is reported, the Italian commander, the Duke of Aosta, is suing for peace. In North Africa the faith inspired by General Wavell's brilliant strategy in the campaign of December-February enables Allied commentators to view with calm the lightning advance of German forces across the Libyan desert to Sollum. The Egyptian Government after a secret meeting of its Parliament declared last week that it was not flustered by recent developments reviving the North African war. But then neither was it very much moved when the Italians before December marched up to Sidi Barrani. In the west, what is described as the "worst air raid so far" occurred on Wednesday night over London. Another noteworthy development is the Russo-Belgian Pact by which Russia undertakes to send food to Belgium which the United States of America was prevented from doing.

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BOMBAY, April 19, 1941.

## THE VITALITY OF RELIGIONS.

Religions die but Religion lives on. Professor James Bisset Pratt has attempted an explanation of this paradox in a learned and suggestive essay published by the University of California with the title, "Why Religions Die?" The explanation, broadly speaking, is that, while Religion supplies an inner necessity of man, the expression of it in a given time and country is conditioned largely by the tradition, history, geography, climate and the social, economic and even political environment—in fact, everything which influences human life and conduct. Religions "die" when these undergo change in whole or part. The inner necessity persists and makes for itself fresh channels which retain, nevertheless, many of the characteristics of the "dead" religion under other names. Spiritual values never die. Thus, Greek philosophy largely entered into Christianity. The spiritual element in Buddhism permeated and moulded post-Buddhistic Hinduism. Even Islam, with all its rigidity, was modified by Persian, Moorish and Indian ideologies. Writing in the *Crossier Quarterly* for January on "The Old Testament Prophet in His Background," I. G. Mathews observes:

It was the product of the intermingling of the theories of the world order of many peoples—Horites and Hittites, Egyptians and Babylonians, Canaanites and Phoenicians constantly fertilised by the Arabians from the desert. Primitive we call it but it was the result of profound pondering, of vast experience, and was an aid to living. In order to do the prophets justice we must be familiar with the leading features in this their theological background.

The Prophets in their turn furnished the background of Jesus Christ, who in turn became the background or a part of the background of Islam. Unlike the Hebrew Prophets, however, both Christianity and Islam developed a world outlook transcending distinctions of race, country and creed, and certain other elements also entered into their background. The idea of God incarnating as Man is utterly foreign to the Hebrew Prophets. But it is the foundation of Christianity. In orthodox Islam the gulf between the human soul and the Divine is unbridgeable. But the greatest thinkers in Islam were many of them Sufis to whom the merging of the two in one is the goal of religion just as it is to the Vedantins.

We reprint today the concluding part of Professor Pratt's paper where he cites as the one exception to the cycle of birth, decay and death followed by many old religions, the religion of the Rig Veda. In this case development has not as yet ceased and seemingly it will never cease. The Vedic gods are no longer worshipped but the Vedas are still regarded as eternal. Writes Professor Pratt:

The readers and singers of the old hymns never ceased to regard them as inspired but they read in them a new meaning which got itself more clearly expressed, after many centuries of thought and of religious experience, in the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita. There was no turning away from the old faith as if it were a mistake or a deception. The old gods were real in their way: affirmation of their reality was truer than an atheistical denial. But the truth involved in such affirmation was more adequately expressed in the concept of Brahma, "the one without a second," the spiritual Reality upon whom all this universe is strung "as rows of gems upon a thread."

This is a partial statement of the reason of the vitality of Hinduism. Mere restatement, however, can not keep an old system long on its legs. We should say that the vitality of a religion consists in there arising from time to time men to confirm and to correct from their own experience the truths enunciated by those who preceded them. Religions perish when the springs of experience run dry. The Vedic seer asserted that he spoke from experience and so did Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa. Professor Pratt observes that he notes some signs of a dying religion in Christianity and recommends that it should follow the Vedic way and not the Egyptian way in order to prolong its life. Christianity surely has but few exponents today who speak from direct experience. The word "experience" is banished from the Christian religious vocabulary. Building hospitals and schools is a good thing but it does not go to feed the religious spirit. Macdougall's analysis of religion as consisting of three parts or aspects, the perceptual or intellectual, the emotional, and the active or volitional, is the exact counterpart of the three aspects of Hinduism. Gnyana, knowledge; bhakti, emotional faith; and karma, activity. The three parts are not represented in the same proportion in the different Hindu sects but there is no sect in which they are not all present. Modern Christianity has come to be predominantly a way of works, often a blind alley as in mass conversions. The element of knowledge and the element of loving devotion or faith are very much in the background and is often totally neglected. It has further more entangled itself with political governments and economic institutions. In Great Britain and the United States it claims democracy as its own issue. In Spain it is the mainstay of Falangism. Not only is it unconscious of its own danger but it seeks actively to undermine other religions which are better provided with the three essentials of religion.

Professor Pratt does not speak of Islam and its prospects. He refers to it only with reference to its impact on Zoroastrianism in Persia and on Buddhism in this country. We agree with him that Buddhism had ceased to be a living faith in India before the advent of Islam and the part of the latter in its extinction was purely subsidiary. Modern Hinduism is three-quarters Buddhism. Zoroastrianism in Persia was more directly affected by the Islamic conquest but even there it had become corrupt, otherwise it would not have succumbed



so readily to the dominant political power. The strength of Hinduism lies in its origin from and attachment to the soil of India. It is inconceivable that the Hindus can ever be expatriated by any religious persecution and it is equally incomprehensible that if they are expatriated, they can remain Hindus. The tenacity with which Indians overseas cling to their old faith seems to belie the latter statement, but it is doubtful if they would do the same if India ceases to be the homeland of the vast bulk of their race and religion.

### MR. JINNAH AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

The news that Mr. Jinnah was taken ill in the train on his way to Madras to preside over the twenty-eighth session of the All India Muslim League, created genuine regret among all classes and in all parts of the country. Although his views and his manner of presenting them may not be acceptable to large sections of the population, his integrity, his unbending independence and his freedom from all forms of snobbery, are appreciated widely. A man of determination and strength of character, Mr. Jinnah owes little to the subtle art of advertisement for the dominant position which he has attained as the permanent President of the Muslim League. Backbone is rather at a discount among our politicians. Mr. Jinnah has it in plenty and that itself is a very high claim to esteem. His illness necessitated two days' rest and it was only on the third day of the session that he was in a fit condition to deliver his address. He spoke extempore, as he always does, for over two hours, a truly remarkable effort, which brought on fever and disabled him from presiding over the Subjects Committee that night. The address, as might be expected, is loosely knit, full of tags and commonplaces, and one has to sift amidst a lot of chaff to get the sparse grain mixed up with it. The passage in which Mr. Jinnah defined the goal of the Muslim League has been adopted as its creed. Here it is:

We want the establishment of completely independent States in the North-West and Eastern zones of India with full control finally of defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency and exchange, etc. We do not want in any circumstances a constitution of an All India character with one government at the centre. We will never agree to that. If we agree to that, let me tell you the Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be tributaries of any power or any government at the centre so far as the north-west and eastern zones of our free national homelands are concerned.

It will be seen that Mr. Jinnah's definition of the goal of the League is more emphatically against a strong central Government than for autarchies in the north-west and eastern zones. Although every one who has bestowed earnest thought on the question from the historical and administrative point of view, agrees that a strong central government is the *sine qua non* of peace

within and security abroad, the two organised political parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, for different reasons, have declared themselves against it—and the British Government has yielded to them, and is trying by various devices to retain the unitary essence within the framework of provincial autonomy. The war has upset all calculations and brought the country back by stern necessity to the unitary system.

The Government of India have undertaken to review the whole scheme at the end of the war. Mr. Jinnah flatters himself and the League that they have done so in response to League demands. Congress, on the other hand, acclaims it as a concession to its importunity. The Princes, perhaps with greater reason, congratulate themselves on the success of their representations. As a matter of fact, the situation at the end of the war will be entirely different from that before the war. Government have realised that the Hoare constitution with its innumerable contradictions is unworkable not only in war time but in normal conditions which may supervene on the conclusion of the war. The 1935 constitution will have to go, whether anybody wants it or not. The British Government is only making a virtue of necessity. If Mr. Jinnah is pleased, so much the better. A strong central government is bound to come not because anybody wants it—so far as we know *The Reformer* and the *Modern Review* have so far been the only journals in which its need has found expression—but because without it the country will be plunged into chaos in a few years' time. The fissiparous tendencies which abound, can be kept in check only by a Government which can mobilise the few uniting tendencies which have been evolved during the last two hundred years against the separatist ones. This is so plain to our mind that we are surprised that it evades the intelligence of our political party leaders. There are a few other considerations which we offer for Mr. Jinnah's consideration. The absolute autarchy which he wants, is recognised to be the root of most of the troubles confronting the world at the present time. The cry on every side is for a world order in which the interdependence of nations will find adequate recognition and the ambition to be sufficient each unto itself will be effectively repressed. Modern inventions have eliminated time and distance and it is sheer waste to insist on having your own token coinage, your own toy railways, your own parochial postal system and your own little, ill-armed, ill-equipped army, when the conditions which confront all nations can only be met without risk of conflict by co-operative action. Pakistan until yesterday was, it was thought, to be a single unit. It seems from Mr. Jinnah's address that it is to consist of independent States—how many we are not told—in the North-West and Eastern zones. Mr. Jinnah referred to the creation of Croatia by Nazi Germany and reproached the British for their inaction. Croatia is

created as a stage in the campaign which is being waged in Southern Europe. To call Croatia an independent State, argues a lack of perspicacity which we should not have expected from Mr. Jinnah. Croatia will not have any of the things which he postulates for his States. Neither would the latter if they are to be a creation of any Power other than the Muslim League itself, unaided and alone.

#### DO RELIGIONS DIE ?

(BY PROF. JAMES B. PRATT, WILLIAM COLLEGE.)

Our survey has covered at least the more important of the religions that have died. But there is one religion not on our list which is worth our consideration because of the light it throws upon our problem. I refer to the religion of the Rig Veda. This religion can hardly be said, at least in any ordinary sense of the word, to have died. Yet it certainly is not alive. Indra and Varuna and Agni are dead as Bel or Apollo or Thor. Except for a very few pundits, no Indian of today worships them or thinks of them as individuals or gods. What happened to the Vedic religion ?

The answer is: Not death, but development. The readers and singers of the old hymns never ceased to regard them as inspired, but they read in them a new meaning which got itself more clearly expressed, after many centuries of thought and of religious experience, in the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita. There was no turning away from the old faith as if it were a mistake or a deception. The old gods were real in their way: affirmation of their reality was truer than an atheistic denial. But the truth involved in such affirmation was more adequately expressed in the concept of Brahma, "the One without a second," the spiritual Reality upon whom all this universe is strung "as rows of gems upon a thread."

Thus the religions of the Veda did not die; that which in it was vital and true, cast off its old shell and clothed itself in more suitable expression, with no break in the continuity of its life and no loss in the sanctity and weight of its authority.

If we now look back over our diagnoses of the cases studied in this paper, the causes of death of the various religions reduce to five or six. One of these—reabsorption into the mother-faith—we find only in the case of Buddhism. There have been two or three religions which have suffered either weakening or death by violence and persecution. Attack by another religion has been a rather commoner cause of death. Sometimes this has been due to the intellectual or moral superiority of the victorious religion, sometimes to the social prestige possessed by those who professed it. Naturalistic philosophy, insidiously invading the intellectual side of ancient faiths, has been a widespread corrosive. Never has it been the sole cause of death, but it has weakened many and made them easy prey to attack from other quarters. In this respect it resembles its opposite, conservatism. Like naturalism, conservatism has never been the only fatal influence, but it has rendered many a religion incapable of withstanding the attacks of Naturalism or of some more enlightened religion. The retention of outgrown beliefs and practices incapable of being assimilated with more intellectual and ideal developments, tends to identify a religion, in the minds of its followers, with these lower elements, and thus produces in each new generation an increasing attitude of scepticism, dissatisfaction, indifference, and contempt. If the conservative spirit among

those in authority who dominate the expressions and activities of the religion, be so great as to prevent the development of new ideas and of new attitudes toward the new demands of the times, the result is pretty sure to be fatal. A religion that is fairly shielded from the advancing thought of its times, may evade the consequences of such conservatism; but if it gets caught in the stream of rational questioning and of modern knowledge, its leaders had better take care. Certainly, for a religion of thinking and intelligent people, the most dangerous thing that can befall it is the loss of elasticity. If it is to live, it must be able to grow. All the religions alive at present were born long ago, among intellectual and social conditions very different from those of our day. The needs of that time are only in part the needs of our time. Creeds and cults and ideals that satisfied the first generations of believers, cannot fully satisfy the need of their modern successors. If a religion is to live, it must adapt itself to new and changing conditions; if it is to feed the spiritual life of its children, it must have the sensitivity and inventiveness that shall enable it to modify their diet as their needs demand.

That the old must not be allowed to choke the new, no one has understood more clearly than Jesus. Again and again he asserts, "Ye have heard it said by them of old time.....but I say unto you." Yet never does he forget the enormous value of the deeper things in the religious tradition of his people. "I am come," he said, "not to destroy, but to fulfill."

The assertion that a religion which is to live must serve the new needs of new times, does not mean that all needs are new, or that there are no permanent needs, eternal as the human soul. Nor does it mean that a modern religion—such as Christianity—should cut loose from its old roots and reject its own tradition. Such a course would mean death. There are many, to be sure, who think that the leaders of Christianity should direct their followers into exactly this course. Naturalistic and humanistic philosophy, they insist, can give us all we need and all we have a right to. No longer should we seek to live in a fool's paradise. Let us leave behind us, say they, the dead past. Let the dead bury their dead. Let half-gods go. Let us make a new start.

Possibly this is good advice. And, whether good advice or bad, it may point to the course which our successors will take. Certainly Christianity is exhibiting some of the symptoms which our review of past religions has made familiar, and which have often heralded the end. In some quarters, Christianity has been seriously weakened by Naturalism. In others it is being identified with outgrown beliefs which in one or two generations no intelligent man will be able to take seriously. And many raise the question, would the loss of Christianity be so dreadful a thing as is commonly thought? After its demise, religion would still survive, as it always has. Would not that be enough?

I, for one, cannot look upon the death of Christianity with such philosophic equanimity. The ending of the Christian tradition would mean the loss of some very great human values. It is hard to estimate the moral enthusiasms, the courage, the daring, the confidence, the peace, the enduring hope, the earnest goodwill, the inspiration and incentive for building a better world, which have their roots in the Christian tradition, and which each successive generation derives therefrom.

But, one may ask, can the essential part of the Christian tradition be preserved and, at the same time, thought be left free and faith be kept elastic?

I think it can. Very possibly this guess of mine may be mistaken, but I think the Christian tradition can be retained and handed on by intelligent and free men through a constantly fresh and ever spiritual reinterpretation of the essential Christian symbols. I have not forgotten that something like this was tried by the philosophic leaders of dying Paganism, and tried in vain. But neither have I forgotten that it nearly succeeded. And what is more important, there is today no rival religion ready to take the enormous place that Christianity would leave empty. And most important of all, the Christian symbols seem to me immeasurably more elastic, more vital, more natively related to the eternal truths which they embody, than were those of the Roman and Hellenistic religions. Where Paganism failed, I think Christianity may succeed.

Christianity, I believe, may choose—Christianity in fact *must* choose—between two courses; between the Egyptian way and the Vedic way. The Egyptian road of conservatism and repression leads to death. It is a broad way and many religions there be that go in thereat. The Vedic way—and was it not also Jesus' way?—the way of constant spiritual reinterpretation, is straight and is narrow, and few of the religions have found it; but it leads to life—to life which is self-perpetuating, self-renewing, and which, for the individual and for the world, may be eternal.

#### ULLAL RAGHUNATHAYYA.

[PRESIDENT FOUNDER OF THE MANGALORE  
BRAHMO SAMAJ.]

(BY AN OLD MEMBER OF THE SAMAJ).

A hundred years have passed by since the birth of this venerable leader of Mangalore on 7th February 1841. A life of unblemished purity, unbounded enthusiasm for reforms in all the concerns of Indian life and deep spirituality deserves more than a magazine article. I have no records with me. The voluminous documents preserved by him during his life are not available now. I had the benefit of once perusing his own diary in two volumes. Even this is not before me now. I speak from memory.

Raghunathaya was tall, well-built and of a commanding personality—clad always in white dhoty, a coat and a white turban—the whole appearance exhibiting a spiritual glow, unflinching devotion to duty and a dogged determination.

Born in a highly respected Saraswat Brahman family in Mangalore and the only son of Mangeshayya (a District Munsiff in Government service) he was venerated in Indian circles. He entered Government service and was a Translator in the Huzur Collectorate when he retired. He retired at the very early age of 50 on account of calamities in his family—death of his then only son followed by that of his father the next year. A Kanarese and Sanskrit scholar he was a forcible and eloquent speaker in Kanarese—the language of the District. With the English education he received his conscience rebelled against the idolatrous and superstitious tradition surrounding him. The very active Christian Missionaries supplied him with Christian literature. Among the tracts so liberally given were copies of pamphlets published by them about the controversy then raging between Keshub Chunder Sen and the Rev Lal Behari De in Calcutta. Young Raghunathaya read those tracts with great interest. Instead of converting him to Christianity these opened up before him the cosmopolitan and purely monotheistic ideals of the Brahmo Samaj which reflected his own ideals. Raghunathaya has written thus on a paper found in a note-book :

"1861. Reading Room in mission school of Rev Zeigler. The library of the school contained works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Bnishiva Rao, Kallyanpur Raghavendra Rao, myself, Asagandi Subba Rao and several others were regular members. All more or less lest their faith in orthodoxy. Some had been slightly inclined towards Christianity. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's works, however, opened the eyes of most and attracted their minds. This is the first step."

"In Calcutta the B. Samaj was publishing a weekly paper at the time and the religious of the great Keshub Chunder Sen was the harbinger of the light of the Brahmo Samaj at the time. His energy was flowing in all the directions beyond Calcutta through his weekly paper—*Indian Reformer*, I believe, was the name of the paper. Here in Mangalore I came to know of it and subscribed for it."

"At that time Rev. Lal Behari De, a Bengalee educated gentleman and a Christian convert, published a weekly paper with the object of directing the attention of the educated people from the Brahmo Samaj and attracting it to Christianity. He was a powerful Christian missionary."

Raghunathaya wrote this note when he was very old and weak and in poor memory. Perhaps he could not continue writing on account of weakness or some other reasons. The handwriting looks like that of an old man.

In those days there was hardly any communication between Mangalore and far off Calcutta. Raghunathaya ordered from Calcutta books of the Brahmo Samaj and studied them with interest and devotion and finally accepted *in toto* the precepts and practices of the Brahmo Samaj. He collected a number of his young friends and started weekly services in his house to which his elderly and scholarly father was attracted. The pious father became the disciple of the son and accepted the precepts of the Brahmo Samaj.

In 1869 while Raghunathaya was progressing in his new convictions, one N. Arasappa, an influential and rich youth and leader of Billavar (non-Brahmin) community was straining every nerve to improve and elevate the condition of his castemen—neglected and abandoned by the orthodox Brahmins. When Arasappa found that the Hindu orthodoxy gave him no choice in spite of all his endeavours to remain in the fold of Hinduism, he was being courted as usual by the vigilant Christian missionaries. Raghunathaya who was a personal friend of Arasappa, convinced the latter that the Brahmo Samaj is just the faith that will purify him and his followers. A telegram was sent to Brahmanand Keshub Chunder Sen inviting him to Mangalore and offering that 5000 men would embrace Brahmoism. Keshub was arranging to start on his memorable tour to England. He sent Bhais Pratap Chandra Muzumdar, Gour Govind Roy and Amrit Lal Bose (three of the missionaries of the Brahmo Samaj of India). The late Mr. V. B. Navrange of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj accompanied them from Bombay to Mangalore. When the party arrived in Mangalore there was a large concourse of people at the pier. When the men found that the missionaries were clad in semi-European dress they mistook them for another sect of Christians and deserted the standard of Arasappa. When ultimately a devotional service was organised there were present only a handful of followers of Arasappa (most of whom did not know English the language in which the service was conducted) but a number of followers of Raghunathaya appreciated the tenets and accepted them. The missionaries started a branch of the Samaj in the house of

Arasappa where Raghunathaya interpreted into Kanarese, what the missionaries taught in English. After staying in Mangalore for about a month, Mr. Muzumdar left for Calcutta to take up the work of the Samaj during the absence of Keshub. A number of Saraswat Brahmins under the lead of Raghunathaya proposed to start a separate Samaj for the higher castes as the latter would not attend the Billavar Samaj on account of persecution from the caste people. Accordingly, with Raghunathaya as Secretary, a separate Samaj was started on 11th June 1870 and was named "Upasana Samaj" with Bhais Bose and Roy to guide them. The members of this Samaj, mostly Raghunathaya, were conducting services in the Brahmo Samaj. The two missionaries Bhais Bose and Roy remained for some months longer in Mangalore to organise the mission with the help of Raghunathaya. When ultimately they left Mangalore on 25th Oct. 1870, the Samaj of Arasappa began to decline and died a lingering death after some time in spite of Raghunathaya officiating at the weekly services from time to time. Arasappa died on 18th November 1876.

Raghunathaya's party, the Upasana Samaj, stood firm and conducted weekly services in the members' houses by turns. When the news reached the ears of the elders and the Swami (the sacerdotal head of the community) persecution set in right earnest and Raghunathaya was ex-communicated by the Swami. Unable to bear the opposition organised by the orthodox the members began to assemble *in secret* at the top of an adjoining hill for the devotional exercises. Even there they were persecuted especially because they insisted upon expunging idolatry and Raghunathaya persisted in officiating at services in Arasappa's house.

The Swami convened a caste assembly to which Raghunathaya was summoned. He was ordered to give up his connection with the Brahmo Samaj and Arasappa. He declined to accept the mandate. Dhoby, barber and servants boycotted him. One by one the followers of Raghunathaya deserted him. There were only a handful still working with him. He could not get on rent any building for services and Sangat Sabha meetings.

1884. By dint of perseverance and uphill work Raghunathaya and his followers collected donations, erected a mandir for worship where they openly assembled for worship and in 1886 declared it open to the public without distinction of caste, creed or colour. Organized persecution from the Brahmin community again commenced in 1888. At this time a catastrophe in the family of Raghunathaya shook the Samaj to its very foundation. Umanath Rao, a youth of great promise who had passed university examinations with distinction and Raghunathaya's only son then who had just returned from Madras, went for a walk to the top of the Lighthouse Hill accompanied by his father, Amrit Lal Bose (then on his third visit to Mangalore), the late H. Narain Rao who became a well known journalist in Bombay and the late Kudmul Ranga Rao, brother-in-law of Raghunathaya. A sudden stroke of lightning killed the boy and on hearing of the catastrophe his young wife fainted, dropped down and after only a few days' illness died leaving a surviving child in arms. All the orthodox proclaimed in loud terms that the curse of the Swami descended on Raghunathaya. He, though heart-broken, stood firm and continued the Samaj in spite of his father and several others forsaking him. He had a number of domestic calamities till 1912.

1908. After many years the Samaj changed its name "Upasana Samaj" and took the bolder name of the "Mangalore Brahma Samaj" at the instance

of the late Bhai Baldev Narain. When the name was changed he was appointed President of the Samaj. He continued to hold his post till his death. During the visit of Pandit Sivanath Shastri in 1904 a set of rules were framed and a constitution was given to the Samaj. A Trust Deed was also drafted and this was registered in 1905.

Raghunathaya married his own daughter in Brahmo style and his grand-daughter, a widow, was similarly married—the first Brahmo marriage and the first widow marriage in the District in the Brahmin community. He also officiated at several Brahmo marriages each year till the end of his life.

At the time I joined the Samaj in 1897 I remember there were only half a dozen members and a few sympathisers. Then gradually a number of members joined and the Samaj grew in numbers and its activities increased. I have not the space to enumerate in detail the several activities of the Samaj. Though others worked, the mainspring was Raghunathaya. Missionaries from Calcutta and Bombay visited and helped us greatly.

The anniversaries of the Samaj were celebrated with devotion and enthusiasm. Nagar Sankirten, public preaching, poor feeding and Pritibhojans (intercaste dinners) were some of the features. The inter-caste dinners held in recent years were attended by several sympathisers and Harijans. One, in particular, in which a Brahmin Vakil partook, attracted much attention as he was excommunicated by the Swami (Gowd Saraswat Swami) and he filed a complaint of defamation against the Swami—and the case went up in appeal to the High Court.

In 1897 a member of the Samaj commenced his work for the social elevation of Harijans, then known as Mahars or Panchamas in S. Kanara. A "Depressed Classes Mission" was organised which is doing excellent work for the social elevation and education of these unfortunate communities. The founder of this mission would say that he had his spiritual inspiration from the spiritual power house—Raghunathaya and Mangeshaya—in 1879 when he was a student. Sunday Schools were started at several centres to give moral instruction to children of members and sympathisers and a Sangath called "Atma Vidya Sadak Sangath" was started for the young men, a ladies' gathering called "Brahmica Sabha"—and a school called "Ram Mohan Roy Girls' School" were also started. Some of these dwindled down and some exist no longer. But the indomitable spirit of Raghunathaya *remains and can never die*. But one spot that will always exist is the *Sanskara Bhumi* (cremation ground); a deputation under Raghunathaya's leadership waited on the District Collector and a big plot of land was granted free to the Samaj. It is walled round and is kept well with a shed in the middle. In this plot lie the last remains of hundreds of Brahmos and sympathisers, men—women, and children—each bearing grave with inscription. In the middle and in a prominent place is entered the ashes of Raghunathaya under a fitting memorial in marble:

"In Sacred Memory of Ullal Raghunathaya. President Founder of the Brahma Samaj, Mangalore. Erected by his sons, Mangesh and Deva."

"Born 7-2-1841 Died 31-7-1921."

There in this Bhu Vaikuntam remain his last remains—a fitting place of pilgrimage for the present and succeeding generations of Brahmos. Raghunathaya was president of a Theistic Conference held in Calcutta in 1911. The late H. C. Sarkar acted as Secretary.

Before concluding, I must say a word of Raghunathaya's deep spirituality. I spoke of two volumes of diaries written in his own hand day after

day. A perusal of these pages shows the inner personality of the man. The subject matter of every prayer offered each day is noted there. The resolves made each day, the failures in keeping them, the success of each day's spiritual endeavour, are all given there in detail so that one cannot resist the inference that Raghunathaya was one of God's good men rising day after day in his spiritual height by his ardent and sincere and devout spiritual worship.

Such was the founder of the Samaj and he deserves a far greater memorial than the building erected by public donations next to the Samaj Mandir and called "Ullal Raghunathaya Memorial Hall," used for public activities by the Samaj and sympathisers.

May his sacred memory ever remain green in the annals of the Brahmo Samaj movement as the pioneer of Brahmo activities in this part of India.

### THE KOLHAPUR SUCCESSION.

(BY M. D. KARKHANIS.)

It is four months since the sad demise of the late Chhatrapati Maharajasaheb of Kolhapur on 26th November, 1940. Our memory is too fresh to forget the tragic event. Since then, various prominent institutions in Kolhapur have passed resolutions requesting the authorities concerned to allow the dowager Maharani Tarabaisaheb to adopt a boy of her liking, herself being appointed as the Regent. Papers of various shades of opinion all over Maharashtra have freely expressed their views on this subject and yet the question remains undecided to this day.

One must, however, appreciate the Government of India's difficulties in coming to a swift decision in this matter. Their hands are full with heavy war-time work. Psychologically their mind will not be at rest till the War is brought to a successful finish. There being no male successor to the throne, the question of succession is greatly complicated. Finally, the Government of India have got to refer this question to His Majesty King George VI. Still it is natural for the subjects to get a bit impatient.

Nothing stops even with the death of a Chhatrapati. Even after the cruel murder of Sambhaji by Aurangzeb, the whole of Maharashtra rallied round Rajaram and even during the trying times the administration functioned well against odds. Even in distant epic days, when Bharat refused to rule in place of Rama, Rama's footprints were placed on the throne and tried old administrators helped to keep things going well in his absence. In the present case, too, the administration has been carried on all these days under the efficient management of the State Executive Council, at the head of which is Rao Bahadur D. A. Surve, that able, smiling, slim figure, combining in himself qualities of head and heart, one who has come to be the prop of two regimes—the one gone out and the other coming in. A few changes are brought about in the State machinery; the *Gazette* is published as usual without the important announcement looked for appearing therein; Time the great healer, is teaching us to soften our grief for the late Rajaram Maharaj. Yet a dull suspense hangs there.

According to English Law the King never dies. In other words, the throne cannot remain vacant. In accordance with this Law, Maharani Tarabaisaheb was conventionally placed on the Throne of Kolhapur, prior to the removal of the dead body of the Late Maharaja. Naturally, people are now watching the golden day of the fulfilment of their wishes.

Tarabai, the founder of this Gadi, was herself a woman. I may cite a somewhat parallel situation in

the past history of Kolhapur. "In 1760 A. D. Sambhaji II died without issue and a member of the Bhosle family was adopted as his successor and named Shivaji III or Shivaji II of Kolhapur and the dowager queen Maharani Jijabaisaheb conducted the administration, during which the first treaty was concluded with the East India Company in 1765 A. D." ("Notes on Kolhapur" by Sir R. V. Sabnis, Kt. C. I. E., Ex-Dewan of Kolhapur). This may serve as a guide. It may be noted here that this is probably a unique instance of a treaty having been concluded by the British Power with a Royal lady.

Kolhapur is the premier Maratha State in the Deccan. Its history dates back to the Mauryan period. It has been progressing well. Its few but well-organised industrial works, its increasing income, its splendid educational developments all point to its all-sided greatness. Yet much remains to be done. The great Radhanagari Scheme which will bring prosperity to thousands awaits expansion; the hidden mineral wealth has to be dug out and given a commercial value; Sanitation, Sewage system, better water arrangement are to be provided for the growing populace—the latest Census figure of 1941 reaching nearly a million; masses are to be made literate and a spirit of democracy infused in them—all this will make this State a model one. The ease and enthusiasm essential to ensure this will be there once the question of adoption is settled and the Maharani Tarabaisaheb acts as a Regent in the interest of all subjects who revere her.

May the day dawn soon—the day that will be fateful not only in the history of Kolhapur but in the history of the whole of Maharashtra.

### MAHILA SEVA GRAM.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In your issue of April 12th, in the course of an article about a new institution at Yerandavna, that institution is solemnly rebuked for adopting the name, "Mahila Seva Ashram."

But this name has been invented for the institution by the writer of the article, and exists only in his imagination. The institution is called "Mahila Seva Gram." It is called by this name in the article in the *Ashram Review* from which *The Social Reformer* gets his information; the word "ashram" does not occur in the article in the *Ashram Review*, and has never been used for the new institution.

Poona,  
April, 14, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
J. C. WILLIAMS.

[We apologise for the mistake which can be only explained as a confusion between the name of the new institution and the name of the magazine in which it was described. The mistake however, does not affect the main line of argument.—Editor.]

### ODDS AND ENDS.

It was a commonplace in text books on Political Economy in the last century that the magic property of turns sand into gold. Experience in these war times shows that the same magic turns blood into bile. Indian economists have hailed the war as a divine dispensation to facilitate the establishment of new industries. Whatever may be thought of them, it is difficult to imagine the state of mental depravity which inspired the following in the Estate Market Report of the *London Times*:

London property of every class has suffered from the direct and indirect consequences of what has been



well called the Battle of London. No improvement can be anticipated until that trouble is over, but in the meantime buyers and tenants may pick up profitable bargains in sites, houses and commercial premises.

The Bhagavad Gita was not intended as a defence or justification of war. It is the philosophical counterpart of the Buddhist *Dhammapada* and many ideas and even much of the phraseology are common to both. Both deprecate the exclusiveness of the Vedic religion; the *Dhammapad* completely ignores it; the Gita pays lip homage but more effectively undermines it. The message of both is the same. But an ingenious Pandit by adding two chapters at the beginning and interpolating a few phrases here and there distorted it into a propaganda production in favour of the Pandavas who in manners or morals were no better than their cousins, the Kauravas.

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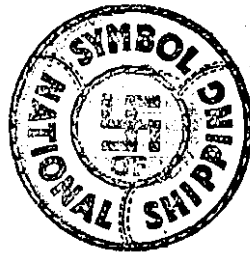
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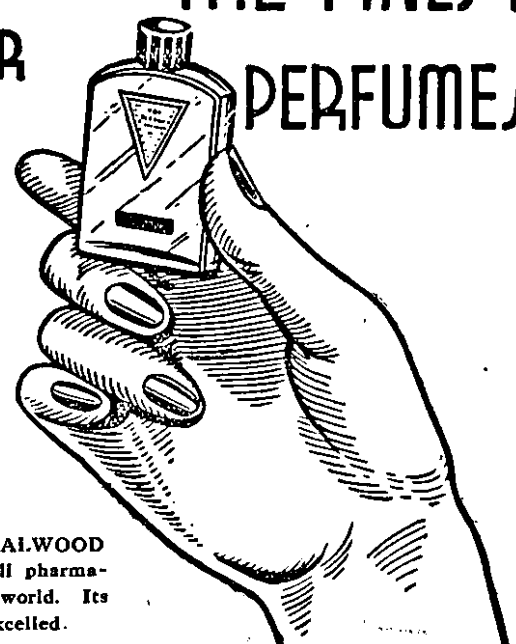
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**The Federal Court on Women's Rights Acts:—**  
In 1937 the Indian Legislature passed an Act making some changes in the order of succession of Hindu women to the property of deceased relatives. In 1938 it passed another Act radically changing the order prescribed in the Act of the previous year. A Bill was introduced last year to amend the 1938 Act so as to restore in part the arrangements which prevailed under the Act of 1937. This Bill was referred to a Committee which is now sitting, along with the two previous Acts and two other Bills relating to the question of women's status. Meanwhile a doubt crept into the Government's mind as to the validity of the two previous Acts. The Schedules to the Government of India Act of 1935 made a distinction between agricultural land and other property, and duties on the former were assigned to Provincial Legislatures and those on the latter to the Central Legislature. The doubt was, Did the two Acts infringe the right of the Provincial Legislatures by including agricultural land in the compass of their provisions? The Federal Court has decided, in a long and learned dissertation, that the word "property" in the two Acts can refer only to the class of property which the Central Legislature was competent to legislate for. As duties on agricultural land were expressly assigned to Provincial Legislatures, the Central Legislature could not have meant to include it in the scope of its Act. This opinion of the Federal Court, based as it is on purely legal principles, has the additional merit of preventing the confusion which would have arisen in cases of succession under the two Acts in the last three years. Incidentally it was urged that the Act of 1937 was invalid because, while the Legislative Assembly which passed it was the pre-reform Assembly, the Council of State, the second chamber, which adopted it, was elected according to the new Act. The Federal Court has ruled that this is of no consequence and the only thing which mattered was the date

on which the Governor-General's assent was given. While the opinion of the Federal Court on the reference made to it by the Governor-General must be accepted as conclusive, we can not help feeling a doubt as to the appropriateness of the terms of reference. The Court was asked to say whether the Acts included agricultural property. But the words in the schedule are "duties in relation to succession to agricultural property." Is it not possible that Parliament meant to give power to the Provincial Legislatures to legislate about duties on succession to agricultural land and that it did not intend to give them power to legislate about succession itself? As we remarked on a previous occasion, the power conferred on the Provincial Legislatures was primarily for revenue purposes. It should not matter to the Province whether a daughter or a daughter-in-law succeeded to the property of a deceased man. The Provincial Legislature had only to decide how much the estate, so far as it consisted of agricultural land, should pay as succession duty. The Federal Court was precluded from considering this point by the terms of the Governor-General's reference which assumed that duties on succession meant succession also.

**Mr. Amery's Progress:—**The Secretary of State for India obtained from the House of Commons on Tuesday the necessary sanction for continuing Governors' regimes. In his two speeches, Mr. Amery showed little inclination to relinquish the formula he has devised for Indian constitutional progress. The tendency, on the contrary, was to cling more desperately to it. We had been told since the outbreak of war that Indians will be permitted to draw up a constitution suited to Indian traditions and conditions after the war. That itself was not a sudden jump from the imposed constitution of the Hoare scheme. It was a more or less graceful transition through permission to modify the 1935 Act, to suggest radical alterations to that Act, and later to adopt something different from other British models. Now it has dawned on Mr. Amery that the task of framing a constitution for India must be an entirely Indian responsibility in which the British can at best help to their utmost. It almost sounds as though the versatile Secretary of State got muddled at this point for it reads like one of his speeches to Balkan neutrals urging them to resist Nazi aggression. This is, however

immaterial. The key to Mr. Amery's optimism in regard to India—probably shared by the Cabinet—is contained in a paragraph in which every sentence started with the words, "We welcome..." and revealed that he was himself rather astonished at the progress of India in war, in industry, in nutrition, and in the efforts of Indians to come together. Our Conservative administrators, it appears, expected much less and are really astounded that so much has been done. When, therefore, Indian politicians with the best of intentions offer to speed up the war effort, or ask for greater industrialization, or complain about the backwardness of social services in the country, or even suggest that greater agreement can be obtained through a change of policy, they do not convince the Amery-Churchill school of politicians who at the moment hold the reins of office in their hands. The inference from this is that the greatest obstacles to Indian progress are not the non-co-operators but the supporters of Government policy in this country.

**How Indian Unity will Come:—**In the one field that really matters to British leaders today—that of the army and army equipment—Mr. Amery candidly admitted that the locusts had eaten up precious years which "we are now trying to retrieve for ourselves and India." Mr. Amery also conceded that in British politics, there was a sense of frustration which is only now being overcome. He was wrong, however, in feeling that it was the war coming home to Britons that had brought about a change and, therefore, his hope that India too would arrive at a similar unity through realisation of the war needs, was completely misplaced. Unity in Britain today is the direct result of recognition of mistakes of the past and a resolution not to repeat them again. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery himself have played a great part in liquidating Britain's past. But on the Indian question Mr. Amery's latest speech reveals, as earlier speeches from him and other British Secretaries of State for India have done before, that there is no appreciation of the mischief the locusts have done here. Mr. Amery denied that British promises have been broken. But British statesmen seem to revel in alienating Indian public sentiment. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru declared at the Bombay Conference that at no time was there a Government of India which was so out of touch with Indian opinion. Mr. Amery in his last effort has driven the wedge still deeper by alienating a group of men who were seeking ways of bringing Englishmen and Indians together. This is not surprising in view of his record as Secretary of State for India. Starting with a very large measure of sympathy in India, Mr. Amery has driven away, first the Congress, then the Liberals and now even the Moderates. We are not over-perturbed by these developments. The final settlement between Britain and India will have to be of so radical a nature that a period of war and of external threats to the Commonwealth

is not favourable for it. Meantime, things are going on pretty smoothly on the surface in the political sphere. The anxiety for an immediate solution of those, both members of Parliament and Indian leaders, who hope to settle the outstanding questions between the two countries by minor adjustments, is but natural. But it is an utter futility and Mr. Amery's speech ought to convince them of this.

**Ahmedabad-Bombay Riots:—**The explanation offered for the sudden outbreak of serious riots in Ahmedabad resulting in over 60 deaths and some two hundred injured, namely, that they were due to an unfounded rumour that certain Sikhs were about to take out a procession with music through a locality in which there was a mosque, is entirely inadequate in the absence of any indication that there has recently been such a tension in the city as to need only so flimsy a pretext to break out into arson and murder. A similar rumour started in Calcutta, has led to a warning by Government to citizens to keep the peace. The trouble lasted for four days and eased only after His Excellency the Governor paid a flying visit to Ahmedabad and inspected the places which were most affected. No explanation has been so far suggested for the outbreak in Bombay which was quickly got under control by prompt police action. It is impossible to resist the suspicion that some sinister agency has been at work to foment these disorders apart from the chronic communal controversy over cow-killing and music in front of mosques. It should not be difficult for the authorities to locate the centre of mischief. No consideration should be allowed to stand in the way of the adoption and enforcement of stringent measures to root out the poison.

**Gandhiji and Congress:—**The *Hindu* of Madras somewhat irrelevantly concluded a leading article on Mr. Jinnah's address to the Muslim League with the suggestion that Gandhiji should release the Congress from its undertaking to follow him as its dictator so as to enable it to resume the attitude expressed in the Poona resolution offering full co-operation in the prosecution of the war if a national government was formed at the centre. This Gandhiji has declined to do. We do not see how he can have complied with the request. Non-violence with him is not a matter of expediency. He has not adopted it now in order to embarrass Government in its war effort. In fact, he has expressly declared more than once that he does not want to embarrass them. He has so regulated the current of satyagraha as to present the minimum of impediment to war efforts which, in fact, could not have been more successfully carried out if there was no satyagraha. Some people think that the mild form of satyagraha offered at Gandhiji's express direction has rather operated as a stimulus to the vast and well-organized war efforts of Government and the non-Congress



public. But Gandhiji owes something to himself and those who have adopted his doctrines. To ask him to stand aside as if the principle mattered little to him, is to ask him to admit that non-violence was a policy which he has adopted as a matter of expediency. If the Congress of its own motion relieves Gandhiji of the responsibility it thrust on him when it found that Government was in no mood to respond to the Poona resolution, he would be ready to do so even though he had no one else to stand by him.

The "Leader" on Jinnah:—We were pained to read the personally offensive article on Mr. Jinnah in the *Leader* which seldom descends to personalities. We saw nothing arrogant or insolent in the address of Mr. Jinnah at the Muslim League. He has criticised the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Bombay Conference but his language nowhere transcends the wide limits of political controversy. Mr. Savarkar's address at the Hindu Mahasabha held in Madura some months ago, was no wise milder but the *Leader*, so far as we are aware, did not denounce the Mahasabha President as arrogant and insolent. Our own impression of the Muslim League President's address was that it was inspired by a sense of frustration at the weak support Pakistan has received from those from whom he expected strong support, the *Times*, for example. He quoted from its article and exclaimed in disgust, "Sharper than a serpent's tooth is a traitor's hand." Old Lear had said "a thankless child." There was point in it. But one never expects boons from a traitor's hand. As we have repeatedly observed, the Pakistan scheme is without substance. It cuts clean across the spirit of Islam as also against an agelong Indian sentiment. If anything was needed to put the extinguisher on Pakistan it was furnished by the unhappy analogy of the creation of Croatia as a separate Republic by the Nazis. A more ill-omened precedent it is impossible to think of.

The "Searchlight" of Patna:—The *Searchlight* of Patna recently celebrated its twenty-second year by a special number. In its leading article, the *Searchlight* announced that it had acquired the machinery of a modern newspaper and that the minority years of struggling amidst adverse conditions were over. It would not, wrote the *Searchlight*, deny itself in the past the privilege of being the mouthpiece of Gandhiji, along with two or three other newspapers. It is not unusual for newspapers to acquire caution and discretion along with new machinery and we should not have normally thought the occasion one for congratulating the *Searchlight* which in the past has had to close down three times and to face several suits in law courts and to furnish security under the press laws. Though its history is likely to create an impression that the *Searchlight* tended towards intemperate extremism, it has been a sober organ of opinion and has commended itself to all schools of thought. In the anniversary leading article, it proclaims itself an enthusiastic

supporter of Gandhiji's views and in particular emphasizes his non-violent message. In this it goes farther than other party organs. Among the numerous messages it has received, none could be more gratifying to those responsible for the policy of the paper than those from political opponents testifying to the sense of fair play and respect for opinion shown to points of view other than those held by the *Searchlight* itself. We wish the newspaper every success in the field of national service it has chosen.

For the "Dnyanodaya":—The *Dnyanodaya* quotes from a recent article in *The Reformer* a paragraph suggesting that Hindus should stand out of politics and let a Cabinet composed of members of minority communities carry on the Government, with a complimentary remark. It was not our idea that the Hindu community alone stood in need of internal reorganization and that the minority communities needed none. The proper place of the Hindus in the national councils, as determined by every test, admits of no difference of opinion. For them to undertake responsibility for the Government of the country, either in part or wholly, in any less proper position would be of no good to themselves or others, much less to the country as a whole. It may interest the *Dnyanodaya* to know that a distinguished Indian belonging to a minority community, did not regard the suggestion of a Government by an exclusively minority Cabinet, with the Hindus standing out of politics, as a promising one. Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, ex-Premier of Madras, had made a formal offer which went much further. He had offered the support of the Congress party to a Cabinet formed by Mr. Jinnah consisting of colleagues selected by Mr. Jinnah himself. That offer did not exclude, if it did not indeed contemplate, the possibility of the entire cabinet consisting of Muslim Leaguers.

The War:—On the Greek front, the war position instead of improving as we had expected last week, has steadily deteriorated. In Macedonia and Epirus the Greeks have surrendered but fighting still continues round Thermopylae in which Empire forces are playing an important part. Unless a miracle happens, it is not likely that the Greek campaign will offer any opportunity of reversing the decision of the past weeks.....In Africa there has been steady improvement, the British being stronger in the South-East. Tobruk has proved a thorn in the Nazi side so far as Libya is concerned, and the lightening rapidity of Germany's move across the desert has brought her more trouble than advantage. In Iraq things are quietening down with the arrival of British troops and the Rashid Ali Government have declared their intention of observing the Anglo-Iraq Treaty. Turkey once more has declared her intention to resist aggression and American representatives have again asserted their determination to help Britain. Meanwhile in the Empire Canada during the week has forged one more link with the U. S. A.; and Australia appears perturbed at the Balkan situation.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 26, 1941.

## THE AWAKENING OF RELIGION.

Religion which, with its full consent and sometimes on its own initiative, was banished from all spheres of social life, except the narrow precincts of the Church and mosque and temple, is beginning to realise with shame and sorrow that it has forfeited its right to live. The man in the street is asking why religion should have any place in life since it has not prevented the world from plunging into the disastrous strife which today is the normal relation between nations and communities. Religion, when it is honest to itself, is obliged to acknowledge its failure. It realises too that the failure is largely due to its voluntary segregation from economic and political life. Religion and economics are the two great forces which dominate human conduct. Of the two, religion is by far the more important as it concerns the spiritual and ethical parts which are the deepest layers of life. But the industrial civilization exalted economics above religion and morals. The acquisition of wealth was made the supreme end of life. Any one who did not accept this goal, was a fool. If a man cannot make money for himself in the ways which an economy-dominated politics has declared lawful, he should be content to starve himself and see his wife and children starve if he is ashamed to beg and afraid to steal. The war has cleared many cobwebs, among them the right of the successful muckraker to dominate the life of the community. Religious thinkers have naturally been the first to awaken to the new situation. If we hear little and see less of them in this country, it is because religious-thinking in this country has degenerated into communal bickering. The Hindu Mahasabha is noteworthy chiefly for its sublime unconcern for the religious principles of Hinduism. All sects of Hindus are agreed in theory that the Divine essence pervades all humanity and makes it one in spirit. The Hindu Mahasabha isolates a section of men on the ground of birth and demands for them certain rights in the political government of the country. The Muslim League, in complete contradiction to the fundamental doctrine of Islam, regards Indian Muslims as a tribe like the Croats and is working to establish them as a separate economic and industrial unit in two corners of India. Christianity in this country is sterilised by the concentration of its exponents on proselytism. To increase the number of persons enrolled in the Census as Christians, absorbs all their energies to the exclusion of the meaning and purpose of Christianity as a religion. Amidst this scene of darkness and desolation, one could despair for the future of the human race, were it not for gleams here and there of light breaking through the veil of pervading darkness. As yet these gleams are not strong enough to

shine by their intense luminosity. We have to look for them and they come to us from strange places.

For instance, we read in the Catholic *Examiner* last week a Roman Catholic divine, Professor J. Maritain of Chicago, insisting in a thoughtful lecture on all religions standing together in a spirit of solidarity against the materialistic forces which threaten to overwhelm humanity. He candidly admits that history does not show that religious ideas or feelings have been particularly successful in pacifying men. On the contrary, religious differences have rather fed and sharpened the conflicts. Professor Maritain goes on to observe :

And yet if it is true that human society must bring together in the service of the same terrestrial common good, men belonging to different spiritual families, how can the peace of the temporal society be lastingly assured, if first in the domain that matters most to the human being—in the spiritual and religious domain itself—relationships of mutual respect and mutual understanding cannot be established. I prefer the word fellowship to tolerance, for it connotes something positive—positive and elementary—in human relationship.

Professor Maritain quotes from the coronation prayer of Pope Pius XII that his thoughts go out to the Almighty not only for people within his religious fold but for all those without the Church also. Professor Maritain frankly says that this was something relatively new, and that it has been forced on his Holiness by the powerful organised forces of materialism and denial of religion which are a menace to all religions. "If this is so," adds the Professor, "we must admit that it is a stern lesson for believers." There has been a single exception to Professor Maritain's general proposition that religious differences have fed and sharpened the conflict among men. That exception is India where twenty-five centuries ago the principle and policy of religious toleration was proclaimed and where it has been practised since then, with occasional aberrations no doubt, but without permanently impairing the authority and validity of that principle and that policy. No policy based on expediency could have endured so long and in spite of the many political vicissitudes which the country has experienced. It has endured because it was rooted in the truth of the unity underlying the diversity of the phenomenal world which the ancient seers of India perceived and enshrined in the Vedic aphorism : "One alone is, people call That by different names." Under the aegis and inspiration of this all-embracing formula all religions were regarded as different pathways to the Divine goal. Thus it came to pass that Jews, Syrians, Parsees and others who came to this country to escape persecution in their own lands, were welcomed and accorded complete freedom of worship and communal life. There are Indians who, impatient at the unthinking hostility of some minority communities, are inclined to look upon the old non-assimilation policy as a mistake. But this is a very short-sighted view to take. The steam-roller

is a useful implement for levelling uneven ground and turning it into a highway fit for traffic. But it is a poor and, in the long run, a dangerous engine to try on human beings as the history of bygone empires has clearly established. The United States is an exception. But thoughtful Americans who are not dazzled by the outward glamour of the wealth and industrial power of the States, are profoundly exercised by the uncertainty as to whither it is all tending and how it will all end. The path of tolerance which India has trod is the path of wisdom. It is also the path of humanity. India has no reason to regret it. On the contrary, she has every reason to be proud of it because, when the present clash and confusion end, the nations will find that the policy of India is the true and only policy which will ensure peace on earth and goodwill among men. The Catholic historian, Acton, in his "History of Freedom" has given the place of honour to India for laying the foundation of all civil liberty in religious freedom and toleration. It is surprising that Professor Maritain should have missed this unique instance in history which goes to confirm his great thesis that religion should unite and not divide and that which divides, therefore, is not religion but the selfishness of man camouflaged as religion.

#### SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN AT CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

After twenty years of resplendent service as King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Calcutta University, Sir S. Radhakrishnan made his farewell speech last Friday on his appointment as first Professor of Indian Culture under the munificent endowment in the name of Sayajirao, by the present Maharaja of Baroda. No memorial more appropriately commemorates the ideal which inspired the late Maharaja throughout his long reign. There is much talk of unity nowadays but many of the ingenious schemes devised for the purpose, unhappily seem to carry us away farther from the end. The Baroda endowment is one of the few which shows real insight into the foundations of national solidarity. Political unity brought about by constitutional forms will be lasting only if the forms represent unity of culture and common ideals resulting therefrom. Cultural unity can withstand political changes but political unity created merely by forms of government has no reality without roots in cultural affinity. The choice of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan to be the first Sayaji Rao Professor is a happy one. It ensures the initiation of a tradition of conscientious scholarship warmed by an enthusiasm for Indian ideals, which has already borne precious fruit in Sir Sarvapalli's lectures and writings. In a significant sense it is the exact counterpart of the Spalding Professorship which he fills with distinction at Oxford. In his farewell address to Calcutta University Sir Sarvapalli made an impassioned

plea for intellectual integrity on the part of Universities and their alumni. "If anybody asks me to define what is meant by prostitution," he said, "I will define it in this way—any attempt to save your body by selling your soul is an act of prostitution." Sir Sarvapalli is an extensive reader, and doubtless he has come across the book—it was suppressed before it was published in England and has only recently been released on a large scale—which raised this very issue in its most challenging form. In "To Beg I am Ashamed," the writer who described herself as a woman with respectable connections, of good education and accustomed to refined society, narrated how, thrown on her own resources for a livelihood and finding other doors closed, she took to the life of a street-girl, which she loathed, not only for securing customers but to wreak vengeance on the society which had driven her to this decision, by deceiving, robbing and blackmailing as many of its members as possible. If lawyers can argue on either side for a fee, she argued, if politicians can hold one set of opinions in private and express another set of them in public, if journalists can write leading articles attacking persons who do not wear khaddar and in the same issue publish advertisements of not merely mill-made but of foreign machine-made articles, if religious preachers can proclaim "Love your enemies," and in the same breath, bless the banners of the army sent out to slaughter them, why should not a woman to whom these doors are barred, sell her body and retain her soul on the same terms as lawyers, politicians, journalists and preachers and professors? When Jesus startled the men who had dragged a fallen sister to his presence, expecting him to order her to be stoned to death according to Jewish custom, by telling them "Let him who is sinless cast the first stone," he was using the very argument which Sir Sarvapalli has developed along broader lines. Ruskin defined the liberal professions, as distinguished from trades, as those in which their professors should face death rather than prefer personal gain to public interest which, to him, consisted in every man being absolutely true to his conscience and his vocation.

We are glad that Sir Sarvapalli spoke some plain words regarding Democracy which today has become a slogan without any ethical or intellectual content. Any one who does not shout with the crowd for Democracy, is liable to be denounced as a Fascist or Communist or Nazi. To avoid this contingency people who can not profess to believe in Democracy—Indian rulers for instance—have substituted hatred of Fascism and Communism as their slogans. Mr. Jinnah is never tired of declaring that democracy is not suited to India. Democracy means different things to different people. The late Lord Lothian in a series of articles in a London paper interpreted it as the political counterpart of Christianity. In this view of democracy, the dominant idea is not the rule of the majority party in Parliament, but the

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For instance, we read in the *Catholic Examiner* last week a Roman Catholic divine, Professor J. Maritain of Chicago, insisting in a thoughtful lecture on all religions standing together in a spirit of solidarity against the materialistic forces which threaten to overwhelm humanity. He candidly admits that history does not show that religious ideas or feelings have been particularly successful in pacifying men. On the contrary, religious differences have rather fed and sharpened the conflicts. Professor Maritain goes on to observe :

And yet if it is true that human society must bring together in the service of the same terrestrial common good, men belonging to different spiritual families, how can the peace of the temporal society be lastingly assured, if first in the domain that matters most to the human being—in the spiritual and religious domain itself—relationships of mutual respect and mutual understanding cannot be established, I prefer the word fellowship to tolerance, for it connotes something positive—positive and elementary—in human relationship.

Professor Maritain quotes from the coronation prayer of Pope Pius XII that his thoughts go out to the Almighty not only for people within his religious fold but for all those without the Church also. Professor Maritain frankly says that this was something relatively new, and that it has been forced on his Holiness by the powerful organised forces of materialism and denial of religion which are a menace to all religions. "If this is so," adds the Professor, "we must admit that it is a stern lesson for believers." There has been a single exception to Professor Maritain's general proposition that religious differences have fed and sharpened the conflict among men. That exception is India where twenty-five centuries ago the principle and policy of religious toleration was proclaimed and where it has been practised since then, with occasional aberrations no doubt, but without permanently impairing the authority and validity of that principle and that policy. No policy based on expediency could have endured so long and in spite of the many political vicissitudes which the country has experienced. It has endured because it was rooted in the truth of the unity underlying the diversity of the phenomenal world which the ancient seers of India perceived and enshrined in the Vedic aphorism: "One alone is, people call That by different names." Under the aegis and inspiration of this all-embracing formula all religions were regarded as different pathways to the Divine goal. Thus it came to pass that Jews, Syrians, Parsees and others who came to this country to escape persecution in their own lands, were welcomed and accorded complete freedom of worship and communal life. There are Indians who, impatient at the unthinking hostility of some minority communities, are inclined to look upon the old non-assimilation policy as a mistake. But this is a very short-sighted view to take. The steam-roller

is a useful implement for levelling uneven ground and turning it into a highway fit for traffic. But it is a poor and, in the long run, a dangerous engine to try on human beings as the history of bygone empires has clearly established. The United States is an exception. But thoughtful Americans who are not dazzled by the outward glamour of the wealth and industrial power of the States, are profoundly exercised by the uncertainty as to whither it is all tending and how it will all end. The path of tolerance which India has trod is the path of wisdom. It is also the path of humanity. India has no reason to regret it. On the contrary, she has every reason to be proud of it because, when the present clash and confusion end, the nations will find that the policy of India is the true and only policy which will ensure peace on earth and goodwill among men. The Catholic historian, Acton, in his "History of Freedom" has given the place of honour to India for laying the foundation of all civil liberty in religious freedom and toleration. It is surprising that Professor Maritain should have missed this unique instance in history which goes to confirm his great thesis that religion should unite and not divide and that which divides, therefore, is not religion but the selfishness of man camouflaged as religion.

#### SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN AT CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

After twenty years of resplendent service as King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Calcutta University, Sir S. Radhakrishnan made his farewell speech last Friday on his appointment as first Professor of Indian Culture under the munificent endowment in the name of Sayajirao, by the present Maharaja of Baroda. No memorial more appropriately commemorates the ideal which inspired the late Maharaja throughout his long reign. There is much talk of unity nowadays but many of the ingenious schemes devised for the purpose, unhappily seem to carry us away farther from the end. The Baroda endowment is one of the few which shows real insight into the foundations of national solidarity. Political unity brought about by constitutional forms will be lasting only if the forms represent unity of culture and common ideals resulting therefrom. Cultural unity can withstand political changes but political unity created merely by forms of government has no reality without roots in cultural affinity. The choice of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan to be the first Sayaji Rao Professor is a happy one. It ensures the initiation of a tradition of conscientious scholarship warmed by an enthusiasm for Indian ideals, which has already borne precious fruit in Sir Sarvapalli's lectures and writings. In a significant sense it is the exact counterpart of the Spalding Professorship which he fills with distinction at Oxford. In his farewell address to Calcutta University Sir Sarvapalli made an impassioned

plea for intellectual integrity on the part of Universities and their alumni. "If anybody asks me to define what is meant by prostitution," he said, "I will define it in this way—any attempt to save your body by selling your soul is an act of prostitution." Sir Sarvapalli is an extensive reader, and doubtless he has come across the book—it was suppressed before it was published in England and has only recently been released on a large scale—which raised this very issue in its most challenging form. In "To Beg I am Ashamed," the writer who described herself as a woman with respectable connections, of good education and accustomed to refined society, narrated how, thrown on her own resources for a livelihood and finding other doors closed, she took to the life of a street-girl, which she loathed, not only for securing customers but to wreak vengeance on the society which had driven her to this decision, by deceiving, robbing and blackmailing as many of its members as possible. If lawyers can argue on either side for a fee, she argued, if politicians can hold one set of opinions in private and express another set of them in public, if journalists can write leading articles attacking persons who do not wear khaddar and in the same issue publish advertisements of not merely mill-made but of foreign machine-made articles, if religious preachers can proclaim "Love your enemies," and in the same breath, bless the banners of the army sent out to slaughter them, why should not a woman to whom these doors are barred, sell her body and retain her soul on the same terms as lawyers, politicians, journalists and preachers and professors? When Jesus startled the men who had dragged a fallen sister to his presence, expecting him to order her to be stoned to death according to Jewish custom, by telling them "Let him who is sinless cast the first stone," he was using the very argument which Sir Sarvapalli has developed along broader lines. Ruskin defined the liberal professions, as distinguished from trades, as those in which their professors should face death rather than prefer personal gain to public interest which, to him, consisted in every man being absolutely true to his conscience and his vocation.

We are glad that Sir Sarvapalli spoke some plain words regarding Democracy which today has become a slogan without any ethical or intellectual content. Any one who does not shout with the crowd for Democracy, is liable to be denounced as a Fascist or Communist or Nazi. To avoid this contingency people who can not profess to believe in Democracy—Indian rulers for instance—have substituted hatred of Fascism and Communism as their slogans. Mr. Jinnah is never tired of declaring that democracy is not suited to India. Democracy means different things to different people. The late Lord Lothian in a series of articles in a London paper interpreted it as the political counterpart of Christianity. In this view of democracy, the dominant idea is not the rule of the majority party in Parliament, but the



observance of ethical standards and respect for honest dissent. Freedom of conscience is the essence of this school of democracy. If these can be by any means ensured in a government, that Government will be the type of democracy which will compel the allegiance of thinking men. In any case, the fact that the term, "Democracy," has closer associations with the idea of Freedom, is a point in its favour, as distinguished by monarchy or oligarchy. There are, however, people in this country and elsewhere, and they are leaders too, to whom democracy means that if you have a majority in Parliament behind you, you can do anything, carry out any measure which serves your party ends however unprincipled it may be. It is the predominance of this type in politics which has brought democracy into discredit and made it a byword as odious as gangsterism. This kind of democracy is unsuited to any country and not only to India. But when Mr. Jinnah denounces democracy, he is, we fear, denouncing not only majority tyranny but also freedom of conscience, speech and thought. If these things are not secured, democracy is no better than autocracy or bureaucracy as a form of government. It is of such that Sir Sarvapalli said that democracies themselves suffer from greater spiritual vices than other forms of government. The truth of the matter is, if you have got the right type of men, that is, men who can instinctively distinguish between their own personal or communal interests and the interests of the country, habitually preferring the latter to the former, almost any form of Government will work with equal benefit to the people. A large part of mankind in its agony today is echoing the prayer of Tennyson in *Maud* :

Ah God, for a man with heart, head, hand,  
Like some of the simple great ones gone  
For ever and ever by,  
One still strong man in a blatant land,  
Whatever they call him what care I—  
Aristocrat, autocrat, democrat—one  
Who can rule and dare not lie !

The basic idea in the representative system originally was that the electors would elect only such men but this has seldom been fulfilled. On the contrary, demagogues who seek their suffrage for personal ends, have more often succeeded in coaxing the electorates than men who were too honest to humbug the voters. Every people should set about finding the best form of government suited to its conditions, that is, which will bring the maximum good to the people without uprooting wholesome traditions and without creating a violent revulsion among the masses. In the pursuit of this duty, we should clear our minds completely of slogans and shibboleths.

#### BRITISH LABOUR AND INDIAN NATIONALISM.

The perusal of Herbert Tracey's "Trade Unions Fight—For What" has one good effect. It makes one realise that the difficulties and delays in introducing reforms in the Indian administration, which have made even ultra-moderates despair, are not due to, or at least can be explained without imputing, racial prejudice. More or less identical difficulties have attended the attainment by British Labour of its present effective influence in the British government. Mr. Tracey whose competence to deal with his subject is acknowledged by both those who approve of his conclusions and those who dissent from them, tells in this book of the efforts of the Labour Party to rouse the Chamberlain Government to the need of preparing the country and especially the industrial workers who form the bulk of the people, for the dangers with which the rapid re-armament of Nazi Germany was certain to confront them. Its warnings went unheeded. Some of the British Ministers, Mr. Tracey says, were misled by Ribbentrop, for some time German Ambassador in London, into believing that German rearmament was directed against Soviet Russia. It was only when Mr. Chamberlain's hands were forced into declaring war with Germany, that the Cabinet felt the necessity of securing the co-operation of the Labour Party. This the Party was willing to accord, but on condition that Mr. Chamberlain made way to another Prime Minister. This brought Mr. Winston Churchill his opportunity. He owes his present position primarily to the Labour distrust of Mr. Neville Chamberlain. Mr. Churchill himself is no friend of Labour. Drucker in his "End of Economic Man" wrote of him: "Churchill is the only statesman in England or, for that matter, in Europe, whose idea of society—that of the eighteenth century—does not base itself on freedom and equality." But he is an opportunist in the largest sense of the word and he knew that he owed his Premiership to Labour opposition to Neville Chamberlain. So he swept the leaders of the Labour Parliamentary group into his Cabinet. His convictions had to give way to stern practical necessity. Some friends despair of a Churchill Cabinet doing anything for India, arguing from the Prime Minister's strenuous opposition to the Hoare reforms. But Indians also were and are opposed to the Hoare scheme, though on different grounds. Churchill opposed it because he thought it gave self-government to Indians. Indians are against it because it withholds self-government while professing to give it to India. Mr. Churchill's attitude to Indian reform will depend not on what he said or did five years ago, but on the actual effect which they may be expected to have upon some immediate issue which, for them at present, is the prosecution of the war. Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, bore testimony to this in his recent speech in the House of Commons when he said :—

The policy of the Government announced last autumn offers India far more than ever before and the remarkable thing is that it is a policy not merely of Mr. Amery's friends (of the Labour Party) in the Cabinet or the present Secretary of State but of the Prime Minister who only a few years ago was the most stalwart and persistent, opponent of a measure of self-government which fell short of that pledge of complete Dominion Status as soon as Indians can agree after the war.

Trades Unions cover the entire field of British industry and their influence is so powerful that without their willing co-operation the production of armaments and the mobilising of industry for that purpose cannot be successfully effected in Great

Britain. If Mr. Churchill sees the possibility of a similar situation rising in India, he is not the man to allow his old opinions to hamper him in adopting the policy which would prevent it.

There is, if not a close, a recognisable analogy between the attitude of British Labour and Indian Nationalism to Government in Britain and in India. This is well brought out in two reviews of Tracey's book. Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister for Labour in the Churchill Cabinet, in a short review of the book, maintains that Labour has achieved a notable gain by joining the Government. He writes:—

They (Trades Unions) have joined in the great struggle because it is their own. It is less a war to preserve a nation's jealous rights than a war resulting from the clash of two systems, one of responsible government and the other of rule from the top. The pre-war world has brought tragedy and failure. Labour will shape the new order on the principle it has always struggled to express and get recognised. Previous Governments regarded the Unions as having limited functions and seldom regarded them as more than deputations. The present Government, at least, has brought the Unions into a fuller measure of participation which has altered the whole course of the war effort—indeed of our national history. In the many fields of Government activity—war production, food, fuel, shipping, on executive and advisory bodies, the Unions are represented and actually associated in mobilising our resources and planning the life of the nation in the great war effort. This has been one of the guiding principles in my policy as Minister of Labour.

Something like this the Bombay Leaders' Conference had in mind when it complained that Government have done nothing to make Indians feel that the war is their war. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Jagadish Prasad and their friends should not have invited Government to make them feel that the war is their war. This is not what the British Labour Party did. They should have asserted, as the Labour Party did, that this war was India's war, and urged Government to adopt policies and measures which would ensure India's putting forth its full strength to carry the war to a victorious issue. If the Government of Lord Linlithgow failed to accept their proposals, they should have appealed over its head to the British people pointing out that the Government of India was obstructing their proposals to bring the full weight of India into the war. Lord Linlithgow and his advisers should have been put on their defence and would have been compelled by British public opinion to hand over the responsibility for the conduct of Government to Indians.

A different view of the labour participation in the Government is presented in another review of the same book by Mr. Herbert Read in the same issue of the journal. Read writes:

Most trade unionists seem to be content with that achievement. They see their leaders in the War Cabinet, or sitting side by side with employers on committees which control the whole of our social policy. But it is that very complacency which disturbs Tracey. He sees that the trade unions have entered the political limelight and that the shadows they cast are apparently solid. But the substance for which they were organised, which was nothing less than the right to control their own human destinies, and to live in freedom and equality, is as remote as ever. From the point of view of the worker, what in effect has happened is that the whole of the present iniquitous system has been legally stabilised. The rich are still rich and the poor are still poor, and property is still a sacred right. And if the sense of injustice still burns in the worker's breast, he finds that the most he can do is to make a representation to a committee, a committee on which

the casting vote is with an abstraction called the State. It was not for such frustration that the voluntary associations we call trade unions were formed, and it is his vivid realisation of this betrayal which gives Tracey's book all its urgency and originality.

#### INDIA'S "WAR PROSPERITY."

Mr. G. D. Birla, one of our leading industrialists, contributes an interesting article on India's "War Prosperity" to the anniversary number of the *Searchlight*. Mr. Birla begins by attacking the myth of industrial prosperity through war:

War is like an ill wind that blows nobody any good. It cannot create prosperity in countries associated with the belligerents. Yet a national government, had one existed in India, could have by wise and judicious methods saved the country from the direct evils of war, its extravagance, its evil economic effects, and could also have given a turn to national industry and enterprise so as to increase the productive capacity of the country.

Mr. Birla has uttered a very necessary warning to his fellow industrialists in telling the country not to expect too much from the industrial "opportunities" of the war. He, too, asks for industrialisation but only with a view to soften the economic hardships which are the lot of the people of any belligerent country. Mr. Birla mentions five measures which a national government would undertake to "make the best of a bad job." They are: to plan internal production so as to minimise India's dependence on export; to see that the producer gets a fair price for what is exported; to see that we are not compelled to accept for the sale of our commodities abroad payment in a form or shape we really do not want; to ensure that we produce and sell abroad things for war requirements that suit our economics and give us the maximum advantage; to finance our own defence in a manner which would accelerate our industrialization. All of them, however, would depend for their success on how truly free from outside control, a national government of India is. The fourth suggestion, for example, can only succeed if we are able to sell in an open market. But conditions under the most liberal instalment of reforms would necessarily restrict us to one customer and that customer would equally naturally be able to tell us just what it requires. Even Indian political leaders of extreme views have acquiesced in this position. In all the schemes of provisional Government for wartime advanced for this country, there is one common element: To continue the foreign policy of the existing regime and not to withdraw from this war—an assurance which is necessary in order to persuade the British power that it would be no loser by the attainment of Indian Independence. As a matter of fact, they have gone much farther. From Mr. M. N. Roy and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to Mr. Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, every Indian leader has pleaded his desire to increase the war effort. So long as this is the case, India, even if the demand for a national government is conceded, cannot introduce very important changes in her economic and industrial system. A national government is not, as so many persons seem to think, a mystic entity. It cannot rise to higher levels than the individuals of whom it is composed.

Mr. Birla's five points reduce to one essential demand—that production during the war should not lose sight of the social consequences which it must entail. As a very subordinate member of the British Empire, Indian economy is geared to the economy of Britain and the Dominions. We are, no doubt, ambitious to produce motor-cars and aeroplanes. The mistake our industrialists make, is to think that, just

because Britain stands in need today of cars and planes, she will be agreeable to establish factories in India or to help in setting up factories. It is, or should by now be, clear beyond doubt that Britain does not want them from India. This is not altogether perversity. The men at the Centre of an Empire are more able to see the needs of co-ordination as a whole than men who form one of the units. We are all so impressed by the need for industrialisation in India that every occasion seems a favourable one to push it forward. We may safely assume that this sentiment prevails in other parts of the Empire—some of which are better able than India to secure their ambitions. Even in a modern war, there are obvious difficulties which would arise if every unit in a group of nations insisted on producing the same things. The British do not want machines from us; we, on the other hand, are not completely satisfied with donating funds for the purchase of machines from other countries. In the conflict of interests that has thus arisen, no effective remedy can be found unless Indian nationalism develops outside the orbit of British imperialism. The existing confusion of thought creeps in because of an anxiety on the part of both Indian and British leaders of opinion to cover up all differences in the crisis period and to assert an identity of interest which is less present in the industrial field than even in the political. Mr. Birla suggests that India's interests could be served by a national government without embarrassing Britain. Surely if that was the case, there would have been a national government by this time at Delhi. It is feared that Mr. Birla's confidence may prove misplaced when things become irremediable, that have prevented the British from even carrying out his novel suggestion that England should have, in her own interest, transferred bodily to India, to India's ownership, many of her existing industrial plants.

Mr. Birla turns in the concluding part of his article from what a national government would do, to what the present Government is doing in financing the war. He commends the policy of the British Government in relying increasingly on taxation, but he is highly critical of the Government of India for a blind application of British methods to Indian conditions. Mr. Birla significantly enough avoids in this connection all mention of what would happen under a national government at war. He levels his main accusation against the Excess Profits Tax and the increased Income Tax, both of which he says combine to kill the profit incentive in India. The Excess Profits Tax, he adds immediately, is not one which affects the capitalist alone and he quotes from investigations conducted by a Committee on the working of the tax in the last war to prove that manufacturers and traders were able to pass on the tax to consumers and retain a substantial net profit for themselves. This is a rather unfortunate argument. Britain profiting from her earlier experience has resorted to a cent per cent Excess Profits Tax, and Mr. Birla's arguments would naturally lead in the same direction. In an illuminating contribution to the subject of "Economic Organisation for Total War" in the *International Labour Review*, Mr. E. F. Penrose, Economic Adviser to the International Labour Office, remarks:

The argument that entrepreneurs will relax their efforts in war emergencies unless they are permitted to make large incomes in excess of the amount they pay in taxes implies that, as a class, businessmen are less willing than other sections of the community to make sacrifices to save the community in the hour of need. The same conclusion must be

drawn in a community in which the methods of war finance include the stabilisation or reduction of money wage rates and the imposition of an excess profits tax of less than 100 per cent. These methods prevent workers from obtaining any increase in money incomes, and at the same time allow business men to make and in part to keep profits in wartime over and above what they make in peace-time. There is no escape from the conclusion that such conditions are incompatible with social justice, that financial policy should aim at preventing as far as possible price rises that give opportunities for excess profits, and that excess profits should be subject to a 100 per cent tax...which should apply to all industries and not merely to those engaged in the production of war materials.

The defect in applying such a scheme to India would be, however, that it would exact from the business community a measure of sacrifice and a degree of contribution to the war effort, far in excess of what other sections of Indian society are asked to make. Nor do we think it would be possible under any conceivable conditions to evoke from people a greater effort than is being at present made. Mr. Birla has appealed in his concluding paragraphs for an increase in the purchasing-power of the producer in order to increase the productivity of the country. His remarks lead one to believe that higher prices, "just what is needed for the Indian agriculturist," would bring about this desirable end. He refers in this connection to the Protection extended to cotton which enabled indigenous industry to drive out Lancashire, and the Protection to sugar which eliminated the Java sugar trade from Indian markets. But in neither of these instances does he prove that the Indian agriculturist gained very considerably by the transaction.

#### POLITICAL APOCRYPHA.

The difference which the extension of the reading public has meant to newspapers and to a less perceptible extent to books, is shown by the growing popularity of the Ludwig school of biographers, historians and recorders of even contemporary events. The vast majority of people are interested more in personalities than in principles. Even the most active of our leaders cannot do enough to hold public attention every day, and so the imagination of the press fills up the vacuum. A common peg for most subjects and all jokes, is the modern dictator, and it is well worth noting the ready adaptability with which the humourist who has no mind to make his own jokes, fits the Mussolini story to Hitler and the Hitler anecdote to Mussolini. Mr. Edward Thompson, well-known British publicist on Indian affairs, who recently put out a book, "Enlist India for Freedom," which for some unaccountable reason found great favour with some leading figures in the Congress, narrates in it an anecdote about Pandit Jawaharlal refusing to see Signor Mussolini in 1936, though the Italian leader was desperately anxious to meet him and had put off everything, including a meeting of the Italian Cabinet! He prefaced it with the remark, "One day it will be possible to tell of the quite extraordinary attempts made by both Mussolini and Hitler to win him over to co-operation with them.....To tell a small part of the story now," and concluded with, "How many Englishmen—how many Americans—would have stood out against what was offered as an outstanding distinction?" When this incident first appeared, it must have struck readers as so typically Jawaharlal that nobody stopped to look twice at it. Mr. Thompson went on to contrast the fine sensitiveness of Pandit

Jawaharlal with Mr. Chamberlain's disregard for "a far-off country of which we know nothing." To say the least, it does seem strange that Pandit Jawaharlal who has not, so far as I know, refused to meet the Viceroy or less dignitaries of the British Empire with whom his quarrel is a more direct one, should take up an uncompromising attitude on Italian imperialism. Mr. Thompson suggests that he has heard it direct from Pandit Jawaharlal though he does not say it in so many words. But Mr. Thompson opened a door for other journalists and it was not surprising to read the following editorial note in the *Bombay Chronicle* of April 11:

Dr. Narayan Dutt Vidyalkar writing in the Hindi journal "Aap Biti" tells the interesting and hitherto unpublished story of how on the morning of August 6, during the year Jawaharlal visited Europe, Dr. Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, came in person to the Pandit's hotel with a letter from Hitler, inviting the Pandit to go and meet the German Fuhrer. The incident has not been referred to by Pandit Jawaharlal and as such it throws a light on the high character of the man. Very few in Jawaharlal Nehru's place could have resisted the offer, coupled as it was with the invitation of being a State guest. Fewer still, when they had declined the offer, could have resisted the temptation of telling the world about their action. It is very fine incident and one should feel grateful to Dr. Vidyalkar for having published it.

At the time it struck me as a particularly feeble adaptation of the Thompson story and, if both could be taken as true, then we had reason to congratulate ourselves on the unofficial character of Pandit Jawaharlal's representation of India. In the responsibility which office confers, one cannot afford these futile, if magnificent, gestures. The British who are stern realists in their own affairs, would hardly have cheered had Mr. Churchill refused to have dealings with M. Stalin because he did not like the colour of his politics; in fact, they have had quite a lot to say against Mr. Chamberlain; whose reactions to Bolshevism were almost as childish as the tales of Pandit Jawaharlal represent the Pandit to be. But just because the British are not ready to indulge in these grand denials, they are apt to welcome any report of somebody else doing it. So far as India is concerned, it suits political parties here to make out that the country is in the unfortunate position of being held back in its anti-Nazi, anti-Fascist, ardour by bureaucrats.

The soil for stories of the Thompson-Vidyalkar type was, therefore, peculiarly fertile but for one unfortunate factor. Mrs. Pandit, the sister of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has issued a statement characterising the Vidyalkar story as entirely fanciful; and the article in which it appeared as containing statements which were "patently false." It is fortunate that this early denial has been issued because it does little good to any politician to be known as a cantankerous, ill-mannered person even though the basis of bad temper and excitability be political principle.

This might be called the failing of the disciples of the great, the invention or embroidering of little incidents which reveal the intense interest or distaste of the Master. From killing snakes in jail to mysterious disappearances from the prison cell, the satyagraha campaign has produced an infinite variety of myths. It is not surprising that war and totalitarianism should have their own mythology springing up. Mr. Thompson gives another type of failing currency in his book also, when he quotes Pandit Jawaharlal as saying:

In the last war there was a doubt about your cause, and whenever you had a defeat there was rejoicing in the bazaars. In this war you will no doubt have setbacks, and some of them may be serious, and there

will be the old temptation to rejoice. But everybody knows your cause is 'just.'

This is a very subtle piece of writing on which Mr. Thompson can well congratulate himself. No one can contravert such a statement without landing himself within the mischief of the Defence of India Act. But anyone who reads it carefully, must realise that Panditji's everybody is Panditji himself. In his article on "What is Public Opinion?" in the *Political Quarterly*, Mr. Tom Harrison remarks in another context, "...They put forward opinions which are their own ....If they confined themselves to this activity and were frank about it, we should have been spared some of the less edifying spectacles of recent years. Unfortunately, every great newspaper" (and we would add politician) "has found it necessary to pretend that its own opinion is public opinion, thus giving substance to its complaints and campaigns." It is quite likely that what Mr. Thompson quotes is a correct representation of Pandit Jawaharlal's views. As such it is valuable in itself. Why seek to support it by claiming that it is common in Indian bazaars? In 1914-18, Pandit Jawaharlal was not in the position he now occupies for sounding bazaar opinion. It is not improbable that the ideological differences which he sees in the present conflict, and which distinguish it from wars of rival imperialisms in his mind, give him a perspective to this war which he did not have to the last. But to say that this is generally true of bazaar opinion, is to attribute qualities to the man in the street which even our leaders do not possess. Gandhiji recruited for the last war and non-cooperates with the present. Take the position adopted by the Leaders' Conference and consider whether any group of leaders would have thought of making such demands in 1916 as the Bombay Conference did. If the man in the bazaar during the last war was not sympathetic to Britain, he is not likely to be sympathetic now, after twenty years of agitation for Indian independence.

If it is true again, as Indians of all shades of opinion maintain, that British leaders have broken promise after promise to India after the last war, then it would be absurd to argue that there is more good will for Britain today than there was when faith in Britain was still fresh and unimpaired. "There is no doubt," said Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar in an interview on the House of Commons debate, "that there is a growing lack of faith in British statesmanship among a large section of the public in this country." And when he said "British statesmanship," he was with characteristic courtesy understating the case. He himself points this out when he asks later for a gesture of goodwill and good faith, for a genuine gesture of friendship. This is not the time for exchanging compliments. It is idle to pretend that any intelligent being today thinks of a war as a just war, any more than he thinks of the justice of a drowning man's efforts to save himself. It is a peculiar Anglo-Saxon fallacy to think that one must be first convinced of the justice of a cause in war before one can desire victory for the side which sponsors it. Self-interest is a much more valuable deciding factor and a glance through the history of the past two years should convince anyone of this.

The Indian position is not dissimilar to that of Mr. Dooley who expressed his detestation of being twenty again because he did not want to go through the process of growing up once more, with all the trials and tribulations of youth and middle age. If there is any reason for stressing the pro-British attitude and feelings of the Indian public, it is to be found in the uneasy conscience of the bureaucracy.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Why Communal Riots?**—The orders issued prohibiting the publication by newspapers of information regarding the riots which have occurred in different places, are likely to do more harm than good. The intention, namely, to prevent the aggravation of public feelings, is unexceptionable but this is exactly what will be frustrated by restraints on the Press. In India where the large majority of the population is illiterate and, as a consequence, credulous, the danger likely to arise out of vague rumours which pass from mouth to mouth are infinitely greater than those likely to spring from newspaper publicity. The restraints placed on newspapers inevitably tend to make the news published in them suspect just as in countries where newspapers are directly under the control of the Government. The time is now come when the term "communal riots" should be discarded and all breaches of the peace treated on the same footing. We do not see, for instance, why the riots in Bombay should be called communal riots. Not even the excuse of a rumour, as was alleged in Ahmedabad, has been alleged to explain the origin of the riots in Bombay city. After the first two days, they seemed to have subsided, but in spite of the Governor's stern warning they broke out afresh throwing the life of the great city out of gear. The underlying impulse seems to be nothing less than a general defiance of authority as such. The fact that the persons killed or injured belonged to one or other of the communities, means nothing. The sanctity of human life and property is the paramount responsibility of the State, and, when it is violated, it is the State which is defied, rather than the community of the victims. We suggest that henceforth the phrase, "communal riots," should be eschewed from official and journalistic usage. Whipping as a penalty has been extended to riot offences this week in Bombay. We are not sure how far it will improve the situation. Persons who are not afraid of lathi blows and bullet wounds, are unlikely to

dread a few lashes on the order of a Magistrate as a serious inhibition on their law-breaking impulses. There is the danger of whipping hardening a temporary impulse into a permanent anti-social bias. However that may be, Magistrates may be trusted to use the lash sparingly bearing in mind that physical chastisement impairs human dignity, both for him who gives and him who gets it.

**The Federal Court on Women's Rights Acts:**—The opinion given by the Federal Court on the reference made to it by the Government of India regarding the validity of two Acts passed in recent years affecting the order of succession of Hindu women to the property of deceased relatives, has met with some criticism. We reprint today two letters, one in the *Hindustan Times* and the other in the *Hindu*, from legal correspondents on the subject. The central point of the criticism is that, intended to improve the rights of Hindu widows, the Acts as interpreted by the Federal Court actually leave them worse off than under the Hindu law before the Acts were passed. The Bill of 1937 as introduced, did not make any distinction between agricultural land and other property. The Legislative Assembly in which it was introduced, had at the time full right to legislate on both kinds of property. The Council of State passed the Bill without any change. The Governor-General's assent to the Bill was given as it was passed through the two Houses. The fact that, when the Bill came before the Council of State, the Central Legislature's power to legislate was restricted to property other than agricultural land, can not override the initial fact that the identical Bill when it passed the Assembly distinctly contemplated both kinds of property. If agricultural land be excluded, it is argued, in the great majority of cases, the other kind of property which the widow will be entitled to share, will be negligible as agricultural land constitutes the vast bulk of property among Hindus. For this small advantage the widow, it is pointed out, will forego her right to maintenance from the estate which she enjoys under the Hindu law. In all these respects the actual intention of the Legislature conflicts with the intention imputed to it by the Federal Court. It is for legal experts to determine how this deadlock—we seem to live in an age of endless deadlocks—can be solved. Parliament can not be expected to find time to amend the schedule in its pressing pre-occupations regarding the war. The

Rau Committee will, perhaps, see a way out of this unforeseen difficulty.

**The British Cabinet:**—There are indications that far-reaching changes will be made in the personnel of the British Cabinet very soon. Two weeks ago in answer to questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill seemed very reluctant to give members any information. He was rather brusque in telling members that "we had others to think about besides ourselves." He refused at the time to give information about the Middle East as he had received none and he withheld information about Libya because he thought it would be neither good for the House nor in the interests of the country. He praised Sir Samuel Hoare's work at Madrid and justified a loan which had been condemned as a contribution to the Nazi purse, on humanitarian grounds, whether it brought Britain the gratitude of the Spanish people or not. The Prime Minister, however, was particularly sensitive about the Balkan venture which seems to have been a special policy of his own devising. Details are not available and on Tuesday April 29 Mr. Churchill held out hopes of giving them next week. But from the first reactions to adverse news from the Balkans shown in Australia, things did not seem very hopeful. Mr. Churchill has a particular interest in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Balkan campaign has an unpleasant resemblance to Gallipoli. Lord Halifax in a statement in the United States gave two reasons for Britain's intervention in the Balkans—the one strategic and the other on principle. Mr. Churchill a day later concentrated solely on the principle of honouring one's obligations. He has also announced that he will fix a debate on the war and he proposes to initiate it on a confidence motion in the policy of giving full aid to the Greeks. There has been some report of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Hore-Belisha being brought into the Cabinet. On the other hand, it has been suggested that Mr. Bevin whose outstanding ability as Minister for Labour is not denied, has provoked many enemies by not pushing on with industrial conscription, and the Cabinet may be weakened by sacrificing him to reactionary influences. If anyone has earned a discharge for himself it is Mr. L. C. S. Amery but, where all are equal, a choice becomes difficult. Mr. Churchill's tribute to Sir Samuel Hoare's work at Madrid which to the average man is nothing very notable, may mean that Sir Samuel will be back in the Cabinet.

**Abyssinia:**—While in North Africa the war has revived since the entry of German forces into the struggle between Britain and Italy, Abyssinia, with the fall of the last Italian stronghold, Dessie, is practically free of Italian domination. Victor Emmanuel, recently recognised by the civilised world as Emperor of Abyssinia, gives place to Haile Selassie who once more mounts his ancient throne. The first European aggression is fast being liquidated. But there is a difference in the new regime from the old absolute rule of Selassie. It was reported that the exiled Emperor had accepted in advance the

necessity of administering his dominion with the aid of international advisers who must, so far as we can now see, be British and American. It has been suggested that men could be secured from Sweden, Holland or France. But these countries are all under Nazi domination and even the best of their nationals will have to depend on some outside authority which, as it cannot be the League of Nations, must be Britain. The *New Statesman* in the last issue to arrive in India, February 22, refers to the divisions that exist in Abyssinia not only between the Amharas and the tribes, but even among the Amhara groups, the most important of them being Shoa, Tigre and Gojjam. Menelik established an overlordship over the others but at the outbreak of the Abyssinian-Italian war, Gojjam was lukewarm and Tigre remained semi-independent. Gojjam made its own rebellion after the Italian conquest. The *New Statesman* suggests that the Italian regime was welcomed in the subject provinces since it led to the suppression of the ruling garrisons. The position is complicated by the fact that the Emperor Haile Selassie was put to flight and Gojjam kept up the revolt. The Emperor Selassie will need not only European advisers but European armed forces to maintain him in power. In the correspondence between the British Commander and the Duke of Aosta, it was urged by the former that a surrender was necessary in the interests of white women and children. The Duke of Aosta rejected the offer and emphasized that the protection of white women and children was Britain's responsibility. What happens to non-whites apparently is nobody's business. Four days after the message was received in India, a second one was published, to cover up the obvious implications of this demand, that it was a measure of protection against Italian deserters rather than against the Abyssinians. Nevertheless, it was an unprecedented step, nor is it likely to be repeated in the case of the Free French, the Free Dutch, the Free Czechs, the Greeks or even the Yugoslavs, when they in their turn are restored to power. Apart from this, there is an interesting side to the Selassie restoration which students of history will mark. It destroys the very basis of the dictum that a democracy can hand over power only to another democracy. The Amhara group over which Haile Selassie rules, is a small minority in Abyssinia. Yet Britain is urged by the Labour *New Statesman* not only to restore him to power but to maintain him on his throne. If instead of trying hard the impossible task of creating a perfect constitution out of vacuum for Indian conditions, as Mr. Amery suggests, Indians set out to discover an heir to the great Moghuls or Mauryas, their problems would apparently all vanish overnight.

**The War and Islamic Countries:**—In *The Reformer* of April 12, the position of the Islamic countries in relation to the war, was indicated in a leading article. The two principal countries whose attitude is likely to determine that of the other countries, are Egypt and Turkey. During the last few days, the position of Turkey and Egypt

has been clarified. The Commander of Egypt's territorial army, Abdul Rahman Azzam Bey, according to a Reuter's message, declared that Egypt had nothing to fear from the ups and downs of the present war which he regarded as a struggle between two mighty races—the Anglo-Saxon and the German. It will, he thought, probably be the most dangerous struggle in human history. "We shall soon witness grave incidents in which Britain will undoubtedly show her best qualities. If Egypt for various considerations did not participate in the war, she respected her treaty obligations in an effective manner which completely satisfied her ally." The terms of the Treaty which was concluded between Britain and Egypt in 1936, is more or less on the lines of the Treaty with Iraq which was recently cited in connection with the landing of British troops in that country with a view to opening up communications with Turkey. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty provided that the foreign policy of the two countries must conform to the alliance under which mutual consultation is to take place during a serious dispute or "apprehended international emergency." In war the two parties are to act as allies. In an emergency Egypt is to furnish all the assistance in its power, including the use of "ports, aerodromes and means of communication," while Britain may send reinforcements to Egypt. The British Government is evidently satisfied that Egypt is fulfilling these conditions though she does not regard the invasion of her territory by the Nazis as a sufficient cause for her taking an active part in repelling them. Those uninitiated in the intricacies of modern diplomacy may not understand the subtle implications of alliances of this type. Turkey has concluded a Trade Pact, it was announced on Tuesday, with Germany, under which Turkey will sell tobacco to Germany in return for machinery and spare parts. Discussions are going on, it was further stated, whereby Germany would buy agricultural produce from Turkey in exchange for cellulose and glassware. The two transactions together will involve a sum of 15 million Turkish pounds. It may be a coincidence that the conclusion of this Pact comes at the end of the war in Greece. The British Government has lavishly helped Turkey of recent years. Forty-five years ago Lord Salisbury, the great Victorian statesman, declared in the House of Lords, "We have staked our money on the wrong horse." It may be hoped that the mistake has not been repeated. Since the above was in type, it is reported that Iraq is raising objections to the landing of more British troops in Basra.

The War :—The war situation is now entering on another period of confusion. Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on Wednesday announced that the evacuation of imperial forces from Greece was almost complete. Out of 60,000 empire troops 45,000 had been safely evacuated. But when Mr. Churchill was asked whether that implied that these had returned to

their bases, the Prime Minister said he believed it did. In actual fighting they had suffered 3,000 casualties as against the German loss of some 80,000 dead alone. Mr. Churchill has not given his authority to the figures of German dead but, as nothing has been said to contradict them, we may assume that they are correct. If figures for the Greek casualties could be made available, it would be possible to judge accurately of the result of this unequal battle of the Balkans. The Greek Government's letter to the British Government of April 21, which Mr. Eden read out in the House of Commons makes it quite clear that the Greek Government surrendered because it was unable to keep up the struggle. This makes the position of the group which is now at Crete, and has declared its intention to keep up the fight, peculiar. The letter asserts that the battle was being abandoned by the Greeks because they had no hope of success in the struggle or of assisting the British imperial forces, adding at the same time that, without the Greek Army, the British imperial forces could not resist for more than a few days. Therefore, the Greek Government advised the British to withdraw in time without further sacrifice of their expeditionary force. This would seem to imply a rare spirit of chivalry on the part of the Greeks which deserves the utmost appreciation. In the circumstances, the comment of Reuter's military correspondent seems in deplorable taste. "There is no need," he writes, "to extol the magnificent exploits of the Greeks but something should perhaps be said of the tremendous fight put up by the British forces." Reports of actual fighting have given detailed accounts of heroic deeds by the British Imperial forces, laying particular emphasis on the Australians. We hope this will be understood in Australia in the right spirit. ....President Roosevelt in a recent statement came out with the astounding news that the Nazis had a foothold in Greenland when the United States put its plan of protective defence into force.....Equally surprising is a reference by Reuter in a message relating to North Africa which states that "Mr. Churchill's speech on Saturday which is taken to mean that Britain does not intend to adopt a defensive attitude in Egypt, has caused the greatest satisfaction among the troops who are not in the least intimidated by the superior numbers against them." When did the enemy get together "superior numbers" in North Africa? The Italian forces in North Africa have since February been a vanquished army. The German troops were from all accounts a thin stream which had almost lost itself in the desert sands. Now comes this revelation and it is followed by news on Thursday evening that the Axis forces have penetrated the outer defences of Tobruk.....For the rest, all the news we receive is almost exclusively conjectures of what Germany or Russia will do next, and a great deal of it is based on exaggerated reports and the wild guesses of press correspondents.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 3, 1941.

## MR. AMERY ON INDIA.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, moved in the House of Commons last week for the extension of the rule of Governors in seven provinces. In these, Congress Ministers, with majorities in the Legislature have resigned office and gone to prison shouting satyagraha slogans. Mr. Amery's speeches have aroused an extraordinary amount of feeling which can not be wholly explained by any novel or original sentiment in them. Even Gandhiji has been moved so far as to cast aside for the moment his doctrine of non-violence by denouncing Government for its failure to prepare the country to defend itself against aggressors. The feeling created by Mr. Amery's speech bears in this respect a striking resemblance to the feeling created by Miss Mayo's "Mother India." Many of the facts collected in "Mother India" were true, but the book as a whole was a perverted picture of Indian life. Similarly, many of the facts in Mr. Amery's speech were factually correct but the speech as a whole conveyed an utterly perverted picture of the Indian situation. One of these is that the Congress party having set its hand to the plough of provincial autonomy, suddenly turned its back at the bidding of the High Command leaving half-finished several radical reforms which they initiated. Immediately after referring to the promoters of the Bombay Conference, as individually eminent but politically unsupported, Mr. Amery referred to them individually, especially to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in laudatory terms. But this does not do away with the unpleasant impression that in the opinion of the Secretary of State for India these gentlemen were a lot of superannuated busybodies who had no business to advise the British Government on matters of high politics. He advised them to go about the country trying to make a rope of a Central Party out of the sand of men who had no interest in politics or rather whose politics was to say ditto to the powers that be. So much as to facts. Mr. Amery indulged also in fiction, the biggest being the astounding statement that India was prosperous. If the opinion of Indians on the point, is not acceptable that of a disinterested outsider must carry conviction. "There is no doubt whatever," says Colin Clarke, the Australian Economist, in his "The Conditions of Economic Progress" (Macmillan) published last year, "about the extreme poverty of China, British India and the Dutch East Indies." Mr. Amery has perhaps a special definition of prosperity as applied to India. Or, perhaps, he thinks as some of our own industrialists do, that War has brought prosperity to India.

Mr. Amery points to the crores of rupees collected in this country for the several War funds—a fresh fund has been opened

this week for the widows and orphans of Indian soldiers killed on the various battlefields—to the number of men recruited for combatant service and war industries, and the goods produced for use in war, and assures Parliament that the political situation has no effect on war effort which is at the moment the only thing which matters; and that, therefore, there is no difficulty to be expected in pursuing the policy of using the differences between the several parties and communities and indefinitely postponing the hour of decision. Meanwhile Mr. Amery has exhorted these parties to think out a way of uniting in a single demand which should provide for the obligations which Britain has incurred in her century and a half of Indian rule. He has this time been somewhat definite about these obligations. The security of the pensions and allowances of the British services—these, he said, will lapse in course of time. It may be a very long time if British officers continue, as they are, to be recruited. The second class of obligations arise from India's dependence on Britain for defence. At the present moment, India is defending British interests in Egypt and East Africa in one direction and in the Far East on the other. As for munitions and armaments, the latest number of *Indian Information* assures us that 90 per cent of our war requirements are already being produced in this country. The third class of British obligations are to the Princes and these, Mr. Amery said, are of an abiding character.

Mr. Amery observed that the future constitution of India can be framed only by hard thinking and advised Indians to devote their time to the study and discussion of the several issues connected with the subject. He promised his support for such activities. We have ourselves frequently stressed the necessity of this work. The British system has practically been scrapped in Britain itself for the duration of the war and it will not be in many respects the system which will be adopted after the war. Revolutionary changes have been effected in the structure of British society and the post-war constitution will be an expression of a substantially new order. Mr. Amery's idea of an irresponsible executive on the American model, can not be taken seriously. In fact, there is and can be no such thing as an irresponsible executive. If there is, it is in Britain where responsibility is so widely distributed that there is no possibility of its ever being fixed in any particular instance on any particular Minister. Under a system of real responsibility, Mr. Winston Churchill with his record in the last war would not have been Prime Minister in this. If there is no constitutional means of dismissing an Executive which has outlived its usefulness, non-constitutional forces come into operation. Within the last few weeks two Prime Ministers, of Hungary and Greece, committed suicide because they were broken by the strain of their duties. Mr. Amery rebuked Indians for not appreciating his concession allowing them to frame their own

constitution, which he said amounted to the grant of Dominion status. In earlier speeches Mr. Amery has drawn a careful distinction between Dominion status and Dominion functions! What is Dominion status? How much of it is likely to subsist at the end of the war? Canada is now as much, if not more, a dominion of the United States as of Britain. Australia and New Zealand, declared a spokesman at a New York dinner a few days ago, will defend their independence against all aggressors, adding significantly that Americans should remember that the two Dominions are out-posts of their Democracy. General Smuts is laying claims for the whole African continent. Eire has already cut herself off from her neighbour. Is India going to be the sole Dominion after the war? Mr. Amery himself has recognised in his book that India's position should be something more than Dominion status, suggesting the analogy of the late Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy as a likely model. This offers a more promising line of approach to the Indian problem than the American model which Mr. Amery has been lately favouring.

**British in India and the War:**—The *Times of India* in its leading article on Tuesday was constrained to observe: "The unpleasant fact is that, as a whole, the British community in India is contributing much less to the War than their kinsmen anywhere else in the Empire, and less, much less, than America." On the other hand, the community has been very forward in securing wartime jobs and contracts. This has not been without effect on the Indian attitude to the community. This is not all. The British community in India, as a whole, have not only not been helpful in promoting closer understanding between the British and the Indian peoples as by their position they might have been expected to do. They have actually hindered such understanding. Part of Mr. Amery's speech which has been received with intense disappointment by Indians, has evidently been inspired by the address of Mr. Bramble of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at its last annual meeting. People in Britain naturally expect that their countrymen will be in touch with important movements and their leading men in this country. This is by no means the case. British businessmen have completely isolated themselves from the life of the country in which they make their livelihood. They know much less of India than many home-staying Englishmen who recognise that they have a duty beyond making money and keeping "a stiff upper lip" to impress Indians. One or two British journalists are the most notable exception to this general experience. We are aware that there are here and there in the business houses, especially among the younger men, persons who are dissatisfied with the isolation enforced on them by their positions. But these have no influence on the elderly persons who rule the community.

#### RELIGION AND ECONOMICS.

In last week's *Reformer*, attention was called to the change which has come over the attitude of the Catholic Church towards other religions. Professor Maritain pleading for a Fellowship among different spiritual families quoted in support a remarkable passage from the Coronation Prayer of His Holiness Pope Pius XII. The significance of this plea can be gauged from the fact that the Catholic Church stood resolutely aloof from the Fellowship of Faiths organised in connection with the Century of Progress Exhibition in Chicago eight years ago. A scarcely less significant sign of religious awakening is the conclusions set forth in a statement by a Conference of clergymen and laymen held at Malvern last December at the instance of His Grace the Archbishop of York. This statement is of special interest to India as, in endorsing the declaration of the Madras (Tambaram) Conference, it supplies an important omission. The Tambaram Conference declared that it is not enough to say that, if we change the individual, we will of necessity change the social order for the social order is not entirely made up of individuals now living. The Malvern Report adds the important qualification that such a view as this should not minimise the crucial significance of personal religion. The Madras Conference and the Malvern Conference did not envisage the idea of a Fellowship of all spiritual families. The Madras Conference was distinctly hostile to it. It pleaded, on the contrary, for a frontal attack upon those corporate evils, namely, the inherited attitudes of other spiritual families embodied in customs, laws and institutions. Everything inherited, it was assumed, is necessarily an evil. The Malvern Conference was more concerned with the reorganisation of the Christian Church itself than with the elimination of other religions. Introspection is deadly to missionary enterprises. That is why so little has been seen of the Malvern Conference and its statement in our missionary organs. The Declaration begins with the avowal that the war is not to be regarded as an isolated evil detached from the general condition of western civilisation during the last period.

Rather it is to be seen as the symptom of a widespread disease and mal-adjustment resulting from loss of conviction concerning the reality and character of God, and the true nature and destiny of man.

The Declaration goes on to say:

Because we have neglected the true end of man, we have lost the controlling principle which allots to human activities their proper sphere and due relations to one another. Consequently in the last period the economic activity of man, which is entirely concerned with means, has become predominant, as though to produce material wealth were man's true end. We have here an example of the pervasive influence of human sin which the Church must always keep before the minds and consciences of men. This is as relevant to schemes of reform to be operated by sinful men as to our judgment of the situation in which we find ourselves.

The Declaration proceeds to sketch in broad lines a plan of regulating economic life "for the unification" of Europe as a co-operative Commonwealth. The Anglican Conference was concerned only with Christians and with Europe. A Protestant Christian Conference held at Peru last February, deriving inspiration from the Malvern Conference, extended the scope of its conclusions over the whole area of humanity. It declared:

The progress and enrichment of nations ought to be based on peace and brotherhood, and that war is incompatible with the principles of Christ, and we ought

to seek more adequate means for the solution of internal problems: Protestant youth shall seek to co-operate in the establishment of the same recognition for the rights of every person, whatever may be his colour, race, or condition of life, giving him vocational opportunity and social standing.

The Declaration of the Malvern Conference was worded very cautiously. Nevertheless Anglicans took fright and the *Church Times* warned the Archbishop of York that the views of the Conference amounted to a social and religious revolution and would rouse political opposition, "vigorous and even bitter," if they are attempted to be implemented, as they should be, by political action. The Peru Conference was much more outspoken in its expression of discontent and more drastic in its scheme of action. An Episcopal group which met at Newhaven in the U.S.A., decided in the sense of the amendment moved by Sir Richard Acland and adopted unanimously by the Malvern Conference, which, while accepting the general principle that the profit system was incompatible with the Christian development of man, left the reorganisation of society to be determined in each country and among each people according to their needs and aptitudes. No organisation created by man can in all circumstances resist the evil tendencies to which human beings are liable. All that the Church can do is to indicate the defects of the existing system which, while they do not prevent individual men and women from living a Christian life, do act as a stumbling-block to the mass of them.

In the present situation, the episcopal group believed that the maintenance of that part of the structure of society by which the ownership of the great resources of the community are vested in the hands of private individuals, is such a stumbling-block. As long as these resources can be owned, men will strive for their ownership. Those who are most successful in this struggle will have sought this ownership for themselves as individuals, and will be regarded as leaders of our economic life. They will thereby set the tone of our whole society. As a consequence it will remain impossible to abandon a way of life founded on the supremacy of the economic motive, or to advance nearer to a form of society founded upon a belief in the authority of God's plans for mankind.

The Malvern Declaration affirms that Christian doctrine has insisted that production exists for consumption, with the after-thought that the producer is also human and must find production itself a sphere of truly human activity. The words "consumer" and "producer" do not occur in the Bible. We have searched in the concordance for them without finding them. In the primitive economy of the community in which Jesus Christ lived and taught, down, indeed, to the early years of the last century before the industrial revolution took place, the distinction between producer and consumer was unknown. In a pastoral or agricultural community, production and consumption are two aspects of the same economic activity. In the view of the nineteenth century political economist, the priests were the typical consumers and these Jesus denounced in no measured terms in his own time. How then did the supremacy of the consumer which is the foundation of the Manchester School and which even today is urged by vested interests in opposition to the starting of industries in India, become a part of Christian doctrine? In every normally constituted society that is not perpetually engaged on war and preparing for war, the producer is a more important person than the consumer. If there was no one to produce things, the consumer can not exist. The main trend of twentieth century economics is to

reverse the nineteenth century dogma and to help the producer to come into his own. This is the meaning of "Back to the Land" and other present-day slogans. The Malvern Report itself admits this when it says:

We must recover reverence for the earth and its resources, treating it no longer as a reservoir of potential wealth to be exploited, but as a store-house of divine bounty on which we utterly depend.

This is a return to Paganism which in ancient Greece as in India deified the Earth and gave it a high place in their Pantheon.

#### FREEDOM—ITS SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS.

Mr. Robert S. W. Pollard in his recent book, 'Conscience and Liberty' (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, 2s 6d.) discusses the struggle for freedom of opinion which cannot, he asserts, be separated from liberty of conscience. Mr. Pollard's book is a thought-provoking one and in many pages his observations take the reader into several by-ways, rather remotely connected with the subject. Though, for instance, his main thesis deals with the question of the conscientious objector in war, he has depicted the particular problem against the general background of freedom. And the background is ably shown.

The more freedom there is, the more difference of opinion there is likely to be on what freedom really means. We are all agreed that freedom is a good thing. Nobody would, except perhaps as a debating-point, assert that he or she does not want freedom for himself or herself; and very few will be quite so cynical as to say that they would deny it to others. The quarrel arises only when we ask the question, What precisely does one mean when one talks of freedom? What then is this freedom for which some men are prepared to die while other men are prepared to surrender it for peace or security or economic gain? Freedom, if any one definition will serve to explain this vast concept, is the unrestricted play of man's conscience in society. For the conception is essentially a social one. Man by himself faces no problem in this sphere. He is free to do what he likes and nothing prevents him from not doing that which he detests. But the human unit is not the individual but society. Looking back to remote antiquity, we fail to see man by himself. Everywhere he is born in a group and till his death he has to adjust his living to the ways of the group into which he is born.

As a social problem then, freedom presents a double aspect. It is, on the one hand, the problem of securing the rights of the corporate group which he forms along with others and the prejudice and fears, the hopes and desires of which he shares with those who have the same environment, the same upbringing and the same heritage. On the other hand, since man is intensely individualistic, he has his own ambitions, his desires and fears, for himself and even more important for his community, to assert against the group to which he belongs. Individual freedom works within a smaller field in all modern communities. Men, generally speaking, realise the arduous years that lie ahead of the pioneer. In the powerful forces which in any modern society stand behind very vested interest, revolt involves much organisation and nice adjustment. The individual who looks to reshape the world in which he finds himself, must first win a good measure of support from his fellowmen. There are many stages at which individual eccentricity and non-conformity are brought under control. Moreover, every man, however enlightened he may be, inherits and acquires the

conscience of his group. The most advanced thinker in any society is but the child of his times and very often of his place. Nevertheless, the world over, there have arisen a few rugged individuals who did not flinch from the constant assertion of unpleasant opinions. And, generally speaking, no power has been strong enough to suppress ideas. Society has first opposed even to the point of persecution; and then gradually it has assimilated the heresies—for the prophet is invariably a heretic—into its own conservatism. The opinion is widely prevalent in our country today that human progress depends on human suffering, and it is almost part of the creed of most Congressmen of the best type. It would be truer to say that no progress is possible unless people are ready to suffer for the things they value. It is not persecution which takes nations forward but the willingness to suffer persecution for a cause. Persecution is but an incident in human history and it has no intrinsic value either for the victim or for the inflictor. We remarked at the outset that freedom was the unrestricted play of conscience in society. This needs a qualification. The authority of conscience can at best speak only for the person concerned. It is valid pre-eminently for him. And no man ought to make his conscience the final voice in other man's lives. A wise society, therefore, guards its members from the passing influence of every new fancy. At the same time it tolerates the innovator even when it insists that he prove his theories in his own life. This does not mean, however, that a man should not be allowed to give expression to his views before an audience. Yet the State has often so interpreted things. The case of the conscientious objector and the pacifist in the modern state illustrates an extreme application of this interpretation. Britain enjoys the proud distinction of being far ahead of other countries in her treatment of pacifists and conscientious objectors. Yet even in Britain, Mr. Pollard writes,

any propaganda directed towards men under forty-one with a view to persuading them to register as conscientious objectors is illegal; any pacifist propaganda or activity among non-pacifists which would be likely to produce the same result, is illegal; and any pacifist propaganda or work among men of military age who are not declared pacifists and conscientious objectors, may be illegal. It is even illegal for a parent to urge his son of adolescent years to become a conscientious objector.

Religious persecution is fast becoming a thing of the past. But in the sphere of politics there is rising, almost irrepressibly, a more widespread form of intolerance. This is because power has shifted from the hands of religious organisations to political institutions. Mr. Pollard remarks that tolerance of religions and opinions was the general rule in the ancient world. If the Gods are insulted, said Tiberius, let them see to it themselves. And Mr. Pollard explains the intolerance shown by the best of rulers to Christianity:

The intolerance of the Christians was well known and it was obvious they claimed freedom exclusively for themselves. The Roman Empire seems to have been faced with somewhat the same problem as faces modern democracies, namely, whether in the name of freedom it should tolerate a movement which would abolish freedom... The Christians attained freedom of conscience by a toleration decree issued by the pagan Emperor Galerius in A. D. 311. A similar decree was issued by the Christian Emperor Constantine, but soon after they obtained power, they abandoned their belief in freedom of conscience and set themselves to repress every other religion.

When one considers the fact that the rulers of

the modern period have so often arisen from a persecuted class—Kemal Ataturk, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler—the resemblance between the religious situation in the Roman Empire and the political situation in the world is ominously striking. In Germany at the one end and in Russia at the other, we see the age-old institution of the family breaking down under political pressure, with members of a home denouncing each other and subjecting them to the terrible penalties exacted against those who have had the courage or more often the indiscretion to set themselves against the Government in power at the time. Power, Lord Acton said, corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. This was the political axiom of the nineteenth century and the leaders of the first half of the twentieth have imbibed the teaching from their earliest consciousness. Mr. Pollard himself returns to it again and again. It has proved a double-edged weapon in the modern state. It has impressed itself on the politically-minded as something which has the inevitability of a law of nature. We look now to see good men go bad in office and, generally, we get what we expect. We must, if in politics human progress is to keep pace with progress in other spheres of life, get rid of this distrust, realise the possibilities for good which reside in governments as in other human institutions, and appreciate the vast difference to the individual which the right men in power will mean. If "power corrupts", there is obviously nothing to be done about it except for good and disinterested men to keep away from politics lest, touching pitch, they be defiled. On the other hand, if it is the corruption in the men who wield it, that makes power an evil thing, the remedy is obvious. Of course we have equally to guard against the opposite extreme of a blind submission to authority. The human mind has been rather prone to this and it has now rather placed its faith in some countries on institutional democracy. No government can thrive without criticism: but surely government cannot thrive on distrust either. The party system, so far regarded as the very basis of democracy, tends in all countries to range the people against the Government.

There are two important restrictions which the individual must appreciate if he is to use that freedom to the fullest: In the first place, he must be prepared to allow his fellowmen the freedom he asks for himself, not more and certainly not less. Anything that man seeks for himself turns into a curse. And in the second, he must not let himself be prevented from exercising the freedom he enjoys, for any reason of social, economic or political advancement. It has been urged against democracy that those who know will not speak, while those who do not know, cannot keep silent. The more unpalatable an opinion is, the more it behoves those who hold it sincerely, to give expression to it. It is difficult to practise this in these days of powerful organisations. Often in the familiar field of politics, the political individualist finds himself caught between the two extremes of authority and popular opinion. And apart from the fear of offending powerful personalities, there is the very real feeling that when the individual differs from the others, the probabilities are that the individual is wrong. If silence is golden, it is also equivocal.

We have so far considered two spheres in which restrictions on freedom operate, the religious and the political, and it shows how the emphasis in men's minds has been changing from spiritual values to secular. This furnishes a telling argument against those who base their calculations on the unchange-

ability of human nature. But that is another question. There are other spheres in which freedom makes itself felt by its absence or by the restrictions placed on it. They are, for purposes of classification, conveniently divided into the social, the familial and the economic fields.

The familial check on freedom is one which is generally cheerfully accepted. In the family itself, men are ready to give up their own freedom for the sake of others. Of very much the same nature but more extensive is the social check. And very often the restrictions of society prove very irksome. Social persecution is, in its everyday working, petty persecution. In comparison to religious and political persecution, it is as petty larceny is to loot. Its sphere is greatly lessened now with the loosening of social ties.

The economic sphere is one which is drawing increasing attention the world over. Like Esau many after him have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage:

Esau came from the field, and he was faint; and Esau said unto Jacob, "Feed me I pray you with your red pottage: for I am faint." And Jacob said "Sell me this day your birthright." And Esau said, "Behold I am at the point to die; and what profit shall this birthright do to me?" And Jacob said, "Swear to me this day;" and he swore unto him; and he sold his birthright unto Jacob.

Simple in its narration, yet an incident which holds good for all time. Everywhere there are people who cannot but sell their birthright—very often for a mess of pottage which is not there. And all too often they have to do so not for their own lives, but for the lives of those who are near and dear to them. We have referred to the family breaking down under political pressure in totalitarian states. In most democracies economic conditions lead to a denial of family life for thousands. And where the choice has been between economic security and civil liberties, security has ultimately proved more attractive.

So much then for individual freedom. We must realise, however, that even if we manage to establish in any given community or nation the greatest measure of individual freedom, yet we shall have failed unless we bring about similar conditions in the rest of the world. Freedom cannot be confined within artificial limits. If we attempt to do so, it will perish. And here arises the need for corporate freedom. It is to secure individual freedom that corporate freedom is necessary. The worker who has to fight his employers, unites with his fellow workers in a trade union. The stranger in a community whose habits are different, unites with those who share his anomalous position, if he cannot conform to the majority, to form a minority. The theory of self-determination and the theory of minority rights which developed side by side after the last war, were almost conflicting approaches to the problem of minorities.

Much has been said of late of the collapse of civilisation. But we have failed to take adequate notice of the one promise of the times. We have had in the past many who thought of world empire; conquerors who dreamt their dreams of domination. But as we look at the only worthwhile plans of the twenty odd schemes of Federal Union, of Internationalism and of World Order, there are two features common to all of them. The World Commonwealth which is now agitating the minds of some of our best thinkers, in the first place, seeks to build from the bottom upwards. It is yet a vague conception. Nevertheless, the thought has been placed before mankind.

It is a commonplace of child psychology that, in the rare cases when punishment has to be administered,

the child should know clearly in its own mind why it is being punished and that considerations of prestige or wounded pride or vindictiveness should be altogether absent from the minds of those who have to administer the chastisement. In penology likewise, the retaliatory and retributory aspects of punishment for the crime are giving place to the reformation of the criminal. In international affairs too, organised and rationalised force must take the place of blind fury and destruction. To say that war is inevitable because human nature cannot be changed, is to give up the battle for a better world. To reject force as an evil thing which outrages every human instinct, is to rush wildly to the other extreme. We accept force in our everyday life and there is no reason why we should expect men to discard it in world politics. We try, in so far as we lay claim to be civilised human beings, to restrict and to rationalise the use of force in personal matters. Why should we assume that, in international matters alone, the old bad ways are inevitable?

## HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

### I.

"An Esteemed Correspondent" writes in the *Hindu* of Madras:—

The Federal Court has pronounced its judgment on the "Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act" of 1937. It is worth while examining how the Hindu widow stands under that judgment. The Act was designed to improve the position of the widow in respect of her husband's property and it gave her an equal right with the son. The Court imputes to the Legislature the deliberate intention to exclude the widow from all benefit from her husband's agricultural land in the Governor's Provinces. In India, the bulk of the property of the people consists in agricultural land. Hence, in the vast majority of cases, the widow will get nothing under the Act, as the Federal Court has interpreted the Legislature's intention.

The Court imputes to the Legislature the intention to benefit the widow only if the husband left property other than agricultural land, e.g., cash, securities, etc. Again the Act gives her only a life-interest in such cash or securities, if her husband left no son. But, under the Hindu Law as it existed in the Province of Mithila, she would have got the cash and securities absolutely. Therefore, according to the Federal Court's interpretation, the position of the son-less widow in Mithila, instead of being improved, becomes worse. The Federal Court says:

"Even if it were true that an Act intended to be remedial, though possibly limited in scope, was found in a small minority of cases to prejudice rather than benefit those whom it was intended to help, this would be no reason why the Court should not adopt the construction which is on the whole best calculated to give effect to the manifest intention of the legislature."

Thus, according to the Federal Court, the manifest intention of the legislature was (1) that the widow's right to get benefit out of her husband's estate was conditional upon his leaving cash, securities, etc., and (2) that some widows would get less than what the Hindu Law gave her, was of no concern to the Legislature. In attributing this intention to the Legislature, the Court admits that the intention of the Assembly was that the widow should have a share in all her husband's property, including agricultural land, but the intention of the Council of State was that her right should be limited to a share in his property other than agricultural land, and conditional upon his leaving such property. The



Court preferred the intention of the Upper House to that of the Lower House. The Court does not say that the Assembly acquiesced in the drastic limitation of its own intention. According to the Court itself, the two Houses were not of the same mind. But still, it attributed the narrow intention to the whole Legislature. In other countries, this sort of construction has been described to be making substantially new legislation, which is sternly discouraged. Again, this narrow construction does not fit in with the intention of the Legislature to give the widow the same share as a son, or failing male issue, the whole estate of the husband, for her life. The significance of this is that it was intended that the widow should live in the same standard of comfort as the sons or as she was accustomed to in her husband's life-time. The Federal Court completely ignored this consideration, but was content to impute to the Legislature an intention which the Assembly, at any rate, never entertained. Such is the law laid down by the Federal Court of India, which all Courts in India must follow.

## II.

"A Legal Correspondent" writes in the *Hindustan Times*, Delhi:—

The judgment of the Federal Court on the Deshmukh Act is extremely disappointing not for what it has decided, but for what it has not. It is a quibbling decision and not the robust pronouncement of a great tribunal which helps advancement. The Central Legislature wanted to improve the position of Hindu widows and with that end in view the Assembly passed Dr. Deshmukh's Bill in February 1937. Under that Bill, the widow was given a share in her husband's "property" equal to the share of a son. The Council of State passed the Bill, without any amendment. Can there be any reasonable doubt as to the intention of the Legislature? It was to give the widow a definite share in all her husband's property, so that she may have the same standard of life as her sons. Unfortunately, the Government of India Act, 1935, came into force before the Council of State passed the Bill. Under that Act, the Central Legislature could not deal with agricultural land. The result was that, in law, the Bill which had been passed by both the Houses with the beneficent intention mentioned above, could not operate to give the widow any share in her husband's agricultural land. That intention was clearly frustrated by the interposition of the Government of India Act. If agricultural land went out, what remained was insignificant in India, and the poor widow was no better off than before, if in the face of her getting a share in her husband's non-agricultural property, she lost her right of maintenance.

In these circumstances, the Act came before the Federal Court. A strong court, alive to the duty of advancing constitutional development, would have boldly said that the Act had been emasculated to such a degree by the curtailment of the powers of the Central Legislature that it no longer operated to carry out the intention of the Legislature and, consequently, the Act must go. What did the Federal Court do? It has not the courage to declare the emasculated Act invalid. The word "property" had to be given a narrow meaning. It solved the conundrum in this way: A legislature's intention is presumed to be limited by its legislative competence. As the Central Legislature was competent to deal with non-agricultural property only, its intention was to exclude the widow from any benefit of her husband's agricultural land: "property" in the Act, therefore, meant non-agricultural property. The Act

was declared valid in respect of non-agricultural property.

What about the intention of the Assembly when it passed the Bill in February 1937? What about the intention of the same body to place the widow in the same position as a son?

## PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND SIGNOR MUSSOLINI.

Sir,

One would like to know what great quality Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is supposed to have displayed when he declined Signor Mussolini's invitation to meet him during his stay in Italy. Rabindranath Tagore had some years previously been received warmly by the Duce who subsequently presented Santinekatan with a complete set of the ancient Roman classics inscribed to "India, the Mother of Civilization." Unlike Herr Hitler, Signor Mussolini has always exhibited a high regard for Indian and her culture. The Pandit is a leading figure in Indian public life, and the Duce without any ulterior motive might have intended the invitation as a compliment to the Pandit as a distinguished Indian. The refusal of the invitation, unless of course the Pandit had other more pressing engagements, would strike an ordinary man as churlish. The Pandit was staying in Italy and enjoying the protection of the Fascist regime. He probably went to Italy in an Italian ship flying the Italian flag. Elementary courtesy demanded that when the head of the Government of the country in which you are a guest, showed you the courtesy of inviting you to an interview, you should comply with it.

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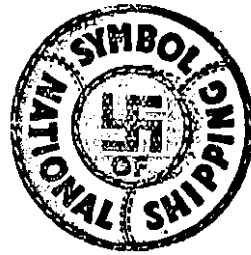
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Nizam's Lead:—**The death of the mother of His Exalted Highness the Nizam called forth demonstrations of sympathy and respect from all classes of his subjects. His Exalted Highness has been deeply touched by the demonstrations, and has expressed his feelings in a special communication addressed to all classes of his subjects. He says:

I hope that similarly all the different communities and sections of these Dominions who are like one body and one soul, would sink their differences, forgetting completely the past, whatever it might have been, and at the same time be cautious of the future. It, therefore, behoves that they should extend the hand of friendship and love so that the State may be free for ever from any kind of trouble, yielding place to peace and tranquillity to prevail and thus create a sense of prosperity for the future progress of the State.

This has been hailed in some quarters as a blow to the Pakistan scheme. No one ever thought of extending the scheme to Hyderabad. It was to be confined to the north-west and north-east of the country. The Nizam's Dominions are in the very centre of the country. The conditions too, especially that the vast majority are non-Muslims, preclude the idea. The declaration of His Exalted Highness reflects his feeling for his subjects and it is unwise to read into it, any political significance in relation to movements in British India. It is doing no service to the States or to British India to embroil them in each other's controversies. His Exalted Highness has followed up his moving appeal with declarations of a far-reaching character. He in express terms repudiates the old-world belief that those of his subjects who profess the Muslim faith, are in some way participants in his sovereignty. He affirms that sovereignty is indivisible and that he does not share it with any individual or body of individuals. All subjects are equal and no class has rights except such as belong to all equally. He has forbidden officials and jaghirdars and titleholders participating in political movements within and without the State. Political

movements, of course, mean movements which aim at bringing about revolutionary changes in the administration. His Exalted Highness has prohibited communal organisations except such as work for communal harmony and except, we presume, those which work for social and religious reform. These declarations together signify that the unity of the people is the interest and responsibility of the State and that the State will use all its influence in bringing about and maintaining that unity. The Nizam, it is clear, does not hold with Mr. Amery that it is for the communities to agree on a plan of unity and to submit it for his approval. His Exalted Highness's lead, it may be hoped, may not be lost on the Secretary of State.

**War News:—**Except for the Iraq rising, there has been little of note in the war theatres during the week. In his speech to the House of Commons closing the debate on Government's motion for confidence, Mr. Winston Churchill declared that the Cabinet had been aware of the position in Iraq for a year but that, owing to lack of troops, nothing could be done. The Iraqi reports towards the end of the week were reassuring though there was still some resistance from Syed Raschid Ali's men.....The Turkish President who was reported to have gone to Smyrna for military inspection, had, according to one account, actually been out of Turkey. The same source states that Turkey owing to the successes of Hitler, has decided to change its attitude from that of "non-belligerency in favour of Britain" to that of strict neutrality. Probably this was what made Mr. Churchill refer to the possibility of German forces reaching Syed Raschid Ali before the revolt was quelled. Britain would seem to have given up hopes of winning Turkey to anything more than "strict neutrality." What sort of help the small nations menaced by Nazi Germany expect from Britain, is shown by a quotation from a Turkish newspaper which the *New Statesman* gives: "There is only one way of preventing Yugoslavia from falling into the arms of the Axis; that is, for a British force, 300,000 strong, to land in Salonika." This is not at present within the realm of possibility and the *New Statesman* suggested that with an appreciably smaller force under General Wavell's leadership, it would be possible not only to defend Greek frontiers but to launch a counter-offensive.



The event has proved the Turkish journalist to be the more correct in his estimate.....An Iranian army has been rushed to the Iran-Iraq border...In his speech Mr. Churchill referred to his offer when he took office of "blood and toil, tears and sweat." And he added to this, "mistakes and misfortunes." The House of Commons adopted the vote of confidence with near-unanimity. There is one thing which the account cabled to India does not explain. That is the bitterness of language used by Mr. Churchill against the veteran Lloyd George. Mr. Lloyd George seems to have been, according to the report of his speech, in one of his more genial moods. His criticism was tempered by a certain respect which was not noticeable in the virulent attacks he had launched against the Chamberlain Government. That for this he should have been compared to the "illustrious Marshal Petain" and his advice to that of the French Marshal to M. Reynaud just before France's fall, seems strange. This portion of the Premier's speech conveyed the impression that while Mr. Churchill appreciated criticism and was anxious that this great attribute of democracy should not be given up, he was rather impatient of the individuals who criticised his policies. It is also calculated to make readers feel that the unprecedented strain which has fallen in the past year on the British Premier, has made Mr. Churchill irritable. We have not been in the past enthusiastic in Mr. Churchill's support. But, when in a speech which is marked for its moderation, an outburst of this type occurs and that too against one who has shown the greatest cordiality to the Premier, it is reasonable to assume that there was provocation for it. If anything in Mr. Lloyd George's speech justified Mr. Churchill's reply, it should in common fairness to the Premier have also been reported. Can it be that those responsible for the report, are more timid than the British Premier who in the midst of critical conditions faces a Commons debate? Apart from Mr. Lloyd George, the gratuitous reference to Marshal Petain seems in the worst of taste. We have never been able to follow the British official policy towards Marshal Petain and his Government which has seemed to be a mixture of cajolery and ridicule. The impression that Mr. Churchill's reference leaves, is that Marshal Petain is collaborating with the Nazis to an even greater extent than press messages would have one believe..... The American decision, conveyed in Mr. Stimson's broadcast speech on Monday, to convey American ships carrying supplies to Britain is a welcome one. It is a timely response to Mr. Churchill's earlier appeal that it was not enough to grant Britain supplies; it was necessary for America to deliver them to Britain. "It is a mistake," said Mr. Churchill on Tuesday, "to say that the Battle of the Atlantic is won." The American resolve will, if given effect to promptly help Britain. But Mr. Churchill warned the House against setting too

great store on America's policy.

**Annamalai University:**—The Syndicate of the Annamalal University has recommended, and the Senate has accepted the recommendations, that the Honours courses in Sanskrit and Philosophy and the Department of Botany, might be abolished. The reason for these proposals is said to be the need for economising. During the next fifteen years, it is expected that the interest on Government securities would diminish and would not be sufficient for the maintenance of the University. This is perhaps the first instance of a University, or any other public or private institution for that matter, looking so far ahead as fifteen years. The diminution of interest means the cheapening of money, which means a plethora of cash, some of which, it is not unreasonable to hope, may find its way into the University coffers. Indian Universities are not wealthy and many of them struggle along with considerably less resources than Annamalal. Sanskrit Chairs are maintained in all the more important Universities in every part of the world and it will detract from the status of any Indian University to be without provision for the most advanced studies in that subject. As for Philosophy, the nineteenth century contempt for it has given place to a high appreciation of its value for the right conduct of individuals and nations. The Senate of the University which considered the proposals, turned down a suggestion of Mr. H. C. Papworth that decision might be postponed for six months. He was in favour of Annamalal University giving up the expensive paraphernalia, imposed by its adoption of the Madras University constitution and accepting instead the more appropriate though modest constitution of a unitary university. He denounced in outspoken terms the retrenchment scheme. To quote:

After twelve years we find ourselves, in my opinion quite unnecessarily, in financial troubles; and we are being asked to put it right, amongst other things, by ruthlessly chopping down the courses of study which we have deliberately sanctioned, started and built up and by dismissing members of the staff with whom we had signed a contract of employment, either of a permanent nature, or for a definite term of years. These contracts presumably are to be treated as mere scraps of paper, to be torn up at will and, by doing so, we shall enhance the bad reputation which, I am afraid, this University already has for breaking its contracts and not keeping its word. This is not the first time that the University has landed itself in financial difficulties and has tried to meet them by drastic and morally questionable methods of this kind. To my knowledge this is the third time that we have been in difficulties and have introduced retrenchments and cuts and other methods of a similar nature, involving dismissal of members of staff and cutting down scales of salaries, regardless of our contract with and our obligations towards them. And now, for the third time in the short space of twelve years, we find the necessity for another overhauling of a great magnitude. These things should not be. They do not occur in the best administration. Surely, it is a serious reflection on our management of this University. To my mind it is nothing short of disgrace.

**Iraq and the Arab States:**—The Arab States have preserved an ominous silence in the convulsion that has shaken Iraq. It is reported that Egypt and Turkey have offered their services to Britain for mediation between Syed Raschid Ali and the British. Turkey, however, is not regarded as one of themselves by the Arab States and they have all secured their independence from the 1918 revolt against the Ottoman Empire. Egypt, in the words of Mr. H. A. R. Gibbs in his Oxford pamphlet on "The Arabs," is distinguished sharply from the other Arab countries. "The eyes of Egyptians," he writes, "are focussed on Egypt and while they do not deny Egypt's kinship with the Arab world and interest in its fortunes, they regard Egypt as a separate and independent unit.....for large sections of Egyptians the re-emergence of Egypt is a more important fact than the memory of the Arab Empire, and they tend to set the glories of Rameses II alongside the mission of Mohammed as equal elements in their tradition." Transjordan alone has shown marked sympathy with the ex-Regent of Iraq but relations between the two countries have never in the past been very cordial. Mr. Gibbs remarks that Transjordan is an "improvised creation of the British Colonial Office.....but it cannot obviously remain an independent unit in perpetuity." It will be remembered that in the Palestine question, it was the Arab States which were considered as possible mediators. Turkish or Egyptian mediation is hardly likely to be acceptable to the Iraqis. Syed Raschid Ali's revolt, it was reported on Friday, has been quelled by British troops.

**Pakistan and the Muslim League:**—The decision taken recently at Madras to make belief in Pakistan part of the Muslim League creed, is not one which is likely to strengthen that political organisation. Two office-bearers in Benares have resigned and a spokesman of the Momin community who claims fifty per cent for his sect out of the total Muslim population in the country, has stated that the Momins are opposed to Pakistan and the Muslim League. The *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta comment on Mr. Abdul Quaiynm Ansari's statement says that it is borne out by the "Bihar Police Report for 1939" which says that "the Muslim League has failed to bring the Momin community in that province into its fold." The tone of Muslim leaders in Bihar in recent appeals for peace between Hindus and Muslims, notably of Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Yunis, an ex-Premier of the province, differs markedly from League statements in recent months. The discipline of the Muslim League and the reluctance of Muslims who felt unable to accept its policies in the past to express their opposition publicly, have led to that party misinterpreting the reactions (or absence of reaction) to its periodic feelers. The League, or at any rate

its permanent President, has now gone too far in their declaration of policy to sound a retreat. Mr. Jinnah's reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's latest statement will reveal how far the League President is alive to the conditions prevailing in the community he claims to lead. Sir Tej Bahadur has sought for a definite declaration on Pakistan and his language, though it bears evidence of his being provoked, leaves no room for any quibbling on the point.

**Hindu-Christian Understanding:**—Converts are said to be more bitter against the cause or religion which they have quitted than their converters. Like all popular sayings this embodies not a truth but a prejudice. At any rate this is emphatically not true of the authors of "Ashram" published by the Indian Christian Book Club, Kilpauk, Madras. Messrs. Chenchiah, Chakkarai and Sudarisanam are better Hindus than most who have remained in that fold. Their appreciation of the history and tenets of their ancestral faith are based on deep study. They are as proud of them as any Hindu and they recommend that Indian Christianity should link itself up with the Indian tradition. The institution of Ashram which has played a great part in the Hinduisation of India from the earliest times, is studied in this book not only in what is called an objective way—the very worst way for approaching such a subject—but with ample reference to and knowledge of the ideas of which it was an expression. We are not sure that the authors' conception of the Hindu Ashram does not err on the side of idealising. The great Ashrams, accounts of which are to be found in the ancient scriptures and classics—Kanva's Ashram has been made famous by the genius of Kalidasa—were illuminated by the spiritual insight of sages but there must have been, as there are today many Ashrams which were merely settlements whose aims were more secular than spiritual. The Ashram in its outward aspects can be reproduced but the soul of the Ashram can only be present where the belief that Brahman and Atman—the Universal and the individual—are in essence identical, is profoundly held. So far as we can judge, the authors hold no belief which would militate against that identity—the distinctive feature of Hindu religious philosophy. In fact, there is no reason why they should call themselves Christians, at any rate why should not call themselves Hindu, instead of Indian, Christians. European Christians who have tried to build up an Ashram have failed, because they knew the Ashram only as it appeared to them, from the outside. But Mr. Chenchiah and his friends, do not suffer from this disability. The idea is not alien to them. It is in their blood and bones. There is a certain type of foreign Missionary who is ever alarmed lest Hinduism should absorb Christianity, and he is sure to view Mr. Chenchiah and his group as "Quislings" in the Christian fold.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 10, 1941.

## PAN-ISLAMISM AND PAKISTAN.

Islam, in its earliest years, was not a State religion. It was itself the State. The Islamic State like Islamic architecture was based on the principle of the arch. The keystone of the Islamic State was the Caliph. When the Caliphate passed from the Arabs to the Ottomans, including many races in their Empire, it lost much of its religious significance. Nevertheless it continued for several centuries to be a rallying point for the whole Muslim world. With its abolition in 1924, the Islamic world lost its solidarity. In the words of the Spanish philosopher-historian, de Madariaga :

Amputated of its Turkish head which has become so rationalist that it can no longer wear a fez, the Muslim world has caught nationalism from the West. It is a disease typically alien to the Islamic spirit, yet, the microbe is so strong that it has conquered even that unwilling and unready milieu. The once unseizable and fluid Arabs are seething with national forces and Arabian kingdoms spring up here and there carefully nursed by Great Britain along the Imperial way.

Pakistan is generally supposed to be the offspring of Sir Mahomed Iqbal's poetic fancy. It is really the working of the nationalist microbe so active in breaking up the Arab race into several nations and kingdoms. It is the logical as well as historical antithesis of the Khilafat movement though the two have seemingly fused into one. People who see in Pakistan the revival of Pan-Islamism, are greatly mistaken. The Muslims who recognised their point of union in the Caliphate, are now split up into nationalities based on race and language. Even the Arabs are divided into four nationalities. The Persians are a distinct nation. The profession of Islam is no longer a bond of any importance. Iran has forbidden the import of propagandist literature based on religion. The Afghans are also building up a national state on the same lines. The Muslims even of the Frontier Province repudiate any sympathy with Pakistan. *The Reformer* has from the first maintained that Pakistan has no substance and would be best left alone. But the Hindu Mahasabha and other similar organisations have to justify their existence. Their opposition, not very intelligent or informed, has been a factor in keeping the agitation alive. The other factor is the India Office which Sir Ronald Storrs, a friend and associate of Lawrence during the Arab Revolt and the first military Governor of Jerusalem, exposes in trenchant terms in his "Orientations." He says :

As a factor in British policy, the doctrine of the Caliphate—of pan-Islam Theocracy—was mainly the creation of the India Office. The supposed indignation of "His Majesty's sixty million loyal Indian subjects," who appear alternately under the journalese disguise of "Moslem susceptibilities" delayed many reforms in the Near and Middle East....

Curiously enough while the India Office was exploiting Pan-Islamism, the British Govern-

ment, through its active part in bringing about the Arab Revolt, was instrumental in breaking up the historic institution which alone would have made it possible. The breaking point was reached when the India Office and the British Foreign Office came into collision, over their contrary policies. Curzon and Edwin Montagu were the protagonists in this ministerial duel. And Montagu was vanquished. Today Britain naturally expects Nationalist Turkey to remember that it owes its very existence to British interference.

The Muslim League under the guidance of His Highness the Aga Khan, joined later by the Ali brothers, was pro-Khilafat. The Aga Khan, with the eminent scholar and jurist, Ameer Ali, had sought to persuade the Turkish leaders to retain the Khilafat as a spiritual office but was severely rebuffed by the Ghazi. Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali were the founders and active workers of the movement to preserve the Khilafat and had succeeded in drawing Gandhiji and the Indian National Congress into their cause. Mr. Jinnah's election to the Presidentship of the Muslim League in preference to the Aga Khan who had laid the foundations of the movement and guided it through its infantile ailments to maturity, marked a complete change in the policy and outlook of the League. Mr. Jinnah by temperament is as little inclined to submit to a Caliph as the Kemalists. His inspiration is Muslim nationalism, a contradiction in terms. Pakistan is the final and abiding renunciation by the Muslim League of the dream of Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism without a Caliph is unthinkable, as we have said. Is there any chance of a Caliph being set up and what would be the attitude of India Muslims to it? Ibn Saud who achieved what was considered impossible, the substitution of a well-ordered social and political organization in Arabia for the chaos which prevailed on the collapse of Turkish rule, is the one man who by his strict orthodoxy as well as his position and prestige as the guardian of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, appeared well-fitted to assume the office of Caliph. On the occasions when at the instance of Ibn Saud, Indian Muslim delegates had the opportunity of conferring with Muslims from other countries, they left behind them no pleasant impressions. At the Conference convened by the King of the Hedjaz, according to Armstrong,

the Indian delegates were at the bottom of most of the trouble. One proposed the Turkish delegate who came late, as president when there was already a Hedjazi in the chair. Another persisted in talking in Urdu or English when the Congress had decided that Arabic should be the only language, and refused to be shouted down. Both criticized the Wahabi practices, the handling of the finances of the Pilgrimage, the organization of the Congress, and the suggestion to hold annual meetings. They demanded more votes than the delegates from Nejd because there were more Muslims in India than in Nejd, and they created a general spirit of ill will.—"Lord of Arabia," p. 192.

A Hedjazi resenting the airs of superiority put on by the Indians, told one of them to show

first that they can organise one cooking shop in Bombay before they came there to teach them how to run their country. Indian Muslims, therefore, are least likely to enlist sympathy for Pakistan from the most powerful independent Arab ruler and his people. The King of Egypt was once thought to be a candidate. No one in India has been thought of in connection with the great office and it seems to be generally agreed that the future Caliph, if there is to be one, should be an Arab who exercises secular control over a territory of his own. But with the spirit of nationalism in the ascendant, it is exceedingly unlikely that the Caliphate can be revived in the person of any present head of a national State. If that be so, the revival of Pan-Islamism is no longer a question of practical politics. Although Mr. Jinnah himself may not think in terms of Pan-Islamism, several of the other important leaders of the League, particularly the seniors who have not overcome their early hopes, do so. They will be soon disillusioned. Those who support Pakistan in the belief that it will have the support of Muslims in other lands, have evidently not followed the trend of events in the Islamic world since the break-up of the Ottoman Empire. It is doubtful if they will continue to pin their faith to the proposal when they realise that Pakistan must stand entirely on its own legs without any extraneous aid from Moslem countries.

#### INDIAN REACTIONS TO AMERY'S SPEECH.

Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons has called forth comments on all sides; the criticisms of three outstanding personalities in Indian public life—Mahatma Gandhi, the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry and the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—are especially noteworthy. Gandhiji effectively contradicts Mr. Amery's proposition that India is prosperous. But he does not stop there nor does he advise Mr. Amery as to how best he may substantiate his words by bringing about that which does not exist at present. "It is the duty of every Indian, who knows anything about the distress of the peasantry," writes Gandhiji, "to rise in rebellion against this autocratic rule." He adds that the rebellion is a peaceful revolt. A revolt is a revolt, whether it is supported by arms or without them as, for instance, by a no-tax campaign. Gandhiji's call is a call to rebellion. This is issued and published in newspapers throughout the land through a Press agency which operates under a censorship which functions in close contact with the Central Government. The call, therefore, bears, if not the imprimatur, at least the acquiescence, of the Government of India. In a previous paragraph in his statement, Gandhiji points out that he had deliberately restricted his demand on behalf of the Congress in consideration of the war emergency to "complete freedom of press and pen." The publication of this call to rebellion is conclusive proof that he has secured compliance with his demand. What excuse has Gandhiji after this to continue the satyagraha movement? As a matter of fact, however, the publication of Gandhiji's call is likely to have an effect exactly the contrary to what he would wish. Americans, for instance, would wonder that India should be represented to them as being suppressed when she enjoys liberty of the Press to the extent of being free to broadcast a call to

rebellion with the acquiescence of her Government. They will argue that either the Government is so sure of its hold on the people that such a call from so outstanding a figure as Gandhiji need not trouble them in the least, or that Gandhiji's words do not carry with the Indian people the influence which he was believed to possess. However that may be, the poverty of India has existed for a long time past. The fact that Mr. Amery declared that India is prosperous, is not a sufficient reason for Indian leaders to depart from the methods they had followed hitherto, especially, if as they have repeatedly avowed, they do not wish to embarrass Government in the prosecution of the war. If other journalists have not written in the strain in which Gandhiji has written, it is not necessarily because they are more afraid of the penalties they may call down on themselves or do not expect the consideration which has been shown to Gandhiji.

\* \* \*

The two Privy Councillors take diametrically opposite views, though they both are supporters of the Bombay Conference resolution. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry has worked himself into a state of alarm for which there are no adequate grounds. We in India can certainly learn from the British in England who amidst daily air raids and with whole cities in ruins, have not allowed themselves to be overtaken by panic and are facing their cruel calamities with calm determination. Mr. Sastry's faith in the Congress has not always been what it is now. He sees no hope for the country unless the Congress again takes office in the seven Provinces where it had a majority in the Legislature. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, on the other hand, angrily repudiates the suggestion made by Mr. Jinnah and quoted by Mr. Amery that the Bombay Conference was inspired by the Congress Party. He describes how for two months he had worked to bring about an understanding between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah without effect and declares that there is no prospect of their coming to an agreement. Gandhiji confirms this in his statement where he refers to the unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Sir Tej does not believe in the formation of a Central Party as suggested by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the chief obstacle being Mr. Amery's speeches. He wants the Government to take the initiative and not leave it, as Mr. Amery does, to the Congress and the Muslim League and to Indians generally to approach him with an agreed plan. The Communal Award, it is pointed out, was not the result of agreement between Indians. The precedent is not a happy one. That Award has been the cause of much strife and bad blood, particularly in Bengal. Sir Tej is more inclined to think of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders as possible auxiliaries than either Congress or Muslim leaders. If the Congress, as Mr. Sastry wishes, expresses its intention to resume office, can it be sure of the same measure of support from the constituencies as it received at the last election? In Madras particularly, Congress seems to have alienated a considerable section of voters whose support last time helped it to its solid majority in the Legislature. One authority was inclined to ascribe the pre-eminence of Madras in respect of the war funds, to the revulsion from Congress policies in many parts of the province. This may or may not be correct. But can Madras hope to raise, with a Congress Government in office, much more than the Governor has in his personal regime, in the way of support for war efforts? Everything considered,

the balance of advantage would seem to be in favour of constitutional issues being postponed until after the conclusion of the war, the Governor-General and Governors carrying on the administration as well as they can on their own responsibility.

\* \* \*

Party politics is at a great discount just now. In Great Britain where it is hushed for the time being, public men are dreading its return at the end of the war. They want no parties in the new order. They want the new order to be one which will draw to itself the support of all men of goodwill. In the same way it will be well for us in India to think of a broad platform which will afford ample space for all parties and interests. A Centre Party will at the present stage only add to the confusion. The Congress and the Muslim League are not two extremes of one category. They are in two different categories. They do not move in the same orbit. The Congress is non-communal though it feels a special responsibility for throwing open Hindu temples to Harijans. The Muslim League is a communal organisation of which only Muslims can be members. Some non-Muslims attended the last session in Madras by invitation and it is likely that the League may admit a class of honorary Muslims as Herr Hitler has admitted some nations as Honorary Aryans to Nazi fellowship. The only other party of a non-communal character is the Liberal Party. A coalition of the Congress and the Liberals will provide the nucleus of a common programme on which all interests and communities can unite. Whether the two parties unite or not, it is worthwhile framing a programme which a national government would carry out whenever one is in a position to do so. In fact the formulation of such a programme will itself be the strongest demonstration of the unity of the country. The form of the constitution which bulks so largely in political discussions, is a secondary matter. If the national programme can be put through by the present system, it will save a lot of time and trouble. If it cannot, then let us make the minimum changes which would remove its present disabilities in the way of carrying out a national programme. If on trial this proves impossible, then and only then should radical changes be sought and secured. This is perhaps what the Bombay Conference aimed at. If that is so, there was no need to have besought the co-operation of Mr. Jinnah who is only a communal leader like Mr. Savarkar and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

#### THE SAPRU NEGOTIATIONS.

A perusal of the letters which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru exchanged with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, and with Gandhiji, the deciding authority for the Congress, released during the week for publication to the press, reveal abundantly that Sir Tej Bahadur is not the man to carry on the delicate negotiations for an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress. Sir Tej Bahadur begins with an emphasis on his own open-mindedness but with scarcely two letters to Mr. Jinnah and half-a-dozen to Gandhiji, he concludes with a withdrawal from the negotiations at a point when he has to choose between supporting the one or the other. This is due to no desire to avoid unpleasantness. For a peacemaker, Sir Tej Bahadur has a remarkable capacity for uncomplimentary remarks. He tells Mr. Jinnah that, though he has no prejudice against the Muslim League, he still prefers to look upon Mr. Jinnah as he used to in the days gone by when "other people also looked up to you for guidance and advocacy of the cause of India, irrespective of

caste, colour or creed." And he tells Gandhiji that "in the present state of feeling I admit that it is quite understandable that Mr. Jinnah should think that you are the greatest stumbling-block." We are surprised that a veteran statesman of Sir Tej Bahadur's standing should have been manoeuvred by the Secretary of State for India into what promises to be two public controversies. To a large extent this is due to a desire on the part of Sir Tej Bahadur to clear himself of the charge of having ignored the realities of the Indian situation by not attempting to bring about a compromise between the Muslim League and the Congress. Sir Tej in his letters has amply shown that he shared the anxieties of Mr. Amery about the Indian communal problem. It is equally clear that the settlement, when it does come, must be one which is acceptable to the two communities rather than to their politically vocal representatives.

Mr. Jinnah appreciates this as regards the Hindus when he asks for negotiations between himself and Gandhiji or any other Hindu leader speaking "on behalf of the Hindu community." And he is prepared to concede to Gandhiji a representative capacity which neither Gandhiji nor the Hindu community can reasonably agree to. Mr. Jinnah representing as he does the maximum demands of the Muslims—there are notable leaders in the Muslim League itself who would be ready to compromise on his "minimum"—might claim that if he is satisfied, no Muslim, responsible or otherwise, would feel that his rights have been given away. He has sought to secure this in his own fashion by making Pakistan the creed of the Muslim League. As for the Muslims who regard Pakistan as against the interests of their community no less than of the country, it is absurd to expect that Mr. Jinnah who wants others to recognize the Muslim League and himself at the head of it, as the sole voice of the Mussalmans of India, would begin by according a place in Muslim politics to his opponents. So far Mr. Jinnah's position is logical. What he ignores is that Gandhiji does not enjoy this privileged position in the Hindu community. Many Hindus who are prepared to accept Gandhiji as a national leader, would hesitate several times before choosing him for negotiations on their behalf with leaders of other communities. This feeling is strongest in the provinces where the Hindus feel the disabilities of being a minority without the privileges accorded to Muslim minorities under the Government of India Act of 1935. But it also exists in other provinces, notably in the Maharashtra divisions of Bombay and the Central Provinces. Therefore, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his letter to Mr. Jinnah rightly places the responsibility for a communal settlement on Mr. Jinnah, Gandhiji and Mr. V. A. Savarkar. But he evades the position when he suggests that a preliminary meeting between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji would solve the problem. As a matter of fact, it is obvious that complications will inevitably arise if, after an agreement has been arrived at between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji, Hindu leaders are asked to approve of it. Gandhiji's refusal to undertake the onerous task of representing the Hindus was in the circumstances the only possible answer he could give. Conditions in the country have greatly changed and it would be difficult, to say the least, to impose an agreement on the Hindu community.

The communal question is, as it is today, an involved one and we do not think that a solution of it can precede the recognition of the claims of Indian nationalism. Had this method been adopted in, for



example, the recent case of Haile Selassie, the reinstated Abyssinian ruler would have been still in exile. Sir Tej Bahadur seems to have hesitated between two conflicting ideas on the Indian problem—the necessity for settling communal quarrels struggles in his mind for priority with the need for constitutional reforms. He has accordingly put himself forward in two movements, representing two different opinions on the subject. For between his negotiations and the Bombay Conference, little connection can be traced. At the Conference he stressed along with other speakers the mischief of postponing reforms because Mr. Jinnah's League and Gandhiji's Congress would not agree to co-operate. In his negotiations, and he urged that independence could neither be won nor attained in the face of disagreement. It has been suggested in a section of the press that the Conference formula was devised with the object of bringing the two parties together in a national government. But it also provided, should the British Government be agreeable, for political change, even if the two leading parties kept away. Even though the prospect of increased support to War was held out to them, the British Government have rejected the scheme. What will the Bombay Conference do next?

#### THE PRESS AND THE NEWS.

In a message describing Syed Raschid Ali of Iraq as an agitator with little following among the responsible elements of his country, Reuter points out that a large number of students, "as is usual in Oriental countries," have come out to demonstrate in his favour. It is surprising that such superficial ideas still find currency. In Paris after the Nazi occupation, we have been given instance after instance of students' demonstrations against the Nazis played up by newspapers as significant of the strong feeling against Germany. Only a few days back the illustrated press published articles and photographs showing how undergraduates in Britain are throwing themselves into war work. It is difficult to believe that these young students would, in the position of their French counterpart, have settled down to studies as usual. Had Reuter's correspondent said "as is usual in all countries where there is not complete independence," he would have been stating a fact instead of antagonising the whole Orient by his gratuitous reflection.

The clumsiness of news agencies in presenting items from enemy countries or unfavourable incidents was also revealed in another manner in the reports which appeared in all the Indian newspapers of Herr Hitler's recent speech reviewing the war. It is obvious that very few of the German Chancellor's mammoth orations can be published in full. It is also evident that in war it is necessary to cut out portions which are likely to cause dissension in one's own camp. But there is a tendency to forget that in enemy statements there is no need for the great restriction of wartime censorship to operate—that of seeing that information of value to the enemy should not be published. Yet the summary and excerpts of Hitler's speech contained obvious omissions for which no other reason is apparent. For instance, there was an account of the number of Yugoslavs killed, wounded and taken prisoners; we were also told what happened to the Greeks. Yet there was no mention of the British imperial forces for which figures must have been also given in the speech. Nor does Hitler tell his German people of the losses they have suffered. (Have the Anglo-Indian press sources of information denied to the Indian press and withheld from the public in India? *The Times of India* on Thursday mentioned that Hitler's estimate of

German losses was 1,000. We have not seen this figure anywhere else.) Why not make the excision complete and leave out all reference to the fate of the armies which opposed the German troops? Nobody, we are sure, would have missed them. An inefficient censoring does more mischief than the publication of the whole news. Then again there was no report of the abuses which the German Chancellor directed against Mr. Churchill. But next day press comments were cabled to this country which condemned the speech for its intemperate attacks on the British Premier. The press in India and the public are badly served by these vagaries of news reporting.

There is another instance which shows that there is little intelligence in the methods followed by news services in Britain no less than in India. Mr. Arthur Moore complained that the Indian press report of the recent parliamentary debate on India was fuller than reports published in the British press. This is in direct contradiction of the recent policy enunciated by the Secretary of State for India. Mr. Amery has declared that the task of framing the new constitution is essentially an Indian question in which the British can only help. If that is now officially established, obviously the discussions on India in Parliament are of greater interest to Britain than to India. What members of Parliament think of the Indian problem ceases to be of interest to India now that the last voice in deciding India's political future is recognised by India Office to rest with Indians and not with Parliament. If we are interested in British opinion, it is solely to know what support this policy has gained in Britain. It is possible that the lengthy accounts of the last discussion were intended to assure Indians of British sympathy with their national aspirations. If that is so, we trust that for the future it will be recognized that Indian opinion is more important to Britain than British opinion is to India.

#### INTERNATIONAL LAW.

In 'The World's Design,' Senor Salvador De Madariaga describes graphically the place of international law in the affairs of nations, till the end of the last war, as "about as welcome as a dog in a tennis-court." One of the latest publications in the Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, "What Acts of War are Justifiable?" does not lead one to believe that things have changed very much to-day. Professor A. L. Goodhart, Professor of Jurisprudence in Oxford University and, according to De Madariaga, "one of the greatest authorities of the Western world in legal matters," traces the distinction between the soldier and the civilian to the seventeenth century. He points out that it was most firmly drawn in the nineteenth. "The majority of the continental writers," says Mr. Goodhart, "even went so far as to hold that, because war was a relation between States and not between individuals, it followed that the subjects of belligerents were enemies only as soldiers and not as civilians, but this view was rejected as too extreme by British and American jurists." To which De Madariaga's observation that relations between Great Britain and America influenced variations in an important field of international law, might be placed as a useful footnote.

The distinction between soldier and civilian, however, tends to be blurred in modern warfare. "However anxious the pilot of an aeroplane," writes Mr. Goodhart, "might be to attack only military objectives, it was only in the most favourable

circumstances that he could be certain that his bombs would not destroy civilians." Nevertheless it is necessary to make a distinction and Mr. Goodhart proceeds to discuss the various lines that have been drawn by modern jurists. German writers condemn the blockade; Mr. Goodhart justifies it as directed primarily against the belligerent State. On the other hand, British jurists repudiate aerial bombardment and similar acts of terrorism against the civilian population; German writers defend them. Mr. Goodhart quotes the Russian objection to the blockade and remarks that "the Soviet Government has the courage of its convictions because it insists that fuel and clothing as well as food must be let through the blockade." This is a unique instance of appreciation of another point of view found in this pamphlet. Mr. Goodhart's book is devoted to consideration of the questions which directly arise out of the present war. It is natural that his thesis is a vindication of Britain's policies. But we cannot understand why he does not discuss the question of chemical warfare except in a brief paragraph dealing with the last war and that too in connection with the justification of reprisals. After all the case of Abyssinia is fresh and a judgment on international law cannot, as Mr. Goodhart so often makes it out to be, be determined by British experience alone. It has been a problem to us why the harassed French armies in June 1940 and the Italian forces this year did not resort to poison gas to improve their positions. Are we to infer from these two instances that poison gas is banned as a weapon of war?

#### THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR.

Mr. E. L. Woodward in another Oxford Pamphlet, "The Origins of the War," provides in handy form the main case for Britain at war. It is a useful summary of the British Blue Book. Mr. Woodward lays the foundation of the indictment of all German leaders by saying, "They (the Germans) would have been less likely to listen to their quack doctor if they had not heard something of the same patter from more reputable German physicians."

#### THE DARKNESS AND THE DAWN.

(BY DR. GEORGE S. ARUNDALE.)

Alas for poor Greece with the high courage of her convictions, but faced at last by that devilish cunning of Hitler which shows up the strategy of the Allies as childish and almost ridiculous.

The sea is, of course, Britain's element and on it she has done splendidly. But on land, while there have been spurts of success as in Abyssinia and Libya and generally in Italian Africa, somehow or other when Germany takes a hand much of that which may have been gained seems to become lost; and we constantly find in the newspaper the most elaborate explanations to cover the fact that we have been outmanoeuvred. We are taking up a shorter and more defensible line, as already arranged. Or the gains of the enemy have little if any importance and have been discounted long ago. There is never any need for excuses for the naval operations for so far—touch wood, of course, the results aimed at have been achieved and more than achieved. Nor need the Air Force be excused. It is magnificent and all-essential.

The plain blunt fact is that, while Italy is not as clever as are the British, Germany is still far cleverer, and by Germany I do not mean Hitler, though his may possibly be the cunning, but those Generals of his, who have been set foul for war for decades, have been steeped in the war spirit, and

know their possible battle terrains inside out. Britain and the United States of America generally counter this deadly German one-pointedness by promises of full assistance. But invariably the assistance is either too meagre or it comes too late, and I am very much afraid that while these promises are regarded by the recipients as sincere they are believed to have but little cash value.

And matters are made far worse by the stupid protestations of neutrality to which every slaughterable nation has resort before it becomes fed to the hungry German monster which knows in a most marvellous way how to inveigle its prey to destruction by dangling before it prospects infinitely alluring to its pride.

Alone Turkey remains free from absorption among the countries of eastern Europe. But she too has been following the fatal course of protestations of neutrality and universal friendliness, and I am wondering how long she will last unless Russia has agreed to support her isolation. Even then, what is an agreement in these days? And let me add for the benefit of Germany, of what value all these partitions of territory and dispositions of peoples when they will be as naught the moment the war is over?

But curiously enough, with all her astuteness, Germany is not astute enough to know that she is going downhill, despite all appearances. Those who by the will of the Gods are to perish are first driven mad, says the Latin proverb. And in Germany's madness lies both her present strength and her coming destruction. She has the strength of madness, and therefore that cunning and genius which none of her foes can emulate. But this very madness will bring her to the brink of that grave which Providence has ordained and prepared for her, and she will fall into it and die.

Britain has not so far been a match for Germany on the lower planes of the mind, except, I repeat, on the sea and in the air. But she is far more than a match for Germany on the higher planes of the spirit, and, once the forces of the lower planes have been exhausted, the power of the spirit will emerge triumphant. That power is ever with Britain. But Germany has denied it, rejected it, despised it, desecrated it. The soul of Germany has been asphyxiated by the evil-doers who have become usurpers in its citadel. And it lies asleep manacled, in dungeons of darkness.

Let us not grow timorous as we see country after country enslaved by the mad monster, as we see our victories turned into defeats, as we see German might spread more and more throughout the world.

The world is God-governed in love and righteousness and justice. Disease has come upon the world through the world's wrong-living, and the disease must take its natural course. It must rise to its height before it can fall and disappear. We must be patient with and utterly confident amidst the inevitable course of the disease for which we all have our various responsibilities. Let us resist it to the utmost. But if time after time it triumphs over us, let us be neither afraid nor in despair. It must have its triumphs. It is having them.

But there is nemesis to come, and it will come when the law of cause and effect has been fully honoured. Then will the incarnation of wrong fall to rise no more, and a world purged of disease will go forward in renewed health and happiness.

We must be patient and supremely confident while we fight, as fight we must, for in our very patience and flawless confidence shall we find the strength which is to give us a victory in which there will be no element of ruthlessness but only of justice for all—whether they have been enemies or comrades.

**SOCIAL TRAINING CENTRE FOR WOMEN.**

A successful year of Social Training is just coming to an end under the revised syllabus of the Social Training Course for Women, run by the Missionary Settlement for University Women, Bombay. The next course will commence on 25th June 1941, and it is hoped many women will take advantage of the facilities offered in order to equip themselves for useful social service either as voluntary or professional workers. The course is open to matriculates who are above the age of twenty and non-matriculates who would be able to profit by the course would not be refused. The syllabus has been drawn up with a view to giving a training which will prepare a person to be an intelligent social worker and which will fit her to take up some of the many jobs that today are calling out for trained workers. The course lasts for one year, six months of which are occupied with learning the main principles and methods of social work. The other six months are divided into two special courses of three months each, for intensive training in particular branches of social work, such as juvenile delinquency, moral welfare, problems of industry and labour. Throughout the course emphasis is laid upon practical training. A certificate is awarded to those who satisfactorily complete the course.

The fee for the training is rupees five per month. Arrangements have been made whereby a limited number of Social Service Training students can live at the University Settlement for a charge of rupees twenty-five per month. Residence at the University Settlement will carry with it the opportunity to share in the games, debates, club evenings and other general activities of the Settlement. Two or three loan scholarships will be available in the coming year for approved candidates.

The Social Training Centre provides an opportunity for women of any creed or class to equip themselves with a practical knowledge of the best modern methods of social service and so to fit themselves better to serve their neighbourhood, their community and their country. The Settlement has been fortunate in securing as teachers for various parts of the course expert persons of much knowledge and experience. It is to be hoped that wide advantage will be taken of the opportunity of training that is offered, and that advantage will be taken of it by people of leisure as well as by those who desire to fit themselves for paid posts. All enquiries should be addressed to The Warden, University Settlement, Byculla, Bombay.

JAMES KELLOCK.

**THE BOMBAY RIOTS.**

After a week of practical quiet in the city, there were false rumours that outbreaks had occurred on Thursday. The curfew order had been modified at the beginning of the week and it was believed that the situation was well under control. It must be mentioned, however, that the restrictions on the press in the city which were intended to bring conditions to normal and to allay panic among the public, has tended to have the opposite effect. This was anticipated by the city editors who, under the presidentship of the veteran journalist Mr. B. G. Horniman, had adopted a strong resolution protesting against the restriction on the press. Finding the legitimate sources of information closed, the public naturally tend to give credence to rumours. Newspaper offices were the first to feel this reaction.

It is surprising that in so grave a matter the Advisory Committee which was set up by the Editors' Conference and which was assured by the Government communique in which its functions were set down, would be consulted in all matters relating to the press, has not been given its due importance.

Apparently the several bodies established through the Editors' Conference are only used for the satyagraha movement and for bringing about "responsibility" in journalism in matters relating to the war effort. We had pointed out this danger in an early article and it is unfortunate that, in concentrating on what was at the time an important source of encroachment on press rights, little attention was paid by the official side at least to other aspects of the question. The Bombay press as a whole has shown commendable restraint in reporting and commenting on the riot news. If individual newspapers have offended, why not proceed against them? The present measure penalises the press as a whole.

The disquiet caused on Thursday by the report that trouble had broken out once again, is enough to show the weakness of press control of this kind. In any panic the first essential is that the public should have absolute confidence in its press. How much confidence can there be in the face of restrictions imposed on newspapers in matters of reporting? It is also worth considering the effectiveness of such measures in achieving the end they have in view. In the extreme case of keeping out of the newspapers all hints of the community of the victims—to prevent competitive murder among hooligans of the communities involved—it is generally accepted as a wise and necessary measure. Really the method is wrong. The names can be published if the press and the police do not make it at the outset to be a communal disturbance. But now we first have a riot declared communal and then, of course, those who are interested in equalising communal figures are always able to find out—correctly or approximately or even mistakenly, it does not matter as long as there are some figures to go upon.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**The New World Order:—***The Reformer* has repeatedly pointed out that the declarations of British statesmen making the reconstruction of Europe on a democratic basis the chief war aim an excellent thing in itself, could create no enthusiasm outside Europe unless integrated with a definite under taking that colour bars and racial barriers will be eliminated from the new order. Insistence on this becomes all the more necessary when among the apostles of the new order are General Smuts and Mr. Menzies of Australia. The treatment of Indians and the large coloured population of South Africa, is not far removed from the Nazi persecution of Jews. When General Smuts speaks of world freedom and civilization, we are impelled to ask what is the world he has in mind. Asiatics are debarred from acquiring civil rights in Australia which has vast empty spaces crying for population. Would the end of the war see this land open to all races or is Australia fighting only to maintain its exclusive White policy? Then, again, the United States has made membership of the Aryan race the test of admission of immigrants to its citizenship. This was done long before Herr Hitler made Aryanism the basis of Nazism. Would the United States maintain the Aryan test in the New World Order? If the Dominions and America intend to stick to their colour and race bars, there is no common ground on which they and Indians can co-operate in building it up. The supreme question for us is not the re-establishment of democracy in Europe but the removal of the race and colour bars which constitute a perpetual source of irritation and humiliation to Asiatics and to Indians as an important class of Asiatics. The dire calamities which are afflicting Europe, are the direct nemesis for the calamities which Europe has inflicted on weak and helpless races in the course of their exploitation and, not until Europe repents and resolves to make atonement, will she be able to save herself from continued

miseries. The moment Europe realises this and turns over a new leaf, that moment her relief will come and the way be shown to her to a new and happy world order.

**Rudolf Hess:—**On Saturday the 10th May occurred the most sensational event in a war which has had more than its share of the incomprehensible, when Rudolf Hess, Herr Hitler's deputy, party-leader of the Nazis and the man who was to be German Fuehrer after Hitler and Goering, crashed into Scotland. Following publication of the news on Monday there was all manner of conjecture as to the meaning of this extraordinary incident. From regarding it as a subtle trick of the Nazis to hailing it as a split in the Nazi camp, every explanation has been advanced. Gradually, however, the release of details eliminated some explanations and strengthened others. Rudolf Hess, it would appear, addressed a letter some months back to the Duke of Hamilton with a view to effecting peace between Germany and Britain. The Duke handed the letter over to the British authorities and no reply was sent to Hess. Hess, however, seems either to have been confident of achieving results by personal contact with the Duke, or to have turned to the Duke in his personal difficulties with the party, for his first request, when he was found in Scotland, was to be taken to the Duke's house. The flight to Scotland was accomplished under conditions which call for cool calculation and extraordinary courage. The generally accepted explanation is that Hess who had collaborated with Hitler in writing "Mein Kampf," still held to the foreign policy outlined therein of co-operation with Britain and opposition to Soviet Russia and found himself unable to accept the present reversal of that policy. Much has been made of the fact that Hess was forbidden by Hitler to fly, but a British broadcast announced that this was a general ban on all Nazi leaders who are forbidden to risk their lives needlessly. Sir Neville Henderson, pre-war British Ambassador at Berlin, says in 'The Failure of a Mission': "up to 1935 flying remained Hess's hobby, and he actually won an important civil contest whilst a Cabinet Minister; after that Hitler forbade his risking his life by any further excursions in the air." The manner of escape and these facts dispose of the official German suggestion that Hess was not mentally fit and was suffering from hallucinations which had led the German Fuehrer to forbid him from taking to the

air. The high position which Herr Hess occupied in the German hierarchy, was due, according to the best authorities, to an influence greater than people generally believed. Sir Neville testifies to this. Rauschning attributes in 'Germany's Revolution of Destruction' great influence in foreign policy to the group that had gathered round Hess. Nevertheless so carefully has he kept out of party dissensions that more than one writer on modern Germany has dismissed Hess as nothing more than a devoted and loyal disciple of Hitler, devoid of personal ambition and an ideal party man. Both Heiden—in 'One Man Against Europe' and Rauschning, however, credit him with being a liberalising influence in party discipline. Rauschning in fact suggests that both Hitler and Hess favoured a certain leniency as it would place the leaders who had each of them, in the words of Hess, their own human frailties, in the control of the Fuehrer. The defection of a man like Hess would be a serious loss to the Nazi Party. But has there been a real breach?

**Dissent in the Totalitarian State:**—The comments of journalists, politicians and publicists on the flight of Rudolf Hess, all tend to exaggerate the value of the sensational episode which has caught the public imagination. This is largely because of Hess's position in Nazi Germany, and partly because the flight hints at division in the party ranks which was not believed to exist by British politicians before. Most informed writers on Germany have asserted time and again that there was a real split in the Nazi party between those who favoured a policy of collaboration with Russia and those who opposed Communism. What Peter Drucker in his "End of Economic Man" calls "Goering's Brain Trust" has been opposed to collaboration with Western Europe. It is this party which is now paramount and its hands have been strengthened by the war. The general surprise felt by British and American commentators on the existence of difference of opinion at the very top of a political party, is due to their natural tendency to judge the national party on the basis of political parties. In the national party, however, dissent can only be at the top, since the opposition of nonentities is generally suppressed before it rises to a stage where it cannot be ignored. Besides it is only the topmen—so far as war is concerned even in democracies—who know precisely what each diplomatic move means. It is a strange fact that with Hess's arrival in Britain, we have now in exile every shade of German political opinion, from Social Democrats, Liberals, National Bolsheviks, Communists to National Socialists. So far as present German policy is concerned, we should say the ideal of Strasser has a great deal in common with it. What is surprising is that the changes in policy which have dislodged Hess, have left Herr Hitler still in undisputed control. Amidst the dissensions of leading party members, Hess and Hitler stood for certain conceptions. To the Germans the two men were closely linked by identity

of views, which owe their success in Germany to their being not pro-Russian or pro-British but intensely and narrowly national. The break, if there has been one, must be on personal grounds, which do not make Hess less Nazi in his ideas. The flight, it was said, revealed something rotten in Germany. The reception accorded to the episode in the Allied camp was even more revealing. The hitherto disguised cleavage between those whose war aim is just victory and those who seek a reconstructed post-war world, is beginning to manifest itself.

**Sir Chotu Ram on Pakistan:**—Sir Chotu Ram, Minister for Development in the Punjab Government, contributes a weighty article to the *Hindustan Review* on Pakistan. He does not indulge in any sentimental gush about Indian unity and confines himself to a matter of fact statement of the practical difficulties in the way of realising the idea. He points out that a considerable section of the Muslims of India is opposed to the division of the country. He writes:

All nationalist Muslims are opposed to it. The Congress Muslims, the Ahrars, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the bulk of Shias, the Red Shirts, and the Momins who claim to be no less than three or four crores in numbers, all deprecate the movement. A very strong and influential section of the Muslim League itself regards the movement as impracticable and highly fraught with danger. The bulk of Muslims in the provinces in which they form comparatively small minorities will not view with favour the reactions likely to be produced in their own provinces by the formation of separate sovereign Muslim States in the North-west and North-east of India. Last but not least, will Punjabi Musalmans like to be saddled with the three deficit provinces of Sind, the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan and have their financial resources hopelessly crippled?

The Prime Minister of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, who is also Vice-President of the Muslim League, has made no secret of his opposition to the Pakistan scheme. The article in the *Hindustan Review* from the pen of his colleague, may be taken, if not to reflect his opinion, to contain nothing to which Sir Sikandar is likely to take exception.

**Sir Mirza Ismail's Resignation:**—At the end of last week an Associated Press message was published merely announcing that Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, had resigned with effect from the end of this month. Since the death of the late Maharaja with whom Sir Mirza was closely associated as Private Secretary and as Dewan for many years, and whom he revered as his master, Sir Mirza has had spells of ill-health off and on, and it was thought that his retirement was most probably due to this circumstance. But later messages indicated that the resignation was due to differences regarding the establishment of an automobile industry in Mysore and the nomination under the Reforms scheme of an elected non-official member of the Representative Assembly as Minister. Sir Mirza had warmly supported the establishment of the industry and from the circumstantial statements issued from time to time—the last only a few days ago—in the Press, it does not appear likely that there was any difference about it in the Mysore Durbar. The last minute announcement

just a day or two previous to Sir Mirza's resignation that Mysore had withdrawn from the project, suggests that the veto was prompted by outside intervention. As regards the nomination of a non-official Minister, a difference on the point is not itself a sufficient cause for resignation on the part of a Minister. Even in Britain a strict upholder of the constitutional rights of Ministers like Mr. Gladstone, had more than once deferred to the personal prejudices of the Sovereign. The parallel, however, is not exact. The whole reform scheme would be imperilled if the Minister chosen is one with whom the Dewan is in acute disagreement. Anyhow, we should welcome Sir Mirza's release from official harness as making available for non-official public service, a statesman of broad views, ripe administrative experience, and complete freedom from communal bias. Such men are by no means too numerous at the present time.

**Congress and Satyagraha :—**In a statement on the riots in which Gandhiji rebukes the Congress for its inactivity in the face of communal disturbances, he has declared that he could bring about a transformation in the Congress if he had five genuine satyagrahis to support him. The implications of this remark are obvious. Gandhiji does not feel that he has even this backing in the Congress. If that is correct then he cannot claim to speak on behalf of that great organisation. To quote his words :

I do not mind Congressmen changing their creed in spite of many leaders being in jail or openly leaving the Congress. I can see my way to rebuilding the Congress with five true men with whom there is neither Hindu nor Muslim nor any other.

This is very unfair to the members of the organisation which Gandhiji represents today. Many of the imprisoned leaders are now being released. Some of them are issuing self-complacent statements on the riots. If, after twenty years of almost unquestioned leadership in the Congress, Gandhiji still fails to see in it five "true" men, by which we presume he means those who think with him, is it likely that a change will be made in the Congress now? The remedy, if Gandhiji is dissatisfied with the Congress which has once again given him full authority but to which he did not owe even the allegiance of ordinary membership at the time, is for him to form a separate organisation with his "true" men.

**The Press and the Congress :—**The *Times of India* correspondent in Lucknow has sent a message to that newspaper suggesting that the Congress-controlled press is resisting Gandhiji's efforts to bring about a general close-down among Congress newspapers. Representatives of these newspapers including some editors decided, it is reported, at a meeting at Delhi not to cease publication. So far as we can see there are only two newspapers in English which can be called Congress-controlled—the *National Herald* of Lucknow and the *Searchlight* of Patna, the later being more Gandhian than

Congress in fact. So far as the other newspapers are concerned, their policies may be Congress-influenced but the influence, we are sure, does not extend to closing down under Gandhiji's instructions. As a matter of fact, the press as a whole in India has been most favourable to Congress when the Congress has shown itself least inclined to force a decision on it. Whatever even Congress editors of what are called Congress newspapers might think—and this itself is not always certain—it is unlikely that the proprietors, many of them with very loose or no links at all with the Congress, will be persuaded to consider suspension which would be bad for "business." The *Times*' message, therefore, does not seem well-founded in so far as it assumes an attempt already made by the Congress to move the press to a decision. What is more than probable is that it might be made after the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference at Simla on May 30, if the machinery of the Editors' Conference itself proves impervious to the appeals of its Congress members. It is more likely, however, that, first, effort will be directed to achieve unanimity on some basis other than suspension or temporary closure.

**The Iraq Situation :—**The hope that Syed Raschid Ali's revolt in Iraq would be soon suppressed, has been frustrated. Mr. Eden declared in the House of Commons on Thursday that in response to an urgent appeal from Raschid Ali, German planes had landed in Baghdad, coming in through Syria. This development followed on an interview between Admiral Darlan of the Vichy Government and Herr Hitler in which, it is believed, an understanding was reached conceding certain modifications of the Armistice terms to France in exchange for the use of air bases in Morocco and Syria. Feeling in Britain is running high against the Petain Government and it is feared that a break in the relations subsisting between Vichy and Britain is imminent. Britain is taking action, as Mr. Eden announced, against German aircraft in Syria and the Government is not unfavourable to the suggestion made by a Labour member of Parliament that, since the Vichy Government has left the League of Nations, the French mandate over Syria has ended. The breach with Vichy was inevitable since it is not within the realms of possibility to recognize Marshal Petain's regime in France and at the same time sponsor General De Gaulle and the Free French forces. There have been vague rumours of closer collaboration between Russia and Germany following on M. Stalin's assuming the Premiership in place of M. Molotov. One report suggests that agreement has been reached over Iraq which the Soviet has, in spite of its recent pact with that country, given over to the Nazis in exchange for a free hand in Iran. The war with the trouble in Iraq has come sufficiently near to India to give weight to the smallest military or diplomatic development.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 17, 1941.

## SOVEREIGNTY IN INDIAN STATES.

We referred last week to the statement issued by the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam repudiating the claim, put forward by the Ittihadul Muslemeen, to the effect that the sovereignty of the Nizam was in fact the sovereignty of his Muslim subjects numbering 15 lakhs, about 10 percent in a total population of 15 millions. To elevate this claim to the dignity of a doctrine, is to attach to it an importance much beyond its merits which are altogether fanciful. It implies, as the Hyderabad Government point out, the division of His Exalted Highness' sovereignty among 15 lakhs of his subjects, and those belonging to one particular class. The Ittihadul Muslemeen, it would seem, had put forward this proposition as a counterblast to the theory enunciated by the Reforms Committee appointed by the Nizam's Government, which was repeated in the order of His Exalted Highness Government on the Report of the Committee, to the effect that the Head of the State represents the people directly in his own person and that he is the embodiment of "his people's sovereignty." The Ittihadul Muslemeen took fright at this reference to the "people" and hastened to assert that only the section of the people professing the Muslim religion shared the Nizam's sovereignty and not all his 15 million subjects. This is not a claim to theocracy being the basis of the Nizam's rule. It is by no means a new doctrine. Turkey under the Sultan-Caliph was governed on the principle that the Muslim subjects formed a ruling and privileged class. This doctrine was swept away along with the Caliphate and Turkey today tolerates no privileged class on the score of religious belief. Nearly all modern Islamic States have followed the example of Turkey. Nothing but a fantastic flight of fancy would have suggested the retention or revival of this doctrine in a State, 90 per cent of whose population are not Muslims. The statement of His Exalted Highness' Government has been welcomed in the Indian Press both for its assertion of the equality of all subjects and the implied acknowledgment of the interest and the duty of Government to foster and, if need be, enforce unity among all classes and communities. Divide and Rule is commonly said to be the basis of Imperialism. It is not necessarily so. On the other hand, Empires have been great unifying agencies in India and elsewhere. The great Roman Emperor, Trajan, refused to receive separate addresses from the Greeks and Jews of Alexandria on his accession and insisted on their approaching him as a single community on pain of severe penalties.

The theory of sovereignty is one of the much disputed questions in political philosophy. In a report on the constitutional reforms needed

in a State in the twentieth century, it was hardly necessary and scarcely relevant to establish that it rested on a philosophical foundation. All that matters is that the State exists as a political fact. The Iyengar Committee was quite unnecessarily anxious to show that the rule of the Nizam in Hyderabad rested in a somewhat obscure way on Rousseau's doctrine of Social Contract. The point was bound to provoke much academic controversy. But it went unnoticed except by the Ittihadul Muslemeen even when it was repeated in the orders of His Exalted Highness' Government, because the public in Hyderabad and outside was more interested in the recommendations than in the political philosophy of the Iyengar Committee. It would have remained unnoticed still, had not His Exalted Highness' Government accorded the Ittihadul Muslemeen the honour of controverting it in a special statement. The use of the phrase, "inherent rights" of sovereignty of the Nizam, in this statement has called forth criticism. Since the French Revolution, the theory of "inherent rights" which is the same as the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, has been discarded and, what is more, the Sovereigns who asserted it have been deprived of their sovereignty in quick succession. The Chinese Emperor was the first to go. Next came the Tsar of Russia, the Austrian Emperor, the German Kaiser, the Sultan-Caliph, and the King of Spain. The Japanese Emperor remains the only monarch who claims to rule by divine right. The British sovereign rules by Grace of God but his measures and policies are determined by Ministers who command a majority in the House of Commons. The only State which in the twentieth century, has invoked God as the source of all power in its Constitution is Eire. The traditional idea of sovereignty in the Orient does not recognise any inherent rights of rulers. The occurrence of the phrase "in virtue of his inherent powers of legislation" in the preamble to the Mewar Undesirable Marriages Prohibition Act (*The Reformer*, February 8) would have surprised students of Hindu polity. For the power of legislation is admittedly not an attribute of Hindu sovereignty. The case in Islam is not different. The Islamic code which includes not only the civil and criminal law but also the law of the constitution, has been laid down in the Quoran.

The question of inherent rights has nothing to do with responsible government, as is assumed by all sides in this controversy. Great Britain has been the pattern for parliamentary responsible government. The inherent rights of the British Sovereign are practically unlimited. In the oft-quoted words of Bagehot's book on the English Constitution :

It would very much surprise people if they were only told how many things the Queen could do without consulting Parliament ....Not to mention other things, she could disband the army (by law she could not engage more than a certain number of men, but she



is not obliged to engage any men); she could dismiss all the officers, from the General Commanding-in-Chief downwards; she could dismiss all the sailors too; she could sell off all our ships of war and all our naval stores: she could make peace by the sacrifice of Cornwall; and begin a war for the conquest of Brittany. She could make every citizen in the United Kingdom, male or female, a peer; she could make every parish in the Kingdom a university; she could dismiss most of the civil servants; she could pardon all offenders. In a word the Queen could by prerogative (inherent rights) upset all the action of civil government within the government.

This does not exhaust the list. Lowell gives several others. No Indian ruler would claim that his inherent powers covered a tenth part of what lie within the prerogatives of the English Sovereign not only because the Paramount Power would object but because his own traditional idea of sovereignty is very much more limited than that of the British monarchy. Because the British King could do so many things it became necessary to provide a safeguard against his actually doing them, by means of a legal fiction: "the king can do no wrong." Neither can he do anything right. Everything must be done in his name but the responsibility for it lies on his ministers. Enthusiasts for the introduction of "responsible government" in Indian States, should show that the legal fiction would fit well into a policy based on the loyalty of the people to a personal ruler.

#### AMERICAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND THE WAR.

A friend has sent us the reprint of a series of articles by Christian leaders in the United States in answer to the question put to them by the Editor of the *Christian Century*: "If America is drawn into the War, can you, as a Christian, participate in it or support it?" Among the ten are John Haynes Holmes and Francis J. McConell, Harry Emerson Fosdick and Reinhold Niebuhr. The only layman in the group is Charles P. Taft, grandson of President Taft. Dr. Holmes' answer to the question is the most uncompromising. "If America enters the war," he declares, "I will not. As far as the law may allow, or my spirit dictate, I will oppose the war." He would not depart from this resolve even if his country was left defenceless before an invader. "I had rather die than kill, and see my country conquered than a conqueror." But he denies that the country will be defenceless, if it did not fight. "Love, generosity, compassion, forgiveness,—these are powers which do things among men. We call them imponderables because they cannot be weighed, intangibles because they cannot be touched. But we feel their presence as we feel the presence of the sun. They are the spirit of man, mightier far than iron or steel, electricity or dynamite. What this spirit is we do not know, but of its reality we are sure. Religion calls it God—the divine within us, God's life within our lives, his omnipotence to clothe us and engird us." Dr. Holmes's position is exactly that of Gandhiji. It is indeed more absolute even than Gandhiji's who at times seems to flinch from the consequences of his belief in non-violence.

Dr. Holmes does not refer to Gandhiji but Dr. Fosdick does in his closely reasoned explanations of his own attitude which is that the United States would be calling upon itself a colossal and futile disaster if it becomes a belligerent. He

thinks that there is no risk of his country being invaded. But if it is invaded, he would say, Resist, whether by violent or non-violent means. It is here that he brings in Gandhiji. He objects to the identification of pacifism with mere submissiveness. He writes:

Denmark is used as an example of pacifism. That seems to me a case of mistaken identity. Denmark under necessity, submitted, Gandhiji, however, has never submitted, but has organised incorrigible, courageous, non-violent resistance. I profoundly admire him, and venture to predict a long and influential future for his ideas and methods. If, however, someone says that under present circumstances to rely on America's meeting invasion with a mass movement of non-violent resistance is trusting moonshine, I agree. America is utterly unprepared for such a process.....Even Gandhi, with his long training of his people in his ideas and technique, would face a brand-new problem if, in Mr. Winston Churchill's ominous words, Hitler should stand at the gates of India.

Dr. Fosdick does not seem to know that Gandhiji has anticipated the contingency suggested by the British Prime Minister and has declared that even then he would not resist the invader with arms. But Gandhiji feels as does Dr. Fosdick that the Indian people, like the Americans, are not prepared to adopt his method. Even if they were, they would not be allowed to act on their conviction because the British have adopted the method of meeting force by force. The Government of India has allowed Gandhiji to carry on a propaganda against itself, but if he should organise a movement to prevent people from joining the armed forces which are being rapidly expanded, he would have to face a large volume of opposition from an influential section of Indians who believe that now is the opportunity for India transforming herself into a martial race, and he will also most probably come into collision with the authorities. Indeed, he has more than once given the assurance that he will do nothing to embarrass Government in the prosecution of the war. There is thus no appreciable difference between Gandhiji's present attitude and Dr. Fosdick's. Dr. Fosdick frankly admits that his position is a compromise with the claims of nationalism, and sternly rebukes those religious leaders who make out that war, this or any other, is consonant with the teachings of Jesus Christ. He compares the position of religious leaders who have not completely gone over to the school of the preacher, quoted by him, who urged that because God sends men to hell—an obviously coercive process—therefore, Christians may use violence in war, to that of the socialist fighting the profit system who is at leisure to do so because he has stock on whose profits he can live. "We are inextricably entangled in the very war system we disclaim and are trying to displace." Dr. Fosdick concludes: "As for myself, I am essentially a Quaker, and my convictions belong in what seems to me the great traditions of the Society of Friends."

Dr. Fosdick does not express an opinion on the policy of supplying armaments to the belligerents while keeping aloof from the actual fighting. This is the policy of the United States so far. Other contributors to the symposium approve of this policy as satisfying both their Christian and National conscience. Mr. Bennett believes that the American government is right in seeking to give what help it can to China and Great Britain without assuming the unlimited liability for their policies. But he holds that this aid should be given as a free gift and not sold to the two countries at a price. "An American Government," he writes, "will be most true to all of its responsibilities if it adheres

in its present course of selective intervention and attempts to keep this country from being bogged down for a generation in the struggles of Europe or Asia," Bishop McConnell holds that participating in a defensive war is a Christian duty but it should not be associated with hordes of profiteers. "Nor do I mean," he says, "the doctrine so interpreted as to send United States ships to all seas and our armies to all continents." The worst evil of war is, the Bishop adds, the debauchery of the public mind, which is of the most serious consequence to democracy. The military necessity to deceive the enemy involves deceiving the home people as well. The Bishop would engage himself if America enters the war in insisting that this debauchery of the public mind should be prevented as much as possible. Reinhold Neibhur, on the other hand, holds that it is the duty of the United States to help to fight down Nazism in all continents. Lest it be said that he is influenced by ties of kinship with Britain, he declares that he is an American of pure German stock such as Thomas Mann and many others. As for the Christian aspect of the question, Mr. Neibhur avers that it is the duty of a Christian to fight paganism and Nazism in his view is just paganism and a vile form of it. Mr. Taft, from the layman's point of view, points out that in every walk of life men have to make decisions which are not reconcilable with abstract principles. If this is denied to them, he sententiously adds, there will not be much church left.

#### DELHI AND INDIA.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who emerged out of his retirement on the outbreak of war to try the task of peacemaker between the Congress and the Muslim League, and between Nationalist India and the Government, is turning rapidly into a controversialist. He has contributed an article in the current issue of the *Twentieth Century* (Lucknow) replying to Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons. The most important part of this article to his confession of faith in a strong Central Government. Quoting Mr. Amery's reference to the "dismal record of India's history in the eighteenth century," Sir Tej Bahadur observes,

Once the strength of the Centre at Delhi was gone, the disruption and disintegration of the rest of the country was a matter of a few years only.

In comparing other Federations Sir Tej points out that both in the United States and in Australia, there has been a steady taking over of power by the Centre. Canada presented a different problem. But an extended summary of the Rowell-Sirois Report (report of the recent Canadian Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations) has been published in a recent number of the *International Labour Review*, and it bears striking testimony to the necessity of centralization. The Commission has been guided by an aversion to introduce constitutional changes and by "a full awareness of the dangers of excessive centralisation." The *International Labour Review* points out that on that account those of its recommendations which involve an increase in federal jurisdiction, are the more weighty. In Canada for the past seventy years the provincial units have won increasing powers from the Centre. That the four Commissioners who came from four different regions of Canada, reached unanimity in their recommendations is significant. And complete agreement, says the Report, is "not the result of compromise or of give and take, but reflects sincere unanimity of judgment on the great

issues that confront the nation." The Commission was appointed in 1937 and finished its report in 1940, its decisions enhanced by Canada's need for co-ordinated effort after her entry into the war. Its findings are for a strengthening of the Centre in the very interests of the provinces. The experience of Canada also, therefore, supports Sir Tej Bahadur's predilection for reserving residuary powers to the Centre, if India is to have a federal system of Government. But Sir Tej Bahadur, having asserted his own belief, goes on to add, "I should not stand in the way of anyone if I could feel assured that a change of the basis of enumeration of powers is going to be the basis of harmony and mutual confidence." Later he says again, "to sacrifice harmony and co-operation and internal peace at the altar of constitutional orthodoxy would be neither wise nor expedient." We must confess that we do not follow this line of reasoning. Surely after the experience of provincial autonomy in British Indian provinces, Sir Tej Bahadur does not regard the question of a strong Centre as a mere academic point. If his political wisdom suggests a certain system as best suited for national progress, can he be willing to suppress it because other politicians fear that it will be irksome? Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru ought to be less modest in pressing his view on the constitutional question. After all where principles are involved, one cannot adopt the position of mediator between rival claims. It would be more becoming in one who has a definite contribution to make to the Indian constitutional question, to be firm on fundamental issues like the one relating to the Centre, while adopting less provocative language on points that are to be the basis of negotiation. Yet Sir Tej Bahadur, after fiercely arguing the two parties of the dispute which he set out to settle, into temporary silence, proceeds calmly to surrender the Centre. If India is to be free from external and internal threats to peace, it is essential that she should have a strong Central administration. Even though Sir Tej Bahadur may be ready to compromise on this point, we trust that others will not lose sight of its importance.

Sir Tej Bahadur in the rest of his article has laid down his limits of accommodation. "I should on no account," he writes, "favour any scheme put forward by the Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs or any other class of people, which aims at the fragmentation or splitting of India into parts." He says that the British are the only people "who are able to evolve and maintain the geographical and political integrity of India." This is an extravagance which cannot be supported by argument and Sir Tej Bahadur goes off at a tangent to explain to Muslims that he does not mean any derogation of their "genuine rights," and to warn Mr. Amery and the British that if they agree to partition they would be guilty of "black treachery" to India. The "India" of pre-1935 was different to the India of the post-reform period. It included then Aden to the west and Burma to the east. It was a political creation and that too a creation of the British. When the British changed it and "evolved" another India, it provoked little protest. That Sir Tej Bahadur should feel agitated at the very prospect of any further division and separation in the India of today, means clearly that it is something more than a geographical and political creation of the British. The British did not create geographical conditions. They have not maintained the political integrity of India since they have split it up into eleven autonomous provinces.

Sir Tej Bahadur describes as intolerable the demand of Mr. Amery that there should first be agreement between the Muslim League on the one hand and the Congress or "any other representatives

of the Hindu majority." We have pointed out last week that the Congress would probably not be regarded as a suitable organisation to negotiate for Hindus after the Communal Award. That apart, Mr. Amery's suggestion does imply that the Muslim League is indispensable in any new constitution, while the Congress is not, nor is the Hindu Mahasabha. Sir Tej Bahadur wants the "willing co-operation of the minorities" and he asks sarcastically whether he offends anyone by using these words. We should like to know how he proposes to secure this without conceding the division of India. So long as there is a premium on un-willingness, very few minorities will prove willing co-operators. Sir Tej Bahadur says that he is willing to go farther than many other people in securing this end, and that a realistic view of concrete issues which create friction between communities, will help to solve the problem. We should like to hear more of this from Sir Tej Bahadur. If the Muslim League stands committed to Pakistan, there is no reason why "other representatives of the Muslim minority" may not be found ready to work on the basis of Indian unity with other Indians.

The most telling part of Sir Tej Bahadur's article is his reference to the invidious position in which he found himself at the Imperial Conference in 1923 when he came against Lord Peel, then Secretary of State for India, and only the support of Lord Reading, then Viceroy, encouraged him to continue on the Conference and to press his resolution. "I should not like for myself or any other Indian a repetition of that experience," he observes in justification of his demand for equality for Indian delegates with Dominion representatives at future Conferences. He may rest assured on that point. In the existing circumstances, no Indian is likely to gain the support of the Government of India against the Secretary of State.

#### RELIGION IN LIFE.

(BY J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

They say that there is an increasing awakening to religion in people, who have been materialistically inclined so far. Their disappointing experiences, their non-preventible sorrows and miseries, the shocks coming from frequent wars and the insecurity to life and property coming from such wars are making them turn to other supports than those they have been relying on in life's adventure. While sad experiences have always provoked religious thoughts in man, the extensive destructiveness of modern wars is making some of the Western thinkers in particular, at present, look back and reflect on the path they have been following. Can religion help us when other things are failing, is a question that is arising in their minds. The possibility of bringing together different religions into active co-operation in resisting the unpeaceful tendencies of the present is also striking them as worth an attempt.

Such thinking is encouraging, though I cannot hope that it is likely to lead to results desired and looked for. And that because their idea of and their attitude to religion are fundamentally perverse. Religion to these people has ceased to be a life-regulating, mind-overwhelming, and inclination-restraining force, which gives intensity to feeling and driving impulse to action. To them religion has an academic interest; it excites intellectual curiosity. It has some ethical value, that is, its moral principles and ethical conceptions receive their approbation. Such is their general outlook on religion, whose taboos and injunctions and positive and negative rules of conduct they do not respect nor allow

to interfere with their life and living. Other engagements not clashing, they may think of attending the Sunday Church, and of participating in other religious functions and ceremonies, but where is the intensity of faith, earnestness of devotion and the moving urge of sentiment, without which religion ever remains beyond reach and contact and beyond positive comprehension?

The time the modern spirit of shallow and merely analytical rationalism, which, whether it so aimed or not as a psychologist might suspect, resulted in demolishing faith and belief and gave free latitude to individual inclinations and personal convenience, that time religion left the field of actual life and went to stay on the book-shelf in the form of printed matter embodied and bound in volumes for occasional reference. If now some academic minds are driven to think of taking the books down on the table to see and utilise the doctrines contained in them for a workable solution of the present dangerous international tangle, they are showing a complete misunderstanding of the essence of religion and are misleading themselves into false calculations. Religion is not a thing to be called to service at will and convenience for a particular end and thereafter to be shelved again and divorced from life. Those, therefore, who are at present feeling impelled by the stress of events to look to religion as a last recipe for the present ills and to propagandise for all religions to present a united front, like so many governments and political organisations, ought seriously to deliberate on the above and see how far religion affects and influences their own lives, and to what depth, if at all, faith and belief descend into their heart. And, moreover, when proposing a united religious front they ought also to reflect on how to bring that about. By press propaganda, pulpit deliveries, meetings, resolutions and association and committee forming?

Naturally it is those methods which commend themselves, because these thinkers have only been used to them. Faith to them is but a lost article and a vanished influence. Their education and upbringing have been such that they have become incapable of recovering it. Their thoughts and belief have only centred on the material "Mighty Atom" of Marie Curie, and religion can have significance to them only in terms of that atom. And, therefore, I despair of any results accruing from the present apparent reverse tendency to religion. It is not they, but those to whom religion is an article of abiding faith and unquestioning devotion, who obey its prohibitions in daily life irrespective of convenience, and who mould and conduct their life according to its commands and enjoinders, who can rekindle the religious fire in the people and wean them from the tendencies that are leading to social disruption, political discord, unbounded selfishness and unending strife and jealousy. For religion successfully to take a redeeming part in modern world events, leaders like the above are needed for infecting the mass mind with religious fervour and spiritual inspiration. Infuse that fervour in their mind, re-establish faith in their heart, regenerate reverence for what you call in your blind arrogance their silly superstitions and sentiment, their idols, symbols and deities, their religious ceremonies, and prayers, their religious teachings and traditions;—and then, whether you call them on an organised and united platform or not and confuse them with a multi-coloured picture of things on the horizon, the world will have taken a turn to goodness and righteousness. People following the rigorous principles and injunctions of religion in life will learn to consider it sinful to exploit the weak and to lead the life of ease and luxury and will believe it to be great virtue that will bring

happiness in this life and in the next, to live a simple contented life, to respect the feelings of others, to feel for the unfortunate, and to offer personal sacrifice for the good of others.

It may be urged here by those, who propose to reconnoitre in the field of religion for finding a by-pass to peace and security, that the above considerations regarding good and bad acts weigh with them as well. True; but they appear to them as no more than good moral ideals and injunctions, which should better be kept in view, but for want of faith they are not overwhelmingly afraid of transgressing them. How many of them would care to give up their life of comfort and luxury, for instance, even though they have the idea that such life leads to deterioration and rests, directly or indirectly, on the exploitation of the weak and the poor? Not only would they not care, but they would readily proceed to offer all varieties of arguments in self-justification. Such inconsistency in theory and practice and such convenient tripping over religious prohibitions can be pointed out in number in the life of the modern rationalists. Faith and belief in the inviolability of religious injunctions would have, however, prevented such self-deceiving practice.

What is, therefore, needed is the re-establishment of faith and belief in people; and that can be done not by any organised planning or prepared propaganda, but by the simple means of leaving the people alone and away from the attentions of the modern manufactured intellectuals, nationalists and reformers. For, faith and belief, and a more or less clearly or vaguely perceived consciousness for something—call it mysterious or spiritual—beneath the crust of materialism, are born naturally in the human mind. Only let not the conventionalists and the unbelievers go and uproot them. Let them not preach to them the philosophy of destructive rationalism, which they themselves cannot show to have led to any constructive creation, or to peace, virtue and steadiness in human conduct; or tell them that it is meaningless and a weakness to submit to and blindly follow the taboos and traditions of old which have lost their time significance; or that it is a healthy sign to apply one's own discretion in one's conduct and course of action.

Have not such preachings and teachings only led to indulgence, indiscipline, thoughtlessness, mere pleasure-seeking, unrestrained selfishness and insatiable cravings, which are at the root of all the present world troubles and evil tendencies?

#### PAKISTAN A SECULAR STATE.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In the leading article on "Pakistan and Pan-Islam" in last week's *Reformer*, you have drawn a sharp distinction between Pakistan and Islamic ambitions for a religious empire, pointing out that the two are the very antithesis of one another. If we look more closely, however, we find that Mr. Jinnah's policy is very similar to that of Kemal Ataturk, though the one speaks in the name of religion and the other was frankly secular. Mr. Jinnah's reaction to the word, "Indian," is not distinguishable from Ataturk's reaction to appeals in the name of "Islam." Just as the Ataturk wished to reduce his State into manageable dimensions, Mr. Jinnah is eager to withdraw into an area which will accept his writ unquestioned. Kemal looked upon attempts to revive the Caliphate as machinations of the French and British powers to keep a stranglehold through their Muslim followers on Turkey. Mr. Jinnah,

apparently believes that Indian unity is an illusion fostered by Britain to prevent both Hindus and Muslims from freeing themselves of foreign control.

It has been usual, because the Muslim League calls on its members to unite in the name of religion, to regard its policies as inspired by religious fanaticism. It is true as you have pointed out that there are members in it who cherish hopes of setting up an Islamic Empire which will compare with the glorious times of Cordova. The Maharaja of Mahmudabad has often, for instance, talked of developing the spiritual ideals of Islam in a purely Muslim State. Nevertheless it is clear that, when the struggle begins within itself, the possibilities are more in favour of secular ideals prevailing. It is significant that, in the past, religious reform in Islam has tended rather to become religious reaction, while progress has always led away from mosque and priest. So far as Muslim States are concerned, they have not hesitated, when faced with a choice between modernism and religion, in choosing modernism.

If we look at conditions in India, things are not very different with our Muslims. The Hindu tendency to interpret the most modern reform in terms of ancient precept, has, to put it mildly, an irritating effect on minds which are impatient to shake off the old and get on with the new. When the Muslim League protests against the imposition of its culture by the majority, its leaders are really agitating for the removal of impediments towards rapid westernisation rather than against the suppression of Islam. If politicians could at all times say what they mean, there would be no difficulty. But the Muslim leaders are faced with the problem of bringing a reactionary community into line with their forward policy. When Mr. Jinnah talks of Hindu-Muslim incompatibility, he is conscious not so much of the history of Hindu-Muslim relations in the past as of the essential difference between the Hindu and the Muslim attitudes today to westernisation.

So long as Pakistan is only a point for agitation there is no trouble. But Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, himself an admirer not only of Kemal Ataturk but even of Amanullah of Afghanistan, who, in his recent statements on the present communal situation, has appealed in effect to Mr. Jinnah to make his choice between religious reactionism and modernity, has posed a question which the Muslim League has to decide as their demand for Pakistan grows more insistent. Whatever it decides, it must lose the support either of those of its own community who are pinning their faith on a religious revival, or of the modern element in every community which is in sympathy with the revolt against the social conservatism of the Congress. Mr. Jinnah's offer at Madras to support other communities in their demands for separate states, was an attempt to escape out of this dilemma.

Bombay, }  
May 13, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
HINDUSTANI.

#### MENDACITY AND POLITICS.

Viscount Maugham, lately Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, has produced a book (*Lies as Allies*, Oxford University Press, 6d.) which is hopelessly out of date. Today when the British people have come to regard Hitler as the cause of all their sufferings, there is little need to tell them that the German Chancellor should not be trusted to keep his word. If one were to put out a small booklet embodying every conceivable term of reproach, abuse or slander and applied them to Hitler without giving any reason for one's doing so, the British public would be prepared to swallow

it. As for the non-British peoples, they were all convinced of the undesirability of relying on Herr Hitler's word and they were driven desperate before September 1939 by the inability of British politicians to see the undependability of the German Chancellor. We do not know where Lord Maugham was or what he was doing when Mr. Chamberlain, then Premier, told the House of Commons that he did not for one moment believe that Hitler was "deliberately deceiving" him; that he thought the German Chancellor meant "what he said;" and, with the tables neatly turned against the unfortunate Benes, that he had told Herr Hitler that if he could not trust Czechoslovakia to abide by its promises, he should surely believe the power of Britain and France to enforce Czech compliance. Had Lord Maugham placed as much of this material as was then compilable in the hands of Mr. Chamberlain then, much of the present troubles would have been avoided. It is rather unfair on the rest of the world for British public men of the standing of Lord Maugham to have ignored outside warning for years and now to turn round and repeat that very warning as a new discovery. If it is meant for American consumption, it may be pointed out that the U. S. A. is not particularly credulous of Herr Hitler's promises.

In so far as Lord Maugham has drawn from post-war experience of Germany's distortion of facts, he has spoilt his case. No one expects the truth from a nation at war. And there are obvious weaknesses which cannot be justified in an intellectual, in his indolence of Hitler's deprecatory remarks on the masses. Lord Maugham is so shocked by Hitler's reference to the people in the following terms that he quotes it and similar passages twice over :

"The broad masses of the people are not made up of diplomats or professors of public jurisprudence, nor simply of persons who are able to form reasoned judgment in given cases, but a vacillating crowd of human children who are constantly wavering between one idea and the other."

It is unfair to use such passages against Hitler. That the average mind is still at the stage of development which it reaches at twelve years of age is not a slander of the ordinary man invented by Hitler. It is recognised by most psychologists. It is enshrined in an article by James Harvey Robinson on "Civilisation" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. We do not know whether Viscount Maugham has a higher opinion of the mass mind than these estimates. If he has, then he is not in agreement with generally accepted theories on the subject.

Hitler's praise of the big lie has been made great play with by British writers. If one refers to "Mein Kampf," one will see that Hitler's "advocacy of the big lie" appears in a particularly bitter denunciation of calumnies spread against Ludendorff where he says that the bigger the lie, the greater the chance of its success. Hitler in another sentence advises Germans to cultivate single-mindedness in national advocacy as countries which nourish doubts of the rightness of their cause, suffer. Lord Maugham's method is wrong. The more one points out that Hitler is averse from truth the more confident will people feel that the present gains of Nazi Germany arise out of his utter disregard for personal morality in pursuing the advancement of the nation. What is necessary is proof, conclusive proof, that in international politics "honesty is the best policy." That no one seems capable of giving.

### RIOTS IN INDIA.

In the *Indian Social Reformer* for May 3, 1941, there is an editorial which suggests that the term communal riots should not be applied to these riots which have been occurring. It is possible that there may be a communal element present, yet it is not necessary to emphasize the fact and thus give the impression that various religious groups are at war with each other. We believe there is a real point in this suggestion. Let the riots be considered as riots which are threatening public peace and safety; let the local government take what ever action is necessary to prevent the spread or recurrence of the riots, and the general public be encouraged to support the local governments in preserving the public safety.

It needs to be recognised that in almost all cases of riots there are individuals who have some purpose to serve and they are perfectly willing, to make use of communal sentiment or of sentiment against capitalism or against railways management, or anything else of this sort that will serve their purpose. If there are matters that need investigation in order to secure the rights of one group as against another, such investigations should be carried on by responsible agencies. But individuals in particular and the public in general should be made to realise that acts of violence and the stirring up of riots cannot in any circumstances whatever be tolerated. If we can have this sort of public attitude towards riots, we believe that the emphasis now laid on the communal nature of the riots will largely disappear. And it may be hoped that the importance given in the public press of India and outside India to such riots will be greatly lessened, as it should be.—*Indian Witness*.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

### THE LATE S. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR.

The news of the death in Madras of Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar on Monday morning came as a complete surprise. He was 67 years of age. A generation back this would not have been considered premature. But the educated Indian has passed the destructive phase of the impact of western upon his native civilisation. The two have ceased to be conflicting forces in his life, and begun to be co-operative factors. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry was therefore right in his remark on learning of Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's death, that he was too young to die. Srinivasa Aiyangar was not a born politician. Neither in the earlier stages of his life did he show any partiality for social reform. In religion, whatever his personal convictions might have been, he did not give any public evidence of non-conformity with the creed in which he was born and brought up. Of his pre-eminence as a lawyer in a province which has produced many great lawyers, men themselves eminent in the profession both among his contemporaries and seniors, have spoken with appreciation. The Chief Justice of Madras, Sir Lionel Leach, in his tribute, mentioned as a striking proof of the intellectual agility of Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar that, in an important case which the latter argued before him, Mr. Aiyangar succeeded in convincing him and his colleague on the Bench that certain passages of the last edition of Mayne's Hindu Law of which he (Mr. Aiyangar) was himself editor, were wrong. "That," added Sir Lionel, "was in itself a great achievement." In public life, however, a reputation for similar achievements, will not be a passport to leadership. The qualities which go to make a great lawyer are seldom the qualities which make for effective leadership in public life. That is why Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar with many advantages of intellect, character and material resources, missed the position from which he could have rendered lasting

service to his people. He had a clear and cool head, had organizing capacity, and inspired confidence in men of all communities and creeds. He claimed to have framed a scheme, which was approved by Mr. Jinnah, of joint electorates for Hindus and Mahommedans. The rejection of this by the Congress seems to have been the cause of his break with that movement. When the Swaraj Party was formed, he at first rejected Mr. C. R. Das's overtures on the ground that it was the old Liberals or Moderates under a new name. Later he joined it but had differences with the Leader of the Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The mystical elements in Gandhiji's politics jarred upon his sensibilities and led him to decide not to join any political movement of which Gandhiji was the guiding spirit. His views on social questions were more definite. The draft Bill on Hindu Women's Rights which he drew up, has elicited high praise and will be of considerable help in future social legislation. It is nothing short of a tragedy that there was no place for a man of Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's calibre in the leading political organisation in the land. The responsibility for this must be shared between Government and the Congress. Government would recognise no movement except the Congress and Congress would countenance no one who did not worship at the shrine of khaddar and non-violence. Many people who have no antipathy to hand-spinning and have not the least inclination to violence, revolt against the idea of making a fetish of them. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar was not the first Indian of high character and calibre who was obliged to give up the Congress because of its depressing effects on his personality. For the last year or two, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar seems to have realised that sulking in the tents was not the proper mood for him, that he had a positive contribution to make to Indian public life. He came out of his retirement and made speeches, some of them very striking, all of them suggestive, on a wide range of subjects. His speeches, however, had more the appearance of thinking aloud by one who was groping for light and had not the force and conviction of one who had found it and was eager to exhibit it to his fellowmen. One disadvantage, which to some extent outweighed his many advantages, was that he was intensely of the South, of Tamil Nad in particular.

In the opening of the new era, he might, if he had been spared, have developed a broader outlook and taken his place among All India leader. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the life and career of Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, have not left a strong impress on the minds of his generation. To stand up for one's convictions amidst a crowd clamouring only for *darshan* and *prasad*, is itself no mean service to the cause of intellectual and spiritual freedom without which national freedom is but a phantasma and a hideous dream.

**The U. S. A and France:—**When the French Army was nearing a state of collapse, M. Reynaud, then Prime Minister, urgently appealed to the United States for assistance as the last resource for averting surrender. The response was not satisfactory and M. Reynaud resigned on the ground that the situation was one for a soldier's government to deal with. Marshal Petain at the age of 83 took upon himself the arduous task of saving as much as possible for France. An armistice was signed with Herr Hitler. It is obvious that the Marshal's personal prestige has stood his country in good stead, both as regards the armistice terms as well as in the subsequent development of the relations of the Nazis with the Petain Government. But for the Marshal, the conqueror would probably have been far more exacting than he has been. The fact, nevertheless, is that unoccupied France is very much at the mercy of the Nazi Government and is not in a position effectively to resist its pressure. The United States could have saved France from this plight if it had responded, presuming that it was able to respond, to M. Reynaud's appeal. Having failed to do so, it seems unreasonable and, indeed, high-handed on its part to threaten France with stoppage of most urgently needed food, because the Petain Government has let German planes pass through Syria to Iraq, which it could not, perhaps, have prevented if it had tried to. The only result, if it had resisted the German demand, would have been the resumption of a war in which France had been defeated and which she is not strong enough to renew. The position is not rendered easier for Marshal Petain by the "Free French" movement under General De Gaulle. France could have been saved all this distress if President Roosevelt had at the critical hour thrown the great weight of the United States on her side. *Foreign Affairs* for April publishes several striking passages from the statement on the New Order for France which Marshal Petain gave to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* last September. The statement which is addressed to all Frenchmen begins by saying that Marshal Petain wishes to discuss politics—not, however, the gloomy struggle of parties and factions—but the art of governing men in conformity with their highest interests. The Marshal declares that it is his intention to build up a strong State on the "ruins of the monstrous and flabby State which collapsed under the weight of its weaknesses and mistakes far more than under

the blows of the enemy."

**British "Interests":—**In the discussion in Parliament soon after Syed Rashid Ali had carried out his military *coup* in Iraq, British official spokesmen said that the situation was well in hand and remarked that Syed Rashid Ali was ready to observe the terms of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty. Events after that debate show that this optimistic forecast was not quite justified. The Regent, Emir Abdul Elahi, had fled from Iraq and a substitute had been set up in his place without any action being taken by the British. Mr. Churchill last week declared that Britain had expected these developments a year earlier but was powerless to prevent it, as there was a deficiency of men. In view of the part that Indian troops have played in Iraq, the question arises whether they could not have been sent earlier to maintain the former Regent in his authority instead of now to restore him to power. Eminent Indian Muslims, from His Exalted Highness the Nizam to Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, have issued appeals pointing out the obligations which Iraq has to Britain and the dependence of hopes of maintaining and developing its independence on British support. All of them prove that Britain has more than just commercial and trading interests in Iraq and that past failure either to give them up to Iraqis, or to support them with force if necessary, has now necessitated the use of even more drastic measures to put down what was at the outset a local rising. The threat from Syria whence Nazi arms are going across Turkey to Iraq, has increased Britain's difficulties. The assurance given by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons that Japan has been warned to respect British interests in China, indicates that there also Britain has not realised the real nature of the problem. It is no longer a question of upholding national interests in any part of the world. Small countries like Yugoslavia and Greece have, by putting up a hopeless resistance, shown their understanding of the principles involved in the conflict between Britain and Germany. What prevents a similar recognition from Britain herself? The British Government would do well to consider whether political conditions are as satisfactory, as they have assumed them to be so long, in countries like India where their responsibility is a special one, and like China. It is only in so far as they can rise superior to their own interests that they can take the initiative in the present war. In an informing article in *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Owen Lattimore, Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations of Johns Hopkins University, writes of the problem of China in terms which have a universal application:

The foreign Power whose interests will in the end win out will be the one which is most ready to identify its interests primarily, not with those of its supposed "representatives" in China, but with those of changing China as a whole. The only symbol of this changing China which has vitality and a survival value is the United Front ..... To give moral and material support to any one of its component parts would be to split China.



Can Lord Linlithgow's Government of India claim to have built up a united front either before or during the war period? Given the imagination, it could have been done so without any change in the Executive Council. Lacking that essential, all conferences with fifty odd individual leaders has proved of no avail.

A National Government for India?—Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, has been moving vigorously in the matter of forming some sort of provisional government at the Centre; and he has had a large measure of support from Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab. Both these leaders are prominent members of the Muslim League. Nevertheless Mr. Huq has challenged those in the League with his characteristic vehemence after his recent interview with the Viceroy, and his language has roused hope in certain quarters of a crisis developing within the League which will leave Mr. Jinnah high and dry. Unfortunately both these lieutenants of Mr. Jinnah derive their authority from their official positions and, though they are highly esteemed at the moment, neither of them is apparently in a position to face the prospect of contesting leadership in the communal organisation with the permanent President. It is true that their anomalous position as lieutenants and also chief opponents of Mr. Jinnah, has secured for them some assurance of continuance in subordinate leadership if by any chance Mr. Jinnah's policies prove unpopular and he is swept out of authority by fortuitous circumstances. But it would be best to leave it at that. Mr. Fazul Huq is far too changeable a politician to inspire confidence. Sir Sikandar Hayat has proved himself a good Punjabi but he has yet to achieve a name outside that province. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand, has once again proved his gift for leadership in his recent statement on the Indian States in which he has declared his aversion to extending the Muslim League's activities to the States. He has advised Muslim Leagues in the States to organise themselves and to work out their future within each State, though he added that the British Indian League would mediate on its behalf. As for British India, a *Times of India* correspondent publishes what purports to be a private circular attacking the Bombay Conference, sent by Mr. Jinnah to provincial Leagues. Mr. Jinnah asks why the Bombay Conference did not invite representatives of the League which had declared itself ready to set aside for the war period its demand for Pakistan and has expressed its readiness to co-operate with other parties in a provisional government. The Conference was intended to be a platform for non-party men, outside the Congress and the Muslim League. This defect, if it was one, might easily be remedied in subsequent sessions of the Conference. It might well be asked how any demand can be made for a "national government" when a section of the Conference stands pledged to the two-nations theory. But, after all, this is a problem more for Mr. Jinnah than for the other members of the Conference.

War and the Christian Pacifist :—We reprint this week notes on British Pacifists by Dr. Micklem, which have been provoked by the decision of the B. B. C., since reversed, to keep out eminent artistes because of their political, in this case pacifist, opinions. Dr. Micklem protests against such action but the method he suggests is much worse and is an insidious invasion on freedom of speech. He asks why a man of pacifist convictions should not be allowed to preach the Gospel, or lecture on birds or conduct an orchestra. And, by implication, he argues that one can preach the Gospel without touching on one's pacifist views when he says that the B. B. C. should choose the best men "without unnecessary inquiry into their views upon matters which they do not mention." We presume the pacifist who is also a clergyman, is the only pacifist who will be asked by the B. B. C. to preach the Gospel. As such, his pacifism will be derived from the Gospel teaching and must naturally colour his preaching. To say that he can preach the Gospel without referring to his pacifism is a disingenuous attempt to evade the problem which confronts the B. B. C. Dr. Micklem seeks to make the Church subordinate to the State. This is the meaning of his rather elaborately argued case. It is curious to see a man of his eminence and scholarship talking in the same breath of Christendom and of the Church being a much smaller body than the nation. One cannot have it both ways. As a matter of fact, Christendom disappeared with the Reformation. It went because it was unable to resist the force of nationalism. And when it went, the Church in every country became subordinated to the State. Dr. Micklem accepts this position and even suggests that, while the State might censure the Church, the Church shall not pass judgment on the State. Such an understanding he appropriately calls "a gentlemen's agreement" !

Crete :—"A strange and grim battle," were the words with which Mr. Churchill on Thursday characterised the battle in progress at Crete, "in which the British side has no air support because they have no aerodromes—not because they have no aeroplanes—while the other side has very little or no artillery or tanks, and neither side has any means of retreat." To a question whether the remark that the enemy had no tanks could be taken to mean that the British had them, Mr. Churchill answered, "I certainly did not think of following the matter into those channels." Crete seems to be in the confusion usual in small territorial areas overrun by German forces. The Prime Minister had no information apart from the knowledge that fighting was fierce in that island between British imperial forces and the Nazis. The matter is all the more confusing since Mr. Churchill in the same speech declared that the aerodromes were, one of them in British hands, and others in an unusable state though with the Nazis. Access to the island by the sea, of course, is easier for the British than for the Nazis.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 24, 1941.

## CORDELL HULL'S FIVE POINTS.

The most important functionary after the President in the government of the United States is the Secretary of State. The position has been held since the first term of President Franklin Roosevelt by Mr. Cordell Hull. There was some talk of his resigning office when the President was re-elected for a third term. But this has not materialized and Mr. Cordell Hull has continued in office. The *Jewish Tribune* quotes an Italian opinion that President Roosevelt is under the domination of the powerful Jewish group, "Morgentau, Hull, Guggenheim, Weiss." On Sunday Mr. Cordell Hull broadcast an important statement in the course of which he indicated the principles which the Government of the United States felt should guide the world when peace is re-established. These are :

First, extreme nationalism must not again be permitted to express itself in excessive trade restrictions;

Second, non-discrimination in international commercial relations must be the rule, so that international trade may grow and prosper;

Third, raw materials supplies must be available to all nations without discrimination;

Fourth, international agreements regulating the supply of commodities must be so handled as to protect fully the consuming countries and their peoples; and

Fifth, institutions and arrangements of international finance must be so arranged that they aid essential enterprises and continuous development in all countries and permit payment by processes of trade consonant with the welfare of all countries.

This is said to be the first major pronouncement by an American official spokesman, on the principles of peace. It is very difficult to keep count of the major pronouncements of American statesmen. They are numerous and the President himself makes at least one every week. He made a pronouncement on peace aims soon after the inauguration of his third term. We are not sure whether the five points of Mr. Cordell Hull were included in his points. But President Roosevelt has more than once denounced economic nationalism as the root of all the present troubles. Mr. Cordell Hull's points may be all grouped under it.

Unlike American statesmen, British statesmen have been exceedingly chary of making any pronouncement on war aims. Under pressure from American journalists, Lord Halifax a fortnight or three weeks after he took over the British Embassy at Washington, made a long statement in general terms on war aims. A day or two later, the Prime Minister told the House of Commons that there was no use enunciating pious platitudes. It was not perhaps intended as a rebuke to Lord Halifax but he has since then maintained silence on the subject. The first question that occurs to one on reading Mr. Cordell Hull's pronouncement, is, Did he consult the British Government before making it? The British Government is deeply pledged to about eight or ten countries to restore to them their

independence which was extreme nationalism and had expressed itself in excessive trade restrictions. How would these countries view the prospect of being deprived of the right which they cherished and which, indeed, was their main source of economic stability? The words "extreme" and "excessive" are capable of elastic interpretation according to circumstances. President Wilson's fourteen points were more definite. Nevertheless he was not able to withstand the efforts of European statesmen to twist and distort their meaning until they bore no semblance to their author's intention. Mr. Cordell Hull's second point is not less vague than the first. Non-discrimination in international commercial relations, would knock out the most favoured nation condition which is the great weapon of bargaining in international trade. It will also cut the ground under the principle of inter-imperial preference on which Britain depends for drawing the bonds of Empire closer together. Is Great Britain prepared to accept this principle? As for India this principle will make null and void the preferences recently secured from Burma. We do not see how this principle can be introduced in international commerce without completely revolutionising present-day arrangements. How many countries are prepared to do that or can afford to do that?

The third principle as regards the supplies of raw materials, is but a particular variation of the second principle. But there is a special point which it raises. Countries like the United States which have, owing to their special opportunities, accumulated large stocks of gold, will be able to offer a higher price for raw materials than the countries from which the gold has been drained away. The principle, therefore, must work to the advantage of the United States and to the disadvantage of other countries. It will bring no relief to poor countries while helping to make the rich countries richer. It will be the repetition of the Biblical doctrine: To him who has more shall be given; from him who has not what he has will be taken away from him. The fourth principle of Mr. Cordell Hull placing consuming countries on a higher level than the producing ones, will not meet with acceptance outside the western world. We referred recently to the dictum of the Malvern Conference that the Christian Church regarded the interests of the consumer as of greater sanctity than those of the producer. The Indian sentiment is quite the other way. The producer is the more important factor in social economy than the consumer. The consumer countries have mostly a parasitic existence. The more reasonable principle is that each country should have a balanced economy producing all or nearly all that it needs for essential consumption. Every country should be self-sufficient as regards food, clothing and shelter for its people. Mr. Hull's fifth point about finance, is obviously inspired by the necessities of the American system. But the new order

whatever it is, will surely have seen the end of the economic man who has played so disastrous a part in the history of the Nineteenth Century.

Mr. Cordell Hull makes no mention whatever of the most important point of interest to the non-White world. Is there to be discrimination against coloured races as at present? What is the good of abolishing discrimination in respect of goods while enforcing it in regard to the men who make them? The human factor is the all-important factor. The new order, if it leaves it out as the old did, will have no better fate than the latter. There should be no discrimination on the ground of race, colour or creed in respect of immigration and the acquisition of citizenship, in the new world order. India cannot accept any order as satisfactory which does not include this condition. Emigration should be free. No nation should prevent others from occupying land which needs population to make it productive.

#### INHERENT RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.

The late Sir Sankaran Nair observed that it is impossible to argue a man into slavery in the English language. He was urging the importance of the English language and the system of ideas which it embodied, for the preservation of the spirit of civil freedom in this country. The remark applies to the doctrine of "inherent rights" of Indian rulers nowadays put forward. Contemporary events are playing havoc with the doctrine of "inherent rights." A dip into history will show that "inherent rights" is a legal fiction as much as the maxims that the King never dies and that he can do no wrong. The Duke of Spoleto who has been nominated King of Croatia by favour of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, will speak of his "inherent rights" in a short few years if he remains on the throne. By the way, it is interesting to note the recrudescence of monarchy under the Nazi-Fascist dispensation. The Italian Emperor of Ethiopia has returned the Empire to the descendant of the Queen of Sheba whom Signor Mussolini ousted from it four years ago. The Duke of Aosta who surrendered with his army early this week after a gallant defence of Amba Alagi, speaks of returning to the country. There was no lack of munitions but food and water had become scarce and that is why he was forced to lay down his arms. Should the Duke and his soldiers have rather perished than surrender to the enemy? To return to the beginning. Dewans like Ranga Charlu and Seshayya Sastry impressed their Chiefs by their insistence on constitutional Government. It is strange, that their modern compeers should indoctrinate their rulers with the idea of "inherent rights." By the way, the preamble to the Constitution of Eire runs: "In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, from Whom is all authority, and to Whom, as our final end, all actions both of men and States, must be referred, we, the people of Eire, do hereby adopt, enact, and give ourselves the following constitution. All powers of government derive under God from the people....."

The talk about "inherent rights" is as much moonshine as the naive belief that "responsible government" is merely a matter of adding a few clauses to the constitution. The working of "responsible government" under a constitutional monarchy

is a task of the utmost difficulty. It involves practically constant tension between the ruler and his Minister. That is to say, if the Minister is disinclined to make himself a pliant instrument to carry out his master's whims. Congress politicians in British India as well as in the States, have non-co-operated with books. Or, they may be recommended to peruse Guedella's two volumes, "The Queen and Gladstone," and also Queen Victoria's "Letters" covering the same period in British political history. There are several incidents which involved strong differences of opinion between monarch and minister. The crisis in Egypt has a topical interest. Gladstone was from the first opposed to the occupation of Egypt. He had pledged himself to withdraw from the country. But circumstances were too strong for him. The British remained in Egypt and they are there today. Lord Cromer had by tact and shrewdness managed to make the British occupation as little irksome as possible to the Egyptians. The Egyptian Prime Minister, a nominee of his, was in harmony with his views and the two between them managed to push the country forward on the path of material prosperity. In 1893, the old Khedive died and was succeeded by his son, Abbas. Young rulers on coming to the throne have a natural impulse to drop the pilot. Abbas dismissed his father's Ministers and nominated a man of his own choice of whom Cromer did not approve. Cromer thereupon proposed to the British Government that British troops should occupy the Egyptian Government offices and compel the Khedive to reinstate the old Ministers. The Gladstone Cabinet would not agree though the Queen and even the Foreign Secretary, Lord Rosebery, favoured drastic action. It was only Cromer's tact which prevented the matter developing further. He arranged a compromise by which both parties saved their faces. Incidentally the new Prime Minister was Nubar Pasha, a Copt. This appointment has been made much of by champions of minority rights who have acclaimed it as a precedent for Indian leaders. The Queen, however, did not take that view. She complained that the Khedive "ohose an unfit man, not a Mahomedan, and not in touch with his people. It is an insult to us."

Another incident of more direct interest to us in India, in which the Queen came into conflict with her Prime Minister, has a bearing on the question of "inherent rights," the royal prerogative. The Queen wished to confer the order of the Garter on Lord Lansdowne on his retirement from the Indian Viceroyalty. The Cabinet demurred. The Queen was annoyed. She accused Gladstone of introducing party politics into the Government of India. She also maintained that the Cabinet was interfering in a question of prerogative. "The Queen as the fountain of honour," she told her Prime Minister, "does not think that such matters are ever discussed by her Minister, many of whom, at present, are ignorant of such rewards for distinguished services." Gladstone was stung to the quick. He repudiated the accusation that he was inspired by party feeling. "Any Minister," he wrote, "who could allow party feeling to enter into such a case as that of Lord Lansdowne, would, if it were done unconsciously, fall into a gross error of judgment; if consciously, he would commit a most grave offence." As regards the Queen being "the fountain of honour," Gladstone reminded her that the Sovereign is also the "fountain of law." In matters of purely titular honours, the Cabinet will not interest itself, he added. But the Viceroy of India was an administrative official for whose actions the Cabinet was responsible to Parliament; the question of

recognition of his services was, therefore, one in which the Cabinet was directly concerned and was, therefore, entitled to advise Her Majesty. Gladstone reluctantly acquiesced in the Queen's proposal. Since then more than one retiring Viceroy has received the ribbon of the Garter. The Queen's relations with Gladstone were always strained. She complained that he addressed her as if she was a public meeting. Although Gladstone was a most devoted supporter of the monarchy and sometimes incurred the criticism of his own party members for his attitude, he was fully conscious that he was not liked by the Queen. In a note written soon after his resignation, he recalled his journey in Sicily in his early days. He had ridden a mule during that journey and at the end had parted from it with no regret and no gratitude. He has been that mule to the Queen. "What that Sicilian mule was to me, I have been to the Queen; and the fortnight or three weeks are represented by 52 or 53 years."

One more incident between the Queen and her Prime Minister, this time, the conservative Lord Salisbury for whom she had a high regard. Queen Victoria had an Indian Secretary, Munshi Abdul Karim. The Munshi had a young friend, Raffiuddin Ahmed, then reading in one of the Inns of Court. On the suggestion, evidently of the Munshi, she wanted Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, to appoint Raffiuddin as an attache in the Embassy at Constantinople. Lord Salisbury pointed out that "so great a change as the introduction of an Indian Mahomedan as one of Her Majesty's embassies, unless it had the cordial approval of the general body of the Service, would paralyse the Embassy for purposes of public service." He added, "At an Oriental Court his Muslim co-religionists would do their utmost to tamper with him; and they would know how to work on him better than we do." For this and other reasons Lord Salisbury was in no hurry to carry out the Queen's wishes. Lord Salisbury put the matter off for a time but the Queen persisted. She insisted on his meeting Raffiuddin and judging of his capacity. "The feeling of the Moslems ought not to be disregarded," she wrote. "It is very great danger to India to disregard the Mahomedan feelings." How the Queen got the idea that Muslim sentiments would be offended if Raffiuddin was not appointed to the Embassy, there is no means of knowing. But the Prime Minister got out of his difficulty adroitly. He accorded an interview to Raffiuddin and reported to the Queen that he spoke very strongly of the importance of not lending any ideas that Muslims were being sacrificed to the Christians. In that, the Prime Minister said, he entirely concurred. Those were the days of the Christian revolt against Turkey in Crete. The Queen was urging her Government to take strong action against the Sultan and the appointment of Raffiuddin was evidently to assure Indian Muslims that such action did not mean disregard for their feelings. The Prime Minister got over the difficulty by the final observation:

He has made efforts in that direction (ascertaining the views of the Diplomatic Service) and has unfortunately met with indications of that prejudice which exists in your Majesty's services and which makes our position more difficult than the position of other governments who have races of different origins to govern.

The candidate for the Embassy of 1897 became later the Minister of Education in Bombay under diarchy. Lord Salisbury himself was not above using colour prejudice for political ends. It was he who opposed Dadabhai's candidature to Parliament on the ground of his being "a black man."

#### BEYOND NON-VIOLENCE ?

We have been waiting for some correction or repudiation to appear of a letter published in the *Times of India* of May 8, 1941 signed "M. K. Gandhi, Sevagram, May 1" and particularly of the concluding part of it which read :

My non-violence does admit of people who cannot or will not be non-violent, holding and making effective use of arms. Let me repeat for the thousandth time that non-violence is of the strongest, not of the weak.

Apparently Gandhiji is under the impression that the first and second propositions are identical. The interval which is shown between the date of the letter and the day of publication, leads to the inference that it was submitted to the Censor since normally no working journalist would ignore the news value of a letter, and such a letter, from Gandhiji. We had thought that the censor's pencil had wrought havoc with Gandhiji's copy and that a second letter would be sent to correct the mistake. But, as, after ten days, no such correction has appeared, we may take it that the responsibility is clearly Gandhiji's. Gandhiji has said a thousand times, as he points out, that his non-violence is the non-violence of the strong; and once or twice he has retraced his steps on discovering that the non-violence of his followers was that of the weak. But has he ever said before that those who "cannot or will not be non-violent" should hold and make effective use of arms? As a matter of fact, his non-violence of the strong implies that the men who are non-violent, are capable of violence but restrain themselves. Now, when he says that his non-violence admits of certain people holding and using arms effectively, he undermines the very basis of the satyagraha movements of 1922-41; and he does well to call it "my non-violence" because it is not non-violence by any normal standard. Gandhiji's mind has of late been moving towards a recognition of the relative nature of a concept like non-violence. Because he is not ready to follow the idea to its logical end, he is led into contradictions, over-subtleties and a certain confusion of thought. His reference to Poland's struggle counting in his mind as non-violent resistance to aggression was the first step in a process which apparently is ending in the development of a philosophy which includes violence no less than non-violence.

If we exclude those who "cannot be non-violent" and those who "will not be non-violent" and if Gandhiji feels very much embarrassed at having among his followers those cannot be violent—men who are non-violent because they are weak—all that is left of humanity is the minority who can, but will not be violent. But though Gandhiji is only concerned with this little group, he now claims to include those who cannot, no less than those who will not, be non-violent. The only persons whom he washes his hands of all responsibility for, are those who cannot be violent. In every country, in India not less than in others but probably more, these are the people who need help. If one remembers further that Gandhiji's letter is written in support of an earlier statement charging the British with emasculating the population, his present attitude becomes all the more perplexing. As a matter of fact, in articles in *Young India* (notably, March 2, 1922) he declared repeatedly that he was largely concerned with converting the superficial non-violence of the times into a spiritual force. To appreciate the implications of this, one must have always in mind the background of the Indian political situation.

In 1922 and during the years that followed, it was admitted on all hands—the Government of India annual reports themselves generously conceded the

point—that Gandhiji's campaign, though it had failed in bringing about national independence, had succeeded in putting down stray, sporadic attempts at terrorism. The conservative politicians had exhausted all legitimate methods of political agitation. In despair a wave of terrorism had taken hold of the country and political crime was on the increase. Non-violent non-co-operation provided at the time a fresh outlet for the enthusiasms and activities of ardent patriots. But Gandhiji found, as all workers with the mass have found, that the conversion was not complete. Violence had given way to "superficial non-violence" and the succeeding years had to be devoted to a further change into a genuine and earnest non-violence. "With the growing knowledge of the fact that this non-violence is superficial," wrote Gandhiji in March 1922, "I must continually make mistakes and retrace, even as a man wading his way through a tractless forest must continually stop, retrace, stumble, be hurt and even bleed." The implications of Gandhiji's present letter to the *Times* are that, after twenty years of persistent endeavour, non-violence still remains skin-deep; and Gandhiji is retracing his steps back to the point where he began with a rigid exclusion of those who cannot and will not be non-violent. This time he is preparing to start out afresh and, strangely enough, he seems to seek to work on material he had discarded before and to throw out that with which he started out. The three sections he has indicated his desire to take under his wing are just those who can manage very well without him.

In all Gandhiji's writings there has been evident a dualism—a recognition of the need for distinguishing between force and force and an acceptance of the extreme doctrine of rejecting all force as evil. For a time the two conflicting concepts were disguised by his distinction between soul-force and body-force. And in condemning body-force outright Gandhiji naturally was led into an extremism where he won the admiration of the non-inconsiderable body of Christian pacifists whose influence in the post-1919 era has been steadily increasing. If words have any meaning, it would seem that he is now revising his theory and recognising definitely that non-violence is not so much a physical state as a mental attitude.

There is, of course, the fact that in the phrases used in his letter there is room for other than the usual interpretations. What, for one thing, follows from his statement, "My non-violence admits....." ? What, again, is the "effective use of arms"—murder or terrorization? It is not fair to check up on a leader's statements too closely, but what happens to the advice Gandhiji gave in his "Appeal to Every Briton?"

#### THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE.

We have just received a copy of the report of the proceedings of the Bombay Conference presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in March. The Secretaries are to be congratulated on the promptness with which they have brought out their report and we have no doubt that it will be found a useful reference-book. It is unfortunate, however, that in the very impersonal introduction there is no adequate information relating to the origins of the Conference. Even in what is said about the necessity for convening such a Conference, there is the widest disparity between the introduction and the speeches that are reported in its succeeding pages. Every speaker expressed as the main object speeding up of the war effort. The introduction, on the other hand, says:

It may be stated that the idea of holding the Conference was not inspired by any political party,

but arose out of a widely felt desire that the political deadlock should be resolved by a sustained effort on the part of those outside the two main contending parties, the Congress and the Muslim League. The impression was growing in the country that the Government were not anxious for a settlement, owing to their reluctance to share power at the Centre with popular leaders. It was felt that occasional statements of dissatisfaction with the existing political system by individual leaders, however experienced, could not carry the same weight as the considered views of a body of men about whose integrity, public spirit and status there could be no doubt. The proposal to hold a Conference of such men at some convenient centre began to take shape as far back as November 1940. But the preliminaries took considerable time, and it was ultimately decided to hold the Conference in Bombay on March 13 and 14 under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

The statement itself begins with marking out two contending parties and immediately adds a third, the Government. There is nothing to show that the Conference grew out of Sir Tej Bahadur's efforts to patch a peace between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah which Sir Tej Bahadur's recent releases to the press clearly revealed. And, lastly, though we are told that "it was felt," "it was ultimately decided," "the proposal began to take shape," etc., there is no clue as to who felt, who decided and where the proposal began to take shape. True, the "sponsors" are mentioned, but we are not told who they are. There seems no apparent reason for this mystery, unless it be an anxiety not to give any details which might be distorted into support of Mr. Jinnah's accusation that the Congress had inspired the Conference—an accusation which has roused a vehement repudiation from Sir Tej Bahadur and other Conference personalities.

Mr. Jinnah's charge is on the face of it absurd. The Congress today is behind Gandhiji and it is for the present committed to ideals and policies which cannot be reconciled with the single resolution adopted by the Conference. If there was any doubt on the matter, Gandhiji's action in rejecting the appeal addressed to him by a section of the press to accept the resolution is final. Nevertheless one cannot ignore the fact that a powerful section of the Congress looks to a solution of the political problem, not materially different from the one put forward by the Conference and that, under the leadership of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, it had succeeded in winning official acceptance both by the Congress Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee even though Gandhiji's leadership had to be set aside. We do not think that Mr. Rajagopalachari and his group are so petty-minded as to reject a scheme which carries their own views merely because it has come from some other quarter. It is fairly common knowledge that Mr. Rajagopalachari whose resolution in favour of a National Government was abandoned when the Congress, on Government's failing to respond, fell back on Gandhiji's leadership, is not very happy at the turn of events. Some of the Conference delegates were also known to be in touch with him. Mr. K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu* in particular has had more than one prolonged interview with the Madras ex-premier in jail and it would be not incorrect to infer that the political situation in the country was touched upon during some of these conversations. Another delegate, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachariar, it was reported, had tried to see Mr. Rajagopalachari before attending the Conference. Mr. G. A. Natesan who, according to some accounts, first broached the idea of such a Conference in a letter to one of the "sponsors," is



in close contact with Congress opinion in South India. Mr. Srinivasan has indignantly repudiated the accusation that he was put up by the Congress to attempt a conciliation move. It would be well to accept his contradiction. But the indignation seems to be out of all proportion to the reproach. Even if Mr. Serinivasan had brought about the Conference under Mr. Rajagopalchari's influence, is there any thing wrong in it? In view of the meagre facts before us, Mr. Jinnah would have been nearer the known truth if he had said that a section of the Congress, and an influential section particularly in South India, was eagerly interested in the Conference resolution and would have welcomed a general agreement on the basis suggested by it, and that the delegates from Madras were not unaware of this state of affairs which, in actual fact, they welcomed. This is borne out by the fact that the Madras speakers, all of them, emphasized the great probability of the Congress finding the Conference demands acceptable, while nearly all the others were planning on the possibility of the Congress rejecting it out of hand. But there is nothing wrong in this and, as a matter of fact, a Muslim League member in South India, Mr. S. M. Fossil, is at present in difficulties because he has shown a predilection for the solution suggested by the Bombay Conference. From which one may not incorrectly infer that a distinct South Indian school of politics is fast developing which cuts through the all-India party divisions.

The report is not quite complete as three speeches are left out, including the rather important one of Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherji. The official report gives undistorted, what the press report failed to do, the remarks of Tej Bahadur Sapru on the position of India's representatives at the Peace Conference in his concluding speech :

I am anxious about one thing. A day will arrive when the combatants of Europe will sit at a Peace Conference. I do not wish that India should be represented at that Peace Conference expect in her own right, by representatives appointed by her National Government. I lay far greater emphasis on this than on any other subject.

But in other respects the report is less lively than the press reports for though interruptions are also recorded here, the more biting ones are left out. Some of these were quite important as, for instance, the exchanges between Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Nripendra N. Sarkar, which revealed that the principle of joint consultation which was followed by Lord Reading and Lord Chelmsford when Sir Tej Bahadur was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, had been given up, when it was not clear but it was no longer in practice.

#### BRITISH RADIO, PACIFISM AND THE CHURCH.

The following is from the "Ilico" column in the *British Week* (London) for January 2 (written by the English churchman, Dr. Nathaniel Micklem), entitled "The B. B. C. and the Christian Church :

"Nonconformity repudiates 'the state connection'; the Church of Christ, it claims, must be wholly free, the separation of church and state is regarded as a cardinal principle. It is an excellent principle open to the most disastrous misinterpretation.

".....The present Anglican Establishment is hard to defend on any grounds of logic or of piety. But when we demand the 'separation' of church and state, have we visualized the consequences in the modern world? Do we really want a secular Coronation Service in Westminster Hall without any reference to Almighty God? The 'secular state' is the

very antithesis of 'Christendom', and it is for 'Christendom' or, at least, for the possibility of 'Christendom,' that we hope we are fighting in this war. Do we desire, or can we imagine, a state that is neutral and impartial as between Christianity, Islam and the religion of nationalism? State control of religion is intolerable, but the 'secular state' is a disaster. Indeed, we may well say that the cause of the present chaos in Europe lies in the secularization of the State and the repudiation of the law of God by the various nations.

"We must aim, then, at an alliance or concordat between church and state. There must be compromise. The state is concerned for the welfare and happiness of all sections of the community; the church is a much smaller body than the nation; what the state can do must depend in large measure upon the public opinion of the moment; the church, therefore, must be content with less than the ideal; it cannot insist that all teachers in the schools be Christians, or that all legislation fully conform to Christian standards. The state, as guardian of the good life of the whole community, must foster and encourage art, letters and religion without attempting itself to interfere. Yet there must be limits to the freedom which the state can tolerate; sedition cannot be allowed. The state and the church must either be in open warfare or come to some 'gentlemen's agreement.'...

"...The intricacy of the latent problem appears today in connection with that admirable institution, the B. B. C. This is a public corporation, a national monopoly. Of its friendliness to the Christian church there can be no question whatsoever. But even between such good friends as the church and the B. B. C. there are occasions of friction, and there is need of mutual accommodation. Today no one widely known as a pacifist is invited to the microphone, and, so far as broadcasting is concerned, some of the most honoured and powerful preachers of the Word are silenced, ..

"Let me state the case for the B. B. C., as I understand it. The B. B. C. must obviously support the national morale in this grave and perilous time of war. This does not mean that unanimity of opinion must be demanded of all broadcasting speakers, but it does mean that no invitation can be extended to those who are opposed, and are known to be opposed, to the national effort; the country does not want to hear them. In no sense may this be represented as an interference with religious freedom; the B. B. C. is concerned solely with the public interest; it is not in the public interest that pacifists should speak or sing or conduct an orchestra for the B. B. C. in war time. The B. B. C. is no more interfering with religion than with music. This is a question of expediency, not of principle. Better that pacifists be not invited than that they be asked to modify or misrepresent their message; that would not be freedom of speech or conscience.

"It is well known that the B. B. C. has cancelled its arrangements with the famous Glasgow Orpheus Choir solely on the ground that its conductor, Sir Hugh Robertson, is a pacifist. Janus of the *Spectator* asks whether, if Professor Julian Huxley had been a pacifist like his brother Aldous, his recent broadcast talk on the Zoo in wartime would have been banned. The answer is, Yes. The absurdity of this is patent. We have not yet come to the point where as a nation of fanatics we cannot endure to hear a man speak about gardening or play the flute because his conscientious conviction about war are different from our own. It is worse than absurd; it is within a hair's breadth of the Nazi principle that a man cannot be heard because he is a Jew. Einstein cannot be a professor in Germany

because national feeling (as represented by the Nazi Party) cannot listen to a Jew; Sir Hugh Robertson cannot broadcast in Scotland because national feeling (as represented by the B. B. C.) cannot listen to the music of a pacifist, and for a like reason Canon Raven can neither preach the Gospel nor even lecture upon ornithology!

"Up to a point I sympathize with the B. B. C. No national institution can sponsor the preaching of sedition nor in war time of pacifism. Further,..... some persons.....are so identified in the popular mind with 'pacifism' that their employment by the B. B. C. at the present time would be regarded by many people as an affront. The B. B. C. might say, for instance, that it would be inexpedient at the moment to invite such a notorious pacifist as Canon Raven to conduct a wireless service. I should regret such a decision, but I could understand it; but to rule that because a man is known to hold (undefined) pacifist opinions he must not be asked to preach the Gospel or lecture on birds or conduct an orchestra is really an insult to the commonsense and the traditional tolerance of the British people and a dangerous approximation to our enemies' mentality.

"It would be utterly disastrous for the church and the cause of religion if ever it came to be thought that the government of the day through the B. B. C. was using religion as part of its political 'propaganda.' If the church be not free to declare the Christian Gospel without compromise and without state interference, it had better keep off the air. But the B. B. C. has not the slightest desire to qualify the church's proper freedom. The state has its rights and responsibilities, and cannot afford to the Christians or the artisans or the literary world or even the popular entertainers an unqualified and unlimited freedom. There must be an honorable understanding and some mutual accommodation.

"On the present issue of pacifism it should be remembered that every script submitted has to be passed not only by the B. B. C., but also by an official censor. In all conscience that should be sufficient! Whether the subject be the Gospel or literary criticism let the departments of the B. B. C. choose the men best qualified to speak, without unnecessary enquiry into their views upon matters which they do not mention."

#### NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

At a time when the leaders have apparently lost confidence and are showing regrettable weakness in keeping back their inner convictions and in pursuing only the policy of political expediency, I am refreshed to read some of your outspoken comments under your article on "India's War Prosperity" in the issue of the 26th April. There you have very rightly stated that "in all schemes of provisional government for wartime there is one common element: To continue the foreign policy of the existing regime and not to withdraw from this war" and that "even Indian political leaders of extreme views have acquiesced in this position." The thing is that most of them are afraid to press a demand for control of the foreign policy and of the army, because the British Government would be deadset against such a demand. That is no doubt true, but it is a pity that the leaders love to think of a national government that is without such control. Such control is, indeed, the essence of national government, and unless it be that they would be pleased to have only the name and the empty shell of it, there is no sense in their agitation for it. That the British Government would not yield to any demand for that

control, should not be the reason for the Indian leaders to withdraw that demand and offer to accept a useless shadow of it. This attitude of easy defeatism and ready submission, and the nervous anxiety ever to curtail and modify their claims and demands in order to meet the wishes of the rulers, have always been the greatest impediments in the way of India's political emancipation, and they persist still. To make matters worse, the leaders are now overtaken with an additional anxiety to end what they call the deadlock in the country. Perhaps it will be useless to tell them that deadlocks are more useful than smooth rolling in arousing political consciousness in subject people and in stimulating them to effort and national organisation, without which the rulers who hold power are never impressed and a real national government can never be forthcoming. Nevertheless that is true.

Calcutta, }  
May 2, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
J. M. GANGULI.

#### WAR AND COLONIALISM.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Your sad reference in last week's issue to exploitation of coloured peoples in colonies by European nations reminds me of the following appearing in Pearson's "Life of Henry Labouchere" (1831-1912), one of the very few quiet honest M. P.'s who always told the truth, who hated injustice, pitied the wretched and the oppressed and who, on the death of his uncle, Lord Taunton, refused to succeed to the peerage:

'Self-Government is not a privilege; it is a right. Every man so soon as he becomes a citizen of the British Empire, has that right,' said Labouchere than whom a kinder-hearted man never lived. The business of colouring the map red which was the main occupation of every leading English politician except Gladstone between 1880-1900 found in Labouchere a relentless opponent. "The only thing that would give us a right to annex a country would be the desire of the inhabitants of that country that we should do so," Labouchere told the House of Commons when the future of Burma was being debated in 1886. When Zululand was being subjected to imperial treatment Labouchere said:—"I have always objected to all these Protectorates and annexations and I mean to do so as long as I am in the House. I know it is said I am a false and base Englishman. We have want and misery here (in England) and if we have money to spend it is taken from the mass of the poor people: let it be spent on the well-being of the mass of the unfortunate people who are even without the necessaries of life.'

"Labouchere was much struck by the happy and contented lives of the Mexicans and came to the conclusion that the so-called blessing of civilization were much overestimated, since they did not produce as much comfort of mind and body as was enjoyed by people who lived on the bounty of nature. A good deal of his political life was spent in telling a mechanised nation to leave the 'backward' peoples alone in their primitive happiness. Guns, top hats and chartered companies were not, in his opinion, superior to peace and antiquated agriculture."

Seeing that wars are caused because "Christian" nations so-called, acting contrary to the teaching of Christ's religion, sinfully covet the land of coloured peoples for their own selfish gain, it is plain that wars will only end if, as Labouchere says, the European nations would "leave the 'backward' peoples alone in their primitive happiness."

Bombay }  
May 19, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
"Zoroastrian."

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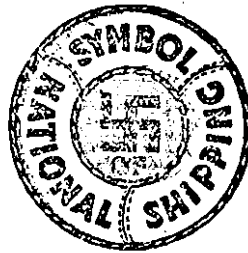
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*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Nizam on Religion:**—The universal and spontaneous demonstrations of grief and sympathy among all classes of his subjects on the death of the Queen Mother, have touched a deep chord in the Nizam's nature and evoked from His Exalted Highness in rapid succession declarations of a far-reaching character about his relation to his subjects and duties as a ruler. In the first of these the Nizam exhorted in moving terms his people of all castes and creeds to observe as a permanent feature of their relations the fraternal co-operation which was so evident in their demonstrations on the demise of the Queen Mother. In the second which was issued as an official statement, His Exalted Highness repudiated the claims of any single section of his subjects to a privileged position not enjoyed by all his subjects, and gave an assurance that he was personally responsible for even-handed justice and equal opportunities being assured to every one of his subjects, high or low, rich or poor. In the third, which we regard as the most important of His Exalted Highness's recent pronouncements, he has defined in the clearest terms the attitude of himself and his ancestors towards the religions professed by the people of Hyderabad. Recalling a firman issued some years ago, the Nizam reiterates his declaration then made that, whatever may be the religion of his house or his own personal beliefs, he is, as ruler, follower of another religion which may be characterised as "Peace to all" because, he says, "under me live people of different faiths and different communities and the protection of their houses of worship has been for a long time part of the constitution of my State." In this the Nizams have been observing the traditional policy followed since ancient times by Indian rulers—a policy dictated as much by philosophic reason as by the exigencies of administering a mixed population tenacious of their ancestral beliefs. "In my capacity as a ruler," continues His Exalted Highness, "I consider myself to be without any

religion, not in the sense of being an atheist, but in the sense of being without bias as a ruler for any particular religion or community." This, at best, is a negative position. We have every hope that pursuing the same train of fruitful thought, His Exalted Highness will come to realise that the Religion behind the several religions the goal to which they all reach out groping hands, the Truth that Spirit is the only Reality, is the surest foundation of the ideal State which it should be the aim of every statesman and ruler to see embodied in the government of his country.

**The Crime Wave In Bombay:**—After about a fortnight of quiescence, murder, arson and looting have reappeared in Bombay city. As on the previous occasion, they were heralded by a short outbreak in Ahmedabad which was soon brought under control. On the recrudescence of these crimes in Bombay city, Sir Roger Lumley who was touring in the southern districts, promptly returned to his capital. This certainly prevented the development of the situation for the worse. It has been brought under control only partially, though stringent measures have had to be enforced. When the Congress Government was in office, it is recalled, what threatened to be a serious outbreak was put down within twenty four hours. During the last few days one heard the comparison made again and again. The delay in putting down the present trouble has raised the stock of the situation of the Congress, especially of the late Home Minister, Mr. K. M. Munshi. The magisterial order banning the publication of any but the most general information of the incidents from day to day, far from allaying, as it was intended to do, public disquiet has led to its diffusion in various forms, and favoured the exploitation of the situation by interested parties for obviously ulterior ends. We had ourselves deprecated the practice which used to be followed of newspapers publishing from day to day the number of killed and wounded classified according to race and creed like scores of cricketers in the days of the quadrangular matches played by teams representing communities. The present arrangement errs towards the other extreme.

**Importance of Publicity:**—The public imagination abhors a vacuum and people are left guessing in the light of their local knowledge

as in a cross word puzzle, the significance of such particulars as are permitted to be published. For instance, though the locality of a looted shop is not allowed to be published, there is no ban on the publication of its contents, and as certain trades are the monopoly of certain groups, the object of the magisterial ban can not be fully accomplished. Censorship of this kind may be possible in military operations in far off lands but it is un-workable amidst a city population interested in the fate of its friends and neighbours. On the whole, the advantages of publicity with the minimum of reservations absolutely necessary in the public interests, far outweigh the present policy of just enough light to render the darkness visible. To know the worst is a far less nerve-racking experience than to be obliged to remain in a state of chronic suspicion that the information published is not the whole truth and nothing but the truth. We observed (*Reformer* May 3) that there is no reason why these disorders should be designated communal disorders, as in essence they were manifestations of a diminishing respect not only for the criminal but also for the moral law. The characterisation of the troubles as "communal," can not, if that be the object, hide the fact that a big sprig has fallen from the laurel wreath on the brow of Bombay as the soundest part of the Indian body politic.

**Sir Rama Rau on South African Indian Problems** :—We publish today the larger part of an important address which Sir B. Rama Rau, late Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, delivered at a farewell reception given to him by the Indian community. Sir Rama Rau first clarified the position which the change of designation of his office into that of High Commissioner involved. Primarily the change was effected in order to bring the status of the representative of the Government of India on a level with that of the High Commissioner of Canada, also a recent appointment. In addition, the change was calculated to remove the complaint that the Agent General overshadowed the local Indians and prevented their growth in political stature. Sir Rama Rau quoted the opinion of Mr. Krause, lately a Judge of the Transvaal High Court, with strong pro-Indian sentiments, that the presence of an Agent-General to represent Indian grievances in South Africa, was definitely a serious anomaly which was impeding the movement for Indian Franchise. Henceforth, Indians in South Africa will deal directly with the Union Government. While the High Commissioner will always take a sympathetic interest in their progress and do everything in his power to promote the growth of an educated middle class which, Sir Rama Rau rightly said, was essential to the effective functioning of the community in political life, he will no longer be their spokesman in the internal problems of the Union. Sir Rama Rau gave a long list of the benefits, material and moral, which the community has won in the

last three years, and though he disclaimed credit on their account, there can be no question that his services to the community have been most helpful. The war has brought a changed outlook to all nations. The illustrious Prime Minister of The Union, Field Marshal Smuts, is one of the prophets of the New World Order that should be established at the end of the war. The high principles which he has enunciated for incorporation in that Order, will necessarily impose on the Union observance of them in relation to its own Indian population. The attitude of South African Europeans is already showing signs of emancipation from old prejudices. We may hope that this change will not be transient. A brighter day is dawning for all humanity, and for Indians in South Africa. Sir Rama Rau's address is the most hopeful pronouncement which we have had for many a long year regarding the prospect of Indians in that part of the world.

**Eire and Conscription** :—Speaking to the Dail on Monday, on the question of conscription in Ulster, Mr. De Valera observed that British insistence on this step would result in a revival of the old unhappy relations between the two countries. He said that Ulster was a part of Ireland and nothing could change that fact. As is usual with the Irish President, he went straight to the heart of the question when he observed, "There can be no more grievous attack on any fundamental right than to force an individual to fight by force for a country to which he objects to belong." This is the position of most countries who have not obtained any measure of freedom within the Empire but are expected to share equally with other units in contributing to the war effort. Nevertheless it is difficult to see how Britain is to act in the dilemma in which she finds herself with Ulster eager to have conscription, and with Eire in a mood to resent such a step as derogatory to her nationhood. The other speakers in the Dail who followed Mr. De Valera, were equally convinced, whatever party they belonged to, that conscription in Ulster would lead to unfavourable reactions which would outweigh any advantage that might be expected to come from it...Mr. Winston Churchill announced in the House of Commons on Tuesday that conscription in Ulster was dropped, and paid a high tribute to the Ulster Premier for loyally accepting that decision.

**President Roosevelt's Fireside Talk** :—"Fireside Talk" conveys the idea of an informal exploration of the possibilities of a current topic, before a company of intimates who are presumed from their knowledge of the speaker to be able to supply gaps and catch the implications of what is spoken. President Roosevelt's "Fireside Talk" was in preparation for several days and every day some one who was supposed to have access to some other in the President's entourage, supplied the public with forecasts which were cabled to all parts of the world.

This propaganda largely deprived the President's pronouncement, when he spoke on Tuesday, of much dramatic interest. As for the contents, it has been proclaimed any number of times during recent months that the United States will give all the aid in her power to help Britain in the gallant struggle which she is carrying on, not out of sentiment, as because the defeat of Britain involved as its corollary the prospect of an attack on the United States herself. In the leading article we have dealt with the evolution of the idea of "neutrality in war" which has been in progress in the United States. It may be noted, however, that the President in his "Talk" said nothing by way of endorsing the thesis of Attorney General Jackson as to the responsibility or duty of every State to help every other State which may be involved in an unjust aggression, as both are members of the single community of Nations. The immediate question on which the President's decision was awaited with interest, was, how are the armaments and munitions which the United States are determined to supply to Britain to be conveyed and delivered safely in that country or in any of the other theatres of war for use of British troops. The President declared that this could, should and would be done, but he did not indicate when and how. Some people seem to have expected that the President would make an open declaration of war. Apart from the fact that he cannot do so without the consent of the Senate, the President has repeatedly declared that he will not lead the country into the war; and unless the action of Germany compels the United States to defend herself, American sentiment will not approve of entry into what is yet an European affair. The President's Secretary, Mr. Stephen Early, has hastened to explain that the President's statements did not mean conveying in the old sense of the word. They probably meant, added Mr. Early a strengthening of the patrols with more ships.

**Sir Shanmukham Chetti** :—The announcement that Sir Shanmukham Chetti, the Dewan of Cochin, has asked and obtained permission to retire from office from the new Maharajah, came as a complete surprise. Sir Shanmukham can not remain content for long in the comparatively narrow atmosphere of Cochin. He has ambitions of wider usefulness and has the talents for it. He had requested the late Maharaja to relieve him of his office but His Highness had asked him to remain his Dewan for his lifetime. That promise has been fulfilled and it is natural that Sir Shanmukham should seek fresh woods and pastures new for adequate outlet for his energies. The collapse of the Federal scheme has deprived aspiring Ministers of States of the prospect of having a place in Federal affairs through the Federal Legislature. The striking feature of Sir Shanmukham's tenure of the Cochin Dewanship, has been the harmonious blending of the

old world conservatism of the late Maharaja with the forward looking politics of his trusted Minister. Sir Shanmukham is sure to play an outstanding part in Indian public life in the near future.

**Political Theory and Practice in Egypt** :—The *Calcutta Review* for April publishes an informative article on the Egyptian Constitution by Mr. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh. There is also a great deal of supplementary material in regard to Egyptian politics in an article by Mr. Arthur Settel reprinted in the *National Herald* of Lucknow from the *Living Age* on Mustapha-el-Maraghi, the venerable Sheikh of Al-Azhar University. The Egyptian Constitution was framed by a Committee of thirty appointed by King Fuad. It was based on a study of the world's constitutions but primarily built on the Belgian Constitution. A Government Commission revised the draft and it was promulgated by King Fuad in 1923. The Constitution, however, has not been respected by any of the parties concerned. The popular political movements are pledged radically to amend it. Mr. Ghosh points out that the British High Commissioner intervened twelve times—even in "purely domestic matters like the Public Assemblies Bill of 1927." The safeguards for ensuring the interests of popular representation have been disregarded and the Palace has three times upheld a Ministry which did not command the confidence of the Legislature. The Sheikh of Al-Azhar played a prominent part not only in running the elections but in actually advancing the date of King Farouk's majority by declaring that, as a Muslim State, Egypt observed the lunar year, by which he gained roughly six months. So far the Palace Party had played its cards skilfully by using the influence of Britain against popular movements. On the declaration of war, however, the position underwent a rapid transformation. All the popular parties are determined on securing complete independence from British control which weighs heaviest on foreign policy. Mr. Ghosh in fact condemns the Constitution on the ground that it ties Egypt "for all time" to the foreign policy of Great Britain. Egypt's attitude in the present war between Britain and Germany, however, does not bear out this criticism.

**Iraq Revolt Quelled?**—The meteoric rising of Syed Rashid Ali has practically collapsed. Rashid Ali has fled from Iraq. Looking back on the events of the past six weeks, one cannot escape the feeling that things were badly handled. It is inconceivable that Emir Abdul Elahi, the former Regent, would have fled the country at the first sign of revolt unless he felt doubtful of the support which he might expect from Britain. Nor would he have left the young King behind unless he felt equally confident that popular displeasure was not directed against the Iraqi Royal family. The latest news throws doubt on the report of Rashid's flight.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 31, 1941.

## NEUTRALITY, OLD AND NEW.

One of the most perplexing features of the war situation is the different meanings attached to "neutrality." In private life, a man is said to be neutral when, in a quarrel in which he can claim some interest or expect some advantage, he does not take sides with any of the parties directly concerned in it. A man who passes by intent on his own business when two persons are fighting, is not a neutral. He is simply not concerned with it. He should, in order to acquire the character of a neutral, have some real or plausible interest in the subject-matter of the dispute, which he can adduce to himself and to others as a reason for his intervening in it if he chooses. If two dogs are fighting in the street, a man who watches the fight, is not a neutral. He is merely an interested spectator of "energy in action" which has always a fascination for mankind. The doctrine of neutrality generally accepted until the present war, assumed both parties to every war to be in an identical legal position, and consequently as being possessed of equal rights. It followed that "neutrals" must not discriminate between belligerents. In the present war, the only Government which adheres to this doctrine is Eire. Switzerland stands in nearly the same position though now and then Swiss neutrality has given room for complaint from one side or the other. The neutrality of the U. S. S. R. permits of goods, including war materials, being supplied or passed on from other countries to one or both the belligerents. Japan is partner of the Axis but her position so far is nominally that of a neutral which is also that of Great Britain and the United States towards her in relation to the war with China. Egypt and Turkey are Allies of Britain but remain neutrals: they have not taken active part in the War. Turkey still maintains diplomatic relations with Germany and has recently concluded a trade pact with the Nazi Government. Egypt broke off relations with Germany at the outbreak of War but she has not declared herself at war with Italy. A high Egyptian authority recently declared that his Government regards the war as a struggle between two mighty races. That it was fought partly on Egyptian territory, does not apparently constitute an act of war with Egypt notwithstanding that one of the belligerents is actually her ally and protector. Iraq is bound by treaty to give all help to Britain in the event of war but she got out of this obligation by a military revolution which might have been prevented by timely measures or put down by prompt intervention. It has enjoyed a longer lease of life than its inherent vitality warranted. Syria is another neutrality area. It is a mandated territory under the Vichy Government. The position of the latter itself is confusing. The Vichy Government is technically neutral in the war

though a parallel Government is functioning from Britain under General de Gaulle in opposition to the Vichy Government. The Vichy Government was threatened both by Great Britain whose interests are directly involved and by the United States, for allowing German aid to reach Iraq through Syria. The dispute seems to have been settled without a resort to force owing to forbearance on the part of Britain and Vichy. Since this was written, Syria has been declared hostile territory by Britain.

In the countries named above, the encroachments on the strict principle of neutrality of non-discrimination between belligerents, have not been held to involve the introduction of any new doctrine. In the United States, on the other hand, the old doctrine has been actually, though not, formally denounced and the right of discrimination in neutrality has been affirmed as in accord with modern ethics. This has been done within the last one or two years. The "traditional American attitude" first defined by Washington was followed in all statutes up to 1917. William T. Stone in his Foreign Policy Report of October 1, 1939, summed it up in the following terms:

The United States undertook to treat all belligerents equally, restricting the use of its ports to belligerent warships, forbidding its territory to their troops, and in other ways denying any official assistance to the countries at war. In return for these obligations, the United States could require respect for its citizens and their property in the high seas, and retain the right to trade—subject to the law of contraband—with both belligerents and neutrals. Thus American citizens had the right to trade in arms, ammunition, and other war materials, but the government of the United States had no ground for protest if American ships carrying contraband goods were seized on the high seas or detained in belligerent ports.

A wide departure was initiated from the traditional American policy by an act passed by Congress in 1935. The neutrality laws passed by the Congress in 1935 and subsequent years until last year, had for their main object the avoidance of causes of friction between the United States and the belligerents which might land the country in war. To keep out of war was the great aim of American policy during this period. American ships were forbidden to enter practically the greater part of Europe. American citizens were forbidden to travel in the ships of the belligerents. Belligerents were, however, free to buy arms from the U. S. A. provided they paid cash and carried away the goods in their own ships. Great Britain and France were thus placed at an advantage because they were the only belligerents who were in a position to pay cash and provide their own ships to transport their purchases. But the law did not discriminate between belligerents as such and this was considered consistent with neutrality. Even before entering the last war, America showed its bias towards the Allies by overlooking the latter's many violations of its neutral rights and sternly resenting the comparatively fewer violations on the part of Germany, without sacrificing her neutral status. Since the collapse of France, American attitude has undergone a complete revolution. It is increasingly felt that

Great Britain alone should not be allowed to face the Nazi peril as the defeat of Britain will immediately bring it to the United States. The President's pledges given to the country prevent America's entry into the war. All that the administration can do, therefore, is to give Britain the maximum of help in materials and money. The Lend and Lease Act was passed in supersession of the law which prevented American loans to nations which defaulted in respect of the debts of the previous war and to enable Britain to get what she wants without having to pay for it immediately. It is now found that the object of this law will be frustrated unless America takes precautions to have the munitions and machines of war delivered safely in British ports. American warships, it is suggested, should convoy the exports. This and other proposals will require the repeal of the Neutrality Act of 1937 which had an entirely different object in view. The United States still adheres to its purpose of not becoming a belligerent. Short of that she is determined to do everything to help Britain and hinder Germany. This is the new Neutrality.

Attorney-General Jackson in a paper read before the Inter-American Bar Association defended this American attitude not on the ground that it was in conformity with International Law but on the ground that the International Law of Neutrality as embodied in Washington's famous declaration, was out of tune with the modern spirit which, insisted the Attorney General, justified neutrals in discriminating between belligerents. Mr. Jackson maintained that, notwithstanding the theory of International Law, the United States has always in practice favoured the side which it considered to be just and right. Apart from that, he argued that the Kellogg Pact "in which Germany and Japan covenanted with us, as well as with other nations, to renounce war as an instrument of policy, made definite the outlawry of war and of necessity altered the dependent concept of neutral obligations." It is the declared policy of the Government of the United States, said Attorney-General Jackson, "to extend to England all aid 'short of war.' At the same time it is the declared determination of the Government to avoid entry into the war as a belligerent." This dual policy, he did not deny, was not consistent with International Law as it had crystallised during the last two centuries. But, he declared, "the applicability of these rules has been superseded. Events since the World War rejected the fictions and assumptions on which the older rule rested." The corner-stone of the old position was that each state is quite outside of any law, subject to no control except its own will, and under no legal duty to any other nation. He concluded:

The requisite change is an abandonment of this view, and a universal formal and irrevocable acceptance and declaration of the view that an international breach of the peace is a matter which concerns every member of the Community of Nations—a matter in which every nation has a direct interest, and to which every nation has a right to object.

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(BY SIR B. RAMA RAU.)

The change of status of India's representative in South Africa from Agent-General to the Government of India to High Commissioner for India has been generally welcomed in India, but there seems to be some misunderstanding in regard to its significance in some quarters in South Africa itself. It is important that there should be no misapprehension as to the nature of the functions of the High Commissioner. There is no mystery about this change. It was a result of the appointment of a High Commissioner for Canada in the Union about a year ago. It was thought proper that the representative of the Government of India should be given the same diplomatic status as that of India's partners in the Commonwealth.

It was, however, recognised that for historical reasons the Government of India's representative in the Union had to undertake somewhat wider duties than those of the diplomatic representatives of other members of the Commonwealth. The original appointment of an Agent of the Government of India in South Africa was a direct consequence of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, which was entered into by the two Governments in an attempt to solve the problems connected with the presence of a large Indian population in this country. It was considered that the presence of a representative of the Government of India in this country would secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments and would help to implement the terms of the Cape Town Agreement. It has been the constant endeavour of my predecessors as well as myself to work to that end, and I wish to state authoritatively that the change in status would make no difference whatever to the duties of the High Commissioner arising from the terms of the Cape Town Agreement.

The opportunity has, however, been taken of defining clearly the position in regard to representations by organisations of Indian Union Nationals in this country. The High Commissioner will not accompany deputations of such political organisations or be their spokesman on matters affecting Indian interests in the Union. These bodies will hereafter make their representations direct to the authorities concerned, as they have a right to do, as nationals of this country. This does not, however, mean that the High Commissioner will be unable to express his views to the Union Government on matters falling within the terms of the Cape Town Agreement or on other matters concerning the two Governments. When he expresses his views to the Union Government on such matters, it will, however, be with the authority and support of the Government of India whose representative he is.

This arrangement is not a departure from the original practice. During recent years, however, an anomalous procedure was developing and the Agent-General was sometimes regarded as a spokesman of the Indian community. It was a development which was not free from disadvantages. At the banquet given to me by the Transvaal Indian Congress Mr. ex-Justice Krause who has travelled widely in India and who has the deepest sympathy with the Indians in this country, made an interesting comment on the position of the Agent-General. He said that, while he appreciated the valuable work done by various Agents-General, he had one serious objection to India's representative to this country. In his opinion, the presence of the Agent-General in this country as a spokesman of the Indian community was definitely a serious anomaly, which was impeding the movement for Indian franchise. He felt very strongly that Indians in this country should have the franchise and should



have the right to elect their own representatives who would express their views. I observe that this opinion has just been strongly endorsed by the *Forum*, the wellknown weekly journal of Johannesburg. When Mr. Krause made this statement in Johannesburg he was, of course, not aware that the position had been clarified when the status was changed, and that it had been made clear that the High Commissioner would hereafter represent the views of the Government of India only. Now that the anomaly has been removed, it is for Indian Union Nationals to formulate their demands in regard to franchise and representation. I do not, of course, mean to suggest that this is the most appropriate moment for such a demand. On the other hand, I would strongly advise them not to raise any controversial questions when the Commonwealth is passing through the gravest crisis in its history.

I wish to emphasise that, in regard to the South African problem, there has never been any serious divergence of opinion in India. Europeans and Hindus, Moslems and Christians all think and feel alike on this subject. The Government of India have invariably acted in close collaboration and consultation with leaders of public opinion. In fact, the late Sir Fazli Hussain once declared in the Indian Assembly that, as the Member in charge of Overseas Affairs, he had generally functioned as a Minister responsible to the Legislature. As representatives of the Government of India, successive Agents and Agents-General have given their advice and help to the local Indian community here whenever it was sought. The High Commissioner will, in precisely the same capacity as the representative of the Government, watch the interest of the Indian community in the manner I have already stated.

The question has often been asked in India and in South Africa what the Agents-Generals have been doing in regard to the uplift clause of the Cape Town Agreement. It is not for me to assess the work of my predecessors, but I should like to say something about the efforts made during the last three or four years.

In the sphere of politics, the Indian community has been fighting a rear-guard action for several years. There have been a series of measures which were directed against Asiatics and which were not subsequently proceeded with. I do not say that in all cases it was the Agency that was responsible for the final result, but the achievement though perhaps of a negative character is of very great importance considering the circumstances of this country. The one great positive achievement, however, has been very recent and that is the passing of the Feetham Resolution which has implemented the policy initiated by Dr. Malan in 1932. Indians for the first time in the history of the Transvaal have been given the right of ownership of land, though in limited areas. I hope that in the political sphere we have at last turned the corner and that, soon after the War if not earlier, an attempt will be made to deal with the whole Indian problem in a comprehensive and generous manner and to seek a solution that can be honourably accepted by India as well as this country.

It is in the economic sphere that there has been the greatest progress during the last three or four years. Under the Wage Act, a Wage Board has been established, whose duty it is to fix wages for various industries throughout the Union. During the last four years, recommendations have been made by this Board in respect of a large number of industries throughout the Union and a great many

of them are already in operation. These wage determinations have had the effect of raising considerably the wages of the most poorly paid classes of workers in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. Minimum wages have been fixed for unskilled labour in a large number of trades and industries including municipal undertakings and the minimum wage has been increased from about 45/- to 50/- a month to £5 in the case of Cape Town and £4/5/- in the case of Durban. In Durban itself five or six thousand Indian families have benefited by this substantial increase and the fixing of the minimum wage will raise the standard of practically one quarter of the Indian community.

We have also, thanks to the sympathetic attitude of the present Government, been able to secure a reversal of the policy which had resulted in the reduction of Indian employees in the Railways and Harbours Department from 2,500 in 1920 to about 400 in 1939. The Honourable the Minister for Railways and Harbours decided last year to restore the number of Indians employed to the original figure of 2,500. The process of restoration must, of course, be gradual, but for the first time for many years, there has already been an increase in the number of Indian employees. Their rations too have been considerably improved and a Bill is now going through Parliament in regard to pensions for railway employees, including the Indians. I hope that very soon there will be determination for employees in sugar factories. I attach great importance to these improvements for without a rise in the economic status of the community it is not possible for it to conform to western standards of living, on which great stress was laid in the Cape Town Agreement.

In regard to education, the position in the Transvaal and the Cape Province can be regarded as fairly satisfactory. Primary education in both these provinces is free, and facilities for education are adequate. The Transvaal Provincial Administration has recently agreed to the establishment of an Indian Secondary School at Johannesburg. A building has been provided by the generosity of the Indians, and an Institution similar to the Sastri College in Durban will soon come into existence. I am hopeful that when the financial position becomes a little more stable the Administration will be in a position to accept compulsory education for Indians.

I am sorry, however, to say that in Natal the facilities for Indian education are still inadequate though considerable progress has been made. Over 40% of Indian boys and girls are out of school and in the subsidised schools, Indian teachers are getting salaries as low as £5 a month only slightly more than the wages of an unskilled labourer. The question of educational facilities in Natal was one of the subjects discussed at the first Round Table Conference which led to the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. I am sorry to say that, in spite of the efforts of my predecessors and myself, in no year, as far as I have been able to analyse, has the expenditure on Indian education exceeded the subsidy from the Union Government.

In regard to University education, there have been considerable developments since the establishment of the Sastri College, which is, of course, an institution for secondary education. For several years, however, College Classes have been held in the evenings at the College. There are now over eighty students doing University work at this College. Johannesburg and Cape Town have for some considerable time admitted non-European students to the University and Johannesburg has recently provided clinical facilities for non-European medical students. Until last year,

Indian medical students had to go to Europe or India for clinical training after their second-year course, because no facilities for such training were provided. The Johannesburg hospitals refused to have non-European students. I attach great importance to these developments, for one of the defects in the structure of Indian Society in Africa has been the non-existence of a highly educated middle-class. Without such a section, no community can function effectively in political life.

The improvement of Indian housing conditions was also one of the points raised in the Agreement of 1927, but it is only in the last three years that practical steps have been taken by local authorities. In Durban two fairly large sub-economic houses have been built for Indians. Apart from this, slum property owners in several parts of Durban have been ordered to rebuild to the satisfaction of the health authorities. Probably the worst housing conditions obtain in the sugar estates in Natal, but the attention of the Public Health authorities was drawn to this and as a result a five year scheme has been taken in hand for the rebuilding of labourers' houses. Recently the Durban Council have announced a programme according to which they will spend £2½ millions in the next 7 or 8 years on Indian housing.

I have given all these details for it is often asserted that nothing has been done in regard to the uplift of Indian community. While we are asking for further improvements, we should not fail to express our appreciation of what has been done by the Union Government, the Provincial Administration and the local authorities.

I should like, in conclusion to address a very earnest appeal to all Europeans in the Union and particularly those in Natal. I venture to make this appeal because I am convinced that many of the disabilities to which Indians are subject are not in a large measure the result of a deliberate perverse attempt to exploit them and keep them down, but to a misunderstanding of the facts which in its turn have led to fears and prejudices which are entirely groundless.

With the closing of Indian immigration to this country, any danger which may ever have existed in the political or economic sphere has totally disappeared. The Indian community will be in the future, as in the past, mainly a community of small farmers, market-gardeners, labourers and petty shopkeepers. An insignificant number of professional and business men emerge from their ranks, but the vast majority do little more than make a bare living.

The British Empire, the vast majority of whose citizens are not of European origin, is fighting not only for its continued existence, but in the belief that the only hope for free men of all races and colours lies in the defeat of Hitler and all that he stands for. I know that the people of Natal share this belief and will make any sacrifice to secure its fulfilment. Is it too much to hope that as a contribution to our cause, they will lift their eyes to a wider horizon, envisage for a moment the scale of the present conflict and determine to do what they can to ease the lot of their Indian fellow citizens? A gesture of goodwill on their part would, I am sure, have its repercussions not only here in Natal, but in India, which with its almost unlimited resources may well become the arsenal of freedom. I am not making an appeal at the moment for any particular relief for my fellow countrymen. I merely ask the Europeans to take a wider and more generous view of their difficulties, and to treat the Indians among them as fellow citizens and co-defenders of a great and righteous cause.

## THE PROBLEM OF SMALL STATES.

(BY A STATE SUBJECT).

While we are in the midst of a world crisis, it is extremely difficult to visualize the shape of things to come. Nevertheless, speaking about our own country, the Constitution Act of 1935 will most certainly have become inoperative by the time the question of her political future comes to be considered. I will not discuss here the type of constitution that will be acceptable to the people of this country, but I am perfectly certain that no scheme will have any chance of success unless it comprises within its ambit the States as well. It is true that the federation envisaged in the Act of 1935 is universally unacceptable, but an alternative scheme will necessarily have to be evolved for bringing the States into the All-India polity, for nothing is more impolitic and impracticable than to leave out of the picture 81,310,845 people inhabiting an area of 712,508 square miles, on the capricious consideration that they are politically apart and less advanced. After all, they are an integral part of India whose division into British and Princely India is as absurd and illogical as the attempted vivisection of the country on grounds of religion.

Unfortunately, today the States constitute one of the major problems of India. Besides being politically apart from the rest of the country, among themselves they are dishearteningly disparate. Their precise number is still a matter for speculation, a fact which is due to a rather too elastic extension of the term "State" to every patch of territory.\* The amended Act of 1935 gives their definition thus: "Indian State" means any territory, not being part of British India, which His Majesty recognises as being such a state, whether, described as a state, an estate, a jagir or otherwise." What, then, is there in common between States like Hyderabad, Mysore and Kashmir, which are bigger than some of the European countries, and the plethora of petty principalities of which Kathiawar, for example, is the labyrinth?

How a homogeneous country has been parcelled out into ridiculously small political units, thus constituting an outrage upon all accepted canons of territorial demarcation, is borne out by the figures compiled some years ago by a diligent member of the Servants of India Society. "Out of the 562 States," says the compiler of these statistics, "as many as 454 States have an area of less than 1,000 square miles, that 452 States have less than 1,000,000 population and that 374 States have revenue of less than Rs. 1 lakh..... It is only some thirty, among the 562 States, that possess the area, population and resources of an average British Indian District.....As many as 15 States have territories which in no case reach a square mile, while 27 others possess just one square mile.....Three of these States could not boast of a population of 100 souls and five of them a revenue of Rs. 100. The smallest revenue mentioned is Rs. 20/- for the year.....and the smallest population 32 souls."

The amount of irrationality that has gone to the making up of the present political map of India is further illustrated by the figures gathered by Prof. Gyan Chand in connection with his illuminating contribution to the study of the Indian population problem. Says the Professor, "The average area

\* For example, according to the Butler Committee Report, the number of the States is 562; the J. P. C. Report gives their number as "nearly 600" and the latest Memoranda on the States reckons them at 584.

of a State is 1,272 square miles and the average population 145,198. There are only 38 States with a revenue of Rs. 20 lacs or more, and, though a State like Hyderabad with an area of 42,000 square miles and a population of nearly 13 millions might do something in the way of planning, the majority of the bigger States cannot possibly do much in that direction. There are 119 States with an aggregate revenue of 47.48 crores and the average per State is Rs. 8.66 lacs, and there are 444 others whose aggregate revenue amounts to 3.02 crores with an average of 68 thousand. Even if we leave out the States, which in the words of the Butler Committee, are 'minute holdings which yield an income not greater than the annual income of an ordinary artisan,' a great majority of them are not large enough to have an efficient administration for the discharge of ordinary functions and a greater majority of them are still standing, to quote from the Butler Committee again, 'upon their ancient ways' and will, if left to themselves, take long to be 'swept away not by the breath of the modern spirit'."

I have quoted these figures at some length to show the complexity of the problem, although it must be emphasized that left to themselves, the States are incapable of offering an insuperable obstacle to the progress of the country. The fact of the matter is that the British Government is deeply interested in maintaining the existing order of things, and every difficulty, howsoever trivial, is consequently emphasized and exaggerated and plain issues turned into formidable problems. Frankly, there is no *raison d'être* for preserving and perpetuating a medley of petty principalities which are incapable of rendering even an iota of useful service to the people living within their borders. This, however, is not the opinion held exclusively by "fire-eating radicals," it is shared even by those who have been carefully nurtured in the traditions of "no change." Mr. Kanhayalal Gauba in his book on Indian Princes writes thus: "There was a clandestine movement of the major States to swallow up the minor States. As one of the advisers to the Princes' delegation at the time expressed to the writer, 'How can you expect efficient government from a State with only Rs. 20,000/- as revenue? We must take them over'." Whether the bigger States should be permitted to 'take them over' or whether they should be incorporated into British India is a separate matter, but the existence of the intention to 'take them over' is significant. One can understand the desire of the bigger States to see the extinction of the smaller ones. It is, for example, manifestly unjust to size the Nizam and a Princeling of Kathiawar with the same measuring rod. Colonel Sir K. N. Haksar is, therefore, perfectly right in his complaint that "as long as holdings of only two-and-a-half acres continue to be included in the catalogue of States, and as long as no line of demarcation is drawn, it is a misfortune for the States with organised administrations to be judged by outsiders on the same basis as those that have not even the means to constitute a system of Government."† One would readily agree with Col. Haksar that a well-defined line should be drawn between the bigger and smaller States, but the criterion for such a demarcation would obviously be the capacity of individual States to fulfil the requirements of a modern administration. One does not know what exactly Col. Haksar means by "organised administration," but no State can claim the distinction of being modern

and progressive unless it has introduced the reign of law, established an independent and unimpeachable judiciary, guaranteed civil liberties and associated the people with the administration through genuine popular legislatures. All these appurtenances of enlightened government are expensive, indeed, they are so expensive that small Provinces in British India are incapable of balancing their Budgets without substantial annual subventions from the Central Government. Orissa, for example, has an area of 32,000 square miles with a population, according to the 1931 census, of 8,043,681 and revenue of about Rs. two crores. Introducing the Budget of the Province for the year 1937-38, the then Chief Minister, Mr. Biswanath Das, referred to the difficulties of the Province in these terms, "Orissa has to depend on Bihar for her High Court, Medical and Engineering Colleges and such other institutions on payment of heavy proportionate contribution. The demand for this contribution was so high that the Government of Orissa have only paid 70 per cent. of their actual demand leaving the rest to be decided either by mutual agreement on further enquiry and correspondence or to be decided by the Government of India. All these add to the difficulties of estimating our expenditure which is often higher than the amounts budgetted." And this was the tale of woe of the Province even when it received a subvention of Rs. 47 lakhs for that year. If this is the plight of some of the British Indian Provinces, what are we to say of the States which, besides labouring under the handicap of small revenues, have to maintain their Rulers in "style and dignity."

#### THE LATE SIR LALUBHAI SAMALDAS.\*

(BY VIDYAGAURI R. NILKANTH.)

'A perfect gentleman, nobly planned to help, to comfort and command' this could well be said (with apologies to the poet Wordsworth) of the late Sir Lalubhai whose life sketch is written by S. Natarajan, the Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*. Even then the great qualities of head and heart possessed by Sir Lalubhai would not be exhausted. The book is a very short biography of a well-known citizen of Bombay who played an important part in the economical, industrial and commercial development of the country. The writer has given in a nut-shell in concise and terse language the activities with which Sir Lalubhai was prominently concerned. Co-operative movement, Indian Banking, Indian Insurance and Indian Shipping owe a good deal to the vision and broad outlook of Sir Lalubhai and, if details could be available, each of these should be assigned a chapter by itself in his life sketch. He was a pioneer of many other industrial concerns which now have established themselves but were considered dreams of an imaginary mind.

Looking from a distance of nearly half a century one cannot help feeling that what then seemed a cruel stroke of destiny when Lalubhai was obliged to sever his connection with Bhavnagar—his native state—proved a stepping stone for a larger and more useful life for him. If he had continued at Bhavnagar he would have at best been a Diwan and the colossal brain of this gentleman which developed itself in organising multifarious activities, would never have had proper scope. It was the free atmosphere and congenial surroundings of Bombay that contributed to expand the innate capacities of Sir Lalubhai. It may be mentioned, by the way, that Bombay is the only place in the whole country which can boast of

† The Indian States—What About Them? by Col. Sir K. N. Haksar in the *Twentieth Century* of January 1941.

\* Lalubhai Samaldas, by S. Natarajan. Yesbanand Publications Limited, Bombay. As. 8.

such favourable circumstances. There are countless instances of persons who started life with almost nothing in Bombay and rose to the highest place in the commercial world. Sir Lalubhai's was a unique example of a person who supplied both brain and money to works awaiting a guiding hand.

Sir Lalubhai had a large number of friends whose share in his schemes deserve special mention. His genial nature, trusting everybody almost to a fault, won the hearts of all who came in contact with him. His house was a rendezvous of people of various views and classes. A large number of them owe their well-being in life to his generosity and guidance.

Sir Lalubhai's intellect was versatile and, keen as he was for the industrial and commercial development of the country, he was a voracious reader of all branches of literature. He was not satisfied with reading a good book himself. This writer remembers with gratitude the innumerable books sent to her by Sir Lalubhai from the study circle of his friends. He also required that some books be discussed by correspondence. Reading was a great pleasure of life. Chess, billiards and cards were his diversions. To all these was due the equipoise which helped him to tide through the calamitous events in his family. This love of games made him feel equal with all—young and old, rich and poor. Whatever the company, his presence created cheerfulness. His love for little children was unbounded. His grand-children and other relatives realised that though placed on a high pedestal in life he was never stiff or unbending but always life a child himself with them. One would wish that a vivid picture of his home-life could have been given in his biography. This trait of his character made him feel himself always young and fresh.

The religious bent of mind which he acquired with conscious effort, was a great prop in his later life and calmed his highly sensitive nature on occasions of worry and sadness.

His was a life worthy to be an ideal to the younger generation. Mr. S. Natarajan has rendered valuable service to the public by writing the little book. There are some biographies made to swell into voluminous books containing useful as well as unnecessary information regarding the person about whom they write and, as such, hardly anybody reads them. They frustrate their own object. This book errs on the other extreme. One feels that such a useful and variegated life could have been amplified with useful details. The reader finds something amiss in the author not mentioning something in connection with his sons who are holding the torches of their illustrious father's lifework in different directions and which fact was a great solace to the late Sir Lalubhai. Mr. Vaikunth Mehta is the heir to his work in the Co-operative field. Mr. Jyotindra Mehta has taken up Life Insurance, a work dear to his father, and Mr. Gagan Vihari Mehta is championing the cause of Indian Shipping and is following in the footsteps of Sir Lalubhai in making himself affable to all.

A book is not valued by its price but its contents and it is hoped that the low price would make it accessible to all. That it is printed on hand-made paper makes it a peculiarly fitting tribute to the pioneer of Swadeshim, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas.

### MOTIRAM S. ADVANI

(BY TEJUMAL BHOJRAJ, HYDERABAD, SIND).

Mr. Motiram S. Advani, retired sessions judge, breathed his last at his residence, in Hyderabad, Sind without leaving any issue. He was the youngest brother of Sadhus Navalrai and Hiranand and R. B. Tatachand Showkiram, the Mukhi of Amil Panchayet, Hyderabad, Sind. He was born in 1868. He received English education at the Hyderabad High School up to the fourth standard after which his eldest brother, Sadhu Navalrai, sent him to Calcutta to receive further education and thus be under the direct supervision of his own brother, Sadhu Hiranand, who was already receiving college education there. Both brothers, while in Calcutta, came in contact with the great religious leader, Sri Keshub Chandur Sen, owing to which both of them acquired many qualities of his head and heart. He matriculated in 1882, passed his B. A. in 1887, and M. A. with credit in 1889. He was the first Sindhi who passed his M. A. then. In 1889 he went to England for legal education which he passed in 1892 and came back to Sind. While in England he was a class-fellow of Gandhiji and it is said that both of them became great friends there. After his return to Sind, he started practice as a barrister at Karachi. While in England he came in contact with the great leader of the Theistic Church, Mr. Charles Voysey. He was introduced to the family of Mr. Voysey and became their friend. This friendship brought about the marriage of Mr. Motiram and Miss Voysey, the eldest daughter of Mr. Voysey. The wedding took place at Karachi in 1893 according to Brahma rites after the sad death of his elder brother Sadhu Navalrai. Mrs. Motiram who died some years back, was a very learned and cultured lady and greatly helped her husband in the work of social reform and of amelioration of the poor. She used to take great interest in looking after the affairs of Lady Dufferin Hospital wherever she went in the company of her husband. Mr. Motiram, soon after started practice at Karachi, was given the job of City Magistrate at Karachi from where he was appointed Assistant sessions judge at Shikarpur, then at Karachi and Hyderabad Sind. In 1911 he was appointed as Sessions Judge on the retirement of late Diwan Dayaram Gidumal. He was transferred as sessions judge to various places such as Surat, Nasik, Thana, Broach and Hyderabad, Sind. In 1934 he retired from service and used to get a monthly pension of over Rs. 700/-. After the sad death of his wife at Karachi, he came and lived in Hyderabad in his own bungalow, No. 6 in Cantonment area, where he passed away.

Mr. Motiram like his three elder brothers was very liberal-minded. He used to look after the poor and needy persons wherever he went and did a lot of social work. While at Karachi, he was connected with various humanitarian institutions such as the Hiranand Leper Asylum, the Lady Dufferin Hospital, etc. When he came to live in Hyderabad, he was elected the President of the Hyderabad (Sind) Education Society and of the Hyderabad General Library but he had to leave these honorary posts owing to ill-health. For the last few years of his life he did not keep proper health and at last after a short acute attack of Bronchitis which lasted for about a week, he expired. Thus ended the career of such a noble and useful citizen.

Since all his three brothers have predeceased him without having any child, it is said that all his property including cash, paper security, bungalow etc. is being claimed by his sisters' sons, Messrs Ratansing Gulabsing and Chubermal Lalchand.

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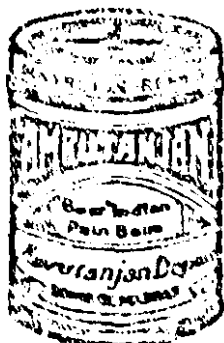
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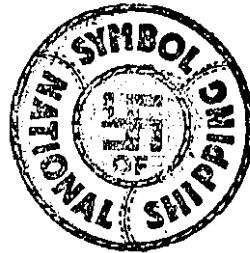
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

Crete:—The collapse of the Greco-British defence of Crete has not been sufficiently explained. The Prime Minister referring to Crete soon after the German occupation of Greece, enlarged on the importance of repelling all enemy attacks on it and promised that it will be defended at all costs. An Army spokesman on the other hand declared after the evacuation of Crete, that they were prepared to pay a certain price for Crete but it was found that this would not be enough, so they had to get out of the Island. The British Press, for the first time during the war, is severely critical. It is pointed out that the island has been in British control since November. Why were not adequate preparations made to protect Crete as have been done in Malta during this interval? It is evident from the broadcasts of their experience by returned officers, that they had to face a formidable enemy immensely superior in aircraft and reckless of losses. The escape of the 15,000 men and officers of the British army of Crete was quite as epic an achievement as their escape from Dunkirk. But, as Mr. Winston Churchill said of the Dunkirk achievement, wars are not won by withdrawals, however difficult the conditions under which they were made and however great the gallantry exhibited by soldiers and officers..... If there was any doubt of the success of the British defence of Crete, it would have been better if more reserve had been maintained as to the disadvantages that would be involved in failure on that front. As a matter of fact, the defeat in Crete has apparently not been attended with any very serious consequences. Time has been gained for Great Britain to prepare herself to meet further and more serious trials. It is a matter of opinion if the advantages would have been greater if the losses, admitted to have been severe, had been avoided and the strength of Britain conserved for subsequent struggles. The defence of Greece has been proclaimed to have been

undertaken as a matter of honour even though it was anticipated that Britain might not be able to send all the assistance needed to save the gallant Greeks. Is there any point of honour in undertaking a task to which one knows oneself to be unequal, and thus encouraging a weak though courageous ally to sacrifice his poor resources in a fight which was beyond his strength? Has Britain always adopted this standard of honour and does she mean to do so in the future? Turkey, it is said, has an army estimated at about a million men in perfect condition to take the field. Should not Turkey as Britain's ally, come forward to help her friend against the enemy on her very threshold?

Democracy in India:—While Mr. Jinnah is convinced that democracy is unsuited to this country, the Rev. Walter Brookes Foley who was for many years in India, thinks that there are special features in Indian life and character which make India a more favourable soil for democracy than the West has proved itself to be. In an address delivered before the Committee for Philippine-American Cultural Relations at Manila on "Democracy Expands in the East," Occidental democracy, he urged, has been mixed very frequently with bitter doses of imperialism administered to African-Asiatic populations. That fact has poisoned the currents of expanding democratic practice in all parts of Europe for generations to come. "It is the belief of the writer," he went on to say, "after ten years of observation and residence in Asia, that democracy is finding expression in the very heart of the oldest surviving civilisations in our modern world, that all Asiatic peoples whose cultural existence has been interwoven with India and China are as those who have seen a great light, rising in spite of much darkness, out of the West...There are binding cohesive factors in Asiatic societies which have the possibility of giving new content to democratic practice. For just as religion in Asia affects all life, so any doctrine such as democracy to be accepted as of lasting significance in the Asiatic form, must be associated consistently with all the patterns of social conduct." How are we to explain the two contradictory views of these two competent observers? There is no difficulty in doing so. Mr. Jinnah is thinking of democracy as consisting of the ballot box and polling booth. He has had long experience of

electioneering and knows that it consists largely of bamboozling the voters. Where Mr. Jinnah errs is in thinking that it is only in this country that electioneering calls for camouflage. It is so in all countries including Great Britain and the United States. A comparison between the pledges made by leading statesmen with the policy actually followed when they won the elections, often shows a cynical disregard for consistency. Consistency is not a cardinal virtue but neither is inconsistency. Dr. Foley's estimate, on the other hand, is based on the idea of democracy not merely as a form of government but as a way of life. The mere form is nothing unless it is inspired by principles of human worth, expression and responsibility. These principles are associated in Christian minds with the teachings of Christianity. They are also capable of being derived from other religions.

**Lincoln Parodied :—**The Duke of Devonshire holds the position of an Under-Secretary in the British Government. His name has been mentioned as a possible successor to Lord Linlithgow. The Duke is also Chancellor of the Leeds University. Lord Curzon was promoted to the Viceroyalty of India from an Under-Secretaryship because, it was said, his chief, the Marquis of Salisbury, did not see any other way of finding a more congenial politician to deputise for him in the House of Commons. If the Duke of Devonshire comes out as Viceroy it must be for a less intelligible reason. Speaking at the University, the Duke indulged in rather a poor parody of Abraham Lincoln's famous definition of democracy, "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." The Duke with an eye to the American public, no doubt, declared with the full authority of His Majesty's Government that it was intended that India should be governed, after the war, in India, by India, for India. While Lincoln spoke of the people, the Duke spoke of the country. He did not say that India will be governed by Indians, for Indians. The difference is not without significance. Government *in* India may mean nothing more than investing Lord Linlithgow or himself when he succeeds him, as the ultimate authority. *By* India, if interpreted in accordance with Mr. Amery's conditions, will be less of a national Government than Lord Linlithgow's. All the interests and communities, and the obligations of British rule, will have to be represented and secured under the name of India. *For* India, is even more easy. British interests are, it is assumed, identical with the interests of India, and Government for India will, as it has been all these years, be government for England primarily. No one has felt any enthusiasm for the Duke's parody in this country. He might, so far as evoking any response from this country is concerned, have spared himself the effort of producing this formula which is not likely to go down in history alongside of Lincoln's. Until British statesmen are in a

position to speak in plain undiplomatic language about India to the people of India; they would be best consulting their interests as well as those of India, if they observed a vow of silence on Indian topics. The Indian people are tired of the tortuous eloquence of British statesmen who seem to have almost totally lost the art of saying things without the possibility of mistake or misunderstanding. It has been since quite needlessly stated that the Duke meant nothing more than Mr. Amery.

**Democracy and Islam:—**Kwaja Mushtaq Ahmad contributes a highly informing article to the June *Aryan Path* exposing the fallacies underlying the assertions that Hindus and Indian Mohammedans are divided by traditional and social differences which constitute them into two distinct and irreconcilable factors of Indian life. He gives numerous instances to show that they have as a rule lived together in peace and that they share many ideas in common. His article is headed "India's Dilemma : One Nation or Many?" His answer is emphatically, One. Ranade in a memorable address at Lucknow in the last year of the last century, adduced many facts to show that a process of fusion was in slow but steady progress between the two communities and that it has been interrupted by the advent of the British because it could not be effectuated without the factors which western civilisation and culture have to contribute to a stable Indian nationalism. The Kwaja Sahib's views are very much on the same lines. He does not blame the British for the communal differences which have arisen in their regime. To do so, he argues "is to give undue credit to British statesmanship" and to overestimate our weaknesses. He thinks that the differences are due to our having taken over from Europeans their competitive and combative tendencies. "Like the West we too have begun to think," he says, "in terms of economic and political nationalism. These modern but foreign forces have eclipsed our memories; and we seldom think of our glorious heritage of cultural nationalism." The article is a valuable contribution to Indian thought at the present day. The Kwaja Sahib observes that today India is struggling for constitutional democracy of the Western type but Islam had already given her the ideal of social democracy. Islamic influence, he says, had created long before the impact of the West, the intellectual background in favour of the ideas of equality and human brotherhood. But Western democracy has not been equalitarian. The widest differences separate the classes on the basis of their economic status. Human brotherhood is not an element of parliamentary democracy. Islam with its equalitarian doctrine never succeeded in founding and maintaining a constitutional democracy of the British or American type. Ataturk tried hard to introduce parliamentary democracy in modern Turkey but failed. We are, indeed, inclined to think that equalitarian ideas are inconsistent with the Western democratic idea. It is only

under the terrific stress of war that class distinctions have become dim in Great Britain. Labour leaders are striving to prevent a return to the old class distinctions at the end of the war. If we want equality and brotherhood, the worst way of going about to attain them, would seem to be set up a parliamentary democracy on the British or American pattern.

**War Prisoners in India:**—Is there any special purpose in interning some thousands of Italian war prisoners, officers and men, in India? Recently some Germans have also been brought down. There are large parts of British Africa, including South Africa, which are within easier reach of Abyssinia and Libya, where these men were taken prisoners, where they would be in entirely safe surroundings. In India, in the way in which events are developing, they are likely to prove not only an embarrassment but a menace to the internal peace and security of the country. The troops employed to watch them, can be more usefully employed in active operations. Their presence here, with the special standards of diet and accommodation which they have to be allowed according to international agreement, invites invidious comparisons with the standards allowed to Indian political prisoners. Taking all things into consideration, the Government of India can reasonably request the British Government to accommodate their war prisoners, who are likely to increase rather than to decrease, elsewhere.

**American Jesuits and Hinduism:**—The *Colonial Times* is a bright weekly journal issued under Indian editorship in Nairobi in East Africa. On opening the current number (11th May) we noticed an indignant editorial on a tract issued by American Jesuits and republished in an East African Catholic journal, on the difficulties attending on conversion of Hindus to Catholicism. The *Colonial Times* has not only pronounced its own condemnation of the tract but has also called upon the Government to take action against the local paper for publishing a tract likely to hurt the feelings of Hindus who have themselves always shown the greatest toleration to other religions. The *Times* goes so far as to suggest that the Jesuits in East Africa being mostly Irish, the publication of this matter was motivated by the desire to disturb the friendly atmosphere prevailing among the communities of British East Africa. On reading the tract which has evoked this outburst, we were surprised to find that there is nothing in the tract to hurt Hindu feelings. The tract speaks of the 'deplorable caste system' among Hindus, but many Hindus also regard the present caste system as deplorable. For the rest, the tract makes the Protestant Missions responsible for undoing the work of early Catholic Missionaries, de Nobili and others who by adopting the dress, manners and scruples of caste Hindus managed to make

many converts from the higher castes.

The advent of the Dutch and English Protestant missionaries during the eighteenth century stopped the movement. The European origin of the Catholic missionaries who resembled the new-comers had become known to all; and Hindus called them Prangis (impure foreigners) mixing with low caste people. Their disciples, the high caste converts, were included in this contempt. Thus Catholicity, in most parts of India, became and still is in the eyes of the Hindus, the religion of outcastes, of men, indeed, with whom no respectable Hindu can mix in social intercourse. All this is ancient history and not quite correct. De Nobili's method was condemned by the Holy See and had to be given up. No Indian would have been under the illusion that de Nobili and his colleagues were Indian natives.

**Catholics and Conversion:**—The Catholic Church has been very considerate to converts, and has allowed them to retain all their old customs (sanctified by the Catholic priest.) The Catholic *Examiner* of Bombay in its issue of May 24 published an interesting article on the old customs allowed to be retained and practised by Tamil Catholics who number about a million. The Tamils, Hindus and Christians alike, are very tenacious of their traditional practices and any attempt to deprive the converts of them will result in their quitting the Catholic fold. "Right at the start we meet with difficulty: to the Hindu every social custom is also a religious custom," writes the Tamil priest who contributes the article. "Well, then we adapt Hindu religious customs, as long as they do not directly connote a theological error." First comes the caste system which the American Jesuits consider deplorable. The Catholic Church in India does not treat it at such.

Thus the caste system as a social division corresponding to trades and professions or as different families derived from the common stock, has been recognized by the Missionaries in India. But at the same time the missionary has been fighting against the evils of the caste system, such as untouchability or barriers separating caste from caste within ecclesiastical edifices.

The Brahmin convert is permitted to wear his sacred thread (which many non-converts have discarded): only he has to get the thread blessed by a Catholic Priest, and slip a scapulary medal over it. The names are also rendered into vernacular equivalents. Peter becomes Rayappan; Leo becomes Singarayam; Alosyus, Gnanaprakasam; John, Arulapan; Paul, Chinnappan. Each parish priest has a printed booklet giving a list of the names of saints in English with their corresponding translations or adaptations. This is a naive exposition of the methods adopted to make the converts feel at home in their new environment.

**Wilhelm II:**—Wilhelm II, the last of the German Emperors, passed away in his 83rd year at Doorn on June 4 and at his request he will be buried there. In the twenty-three years of exile, Wilhelm had lived down the bitter hatred of those who had fought against his country in 1914-18 and, what was even more surprising, he had risen superior to his early ambitions.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 7, 1941.

SIR MAHOMED ZAFFARULLAH  
KHAN'S WORLD ORDER.

The speech on a new World Order which Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah Khan broadcast from Simla on the 26th May, is of exceptional interest. In the first place, it is the first or almost the first considered pronouncement on this topic of world-wide importance formulated by an Indian thinker. That fact is of special importance because most of those who have till now declared their views on the subject, have either expressly or by implication confined their attention to Europe and the nations of European descent in other continents. The latest contributor to the discussion, Mr. Antony Eden, makes no secret of the fact that he is thinking all the time of European reconstruction and of international trade. Europe is the smallest of the continents and foreign trade is not so important to all nations as it is to Great Britain and other over-industrialised countries. Towards the end of his speech, Mr. Eden recollected that there was a world outside Europe and that his plans might affect and be affected by developments elsewhere "such as, for example, the Far East." He is probably still of opinion that Europe will continue to dominate the world including the Far East as it did for a whole century. If it does, of course there is no need to bestow attention on the interests or sentiments of any country or people outside Europe. Mr. Eden summed up his proposals as being directed to ensure "social security." Security is all right for people who have succeeded in cornering the world's goods and who are only concerned to retain them safe from others. But to the vast majority of peoples who have been deprived of their legitimate share of the earth and the fulness thereof, security is not the first need but justice. There is no indication in Mr. Eden's speech of his awareness of the fact that the largest part of the British Empire lies outside Europe and that it is inhabited by people who have and cherish civilisations older and, in some respects, richer than that of Europe. Another Empire spokesman on the future world order is Field Marshal Smuts. This great man who is a philosopher as well as a soldier and statesman, does not see the darkness underneath his own lantern. Lord Halifax put forward a programme soon after he took over the Embassy at Washington but his lordship, though he was five years in this country, can think only in terms of Christendom and has all along regarded the present war as a crusade for the preservation of Christianity. His Holiness the Pope has more than once enunciated some general principles but he, as well as the Christian Conferences at Malvern and other places, cannot think of salvation except in terms of Christianity. The fundamental Christian principles like the fundamental principles of all religions are of

universal application and every one is free to attribute them to the religion he professes.

Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah claimed that the six points which he enunciated for the new world order were all derivable from the Quran. We have no doubt that he was right in saying so but, unless the other great religions also accept these points, they cannot claim to apply to the future world order. For instance, he would abolish all interest-bearing loans, public and private, as they have been a direct incentive to greed and cupidity. The taking of interest was forbidden by the Mosaic law which is also binding on Muslims. The economic and fiscal conditions which existed in ancient Palestine and in Arabia several centuries later, were entirely different from those of modern times. The abolition of interest will cut the ground from under the whole fiscal system. The Hindu law-giver limited the total amount of interest that can be charged on a loan to the same amount as the principal. Another of Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah's points is that the barter system should be encouraged as far as possible in place of the cash and exchange transactions of commerce. This is already being done by Germany whose whole international trade now rests on a basis of barter. Except the United States which has the largest amount of the world's gold, few other countries are now in a position to pay gold for their purchases. It was recently reported that Australia rejected an offer from Japan to buy wool from her on a barter basis as the Dominion had faith only in the current system. The most recent report bearing on the question is that the Yen is proposed to be linked to the pound sterling. The barter system still prevails in large parts of rural India. The Hyderabad Committee on the condition of tenants found great difficulty in arriving at correct statistics owing to the general prevalence of barter in the Nizam's Dominions. Even before the war, legitimate international trade was on a barter basis, exports and imports balancing each other. There will be general agreement with Sir Mahomed's proposition that every State should accept the obligation to provide the minimum necessities of food, clothing, shelter and education for every citizen. This has, indeed, been practised for over half a century in some European countries, in the Dominions and in the United States. In addition to these, other obligations such as pensions for old age and health insurance have also been adopted in these countries. In India the Government has accepted only a single obligation, namely, not to let any individual die of starvation in famine time. Beyond this, it has not been able to find funds for any other social service though it has the most highly paid Services in the world. Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah demands that equality of human beings must be fully recognised and no privilege or superiority should be deemed to attach to any race or nation. Neither Europeans nor

Americans are prepared to accept this principle unless forced to do so. But events are fast undermining the assumptions on which the theory of race superiority rests. Providence is taking a hand in solving this and other problems. Sir Mahomed would discourage the hoarding of money and capital,

for this tendency also results in the monopolisation of wealth and power and enables a few individuals who might themselves be lacking in personal merit to dominate nations and Government.

The most evident tendency today all the world over is to reject the supremacy of the moneyed interest. Democratic States have been most liable to plutocratic domination and this has given rise to Socialism and Communism. Nazism and Fascism have not rejected capitalism but have made it subservient to the State. Sir Mahomed would also do away with the law or custom of primogeniture wherever it prevails.

There is only one word which is adequate to characterise Sir Mahomed's analysis of the causes of the prevailing unrest. It is the word "masterly." Intellectually and materially, he pointed out, the nations most prominent are vastly better off than they were two centuries or even a century ago. But for the circumstance that Germany was reduced to a very low material condition at the end of the last war, this is a substantially correct statement. Sir Mahomed denied that living space for excess population was the real reason for the unrest in these countries. If that were so, they would not, he observed, be providing encouragement for increases of population. Sir Mahomed went to say, "The question then is why all this restlessness and uneasiness, which has prompted these countries to enter upon a life and death struggle with their neighbours? The claims which these countries make with regard to their internal conditions indicate that the object of this struggle is not to improve their internal conditions. It is due to the jealousy engendered by watching the globe-girdling activities of some of the other countries. Their real grievance was that they did not make available to them the same facilities and opportunities for ruling over and exploiting other nations as were available to some of their sister nations."

#### RIOTS AND RUMOURS.

Even before one opened the morning papers last Saturday, one sensed that the so-called riot situation had passed its meridian. From an experience of over forty years in Bombay during which there have been several outbreaks of lawlessness, I have formed an impression that, when there are no reasons such as labour disputes or disputes about sites of places of worship or cemeteries to account for them, crime waves have a relation to heat waves, that is to say, that they are liable to occur together. The fact that a heavy rainfall, whether it be the burst of the monsoon or merely a local cyclone, invariably lays the dust and the outbreaks together, goes to confirm the hypothesis. The week or fortnight before the commencement of the rains, is the most dangerous in Bombay as it is

also the most physically exasperating. Even to people living in fairly commodious premises, this is a most trying time. But the vast majority of the population are worse than homeless in Bombay, in the sense that to be without homes and to be obliged to sleep on the pavements, is comparatively more conducive to peace of mind, than to try to sleep in one-room, over-crowded, tenements in the worst congested localities, which is the lot of a large section of the citizens of this no mean city. The problem behind all the problems of Bombay, including that of recurring breaches of the peace without any conceivable reason, is the housing problem. The rains came on Wednesday and there was no stabbing or other incident that day for the first time since the outbreak. The improvement is in large part also due to the personal tours in the affected areas on foot by the Governor, his contacts and conversations with the small shopkeepers and merchants in their own natural habitat, and the confidence thereby imparted to them in the capacity and determination of the head of the administration to protect them from violence at the hands of the "hooligans" and excesses at the hands of the Police who in their overwrought mentality have often no time or temper to discriminate between the law-abiding and law-breaking classes of the population.

The rounding-up method, no doubt, is sometimes more effective in promptly quelling a disturbance, but it is essentially a method which is more in accord with the rough and ready tactics of the totalitarian regimes than of a settled Government under a reign of law. Innocent and guilty are bound to get mixed up in the "rounding up" process. Sometimes, indeed, the real "hooligan" evades the Police while the honest artisan or shopkeeper gets "rounded up." As the latter is generally the victim of the "hooligan," his being rounded up leaves the "hooligan" without his natural prey, and thus helps, it may be, to shorten the tide of lawlessness. With the best of intentions in the world, it is impossible for the Police to apply this method without involving innocent people in its hardships. Mr. Munshi, in the instance which has been often referred to, applied this method on a larger scale than any of his predecessors, and it did have the effect intended. But the *Reformer* even then pointed out that the method was too drastic to result in an improved sense of responsibility for peace and neighbourliness in the citizens of Bombay.

While the duty of the Police on such occasions is obvious, that of the citizen is more complex. He must think of his own responsibility for the "hooligan." "There but for the grace of God goes John Wesley," is one of the sayings which deserve to be inscribed in letters of fire over every institution where men meet to consider means of promoting peace and goodwill in the city. Handy Dandy, exclaims Lear in his disillusionment, which is the justice which the thief? There is a hooligan in all of us, repressed by education or by fear of punishment or simply by want of temptation.

A Press Note issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, last week contradicted a rumour to the effect that the Government were intending compulsory evacuation of the inhabitants of the City of Bombay and its suburbs. From the limited enquiries which we have been able to make the contradiction would seem to have been the first intimation to several people of the prevalence of any such rumour. The majority of the inhabitants of Bombay are immigrants from the districts where they have their permanent homes to which wives are regularly sent for confinement. There is besides the practice of the people visiting their villages

periodically. The idea of leaving Bombay for a short interval, would not, therefore, normally cause any panic among the people. The rumour seems to have reached the Bombay Information Officer before it gained general currency. It is good to nip evil in the bud. But one must be sure that there is a bud to be nipped. Some rumours have no basis other than idle gossip. But a rumour of this kind is likely to have originated only in some interested motive. What can that be in this case? There is a growing demand for investments in house and land, owing to the uncertainties felt in more liquid forms owing to war conditions. Persons who want to buy up house and land, have a strong interest in pulling down values and there is no surer means of doing this than to spread a rumour that the city is to be compulsorily evacuated. The average citizen, however, has enough intelligence to appraise rumours at their true value. To contradict a rumour before it is fully ripe, is often the best way of propagating it. Besides, the public have their own way of interpreting official contradictions. Free publicity is the most effective way of dispelling rumours. That is another reason, and a strong one, against fettering the discretion of newspaper conductors.

People, some of them in high place, who in order to advance war efforts make alarmist statements about the enemy being at our doors, cannot be absolved from responsibility for this class of rumours. They furnish the soil in which this kind of weed flourishes. As a matter of fact, the danger is less imminent so far as we are concerned than to the Turks and Egyptians. With well-equipped and well-trained armies, these two allies are unperturbed by the presence of the enemy on their doorsteps. It is difficult to see what we can possibly do to protect ourselves at this last hour even if the danger were as imminent as it is said to be. What cannot be cured must be endured. The troops which should have been here to defend the country, have been sent away to distant places. The whole policy and strategy of the country is directed by people to whom the security of India is a secondary consideration. A certain amount of fatalism is essential for peace of mind for people situated in our position.

K. N

## THE PROBLEM OF SMALL STATES.

(BY A STATE SUBJECT.)

### GROUP ORGANISATION.

It is obvious that judged by the inexorable test of utility there is scarcely anything to recommend the continued existence of a majority of the States as distinct political units. But they can rescue themselves from the reproach of inutility and insure their future by combining among themselves for certain common purposes. A large number of small States are geographically grouped together and their propinquity to one another makes it perfectly easy for them to evolve schemes of common interest. It is true that not all the States are so favourably situated and that some of them are separated from one another by long distances, but it is open to them to make common cause with their neighbouring British Indian districts for administrative purposes without impairing their political distinction. I know the instance of at least one full-powered State having entered into satisfactory judicial arrangements with its neighbouring British Indian district. But, instances of small States in geographical isolation are, I think, not many. Group organisation in the case of a majority of them is, therefore, perfectly possible just as the British Government is exercising

its functions of supervision through Agencies under which are grouped a number of States.

To illustrate my point I take the group of States known as the Deccan States. They are 17 in number, excluding Wadi, which being an estate, need not be noticed here. Barring Kolhapur, which is of the size of a British Indian District, all the other sixteen States are small and some of them are so small that they are even incapable of introducing organised administrations. Here are a few figures showing their financial position. Eight States derive income of less than 5 lakhs; 6 between 5-10 lakhs and 2 between 10-15 lakhs. The total area, population and revenue of all the 17 Deccan States are in round figures, 11,000 square miles, 25,00,000 persons and Rs. 215 lakhs, respectively. That is to say, in respect of area and population, they do not approach even the smallest British Indian Province, while in point of revenue they compare favourably with Orissa.

It will be seen that individually none of the Deccan States is capable of achieving much, while by a combination they can, despite their deficiency in area and population, model their respective administrations on as efficient lines as those in British India. By pooling their resources, they can establish an efficient and well-paid cadre of Services common to all the States, institute a system of independent and unimpeachable judiciary, evolve a common revenue policy and set up genuine popular legislatures.\*

Popular representation through legislatures is not only not practicable but reduces itself into a mockery when introduced in small States. Apart from the legislatures being merely deliberative, they have scarcely anything to deliberate upon, for the Rulers are loathe to relax their hold upon the finances which are just enough to cater to their wants and luxuries. Most of the Deccan States, with Kolhapur as the notable exception, have instituted people's assemblies, but evidence is needed to prove their usefulness. On the contrary, they have given rise to factious feelings and a growth of opportunism among a section of the people.

These difficulties can be overcome by establishing one Representative Assembly for all the 17 States, whose quota of representation should be in proportion to the revenue and population of each State. The number of seats allotted to the Legislative Assemblies of N. W. F. Province and Orissa are 50 and 60 respectively. Any one of these numbers would admirably suit the Deccan States Popular Assembly.

The advantages of a common legislature for these States are immense. In the first place, it will enable the people's representatives effectively to participate in the administration of their own affairs. Secondly, it will meet the objection that small States are incapable of introducing responsible government, and lastly, by virtue of their representative character, its members can sit in the all-India Federal legislatures as the genuine representatives of their States. The Government of India Act of 1935 provides 6 seats in the Council of State and 5 in the Federal Assembly to the Deccan States. Members chosen from the common States' Assembly are far more representative of their States than the nominees of the Rulers or the "elected" members of sham legislatures of individual States.

Of course, safeguards are necessary. The legitimate rights and privileges of the Ruler and his family require to be guaranteed and matters arising out of his relations with the Paramount Power should be dealt with by himself. In other words, there should

\* There are evidences of the Deccan States thinking in terms of common action. At any rate, the idea of organising a common Police force was mooted as early as in September 1940.

be no interference with the freedom of action of the Ruler in respect of the obligations incurred by the State with the British Government by treaties and engagements. No one intends to reduce the Ruler to a cipher; only the evils of personal rule and the handicaps arising from the smallness of the States are sought to be removed. The Rulers have a worthier part to play in the new order of things herein envisaged. They should combine and constitute themselves into a Supreme Council for guiding the policy and controlling the affairs common to all the States. Moreover, by concerted action they will succeed in minimising the unregulated intervention of the British Government in their internal concerns.

An introduction of these changes does not involve any deprivation or diminution of the sovereign rights of the States, unless, of course, the Princes define the States as themselves. What is really needed is, in the Viceroy's words, "some pooling of cherished sovereignty."† That the generality of the Princes are loathe to countenance changes, however welcome and irresistible, has been made more than evident by the events of the last few years. Popular agitations are not only abhorred but ruthlessly met with rifles. And in this the Princes are supported by their advisers. Col. Sir K. N. Haksar clinches the issue when he says: "The antagonism and revulsion caused by this cry (for Responsible Government) in minds still anchored to the theory of the divine right of Kings, are in some degree shared by the advisers of the Princes, some of whom have a good grasp of practical politics and every disposition to help the cause of India forward."

But it is neither safe nor wise at this hour of the day for the Princes to allow their minds to be "anchored" to divine right theories and for their advisers to delude them by tracing their descent to some solar or lunar divinity. What is supremely needed is an urgent realization by the Princes of the necessity for change in their methods of governance. Addressing the Chamber of Princes last year H. E. The Crown Representative pressed upon the attention of the Princes the necessity for concerted action by small States. He reiterated this point of view in his address to the Chamber on 17th March last. His Excellency said....."you should not allow yourselves or your advisers to be diverted by any considerations of a personal character from ensuring that where co-operation is necessary, it shall take a form which no reasonable critic can assail on the ground that it is half-hearted." Further on, the Viceroy said: "But the need for such sacrifices is a stark reality, and I am wholly satisfied that those sacrifices, when they are made, will be amply repaid by the results."

That the Viceroy's advice was not relished by the Princes was revealed in the reply of their Chancellor who referring to the question of co-operation among the States said: "This question has been receiving our careful and active consideration from all the viewpoints involved; and relying on Your Excellency's respect for the traditions of the Indian States and for the pledges given to States, both big and small, in the successive authoritative pronouncements guaranteeing their internal autonomy and integrity, we take it as understood that your Excellency's suggestions are intended to encourage co-operation, on a voluntary basis, having due regard to local conditions, in certain services of

† The terms "sovereign" and "sovereignty" are very loosely used with reference to Indian States, none of which are sovereign. The varying degrees of power exercised by the Rulers of these States are vested in them by the Paramount British Government either in express terms or by implication. The Paramount Power can and has often deprived these Rulers of their powers. In fact, they enjoy no better than delegated authority.

administration without impairing the integrity and sovereignty of the States concerned."

Among the many formalities that make up the relations of the British Government with the States, tendering of advice to the Princes is perhaps the most conspicuous. From the very beginning of the British connection, every officer entitled to lecture to the Princes on the virtues of good government has not failed to do so, and with equal insistence the Princes have refused to listen to that advice. The fact of the matter is that they have come to regard it as little more than sanctimonious homily, not seriously meant, and therefore of no binding effect upon them. Many years ago Sir V. P. Madhavarao wrote thus: "I contend that mere general advice tendered by Viceroys and the Governors, however eloquent or earnest, will have but little effect on Native States." He, therefore, suggested that the "British Government should prescribe a body of fundamental principles for the guidance of the Native States—in short, a constitution or plan of government which a Prince should be bound to conform to on pain of his being set aside in favour of his next heir." Nothing of the kind was done by the British Government, and experience has shown that there is little prospect of the Princes listening to the argument of reason unless it is enforced.

The Government of India is wedded to the principle of an all-India Federation, but the Constitution Act of 1935 envisages a type of federation unique in history. In Lord Meston's words, a federation "cannot cause oil and water to mix. Canada and Australia are federations, logical in structure though different in type. But what type or structure are we to find for a federation which is to unite Provinces under a democratic parliamentary system with the States governed by absolute monarchs?" The personal rule of the Princes is the greatest objection to the participation of the States in the all-India polity. Thanks, however, to the intervention of war, there is time enough for the Princes to put the affairs of their States in order. What part the small States should play I have fully indicated. It is only thus that the States can make their valuable contribution to the progress of our Motherland.

#### MELODRAMATIC POLITICS.

The Governor of the Central Provinces addressing a Provincial Press Conference said: "During the first and second phases of the satyagraha movement, those who came forward were also persons of standing and culture. This, I am afraid, is not entirely true of the third phase. Many of the people who are now coming forward are persons of very low social status and of no education. These persons are spreading false rumours and indulging in low abuse of the lower ranks of Government officers.

"The responsibility for this rests, not on Mr. Gandhi, but on the local Congress organisations who select the satyagrahis. I believe Mr. Gandhi would be the first to agree that the selection of such persons is not in accordance with his intentions. I cannot imagine anything more dangerous than this kind of activity at this time of external danger and internal tension, both political and communal."

Later the Chief Secretary, Mr. Trivedi, who presided over the Conference, said that Mr. Mahadev Desai had written to him that Mr. Gandhi did not believe that these allegations were correct. He (Mr. Trivedi) had thereupon replied to Mr. Desai giving particulars in support of the allegations. He added that lately the position in Chindwara district had deteriorated as there was even interference with recruitment meetings.

## THE POONA MAHILA SEVA GRAM.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have read with great interest the article on the Mahila Seva Gram, which was published in the issue of your esteemed paper, dated 12th April 1941. I am afraid that the article which was written obviously without any adequate information, might spell harm to the institution concerned. As a social worker and a resident of Poona, I think it to be my duty to clear certain points.

(1) I think it is very essential to visit an institution personally and, at least, to have first-hand information about it, before criticising it either favourably or otherwise.

(2) The name of the institution concerned is "Mahila Seva Gram" and not Mahila Seva Ashram as it occurs in the above-mentioned article. I am aware that the correction was made afterwards, but that clearly shows the haste and carelessness in criticising the institution.

(3) According to my information the Mahila Seva Gram was started solely with English funds and it is very lately that a few non-Christians are also supporting the institution. Naturally, when the committee was formed, at the beginning, mostly Christians were appointed on it. Mahila Seva Gram was started with the sole aim of helping all girls and women, destitute and needy, irrespective of caste and creed. It is one of the fundamental principles of social service, that no distinction of caste, creed or religion should be made while faithfully serving humanity. In Poona, there is one fine Rescue Home which admits only Hindu women and girls. There is no provision made for the admission of the women and girls of non-Hindu origin. And the Mahila Seva Gram has filled up that deficiency. By virtue of this, it becomes an institution of great importance and significance in Poona. I do not think it is fair to say that non-Christian girls are admitted simply to collect funds from the non-Christians.

It will not be out of place if I write a word or two, here, about the present warden of the institution, Miss Davis. Miss Davis has done great and pioneer work in the Children's Aid Society at Bombay, for more than ten years. In Poona, too, she has infused new life in the After Care Association and helped the children's cause. All those who have observed her work in Bombay and Poona would admit her ability and sincerity as a social worker. She possesses a broad and open mind and is a genuine type of social worker. Suffice it to say that, when she is the Warden of the Mahila Seva Gram, it will always remain above all communalism and caste distinctions.

All people who are interested in Social Reform read your esteemed paper critically and with interest; so I wish that your readers should not form any prejudice or have any sort of misunderstanding about this new Institution started with noble aims and objects and hence this letter.

Poona.

Yours etc.,  
G. N. HARSHE.

[We associate ourselves with the tribute our correspondent pays to Miss Davis. The point of our comments, however, was one of principle, namely, whether it is right to carry on propaganda for one religion in the guise of another which it avowedly wishes to annihilate. The mistake about the use of the word Ashram instead of Gram is regretted, but is Gram any more appropriate than Ashram? Graha means a home, and Sevagraha is the right word to use for a Rescue Home.—Editor.]

## THE HINDU LAW COMMITTEE.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

It is now universally known that the Government of India has appointed a Committee of eminent Hindu lawyers to examine the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act 1938, with particular reference to five non-official Bills pending before the Assembly and to suggest such amendments to the Act as would resolve doubts felt as to the construction of that Act, clarify the nature of the right conferred by the Act upon the widow, and remove any injustice that may have been done by the Act to the daughter.

The Committee is also asked to examine two other non-official Bills—one regarding Inheritance by K. Santhanam and the other regarding Hindu Women's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance by Dr. G. V. Deshmukh. Accordingly the Committee has issued its questionnaire in three parts and invited replies to it.

It will thus be seen that the reference made to the Committee is only regarding the few Bills that are pending in the Legislative Assembly. The scope is, therefore, quite a limited one. Any such kind of piecemeal legislation is rather undesirable. Besides, constant tinkering with law is certainly undesirable and only leads to confusion. The Government of India must be moved to widen the reference to cover comprehensive inquiry that will embrace every aspect of Hindu Women's Legal Rights, in general, if not the codification of the whole Hindu Law. The women's Associations must now be alert. They must hold public meetings and pass resolutions requesting the Government to extend the scope of the Committee so that the Committee may suggest ways and means of making the Hindu Law equitable to women by removing all their legal disabilities.

Some years ago, Sir Govind Madgavkar, after his retirement, toured throughout the Province and established branches of the Hindu Law Reform Association in every district. What are these Associations doing now? Is it not the time for them to create public opinion which would force the Government of India to appoint a comprehensive Committee? Are these Associations existing only in name?

Satara. } Yours etc,  
22nd May 1941. } K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.

## PRIVY COUNCIL APPEALS.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer,*

Sir,

I was much interested in the paragraph relating to "Privy Council Appeals from India," in your issue of January 18.

Without discussing the merits of your proposal that a Board of the Judicial Committee should, during and on account of the war, sit in India to deal with Indian appeals, I should like to correct certain erroneous statements in the arguments upon which the proposal is, in part based.

Whilst it is correct to say that the war has caused a delay in the transit of papers to London, it has but increased slightly a delay which is normal. Hardly any documents in Indian Appeals, beyond the statement of the Case between the parties, have to be printed in London. The printing of the Record, upon which argument is based, takes place in India, and their Lordships have frequently commented upon the inordinate delay that occurs there owing to the length



of time, from the delivery of Judgment and Decree by the Indian Court of Appeal, before the printed Record is actually prepared there and despatched to England.

There should be no special difficulty of remitting money to London, which is in the sterling area, on account of the war. None exists with regard to remittances to India.

It is incorrect, too, to state that "usually someone from India went over to London to instruct counsel." The sending of counsel to London, even in normal times, for this purpose was a rare occurrence, and often was an unnecessary expense, with the presence here of competent Counsel, some of them Indians, familiar with the matters of law and fact to be discussed before their Lordships. In exceptional cases, of course, where counsel from India had had the conduct of a particularly difficult or complicated case in the Indian Courts, their assistance here has been very helpful and welcome. There are hardly any such appeals at present pending here.

Appeals to be dealt with by a Board of the Judicial Committee that might sit in India would be exclusive of those at present pending in the Privy Council, and would, if experience counts for anything, probably not be ready for hearing for at least two years after the delivery of final Judgment and Decree in India—by which time, it may be hoped sincerely, the war will be over.

London,  
March, 10, 1941. }

Yours faithfully,  
Privy Council Agent.

#### ALIENS IN THE U. S. A.

A Reuter's message from Washington was published in Indian newspapers recently with the misleading heading "U. S. round up of Aliens." As a matter of fact, only 120 suspects were locked up in Ellis Island. In the words of Attorney-General Jackson this was done as a precaution against the landing of suspicious characters as tourists and it was not forerunner of a general rounding up of aliens which, if it was attempted, would seriously affect the labour supply for American industry at the present time. The situation as regards aliens in the United States is explained clearly in the following excerpt which we take from the *Information Service* of the Union of Federal Churches:

The proportion of aliens to the total population of the country is now smaller than at any other time in our history, according to Earl G. Harrison, former director of alien registration. There are, in all, about 4,750,000 aliens. Since 1930 the proportion has dropped from more than five per cent to about three and a half per cent. Mr. Harrison, who spoke at a luncheon of the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship in New York on February 28, expressed a strong hope that Congress would not enact any discriminatory legislation in regard to aliens until the real facts, as revealed by the registration, were known. Comparatively few, apparently, failed to register. Indeed, there are probably more persons registered who were not sure of their status as citizens than there were aliens who did not.

About 4,824,000 aliens, it is estimated, are eligible for citizenship at the present time. Forty per cent of these are in process of acquiring citizenship. Of the remainder, about 62,000 are minors, about 268,000 have been here less than the two years required by the Nationality Code, and at least 68,000 are ineligible.

While complete data are not available, a preliminary investigation indicates that two states have 87 per cent of the total number of aliens—26

per cent in New York and 11 per cent in California. About 82 per cent of all the non-citizens are in the ten states having more than 100,000 aliens. The problem is primarily urban since 34 per cent of all the aliens live in the cities of more than 1,000,000 population, though only 12 per cent of the total population are in such cities. Indeed, 47 per cent of all the aliens, but only 17 per cent of the total population, reside in cities of 500,000 or more. California and Texas are the only states in which large numbers of aliens are to be found outside the cities. This, of course, is due to the large number of Mexican labourers on the farms and ranches, where there is a great demand for cheap agricultural labour. Americanization is much easier in the cities than in rural districts.

As a whole, the aliens are a very stable group. Only 20 per cent reported that they had no relatives in this country. About 62 per cent have "complete family ties." The median age for the aliens is 48 years, while it is only 28 for the total population.

Mr. Harrison urged that legislation should be enacted legalizing the status of those who have not been formally admitted for residence if they are otherwise eligible for citizenship. He recommended that aliens who have resided in the country continuously for a given period and are otherwise eligible for citizenship should be permitted to file applications without prior declaration of intention, that the older ones should be allowed to do so even though they do not meet the present educational qualifications, and that aliens of good moral character who have been there more than five years should be allowed to legalize their status even though they entered in some irregular fashion. This would not meet all situations, he said, but would go a long way.

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# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Syria:**—Owing largely to misconceptions in the British mind as to the reactions roused in the rest of the world by acts of war, much useless ingenuity is shown by official and unofficial correspondents in explaining the Allied occupation of Syria which was reported early this week. The most offensive to human intelligence is French failure to establish Syria as an independent nation. This has been followed up by journalistic indictments of French policy as the mandatory power in Syria. The occupation of Syria is the plainest indication of the fact that there is not the shadow of a possibility of Britain reaching agreement with the Vichy Government and that there is every fear of France's leaders being used by Germany for her own purposes. If this is so, there is no need to justify British action any more than there is to condemn the Vichy Government. As Mr. Churchill said of Dakar and Oran, it was a regrettable necessity to act against a former Ally and that is all that can be said in its favour. The problem at Syria, it is true, is complicated by the fact that the first success of intervention necessitates an effort to win the Syrians over to the Allied cause. The Free French forces have, their leaders announced, resolved to grant Syrians independence after the war. In fact the declarations sound very much as though they already recognise the Syrians as an independent nation and call on them to defend their liberties. In this the Free French are supported by Britain. This is the first stroke of political imagination shown by the Allies and we trust that it will lead to others equally brilliant but less belated. The Free French declarations call to mind Mr. Chamberlain's early objections to a declaration of war aims and peace aims on the ground that Britain had Allies whom she would have to consider in any such declaration, and who might feel embarrassed by any independent statement of British aims. At the time the main ally was France, if not the sole ally, and British

reluctance to declare her aims was said to be due to colonial embarrassments in the French Empire. The Syrian solution has removed whatever of the problem remained after the collapse of France. The moral effect of the Free French decision is shown by the sudden lack of interest in Syria of Germany and Italy both of whom have stated that the quarrel over Syria is between former Allies in which they have no part. Without minimising the contribution to this result of the presence of Allied forces in that country, it may be confidently asserted that the recognition of Syrian national rights has deprived the Axis of the least semblance of excuse for interfering in its affairs. The press in Britain is guarded in its comment on the last developments, partly because of previous experience in the Balkan and Crete campaigns where enthusiastic reports were followed by retreats. But the technique evolved over the Syrian crisis is carefully watched and it will probably lead to widespread application elsewhere—only, we hope, in better time so as to enable popular enthusiasms to develop more freely. There are reports that Alexandria has suffered heavy bombings. Military experts have claimed a special interest for India in Egypt's defence, but little has been done so far to associate Indian opinion with this sentiment. On the other hand, Indians who press for independence, are often asked how this country by herself can defend herself against aggression. The answer comes now from Syria where recognition of national claims is accompanied by Allied intervention on an unprecedented scale. We trust the lesson will not be quite lost on Britain.

**A Lame Explanation:**—The Government of Bombay issued last week a surprisingly superficial statement justifying the orders prohibiting the publication of the names of victims and the places where assaults took place during the recent riots. In the first place, it is not correct to state, as the communique does, that the complaints were that the press had been gagged, that there had been a calculated policy of suppression of views and that no independent news of the disturbances could prevail. There might have been some complaints to that effect. But these were too extravagant to merit an answer. These orders were issued for the purpose mentioned in the Government communique: "It is to deny information to those who want retalia-



tion and incite one community against the other in an attempt to even up the score." It is weightily urged that the prevention of publication or the prohibition of publication of names or localities did not and could not deny information to those who want retaliation and those who would incite one community to retaliate against another. This class of people had presumably its own source of information and did not depend upon newspapers to help it. This is clear from the fact that, notwithstanding the earnest and strenuous efforts of the authorities from His Excellency the Governor downwards, the riots did not stop until the rains put an end to them. The people who suffered from the denial of information, were the overwhelming majority of all communities who were extremely distressed at the outbreak and would have exercised a salutary influence, such as was within their power, to control the lawless element. Ninety-nine and a half per cent of the people of Bombay, Muslims, Hindus, Parsis, and Christians, belong to this class and they were seriously handicapped in doing their part to bring the trouble to a speedy conclusion by the orders prohibiting the publication of names and places of trouble. Some general inferences from past experiences were available to them. For instance, until recently the sharp blade was the weapon of the one class as the lathi was of the other, so that in a case of assault the aggressor and victim were fairly correctly inferred. But the lathi is less difficult to conceal than the dagger so the lathi seriously found itself at a disadvantage. It is be greatly regretted that the lathi to some extent is being displaced among the lathi-users by the more easily concealed weapon as a means to tide over its disadvantage. Apart from this, on general principles, it must be patent to every administrator and statesman that free publicity is the best antidote for all social distempers. It was authoritatively stated by more than one writer that the collapse of the French Government was due to the policy of suppressing parliamentary and press criticisms. The writer of the communique may be of the opinion that there is very little force in this point of view. It must be a personal opinion in direct contradiction of political science. The Government have assured the public that there has been no concealment of incidents connected with the riots except for these two most essential ones. The public can only help where the fullest information is available to them. As a matter of fact, it is to be feared that the orders had the very opposite effect to what was intended. They were used as a screen by the less than one-half of one per cent of the population engaged in these nefarious activities.

**Drastic Action on Khaksars :—**A Government of India communique dated June 5th explains the new policy towards the Khaksar Party and the circumstances which led the Government to initiate a countrywide campaign against the party. The communique reads more like a

second leader in a daily newspaper than an official document. The Khaksar leader, Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, is roundly denounced because of his attempts to carry on "unauthorized communications with the outside world" as well as for spreading "false rumours about his health in order to excite sympathy with himself and create odium against the Government." The communique sums up in masterly manner: "The behaviour just mentioned does not inspire confidence in the Allama's fitness to lead a law-abiding movement, nor does it afford any ground for considering his release." Yet even this had not outraged a long-suffering Government which was taking leisurely counsel with provincial Governments as to "the question of their relations with the Khaksar organization"—a euphemistic way of saying that the Government in some provinces were not unfriendly to the Khaksars—when the Khaksar journal *Al-Islah*, published directions to the party in Delhi, Lahore, Peshawar, Hyderabad (Sind), and Nagpur, to collect in mosques, armed with their spades and in full uniform, on Friday June 6 before prayers for the purpose of "certain religious observances." The comment of the communique on this manoeuvre is interesting. It observes that

the Government of India are satisfied that the procedure contemplated, however innocent it may appear, has got as its object interference with the maintenance of law and order and constitutes a danger to the public peace. They further consider—and they trust that Muslim opinion as a whole will agree with them—that the occupation of the selected mosques in the manner proposed would constitute a gross misuse of religious edifices for non-religious purposes and would be bound, not only to cause serious inconvenience to genuine worshippers but also to lead to grave difficulties, if the requirements of the law made it necessary to proceed against those who had taken shelter in them and converted them into bases of unlawful operations.

There is a certain pathos about the clumsy gentleness with which the awkward Government machine sets to catch the butterfly of Muslim opinion. As a finishing touch, "Government trust that the action they have taken will have the support of all right thinking persons and that its effect will be either to lead the Khaksars to abandon their foolish plans or, if not, to prevent them from carrying them into effect." The action taken by the Government has been less apologetic and uncertain than the language of this communique. There has been a thorough rounding up of Khaksars in nearly all provinces. The Government state that they have realised from last year's experience that action must be taken throughout the country and they assert that there will be no risking of a repetition of last year's disturbances. By implication this would mean that the Khaksars' responsibility for the troubles of last year have been accepted. The question naturally arises why these disturbers of the peace were left alone and free to sow mischief for a full year.

**Anti-Partition Muslims :—**The South Indian Anti-Partition Conference held a successful session in Kumabakonam on June 8th when Mr. M. Y. Shareef, an ex-Congress Minister of the Central Provinces, presided. Mr. Shareef had to resign his ministership but in fairness to him it must be said that his resignation did not improve the quality of the ministry or appreciably raise the character of the personnel. Mr. Shareef has not allowed his personal grievances to alienate him from the Congress but he gave expression in his address to a feeling of distrust towards the last Congress C. P. Ministry. This is but natural. It is one thing to be superseded or displaced by someone who is admittedly better than oneself. But to have to give way to another mediocrity is a measure of sacrifice which most people would resent. Mr. Shareef's address was a staunch plea for recognizing the unity of India. Mr. Shareef's sturdy faith made good any deficiency that there might have been in the logic or coherence of his thought. One of the gems of his presidential address was his indirect praise of democracy: "The counting of hands is replacing other and cruder methods of determining policies," he observed with surprising naivete for one who has been prominent in the political activities of an intensely political province. He pointed out with considerable justice that in a democracy it was the duty of the numerically strong to protect its minorities. A mere insistence on rights, he added, would only lead to further trouble. We do not think that the rights of minorities would be ignored by any responsible political leader. But the trouble is that we have had no clear indication of the sufferings endured by minorities. The attempt to emulate the methods of party leaders in other countries has led to the piling up of indictments, some of them hardly tenable. The emotional appeal which Mr. Shareef worked into a large part of his speech, shows that he had an appreciative audience. To attack partition in South India, however, is to preach to the converted. Even Mr. Fossil, a leading light of the Muslim League in Madras, has declared himself against partition. An Anti-Partition Conference of Muslims in South India, therefore, is somewhat of a picnic. The real work of these earnest leaders lies in North India. The Muslim Anti-Partitionists whose efforts deserve all success, would be well advised to rally round some more constructive ideal than the seemingly negative one of opposing partition.

**Dr. Tagore's Rejoinder:—**The open letter which Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M. P., addressed early this month to Indians, has gained a value beyond its intrinsic worth by the fact that the venerable Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has thought fit to reply to it. The Poet's incursions into politics have not always been very happy. The fact that he has recently not been in good health, is not calculated to render his recent pronouncement the more weighty. But his rejoinder shows that it is not by stressing national issues that Britain and India

can come together. The Poet has met Miss Rathbone's letter point by point. More than the ordinary politician, he has been able to see the good that has resulted, often in spite of officialdom, from the contact with Western civilization which British rule has brought to India. In his rejoinder, unfortunately, he has been led to minimise the receptivity of the Indian mind when he argues that through the channels of education we have received the refuse of English thought. We are confident that in better days the Poet himself will resist this view. It is, however, in his treatment of communal riots which are used against Indians so frequently, that the Poet has brought to bear the quiet sanity and perspective of his broad outlook. He writes :

Examples are not wanting in history when even fully armed warriors have shrunk before superior might and contingencies have arisen in the present war when even the bravest among the British, French and Greek soldiers have had to evacuate the battlefield in Europe, because they were overwhelmed by superior armaments. But when our poor, unarmed and helpless peasants, encumbered with crying babes, flee from homes, unable to protect them from armed goondas, the British officials perhaps smile in contempt at our cowardice.

Nor is it the British official alone. Some of our most distinguished leaders have condemned the "cowardice" of the Indian citizen.

**Premier on the War:—**Mr. Winston Churchill's speech in the House of Commons last Tuesday was more in the nature of a reply to critics than a statement on the present position. On Crete and Syria he virtually asked for suspension of judgment until the full facts were known, adding that it would not be in the public interest to release all the facts just now. Mr. Churchill was more cautious over Syria than he had been over Crete, but he did not disguise his hopes that the campaign in Syria would more than make good the losses incurred in Greece and in Crete. Mr. Churchill also stated that Egypt was well defended and there was less reliance this time in his speech on hypothetical trouble between Russia and Germany. The criticism launched at the Premier was severe, particularly that of Mr. Hore-Belisha whose disapproval of British policy is singularly unaffected by the fact, often thrown back at him by official spokesmen, that he was himself responsible for earlier mistakes which are hampering Britain's war effort now. Anticipating the debate, the *Times of India* London correspondent gratuitously told readers in India that, though the Commons debate would probably include severe criticism of Government, it would be with the object of strengthening the war effort—"or it would be criminal." This is well known in India and in a sense deeper than the *Times* correspondent could have meant. The suggestion that all criticism in Britain is directed to encourage Mr. Churchill in his onerous task as Premier, is reassuring. But why tell Indians all this who have not even the power to tack on a few advisers, executive councillors or what you will, to the Viceroy—let alone to change the Government in power?

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 14, 1941.

## THE EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

The Simla meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India Editors' Conference was convened for May 30. It continued its sittings for the next two days. Meetings of the Standing Committee tend to be rather occasions for editors to review the working of the press advisory committees system which was set up by the Editors' Conference in the various provinces. In provinces where liberal political traditions have prevailed, there has not been much ground for complaint. Given the necessity for some form of restriction on the press, there could not be devised a system less irksome to the press, less irritating to the public and less calculated to isolate the Government. It is because this is appreciated on all sides that the system has stood many a severe test in the past year. But at the same time, the position of the press in India must be judged by that of the press in the less peaceful provinces and the system of advisory committees will in the long run live or die by its achievements in provinces where there is estrangement between Government and the general body of editors. The three danger spots from this point of view are the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bengal. The Punjab has not yet set up an advisory committee but apart from this basic difficulty little is heard of the Punjab press. Bengal has an advisory committee but the Bengal Government does not seem to follow the precedent of Madras and Bombay of consulting the Committee on all matters relating to the press. The United Provinces tends, it would seem, to stretch provincial autonomy to its breaking-point. The resolutions of the Standing Committee published this week show that the Conference is fully aware of the key-position which has fallen to the press in the United Provinces and they appeal to the provincial Government to take action even at this late juncture to set things right. The Standing Committee, however, cannot rest content with eternally passing resolutions and the next meeting will have either to record its appreciation of progress in the United Provinces or to consider what steps it should take to press its views effectively both on the U. P. Government and on the ultimate authority, the Government of India. In this connection it would be well to stress the fact that no questions of false prestige ought to prevent the authorities from correcting their mistakes as the Conference has assiduously refrained from minatory gestures. At the same time it would be wrong to infer that the absence of strong language in its resolutions implies any desire on the part of the Standing Committee to evade its responsibilities towards the press as a whole in India.

The position taken by the Committee in regard to statements issued by Gandhiji is practical. Government take the stand that, as the leader of the satyagraha movement, Gandhiji requires special attention. The Government of India accordingly were inclined to ban or censor every statement of his without reference to the Editors' Conference and it was on pressure from the Conference last March that they accepted the solution of not ordinarily banning any statement of Gandhiji's and, where they were disposed to do so, to act in consultation with the Advisory Committee. This was no more than asserting the authority of the Conference and at the same time ensuring to Gandhiji the right enjoyed by every other political leader or personage in the country. In practical working, however, difficulties arose and the Government in seeking clarification attempted to extend the press-advising machinery to mean in effect pre-censorship of all Gandhiji's statements. On the other hand, it was sought by some members of the Standing Committee to obtain complete immunity for Gandhiji from the operations of the Defence of India Act. The Conference resisted both efforts. A press message states that Government's reactions to the Conference resolutions will be known when the letter of the President's and the official reply are both released. This foreshadows an early meeting of the Standing Committee—we trust at some journalistic instead of Government centre. Meanwhile it is stated that Mr. Mahadev Desai has resigned from the Standing Conference. There have been reports to this effect in the past but they have been unfounded. This time it is authentic.

The secrecy in which the proceedings of the Standing Committee are generally shrouded, has been somewhat relaxed by reports from the Associated Press and the correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* relating to the first two days' discussion on Gandhiji's statements. It was unfortunate that, owing to the Committee holding its further meetings on Saturday afternoon and on Sunday, when Government officials were not available, the session should have ended inconclusively. The purpose of meetings being held at Government of India centres is avowedly that there might be points of contact between the members of the Conference and the Government officials concerned to enable a free exchange of views. If this is so, there is no point in meeting when officials are off duty and not accessible to the Standing Committee. We trust that the organisers will profit from their experience at Simla for the future. It is worth considering also whether the Standing Committee gains in strength by meeting every time at the seat of Government. The effect of this practice in the past has been, we are afraid, to create the general impression that the Conference derives its strength from the recognition accorded it by the Government. The Conference, however, is something much more than the system of press committees which it has evolved.

## PARTITION OF INDIA.

(BY B. BANERJI, DELHI.)

A touch of reality might deflate some of the hot air that has been generated over the discussions about the future constitution of the country based on its partition. And that touch is this—that the stress of war has converted the Federal Constitution of 1935 into a Unitary Constitution, much more unitary in fact than the Montford Constitution had been, and it is no exaggeration to say that, wherever provincial autonomy is functioning to-day, it is functioning at the grace of the Central Government and on its sufferance.

The Constitution that was introduced on the 1st of April 1937 was the first step in breaking up the historic unity of India. The bigger Federation in which the States were also to be among the federal units was held in abeyance, but the relationship between the Provinces and the Centre became federal from that date. The Provinces derived their powers from the same source as the Centre, namely the Crown; these powers were no longer by way of delegation or devolution from the Centre as had been the case in the previous Constitution. But the Constitution Act had one Section, (Sec. 102) which was the result of experience of the last war in the Federal Commonwealth of Australia and the operation of which could convert the Federal Constitution into a unitary one.

The last war found Australia with a strictly Federal Constitution modelled largely on the Constitution of the United States. The Centre had a few enumerated powers, the balance of the powers being vested in the States. One of the Central powers related to the defence of the commonwealth. Under this power the Commonwealth during the war period legislated on a wide range of subjects and its legislations were generally upheld by the Australian High Court (which is analogous to our Federal Court). The result, in the words of the Royal Commission on the Constitution, was, for practical purposes, a unified constitution for Australia during the period. The Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Indian Constitution recommended that this position should be recognised in the body of the Constitution Act itself and should not be merely left to judicial pronouncements. Section 102 was therefore enacted, which provided for the competence of the Central Legislature to legislate on all subjects and for all parts of India on the declaration (by Proclamation) of an emergency by the Governor-General which threatened the security of India. Such a Proclamation of Emergency was made by the Governor-General after the breaking out of the present war and the Central Legislature has to-day become the legislature in a Unitary Constitution. And since the executive authority is co-terminous with the legislative jurisdiction, the Central Government has become a unitary Government which it was before the 1st of April 1937. Added to this, an Emergency Act of Parliament has enormously widened the ordinance-making powers of the Viceroy.

To deviate from my main theme for a moment. Dealing with the situation created by the recent widespread rioting in the country is a direct central responsibility to-day, for so long as the "emergency" lasts, "public order in the Province" is within the jurisdiction of the Centre, irrespective of the fact whether autonomy is functioning in the Province or the Constitution is under suspension. I may add that, even in normal times, public order in a Province so far as it requires to be maintained with the help of the military is a central responsibility, and the

Governor-General has always the power to "issue orders to the Governor of a Province as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of India or of any part thereof."

My point is that, whatever be the powers of the future Federation or Confederation of India, defence is bound to be one of them. Even the Germanic Confederation of 1815, which may be cited as one of the most loosely-knit unions in world history, had that power. But once the "defence-power" is given to the Centre, it is bound to assume great proportions when the time comes for its exercise through stress of war or widespread internal disturbances. And once the Central Government has exercised that tremendous authority, it cannot in times of peace fall back upon its effete ways. That is the lesson we get from a study of the development of Federal constitutions in the world. We have already seen what happened in Australia and it should not be forgotten that there states-rights had the widest scope. The same thing happened in the United States of America. Initially the Central Government in America could legislate only on a dozen items apart from 'defence.' But with the interpretation given to the Constitution by great judges of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Marshall being the foremost among them, the bounds of the Centre's powers widened till today in popular imagination and in fact, though not as a matter of law, the United States is one and an indivisible nation. So great has been the urge towards unification that amendments of the Constitution have been repeatedly put through in recent years to invest the Centre with more and more powers.

If such has been the course in countries where Federations started with mutual jealousies and sharp rivalries among the units, it is not difficult to imagine the way the Federation or Confederation in India will develop—India with her long history of a central unitary government reaching back almost to the dawn of mankind. Far-sighted thinkers deplored the delay in the inauguration of even the very defective Federation provided for in the Government of India Act, 1935. They felt that that was a rare opportunity to bind together Indian States and British Indian Provinces into one polity and they trusted to the working of the time-factor to mould the Federation into the shape we all like to see it in. Had a Federal Government been in office at the time the war broke out, we would have to-day a Government exercising the undivided powers of a unitary Government over the whole of British India and considerable powers over the State territories.

Provision of any sort of co-ordinating authority at the Centre in any scheme of partition of India is bound in the course of time to defeat the purpose of such partition. And such defeat will come much sooner than the sponsors of such schemes imagine, as has been proved by the failure of the federal scheme of the 1935 Constitution. One cannot believe that the said sponsors, intelligent and shrewd men of the world as they are, are not aware of this fact. It may even be said that it is this awareness that deters them from coming down to brass tacks and placing concrete proposals before the country. All schemes of partition, it can be confidently foretold, will founder on the grand majestic rock of India's unity. On this rock have sat, and held sway over an entire continent, great rulers of men, both Hindu and Muslim, Ashoka and Chandragupta, Sher Shah, Akbar and Shah Jehan, Akbar the Great, in the words of Colonel Sleeman, "is among

kings of the world what Shakespeare is among the poets," because he lived, worked and died for India's unity. Here is what the historian Keene says about him :

Akbar was constantly bent on making India, so far as he ruled it, into a united nation ; and we hear from his friend and biographer, not only of debates by night at the Fatehpur Academy but also of silent meditations in the lonely hour of dawn, when Akbar would go forth and muse upon the problems of life and upon his own peculiar task. Under him the Moghul Empire became a domestic institution of the country not a mere superficial domination, like so many before him, and, alas, like that of his present successors.

Is it contemplated that there should be a partition without any co-ordinating central authority? It is unthinkable that the British Government can ever be a party to such a scheme, though we cannot forget the partition of Ireland. Even if it be so, India's history can supply many instances when a strong central government has been evolved out of the chaos that such partition will mean. Why, even yesterday the Congress High Command became the unofficial, but nonetheless most effective, co-ordinating authority between eight Provincial Governments in the absence of a duly set-up constitutional authority. That was an event of great significance for all students of India's history.

### BOMBAY DOCK LABOUR.

(By J. K. MEHTA, BOMBAY.)

The condition of dock labourers in the major ports of India is an important subject not only from the viewpoint of labour but also as a problem of port economy. Though attempts have been made from time to time to study the condition of labourers working in factories of this city or elsewhere, by the Labour Office of the Government of Bombay and others, yet the economic conditions of labourers working in the Docks of Bombay, whose strength is no less than 10,000 and upon whose skill and efficiency depends the trade of the port, remain a closed chapter. Mr. R. P. Cholia who in his recent publication\* attempts to fill up this lacuna, deserves congratulations. Mr. Cholia, remembering the great strike of Stevedore labourers in 1932, undertook the present study in 1933-34, but maintains that the conditions of workers in the docks having not undergone any material change in the interval, the conclusions remain as true today as they were in 1933-34.

The scholarly work of Mr. Cholia presents a good study of the socio-economic aspects of the life and living of dock labourers, with a careful examination on the spot of different types of work at different stages of the handling of goods in the docks. The first two chapters deal with history and development of the port, as well as the various activities of the harbour. The dock workers are classified under two main divisions—viz, those who handle cargo at the docks, and the rest occupied otherwise in miscellaneous activities, all of which combine to contribute to the smooth working of the docks. The first division, which forms 60 per cent of the total dock labourers, consists of unskilled casual labourers, employed directly by the employers or through some middle-men. It is sub-divided into three groups of Stevedore labourers, shore labourers and coal labourers with a separate chapter devoted to each. The second main division of dock labourers, with 22 per cent. skilled labourers, is composed of

labourers working on Water, other labourers on Shore, labourers in the Mechanical Workshop and labourers on the Bombay Port Trust Railways. All the labourers of the second division are employed, more or less regularly, by the Bombay Port Trust. Though many of the skilled labourers enjoy by far a better standard of life yet the standard of living of unskilled labourers is very low, more particularly of the casual labourers of the first division. "Homele and miserable," mentions Mr. Cholia, "these Stevedore labourers toil from morning till evening simply to maintain their very existence, with no hope of better prospects, or happiness in life. No wonder they are induced to resort to strikes, at the slightest increase in their untold hardships."

Mr. Cholia suggests a scheme of registration as "the first step towards decasualisation of employment." This would not only restrict the employment to registered men, but also reduce the reserve of labour to the number really needed by the port. The successful working of such a scheme, it is needless to add, requires the co-operation of the employers and the employees alike, as also legislation by the Government.

Another point, Mr. Cholia stresses, is the handicap of the presence of middlemen in the dock area, which is a common drawback with most employees in Bombay. Happily, the employers are remedying this inherent evil in the system by eliminating the middlemen in employment of labour. The initiative taken by the East India Cotton Association, two years ago, has resulted in a rise of about 30 per cent in the earnings of workers. Last year the Bombay Port Trust also followed the lead in giving the contract for loading and unloading bales from wagons at Cotton Green to a labourer.

### DR. GEORGE S. ARUNDALE AND THE WAR.

(By J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

The earnestness with which Dr. George Arundale has thrown himself into war propaganda seems to have caused surprise to many, who forget that, in spite of his long sojourn in this country, his long and close association with the Theosophical Society, a Society which aims at demolishing narrow sectarianism and selfish racialism and at spreading the spirit of universal brotherhood, he is, after all, an Englishman, and as such he is but naturally moved now by feelings of anxiety for the safety of his mother country and for the continued prosperity of his kith and kin. The blood-tie is naturally stronger than adopted relationship; and there can only be few men in whom human sympathies and sense of impartial justice are so strong as to keep their national interests and bias at bay. Dr. Arundale's enthusiasm for stimulating war efforts is, therefore, quite in the nature of things, though his arguments are surprising in their hollowness.

Mr Arundale is to-day in the mental condition of an average Englishman, who is much affected by the dangers threatening his home country. But some amount of regret, no doubt, remains in quarters where his intellectual leanings have led to an expectation of a freer and broader human outlook, uncoloured by personal racial weaknesses, in a stalwart leader of the Theosophical Society. Without hoping to influence him, I would still suggest to him that it would have been more in the fitness of his own life, association and activities to have said and insisted

\*Dock Labourers in Bombay by Rasiklal P. Cholia, M.A., LL.B. Studies in Indian Economics edited by Prof. C. N. Vakil. Longmans, Green & Co Ltd. Price Rs. 4/8.



that either party in the war must first of all give up all extra-territorial possessions, rights and privileges unreservedly, unconditionally and immediately before it could ask for and get the support and sympathy of anybody. Such immediate self-dispossession by one side would have placed the other side absolutely in the wrong without the necessity of any argument and platitude, which merely disgust even a common intelligence.

After pointing out where virtue and goodness lie and where sin is, when Mr. Arundale proceeds to show cause why India should be enthusiastic in war effort he is betraying more than before the common human frailty which overcomes a man when his own and his national interests and anxiety clash with the human interests of other people. All colonies, big and small, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, etc., have the right to say and decide if, how, where, and to what extent their men, under their own officers, would be sent to war, but India, for whose culture Mr. Arundale has respect, and for whose people he has love, has not the right to say a word about her own children being shipped to all fronts of the war. And who are these men being sent abroad? Not the intelligent who can be said to enlist themselves with full knowledge and with their own sense of responsibility, but mostly illiterate, poor, and helpless people out in the villages. If Mr. Arundale would, instead of visiting the Princes and making war speeches in durbars, go out in the villages and meet the parents, wives and children of the recruits taken from there he would perhaps wonder with what word to console them over their war sacrifices. Will he then be able to say to them with a clear conscience that their war effort will benefit them? Does or can a war ever benefit those mute, helpless, poor people? Did the last war benefit them? Does not the pinch of taxes become more biting on them after each war? Mr. Arundale would indeed render a great human service if he could go and honestly give them truthful consolation, when their sons are being sent to fight in places and countries which they have never heard of, which they cannot, even in their imagination, connect with the destiny of their little farmyard and their thatched homestead. Were he to do so, Mr. Arundale, humanist that he is, would himself also be provoked seriously to reflect if war efforts in all wars must not be confined to people who are capable of appreciating the causes and consequences of wars, who have their own sense of responsibility, and who have unrestricted freedom of action. Possibly Mr. Arundale may think that those who are without the above ought to be taken charge of by others. That way of thinking and saying is, of course, very common with Imperial Powers, who readily assume the trusteeship of the people they rule over.

#### GANDHIJI AND NON-VIOLENCE.

To the Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Labouring under the mistaken notion that Gandhiji by his statement

"My non-violence does admit of people who cannot or will not be non-violent, holding and making effective use of arms."

in his letter published in the *Times of India* of May 8, 1941, has enunciated a new principle of resistance to violence which is diametrically opposed to the principle he has been preaching during the past two decades, you have, in your issue of May 24, proceeded to draw all sorts of fanciful conclusions

which are not at all complimentary to Gandhiji. Even Gandhiji's own remark, following in the immediate wake of his statement quoted above, namely,

"Let me repeat for the thousandth time that non-violence is of the strongest, not of the weak,"

has not led you to stop and reflect that in his own opinion at any rate Gandhiji was not laying down any new principle. But, apparently you were so carried away by your fancied discovery of a radical change of front on his part that you wanted to proclaim it from the house-top for all the world to note. Let me, however, request you not to let your judgment be warped by any preconceived notions regarding the limitations of the doctrine of Ahimsa as preached by Gandhiji and not to proceed hastily to misconstrue and misrepresent his teaching, since public harm might result from such misrepresentation.

For the benefit of yourself and such of your readers as might have been misled by your article, let me quote here, in chronological sequence, some of the statements bearing on the subject, made by Gandhiji in the past, to show to you and your readers that, in his letter to the *Times of India*, he has enunciated no new doctrine at all, subversive of what he has been preaching so far, as suggested by you, but that he has merely repeated "for the thousandth time" his old doctrine that there is no room for cowardice in Ahimsa.

"I would risk violence a thousand times rather than the emasculation of the race." *Young India* 4-8-20.

"I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour." *Young India* 11-8-20.

"I do not say 'eschew violence in your dealing with robbers or thieves or with nations that may invade India.' But in order that we are better able to do so, we must learn to restrain ourselves. It is a sign not of strength but of weakness to take up the pistol on the slightest pretext. Mutual fisticuffs are a training not in violence but in emasculation. My method of non-violence can never lead to loss of strength, but it alone will make it possible, if the nation wills it, to offer disciplined and concerted violence in time of danger." *Young India* 29-5-24.

"My non-violence does not admit of running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice. I can no more preach non-violence to a coward than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes. Non-violence is the summit of bravery. And in my own experience, I have had no difficulty in demonstrating to men trained in the school of violence the superiority of non-violence. As a coward, which I was for years, I harboured violence. I began to prize non-violence only when I began to shed cowardice." *Young India* 29-5-24.

"My creed of non-violence is an extremely active force. It has no room for cowardice or even weakness. There is hope for a violent man to be some day non-violent, but there is none for a coward. I have, therefore, said more than once in these pages that if we do not know how to defend ourselves, our women and our places of worship by the force of suffering, & non-violence, we must, if

we are men, be at least able to defend all these by fighting."... *Young India* 16-6-27.

"I cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing. But to him who has not this courage, I advise killing and being killed rather than shamefully fleeing from danger."... *Young India* 20-10-27.

"The world is not entirely governed by logic. Life itself involves some kind of violence and we have to choose the path of least violence."... *Harijan* 28-9-34.

"Non-violence cannot be taught to a person who fears to die and has no power of resistance. A helpless mouse is not non-violent because he is always eaten by pussy. He would gladly eat the murderess if he could, but he ever tries to flee from her. We do not call him a coward, because he is made by nature to behave no better than he does. But a man who, when faced by danger, behaves like a mouse, is rightly called a coward. He harbours violence and hatred in his heart and would kill his enemy if he could without hurting himself. He is a stranger to non-violence. All sermonizing on it will be lost on him. Bravery is foreign to his nature. Before he can understand non-violence he has to be taught to stand his ground and even suffer death in the attempt to defend himself against the aggressor who bids fair to overwhelm him. To do otherwise would be to confirm his cowardice and take him further away from non-violence. Whilst I may not actually help anyone to retaliate, I must not let a coward seek shelter behind non-violence so-called. Not knowing the stuff of which non-violence is made, many have honestly believed that running away from danger every time was a virtue compared to offering resistance especially when it was fraught with danger to one's life. As a teacher of non-violence I must, so far as it is possible for me, guard against such an unmanly belief. Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man. Destruction is not the law of the humans. Man lives freely by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him. Every murder or other injury, no matter for what cause, committed or inflicted on another is a crime against humanity."..... *Harijan* 20-7-35.

"No matter how weak a person is in body, if it is a shame to flee, he will stand his ground and die at his post. This would be non-violence and bravery. No matter how weak he is, he will use what strength he has in inflicting injury on his opponent and die in the attempt. This is bravery, but not non-violence. If, when his duty is to face danger, he flees, it is cowardice. In the first case the man will have love or charity in him. In the second and third cases, there would be a dislike or distrust and fear."..... *Harijan* 17-8-35.

"The doctrine of non-violence is not for the weak and the cowardly; it is meant for the brave and the strong. The bravest man allows himself to be killed without killing. And he desists from killing or injuring, because he knows that it is wrong to injure."..... *Harijan* 20-7-37.

"If one has not the courage, I want him to cultivate the art of killing and being killed, rather than in a cowardly manner flee from danger..... For the latter in spite of his flight does commit mental *himsa*. He flees because he has not the courage to be killed in the act of killing"..... *Harijan* 15-1-38.

I hope I have quoted sufficiently from Gandhiji's writings in the past two decades to prove to you

that you are entirely mistaken in suggesting that he is "retracing his steps back to the point where he began with a rigid exclusion of those who cannot and will not be non-violent." As you will have seen, there was never at any time any such "rigid exclusion" as you imagine, in Gandhiji's case, and, therefore, there cannot be any question of his "retracing his steps."

Yours etc.,  
KRISHNA KUMAR.

[If non-violence is only for the strong, is violence then for the weak who are incapable of it? Paradoxical sayings can be reconciled by an act of faith. Ordinary people can only understand the plain meaning of words. Mr. Krishna Kumar, however, has not read our article carefully before rushing into print with a collection of Gandhi-isms which bear out the position taken by that article. What is even more heinous in so devoted a Gandhian is that he has not read the latest statement with which he begins the compilation, carefully. We are grateful for Mr. Kumar's service, unconscious though it was. Everybody knew that Gandhiji wanted his non-violence to be non-violence of the strong but his writings so far showed that he was converting non-violence of the weak into non-violence of the strong. This is not the position taken in the sentence which we marked as pointing a new policy.—*Editor*.]

#### EDITORS' CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference passed the following resolutions at its Simla Session:—

"This Standing Committee, having considered all aspects of the *Sainik* case, is of the opinion that there never was any justification for the U. P. Government's demand of a total security of Rs. 6,000 from the *Sainik* which admittedly had not committed any offence, and, therefore, regrets that, instead of cancelling the order altogether, the U. P. Government have only reduced the amount of the demand to Rs. 1,000. The Committee is of the opinion that a vital question of principle is involved in this instance and nothing short of the complete cancellation of the original order will meet the requirements of the case. The Committee deplors the unconscionable delay that has already occurred in regard to this matter, resulting in the ruin of the business of the paper and attendant hardships on the employees and requests the U. P. Government to cancel the original order immediately. While appreciating the modification of the original order the Committee would like to draw the attention of the Government of India to the fact that the *Sainik* case has come to be regarded by the public and the Press throughout the country as the measure of the effectiveness of the machinery created under the Delhi Agreement and of the Government's anxiety to ensure that the views of the Standing Committee are respected."

"The Standing Committee reiterates its former resolutions and supports the resolutions of the U. P. Provincial Press Advisory Committee on the question of the security demanded and taken from the *National Herald* of Lucknow. The Committee regrets that the U. P. Government have not redeemed the promise (1) to "write on a clean slate" which was made to the U. P. Press Advisory Committee at its first meeting held in December, 1940, (2) to consider the question *de novo* either by themselves or through the U. P. Press Advisory Committee, and (3) in spite of the repeated requests of the Standing Committee and the U. P. Press Advisory Committee, to refund the security. The Standing Committee urges the Government of India to use their good offices with the U. P. Government to have the views of the U. P. Advisory Committee and this Standing Committee respected in the manner desired in their various resolutions on this matter."

"Resolved that the Standing Committee put on record and communicate to Government its opinion

that in provinces where the Provincial Press Advisory Committees are functioning, the Government should not promulgate any ordinance or order under the Defence of India Rules of a nature to restrict the rights and liberties of the Press without consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committees and that where such ordinances and orders have been passed without such consultation, the ordinances and orders should be immediately reviewed by the Governments concerned in consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committee."

"That in the centrally administered areas where Press Advisory Committees have not been formed, the Central Government should take steps to appraise themselves of the relations between the Press and the local authorities and also consult the Central Press Advisory Committee about any action proposed to be taken in respect of any newspapers."

#### INDIANS IN BURMA.

In the discussions that took place at Delhi between a Burmese delegation and the Government of India, it was decided not to raise the question of Indian immigration into Burma. As with Ceylon this is the most perplexing of the problems which confront Indians in their relations with neighbouring countries and, in comparison to it, the problem of overseas trade is a minor one. We pointed out that the advantages secured for India in the negotiations with Burma were mostly negligible and of little permanent value. It would have been well to have waived these minor concessions which can at the least irritate Burmese opinion. Following on the trade agreement, an invitation was sent to Delhi by the Burma Government to send a delegation to Rangoon to negotiate a settlement of the question of Indian immigration into Burma and a recent communique has been issued from Simla accepting the invitation and announcing the personnel of the Indian delegation, an all-official one headed by Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai. The delegation left Simla on June 10.

Two inquiries have been held into the question, a Royal Commission on Labour and an inquiry into the subject of Indian immigration. But the report of the latter has not been made available in India. The Government of India state that the Standing Emigration Committee are in agreement with the views of the Government. It is further suggested that the Government of India propose to take a stand similar to the one they took on the Ceylon discussions, of insisting on the rights of Indians already settled in Burma while according every help to Burma in checking the "flooding" of Burma by Indians. If this is the case, we do not see why the Government of India have not seen their way to associating with them non-official Indians of known interest in overseas questions, many of whom stand outside the non-co-operating parties. The Indian delegation will have to negotiate with distinguished Burmans who have their country at their back. The officials who form the delegation, will experience the same difficulties which they met with in Ceylon. Will we again see our representatives turning to the British Governor for relief against the growing nationalism of the peoples with whom ultimately Indians will have to make their peace? As representatives primarily of a subsidiary Government in an Empire which has tolerated policies of exclusion, the officials will again suffer a grave handicap. The presence of men like Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru and Mr. P. N. Saprú would have added strength to the delegation and it is regrettable that Government's policy should deprive the country wantonly of their services. Another question arises: Is the question of Indian immigra-

tion a really live issue now when Burma is faced with the problem of meeting Chinese immigration on an unprecedented scale?

#### MYSORE AND ITS CONSTITUTION.

In his first public pronouncement as Dewan, Mr. N. Madhava Rao, the new Dewan of Mysore, told the newly constituted Representative Assembly of the State, that, as ministers of the Maharaja, he and his colleagues regarded themselves as out of party politics. This is a rather unusual position for a Ministry to adopt and it has no precedent in political practice. Never the less, seeing the result of extreme party politics in British India, it might conceivably prove to be an innovation suited to the conditions of this country. The Dewan also referred to the new Constitution which he was inaugurating and expressed his hope that it would be worked in a liberal spirit. His Highness the Maharaja in an earlier speech had uttered similar sentiments and his address was received with appreciation by all sections of the State. The Mysore Congress Party which staged a walk out during the Dewan's speech, welcomed the "democratic" sentiments of His Highness's pronouncement but asked for a radical change in the constitution which, it declared, was unacceptable to it. Similarly placed, the Mysore Muslim League has been advised by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to organise themselves within the framework of the constitution. The Mysore Congress might well take the advice to heart and try to conciliate and persuade the new administration which is now assuming power in Mysore. Nothing is gained by adopting a policy of unyielding opposition, except a reputation for intractability which is not at any time an advantage.

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Shirala ( " " ).	Sakri ( " " ).
Koregaon ( " " ).	Sindkheda ( " " ).
Wai ( " " ).	Taloda ( " " ).
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Bolapur ( " " ).	Satara ( " " ).
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Vol. LI.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY JUNE 21, 1941

No. 42.

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Mr. Amery:—**There have been reports sent out by correspondents of Indian newspapers in London of an impending change at the India Office. Mr. Amery, the present Secretary of State for India, has proved himself to be a square peg in a round hole. Mr. Wedgwood Benn and Sir Stafford Cripps are mentioned as likely to succeed Mr. Amery. The time when a change of Ministers would have an effect on the Indian situation is past or is rapidly passing away. Mr. Wedgwood Benn was Secretary of State for India in the first Labour Government and impressed the Indian public as a man who was sincerely bent on bringing about a radical change in the Indian administration. His appointment to succeed Mr. Amery would certainly predispose Indian leaders to suspend their present attitude of despondency. Sir Stafford Cripps is better known for his Soviet sympathies than for his knowledge of India. His single visit to this country before he drifted as British Ambassador to Moscow, left no particular impression of his interest in the Indian problem. But whether Mr. Wedgwood Benn or Sir Stafford Cripps succeeds Mr. Amery, the policy at present followed up of rounding up communists will have to be abandoned. Lord Linlithgow has shown himself to be capable of accommodating himself to Lord Zetland and to Mr. Amery, but even he may find that with either of the Labourites at the India Office his position as Viceroy would be untenable. But there is no likelihood of Mr. Amery quitting his present office in the near future. The attitude of non-possimus which he has so resolutely adopted towards Indian reformers even of the Sir Jagadish Prasad type, is only reconcilable with his confidence in being able to control the affairs of this country for the duration of the war.

**Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla on Mr. Amery:—**Not only has Mr. Amery failed in effecting any improvement in the political situation in this country but he has actually aggravated it by his blatant statements regarding India's

prosperity. The veteran octogenarian, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla, has issued this week a reply which would call a blush to the cheek of a less hardened politician than Mr. Amery. Sir Ibrahim points out that only one-tenth of one percent of the Indian population has the minimum income fixed for assessment of the income-tax and he quotes an official estimate of Rs. 45/- as the average income per head per annum of the Indian people. This is equivalent to four rupees or six shillings per month. It is one of the lowest comes in the whole world. Colin Clark in his standard work on the "Conditions of Economic Progress" places British India along with Netherland East Indies among the poorest populations on the earth. Sir Ibrahim is wholly in favour of India contributing her utmost to the war effort but urges that her contribution should be proportionate to her low economic condition. This is the very point which we have ourselves been urging with reference, among other things, to the proposals of the Bombay Conference to augment India's war contribution, if Indians were substituted for Englishmen in the Central Government. Sir Ibrahim emphasises the need for adjusting India's war effort to India's economic condition by warning Government and leaders of industry and finance to provide for the depression which is inevitable at the end of the war. There is no Indian public man living who could have replied to the Secretary of State so effectively. Sir Ibrahim has rendered a public service of the utmost value. We publish elsewhere extracts from his pronouncement. Sir Ibrahim has shown considerable restraint in leaving out the Rowlatt Acts and other incidents of the aftermath of India's generosity in the last war.

**War Efforts and Political Deadlock:—**Mr. Amery has reiterated this week his opinion that India's war efforts are not affected by the political situation in this country which, even according to the most moderate Indian leaders, is most unsatisfactory. If, nevertheless, Mr. Amery's statement is correct, it can only mean that the constitution foisted on India after several years of protracted discussions, has no point of contact whatever with the living factors of Indian society. It was more or less a make-believe. Its suspension in several provinces has but enabled the Government of India to ensure India's maximum war help in this war. Alternatively it means that the help that India gives is purely material and mechanical and that

her mind and soul are not at all involved in this transaction. A task done in this way is not that of a free man or free nation. The paradox of the British nation fighting for world freedom while that freedom is not considered essential to her relations with this country, is only too obvious. There is a certain superficial reality about Mr. Amery's belief that the political situation does not affect the ability of the British Government to make the most of India's resources in the prosecution of the war. One fears nevertheless that at some point not definitely perceivable at present, so nicely balanced a situation is bound to break down when it is too late to put things right. It is this attitude of mind which has brought the British Empire to its present parlous plight and it will surely have no better result in respect of the British Indian connection.

**Dr. Jivraj Mehta on the I. M. S.:**—In his speech on Monday at a meeting of city doctors, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dean of the Gordhandas Sunderdas Medical College, Bombay, uttered some home-truths on the failure of the Indian Medical Service to attract Indian doctors in spite of its inducements. The meeting was called to appeal for recruits for the Service. Dr. Mehta began with a reference to the continuance of I. M. S. men in civil work in colleges and hospitals even during wartime when they should have been on active service with the army. He went on to point out, as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah has done in the economic field, that the reason why even non-political elements in the medical profession who had responded freely to appeals in the last war, were now holding back, was the treatment meted out to Indians as soon as the close of war saw the end of the need for them. The tale he unfolded was a woeful one of blatant discrimination against Indians at every stage. "All lucrative posts, posts to salubrious stations," he said, "are generally reserved for Britishers. The stations with unpleasant climate or places where there is not much chance of private practice or the Jail Department generally fall to the lot of Indians." He characterised the appeal addressed to the meeting by Col. R. H. Candy, Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay, for the services of Bombay medical men in the name of humanitarianism, if not because the jobs were lucrative, as an insult to the profession. His eleven demands were all for the removal of discrimination between Indian and European, Indianisation, permanency and security prospects to those who were given temporary commissions in wartime, recognition of the experience and standing in the profession of volunteers, and the association of leaders of the independent medical profession on any Board which may deal with recruitment and demobilisation. The justice of Dr. Mehta's demands is obvious. But the I. M. S. has grown very much into a trade union and it is not surprising that Col. Candy was not able to give the medical men the assurance he had asked for. A press report stated recently

that the question of giving medical women temporary commissions is under consideration. This is a daring innovation for a conservative system like the Medical Service. But it seems hardly wise when the I. M. S. is not able to clear itself of the charges levelled against it by Dr. Jivraj Mehta, for it to undertake the initiation of extensive changes.

**Government By Rounding-up?**—After the Khaksars, Labour leaders. The Bombay Government during the week-end engaged in a round-up of Labour leaders, many of whom, according to the veteran Labour leader, Mr. N. M. Joshi, were working purely in the trades union movement without political ambitions. There seems to be no particular reason for this outburst of police activity unless recent strikes in certain large industrial concerns, have induced it. If there is a case against these men who have now been arrested, surely the wisest course would have been to prosecute them in open court instead of resorting to executive action? The present policy is not calculated to inspire public confidence in the administration of a province where the constitution has been practically indefinitely suspended.

**Race Idiosyncrasies:**—Everyone condemns the introduction of race distinctions in public discussions and everyone does it without seeming to recognise the contradiction between precept and practice. In his last statement on the war Mr. Winston Churchill indulged in several passages of self-commiseration. Among his difficulties, he mentioned that of having to speak in terms which would appeal to different temperaments. The English, according to him, like to be told the bitter truth. They were, he claimed, unique in that respect. Other races were intimidated by being told the harsh truth from putting forth their best efforts. He mentioned particularly the Arabs who, as the allies of Britain, had to be kept in good spirits by prophesies of victory while the Prime Minister knew that defeats were more immediately likely. Therefore, said Mr. Churchill, he had often to speak in optimistic terms when he would speak otherwise if he were addressing only his own people. This tendency to imagine one's self and people to be a peculiar people, is an ancient weakness of humanity. As a matter of fact, all human beings react in the same way to good and evil. Captain James Roosevelt, eldest son of the United States President, in an interview at Lisbon said of the Chinese whose sufferings in war are unprecedented, "I was impressed by the cheerful confidence of the people." The Arabs in particular as children of the desert are inured to hardship and calamity. Happiness to them is like the oasis in a waste of sand. The Arab can face danger and death with not less indifference than the Englishman. Only the quality is stigmatised as fatalism, kismet, when exhibited by the Arab, while it is praised as fortitude, courage, heroism, when shown by one's own people. There was

a curious illustration of this inveterate prejudice of the white man not long ago. Alexandria was bombed by the Germans and the reporter said that only the wailings of the women were heard in the scene of disaster. As if in other countries, women never wail when their homes are laid waste and their children and friends killed! While the fortitude shown by the British people is worthy of admiration, it is absurd to assume that no other people are capable of equal endurance in times of calamity. The fact is that calamity and adversity are more frightful in prospect or retrospect. When you are actually in it, your only thought is how to face it. Death, it has been said, is more fearful to the onlooker than to the person actually dying. Fear is an ephemeral emotion. Some one has calculated that ten minutes is the utmost duration of the fear emotion. The Poet thought it was much less. "The black minute," is but a minute. The very fact that the Prime Minister has to explain to his countrymen that they are immune to fear, shows that they are prone to fear unless they are now and then told that they are immune to it.

**Direct Action and the Mahasabha:**—The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha at its session at Calcutta on June 10-12 resolved to suspend its Madura resolution in favour of "direct action" which is nothing more than a programme of jail-going. This is a wise decision so far as it goes. But it would have been wiser had the Working Committee decided to give up direct action instead of merely to postpone the final decision for a time. Its present resolve is one of expediency, pure and simple. The abandonment of direct action would have been a decision of principle. Civil disobedience, as the Congress calls it, is the same method and Dr. Moonje revealed in an indiscreet mood that the Mahasabha had resolved for direct action in view of possible elections. If it is permissible to copy Congress tactics, it is equally permissible and wiser to profit by its mistakes. The defects of the satyagraha campaign are obvious. The initiative left the Congress in Indian politics when it decided on its present campaign which it launched to assert freedom of speech. Even if the initiator of the satyagraha campaign were now convinced of the fact that the cause of free speech is better served without agitating for it directly, is he free to change his tactics? The next move lies with the Government of India and all that the leading political party in the country can do is to press for early action by the Government. The Mahasabha should have learnt its lesson from this. There is a vast difference between a party which resolves not to launch a direct action campaign, and one which keeps the threat of it still hanging over the administration. A great opportunity has been lost by the Mahasabha.

**The Defence of India:**—A resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha on the defence of India gives a clear lead to the country. It asks that in view of international developments, preparations should be

made to defend the country by calling back the troops who are now fighting in the different theatres of war, and by utilising the war funds raised in India solely for Indian defence inside the country. It would not be practicable to withdraw our troops suddenly from outside India. But it certainly is worth considering whether the theory of India's frontiers lying in Egypt and in Malaya is the best defence policy for India to pursue in the circumstances that have arisen. The new pact which Turkey has put through with Germany makes this the more urgent. Egypt's passive attitude is another factor which should be taken into account. There can be no two opinions, however, regarding the value of utilising funds raised for the war in this country to strengthen Indian defences. Australia has taken a similar decision which it is putting into force.

**British Propaganda in the U. S. A.:**—In the British Ministry of Information's "Talking Points on India" which the *Hindu* did a public service in first reprinting in full recently, we have the skeleton of every speech on India made by propagandists abroad. For these were notes supplied by the Ministry. They are the most cowardly and despicable thing a Government could do to a people over whom it claims trusteeship. "India was always," says one 'talking point' "a land of great poverty among the masses; the old idea of its wealth came from the splendour of the courts and the habit of hoarding gold and jewellery." This is an explanation of the poverty of the peasant. Mr. Duff-Cooper makes up in imagination what he lacks in normal intelligence. He sees through what is hoarded but he does not explain how "hoarding gold and jewellery" became a habit among a people of great poverty. We are also told, or rather the Americans are to be told, that India must slow down the growth of population which requires "a change in the social system particularly of the Hindus to whom a son is a religious necessity." Well, what American help does Britain expect in this matter? "Talking Points," as a whole, convey the impression that Britain is very honest in its intentions in India but is rather like a lazy, old man who has to sit down in the middle of the road because movement in either direction is too great an exertion for him—briefly, a decaying Empire. "The Oriental sense in values is completely different to the European's," is one of the main 'principles to be kept in mind,' "e. g., nepotism is a vice to us, a virtue to them." Mr. Duff-Cooper would profit by reading Dr. Jivraj Mehta's indictment of nepotism, jobbery and favouritism on a racial scale as practiced by the British in India, in an important sphere of public service. We do not know on what principle the Minister of Information is appointed but for Britain's sake we should hate to think that Mr. Duff-Cooper's appointment is due to any intellectual or moral superiority over his fellow countrymen. Nepotism would at the most mean a slur on the present Government. To attribute it to merit would be to indict a nation.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 21, 1941.

## PUBLIC ENQUIRY INTO RIOTS.

In last week's *Reformer* we commented on the absurdly superficial Press Note issued by the Bombay Director of Information attempting a justification of the policy of suppression of news regarding the outbreak of lawlessness in Bombay. The present system or want of it may not affect the war effort. But it certainly leads to an atrophy of brain effort. The official comes to believe that anything he may assert must go down with the public and that any effort on his part to put sense and logic in his arguments is energy wasted. This disease unfortunately extends also to public men who have held and no doubt expect to hold office again. In all such cases of outbreaks of crime there has always been a public enquiry into the causes, the object being to find remedies for grievances which always underlie a resort to violence on a considerable scale by members of a predominantly law-abiding public. There have been demands from responsible quarters for a public enquiry into the circumstances surrounding the recent Bombay outbreaks. Government in a Press communique stated that they were considering the institution of such an enquiry pointing out at the same time the risk of a public enquiry degenerating into an interchange of recriminations between rival partisans. The flaw in this reasoning, and it is a fatal one, is that it assumes that practically the whole population is ranged on opposite sides, whereas the fact is that the overwhelming majority of the population—we do not hesitate to put it at over ninety-nine and one-half per cent—are completely out of sympathy with the law-breakers and are anxious that the truth about their recent activities should be probed to the bottom and the causes rooted out. The Government assumption involves a great injustice to the law-abiding majority.

While, however, Government were considering the demand for an enquiry, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Home Minister in the Congress Government, has rushed in on the strength of his experience to bang the door on any enquiry as it led to recriminations on a previous occasion when on his motion one was instituted. If the "recriminations" were irrelevant and were made only with the object of creating bad blood, they should have been disallowed by the Chairman of the Committee with the support of the members. If, on the other hand, they were only statements of facts as they appeared to different observers, it is absurd to discountenance them merely because they bear the character of 'recriminations.' In any case it is better that these differences should be confronted in the orderly atmosphere of a Committee than with knives and lathis in the streets and by-lanes of Bombay. That a politician professing to belong to a

popular party should range himself on the side of opposition to a public inquiry, is a paradox but this is not the only one in the case of the late Congress Minister. His suggestion for avoiding similar clashes is that each group in the city—whatever that may mean—should organise its own private guards to defend itself against the assaults of other groups. This may be the logical corollary of a leader of the Party of satyagraha, but it is not a suggestion which would be countenanced by the vast majority who still retain their faith in constitutional methods of preserving law and order. The failure of Mr. Munshi to see that it is the very existence of groups such as he recommends, which constitutes the greatest menace to the public peace, is surprising. Nothing but good can come out of an impartial public enquiry into the causes of the recent troubles and nothing but evil can come out of the formation of private citizen regiments to safeguard group interests as distinguished from public interests without reference to race or creed. An enquiry which is not open to the press and to the public, would be worse than useless. It would lend colour to the suggestion made by Mr. Kripalani, the Congress General Secretary, and supported by Mr. Munshi's attitude that there is something in the riots which Government wish to conceal from the public.

That the policy of suppressing names and localities has failed, is evident from the fact which seldom happened before—that, after a few days' subsidence, the crimes reappear and their perpetrators who, judging from the fatal nature of the assaults, seem to be hired assassins trained to their task, escape unscathed though the deeds are done in broad daylight. The *Evening News* reported on Monday:

Just as conditions in Bombay were returning to normal, three murders were committed in the disturbed area in the city today. All three belonged to one community, and were victims of stray knife assaults committed at three different places in the curfew area. In view of the recrudescence of the trouble, it is not considered likely that the Curfew Order will be relaxed. As a result of the fresh trouble some of the shops in the disturbed area were closed during the rest of the day. Police vigilance was also reinforced. The assaults took place shortly before noon. The first victim was a hotel servant who had left his place of business to buy some article. He was going along a gully, when someone approached him and stabbed him with a knife. The servant ran a few paces and collapsed. When picked up by the police he was found dead.

The second assault took place in another locality far away from the scene of the first crime. A shop-keeper just came out of his shop when a person belonging to another community ran towards him from a neighbouring gully and stabbed him. The victim fell and was being rushed to hospital when he died.

The victim of the third assault was an assistant in a shop owned by a member of the rival community. He attended his shop today and towards noon came out of it when he was stabbed. He was taken to hospital where he died half an hour after admission. All three assaults took place within half an hour. The total number of persons killed or dead in the present disturbances till this afternoon was 47. The number of persons injured was 228.



Two persons were arrested for breach of curfew in the morning.

The passage quoted above incidentally brings out the shifts to which conscientious journalists are reduced in their desire to give their readers as much information as they can without bringing themselves within the magisterial ban on the publication of names and places. The three murders occurred within half an hour of one another in "the curfew area." Except by Police officials and newspaper reporter who have in the discharge of their duties to know where "the curfew area" ends and where it begins, the general public nowadays find it safe to regard the whole city as constituting the disturbed or "curfew area." The indication in the report is, therefore, of no practical guidance to the public. But that three murders were the result of stabbing might arouse suspicions which may not be well-founded. What to our mind is most objectionable is the labelling of communities which normally even today live at peace with one another, as "rival" communities. Compared to the permanent injury which such a notion might cause, a plain statement of the caste and community of victims and aggressors might be far less harmful. Government, we trust, will take into consideration the serious implications of the ban on the publication of news.

**Sir Shanmukham Chetty** :—When the *Reformer* wrote three weeks ago in its comment on Sir Shanmukham Chetty's sudden resignation of the Dewanship of Cochin, an office which he had held for six years with conspicuous success, that he was sure to play a prominent part in Indian public life in the near future, the last thing that it had in mind was that he was likely to accept a position of purchaser-general of stores in America for the Government of India. From an All India statesman which Sir Shanmukham is, to a store-purchaser, is certainly a come down and when it is stated that Sir Shanmukham is to hold this humdrum office for the duration of the war—estimated by Colonel Knox, the U. S. A. Naval Secretary, to last ten years—one wonders if the Simla correspondent of the *Hindu* is not drawing on his imagination a bit more than usual. As we pointed out three weeks ago, Sir Shanmukham's great achievement in Cochin was the harmonising of the conservatism of the late Maharaja with his own progressive tendencies. This is the quality which is most needed at the present time in India and we do feel that to send away a man who has proved himself gifted with it, to a country ten thousand miles away on a haggling mission, is to sacrifice the interests of the country. Sir Shanmukham has not only succeeded in bringing a conservative State in line with modern ideas; he is in friendly touch with Muslim leaders also. The two big problems of India are connected with Indian States and the Muslim community. In the solution of both Sir Shanmukham can be highly useful. It may be said that though Sir Shanmukham's

office is that of stores purchaser, he will incidentally help to bring America and India closer together. This is a worthy object but you can not do the two things together. Sir Shanmukham will be there as a Government official and the American distrusts all Government officials, especially from India. The two names most widely known in the United States are Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The first questions which the average American puts an Indian visitor is if he knows Mahatma Gandhi. Sir Shanmukham, of course, knows Gandhi but he will find it difficult in his capacity of stores purchaser to answer the next question, Why do Government send his followers, in hundreds to prison. Among the non-politicals, the men most widely known in the States are Sir C. V. Raman and Sir S. Radhakrishnan. We are sure that, as a representative of the Indian Government, Sir Shanmukham will eschew his political affiliations in this country. The American is incapable of understanding the subtleties of our politics and it will be hard to persuade him that while Independence has been a great blessing to the United States and will be a great blessing to Poland and other countries, for India British rule is tantamount to the highest kind of freedom. We do hope that Sir Shanmukham will consider the duty he owes to India before deciding on accepting the post offered to him. We think he can do more good remaining in the country than by expatriating himself for the next few years which are sure to be a formative periods in our history. Government can find any number of men who can do the purchasing of stores far more skilfully in America.

#### THE PROSPERITY OF INDIA.

(BY SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTULAH)

Mr. Amery in the course of his recent speech in Parliament is reported to have said :

India is prosperous. There is more revenue for the Central and Provincial Governments and not only under those Provincial Governments carrying on under democratic institutions but there is a great deal of active social progress going on all the time.

How well informed the Secretary of State is as regards the financial condition of this country may be judged by official records published by the Central Government for the year 1938-39 which will show how enormously prosperous India really is.

It is axiomatic that the prosperity of a country depends upon its savings. It is, therefore, necessary to examine what the conditions are in this respect, whether India is able to save something worth while or whether there is going on a steady deterioration in the economic condition of this country. The All-India Income Tax Report published by the Central Board of Revenue throws an illuminating light on the economic condition of India. Income tax is levied on all incomes of Rs. 2,000 per annum and over. According to this official report there are in this country the huge number of 2,85,940 assesses with an income of Rs. 2,000 or £150 per annum and over. On the basis of a population of 800 millions in British India this figure works out at one-tenth of one per cent of the population.

It is true that agricultural incomes are not subject to this tax. So far as the actual cultivators are concerned no one will be presumptuous enough to claim that any one of them could possibly have an income of Rs. 2,000 per annum and over. The only class that remains to be taken into consideration is the agricultural landlords. It is difficult to find any official data to show the exact number in this category but it cannot be very numerous, thanks to the land revenue policy pursued by the British Government.

Sir James Grigg, then Finance Member of the Government of India, in his Budget Speech in April 1938, on the eve of his retirement from India, is reported to have said that the national income of India is 1,600 crores of rupees per annum. If this official figure is divided by 300 millions, the population in British India, it works out at Rs. 53-5-4 per unit of population. If a rough figure of Rs. 8-5-4 is deducted for Imperial, Provincial and local taxation the balance works out at Rs. 45 per unit per annum or less than Rs. 4 per month.

During the last war India stood by Britain wholeheartedly. Attention may be drawn to the publication by the Government of India of a book entitled "India's contribution to the Great War". It is an illuminating publication. According to this report (a) India's contribution in men was 1,401,350 and (b) India's contribution in money was over 107 million pounds sterling. As if all these contributions which India had made in men, money and materials towards winning the war were not sufficient, Britain managed, when the Imperial Legislative Council had an official majority, to obtain from India a gift of an additional hundred million sterling. India's reward for all she did in winning the last war was the gift of super tax which is being steadily increased.

The statement published by the Central Board of Revenue already referred to provides valuable data as regards the "prosperity" of India. According to this report the total number of rich assesseees with an income of Rs. 25,000 and over, in the whole of British India is the huge figure of 4,210. When this figure is analysed it shows that amongst these 4,210 assesseees there are 2,864 individual assesseees the others being associations of individuals—companies, unregistered firms and undivided families. Amongst the 2,864 individual assesseees there must be a fair number of European and other foreign assesseees.

It is ostensibly the policy of the Central Government to levy super tax on people who are regarded by them as rich. In the case of income tax the levy is regulated in accordance with the income of the assessee and when joint stock companies pay this tax at source at the highest rate, refund is granted to those shareholders whose total income is chargeable at lower rates. No refund, however, is given for super tax. The result is that those people belonging to the middle classes who are venturesome enough to invest their capital in joint stock companies have to pay super tax as shareholders though they are nowhere near the standard on which ostensibly this tax is levied.

It is desirable to draw attention to the theory and practice of levying these direct taxes. In theory super tax is leviable on incomes beyond a specified figure and that income is liable to one super tax. In practice in many cases super tax is levied on the same income thrice over. If a private company happens to have fairly large investments in joint stock companies they get their dividends after super tax has been paid at the source. The income, therefore, from which the dividends are distributed has already paid one super tax. The private com-

panies are then made to pay super tax on their own income inclusive of all such dividends. This is not all. Recently the income tax law has been amended and private companies are obliged to distribute at least sixty per cent of their income amongst their shareholders (or partners as the case may be) and such shareholders are again made to pay super tax individually, so that super tax is levied in many cases thrice over on the same income. It does not appear to be anybody's business to consider what effect this policy has on the economic condition of India and her purchasing power.

The Secretary of State when he talks of India's prosperity is probably carried away by conditions in Britain. Recently it was announced in the Press that during the year 1938-39 there were in Britain with a population of 45 millions, 539 individual assesseees with an income of £ 40,000 and over per annum. In British India with a population of 300 millions, the number of individual assesseees with an income of Rs. 5,00,001 and over is the huge figure of 9. It will be admitted that these statistics supplied by official records provide full and ample justification to Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, to declare that India is "prosperous."

It will be recognised that there is both a political and an economic aspect in considering this question. Mahatma Gandhi in resorting to Satyagraha has converted the Legislative Assembly with an elected majority in terms of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms into an institution of the Morley-Minto reforms with a clear official majority. This necessarily imposes greater responsibilities on the Government of India in administering the finances of this country. The opposition from the Congress elected members has been eliminated and the necessity of carrying on the administration by means of certification no longer exists. The question is whether with full responsibility resting on them the Government of India have drawn the attention of the Secretary of State to the real economic condition of this country when proposing heavy and increased direct and indirect taxation. It is true that Britain is at present involved in war. No one objects to India's contributions towards the successful prosecution of the war but it must necessarily be within her means and what she can in her present economic condition afford to provide.

It may be recalled that India during the pre-British period was regarded as one of the richest countries in the world and in consequence she drew adventurers from all parts of the world. Internecine quarrels amongst the ruling classes in India helped in establishing British Raj practically in the whole of this sub-continent. Those Britishers who successfully established British Raj in this country had imagination and statesmanship and they adapted themselves in such a way as to win the regard and esteem of the people of this country. They substituted the rule of law as against the personal rule which prevailed in pre-British days. The Police and the Law Courts were organised and the administration was carried on in such a way that British Raj was at one time regarded as Ram Raj.

All that seems to have changed and there is a growing feeling of discontent in this country. The insistent demand of all political parties for Swaraj may be explained as the necessary development of modern times but it is also due to the extreme dissatisfaction which prevails amongst the people of this country in regard to the economic and financial policy pursued by Britain during recent years which has brought down the once one of the richest countries in the world to a state of extreme poverty. Simultaneously with the economic policy pursued

by Britain the population of the country has steadily increased. During the last decade it is reported that the population has risen from 350 to 400 millions, an increase of 50 millions or five millions more than the total population of Britain. The problem which the governing authority will have to face seriously, is how to provide means for decent maintenance of this huge population with a national income of only Rs. 45 per annum per unit of population.

It is an admitted fact that Britain cannot live without her export trade. India has been one of her best markets in the past. What will be the effect on the purchasing power of this country of the policy which the Central Government is now pursuing of heavy direct and indirect taxation? The trade depression which followed the last war will be nothing compared to what will probably occur after the present war is won. The damage done to property and assets during the last war was negligible compared to the damage which is now being inflicted by belligerent countries upon one another. The fate of Europe economically will be unenviable if this war goes on as appears likely for two or three years more. Statesmanship requires that measures should be taken as far as possible from now onwards to meet this stupendous depression which is likely to follow the conclusion of hostilities. The question is whether Britain has even now any farsighted statesmanship.

#### BRITISH OPINION ON INDIA.

In strange contrast to Mr. Amery's official declarations of complete satisfaction with Indian affairs, are the increasing number of articles, appeals and statements which are coming out to India from Britain. A group of young men from Oxford, including both Indians and Englishmen, have put forward the suggestion that the Viceroy should be given Home Rule—most of us believed that he already had that—that he should form a National War Cabinet of prominent Indians which one year after peace has been concluded, will be transformed into an India Council by the inclusion of Indians "of all strata." This Council is to devise a constitution for India by incorporating the highest achievements of Indian culture and western civilisation and it will be assisted in this work by an advisory body of British and American experts. This scheme has nothing special to commend it and judging from the summary it is a delightful mixture of fantasy and idealism. More practical suggestions in India itself by elder statesmen have failed to find favour with officials. That Reuter has thought fit to cable a news item about the proposals, is a strange proof of that agency's way with the Indian public. We have been informed from time to time of distinguished publicists going over to America to speak on India. But we have rarely been given the gist of what they said. Yet this jejune effort at political negotiation is worthy of cabling out to India when cable charges are not exactly moderate. Sometime back an American writer who apparently was rather exhausted by British evasions of questions on war aims, revealed that motor-vans were touring India telling the people why this war was being fought. His jaded spirits drove him to envy of the Indian who had shouted to him from the van-tops what Americans could not even learn in secret. On the subject of India it is probable that the position is reversed. Britain's aims in India might have been revealed more clearly by Britons in the U. S. A.

A few days later, Sir John Maynard, a distinguished ex-Governor of the Punjab, gave his views on Indian politics in an article in the *New Statesman*

summarised by the *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent for cabling to India. The outstanding suggestion was for the appointment of an Indian as Secretary of State, with three probables—Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan not as representing the martial classes of a martial province but because of "his soldier sons who bore the British flag to victory"; the Maharaja of Bikaner not as a veteran member of the princely order but for "his services abroad and his good" administration; and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru not as an experienced British Indian statesman, but because of his recent peace effort. The Executive Council is to be changed into a Responsible Ministry with an Indian non-military man as the member for Defence in addition to the Commander-in-Chief.

It is worth noting that both the Oxford scheme and Sir John Maynard's proposal—there are probably others which have not been cabled out to India—follow close on Mr. Amery's declaration that the task of framing India's constitution is one solely for Indians. Obviously there is a feeling that British traditions should not be completely lost sight of among intellectuals and others in Britain. The *Hindu* correspondent records that British Labour is growing restive over India and several Tories are also inclined to work out an Indian solution.

Sir John Maynard comes out with the startling suggestion that Haile Selassie must be asked to send Abyssinian representatives to accompany an unofficial British Goodwill Mission to India to appeal to all parties to sink their differences and unite in the war for freedom. If Japan enters the war, than Marshal Chiang Kaishek should be asked to add Chinese representatives to the mission but no representatives of the Dominions which have acquired a reputation for colour prejudice, should be asked to join the delegation. Sir John is wise in recognising the feeling in India about the Dominions which no other British publicist has so far done. In fact the Dominions have been thrust at us to the point of irritation. His suggestion for making use of the Abyssinian Emperor or the Chinese Generalissimo, if the accident of Japan's declaring war on Britain made him Britain's ally, is naive. The Emperor owes his restored throne to Britain; the Generalissimo has been straining every nerve to coalesce the defensive nations of the parallel wars without success and he too would be eternally grateful for British help. If Sir John wants to give them credit for something which the other suggested changes would by themselves achieve, by all means let these two chiefs send their delegates. If he hopes, however, to do things through them which without them would remain undone, he is gravely mistaken. The delegates will be received with respect and regard but they will also be firmly told to leave Indian questions alone. Selassie has a difficult task in Abyssinia. Had he been the head of a party instead of Emperor he would doubtless have been asked to produce his title-deeds to the united national confidence of his people, and would have experienced difficulty in doing it according to the witness of the *New Statesman* itself. The Chinese Generalissimo has his own troubles with his Communists. These would be increased rather than modified by any indiscreet intervention in India. The problem of Indo-British relations is one for these two countries themselves. And they can only be solved by direct dealings without third-party intervention. For one thing, both Abyssinians and Chinese are staunch believers in political independence. Indians, generally speaking, can see possibilities in unions of equality between two countries. Even if Selassie's and Chiang Kaishek's delegates honestly believe in less than independence for India, they will have to explain

why for their countries they felt political independence to be necessary.

### THE UNWANTED CHILD.

(BY JOHN BARNABAS, LUCKNOW.)

In the *Pioneer* and *National Herald* of 5th June there is a report of a widow who gave birth to a child in the G. I. P. Mail between Unao and Cawnpore and attempted to commit infanticide by throwing the child through the lavatory drain. The woman is reported to be arrested under sections 318 and 109 I. P. C.

This is not a solitary instance of women trying to get rid of an unwanted child. Almost daily one reads or hears of such heart-rending tales. It is time we did some thinking on it.

The case in instance is an interesting comment on the relative force of the maternal and the self-preservation instinct as a result of one's expression of the sex urge. Few can deny that the pangs of trying to get rid of one's own child must be at least as great as that of travail in child-birth. Yet the so-called social code which tortures a woman if she has a child without having a man as her husband, is more assertive when the motherly love subordinates itself to the desire to save herself from social obloquy.

Our society is positively funny. We marry the girl before she is a woman. Quite often she becomes a widow just when her sex urge is most dominant. Then we tell her it is a sin to satisfy the natural urge either by marrying again or by having a man without marrying. Our puritans hardly realise that it is just cruelty to animals to deny the satisfaction of God-given urges. There is too much of hush-hush in discussing these matters as if all that matters is the social code and no heed is paid to the fundamental human urges in either legislating or in pronouncing an act "moral or "immoral."

Marriage is instituted because society recognizes the reasonableness of satisfying the sex urge. But when an individual does it without the man-made "husband" in it, you stone the woman by a hybrid puritanism. Recently a girl of 14 gave birth to a child, the child was somehow murdered and the girl was given transportation for life.

Who is the real murderer in all these cases? Is it the mother or our society? The mother gets rid of such a child because society tells her it is "unwanted," Not because the child is "unwanted" by her. In this process of getting rid of the child for the sake of conforming to the so-called social code, she happens to "murder" the child. By the sheer logic of it, one must confess it is not the woman but society that murders the child, which the woman has brought forth into the world through as much travail as a "lawfully wedded wife."

If this social "murder" is to be avoided we must

- (1) permit widow re-marriage;
- (2) make much less fuss of it when a spinster asserts her right to motherhood;
- (3) be more kindly to the mother of such an unwanted child, so that she need not feel she is eternally fallen from grace if she happens to have a baby in the usual process of satisfying her sex hunger.
- (4) institute a society or Home for the bringing up of abandoned babes.

One of the Social services that the Municipality of Paris does is to run a "Service d'enfant abandonne," an organization to bring up children whose parents are either dead or due to some reason or the other ashamed to bring up their unwanted children in the

existing conditions of the present day society. When a mother arrives at the Asylum to deposit her baby, she is always advised not to do it for the interest of her child. Sometimes the authorities find out ways and means so that she can maintain the baby without much difficulty. If she is without a suitable job, they try to find out one for her, if she wants to get married to the man who is responsible for bringing the child into the world, the authorities make proper arrangements for doing so and subsequently the child is considered to be a legitimate child.

Thus the mother is saved ignominy and a life is saved. It is interesting to note that some famous persons in France are from among those brought up in this Asylum—Mgr. Dupanloup, Archbishop of Orleans; Francois-Albert, for some time minister of Labour; D' Alembert, the famous mathematician, philosopher and member of the French Academy.

In being unduly intolerant of the way of all flesh, are we not unreasonable in condemning the unfortunate mother to eternal social stigma? For, an act of satisfying one's fundamental urge and bringing a child into the world is after all not an anti-social act. In fact, the social code is anti-individual. So long as our law continues to be what it is and so long as our social code continues to be as irrational as it is, none can stop a woman from satisfying her sex but innocent children thus born, instead of being brought into an Asylum for them, will find their way into the man-hole, the open gutter, the all-consuming river or the cruel railway line. May it not be that many of these rejected children of society might well become the cornerstone of our social structure?

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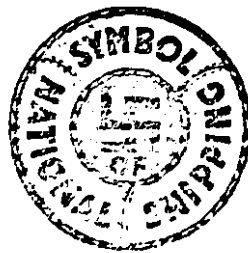
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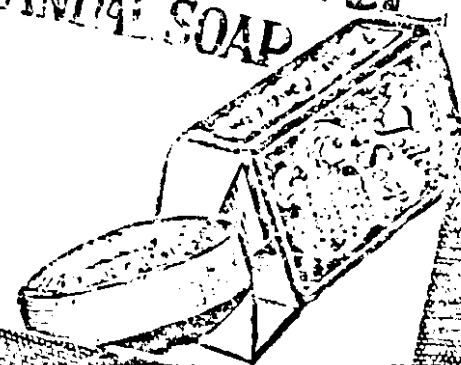


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#### EXTRACTS—

- (1) Suppose the Germans are enabled today to dominate the world and purge it of all elements non-German. But tomorrow, *i. e.* a few centuries hence, when the world would again be full—now with people of only the purest German blood—and the problem of bread would again be as acute, the Germans of America will wage a war against the Germans of Europe, the Germans of China against the Germans of Japan, the Germans of Russia against Germans of Germany!
- (2) True superiority does not therefore consist in beating one's breast and shouting oneself to be superior, but in being so called and admired by *others*. (Compare with this—Mr. Amery in a most egregious fashion went on to tell the Indians that "the Britishers are the most civilised people in this world."—*Free Press Journal*, 21-5-1941. A begging Fakir or an illiterate Kazi may proclaim his religion to be the greatest in the world; but it is pathetic to see men of the status of the Secretary of State indulging in similar bombast in regard to what they call their "civilization.")
- (3) It does not appear to have been clearly realized that a cat will not be more happy by being transformed into a dog, or a dog by being transformed into a cat.
- (4) I suppose a millionaire does not actually eat a million loaves of bread daily, nor wears a million shirts and coats over one another, nor occupies a million bungalows by his body.
- (5) .....childish notions of superiority of race or blood—which was one at the source and will again be one in the end—in the bowels of the earth!
- (6) All the fight.....has been.....for the power, in short, of the silly old mother-in-law of saying 'no' to the beggar, who had come for alms and whom the daughter-in-law had turned away saying 'no'!

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Municipal Administration in Bombay:**—A Press Note issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, opens with the following quoted from the Report on Municipal Administration in Bombay:

Municipalities in Bombay Province in 1939-40 were in general, still dominated by personalities instead of being on sound democratic principles with well-defined policies, says the report on their administration for that year. Petty jealousies, lack of broad outlook and a civic sense of duty on the part of councillors of many of the Boards were responsible for this.

The Reports themselves are nowadays not issued to the Press, only a summary prepared by the Director of Information. The Director's attention seems to have been arrested by this somewhat inane passage in the Report on Bombay Municipalities. The brilliant mind which conceived this criticism of our Municipalities, seems to hold that personalities are out of place in Municipalities. Unfortunately, however, "sound democratic principles" do not run themselves except through personalities. The cry all the world over is for personalities capable of applying principles wisely conceived and firmly held. All democratic institutions suffer for lack of men of character—that is, personalities—to work them. All countries including the democracies, are today governed by single personalities—Franklin Roosevelt in the United States, Winston Churchill in Great Britain, Stalin in Soviet Russia, Hitler in the Third Reich, Mussolini in Italy, Franco in Spain. Municipalities in Bombay are subordinate to the Provincial Government which is run by a single personality. That Government itself is subordinate to the Governor-General who is now practically a Dictator. Where will the Municipalities derive inspiration from to carry on their small concerns on 'sound democratic principles'? Jealousies are always petty. There are no generous jealousies. The broad outlook which the Report writer desiderates, does not exist anywhere in the land. The Municipalities are doing their best under extremely difficult conditions. These are such as to repel men of broad

outlook, not to speak of sound democratic principles, from seeking election to them. The one democratic principle which is well understood and is skilfully manipulated, is that the majority rules and is itself ruled by the man who can by hook or by crook get a majority of the members to vote for him and his proposals. One or two independent critics are suppressed or ignored. This is by no means peculiar to India or Bombay. In Great Britain things are not very different. Sir Bamfylde Fuller in his Reminiscences rather makes out that Indian District Boards and Municipalities are more public-spirited than the corresponding bodies in Britain on which he served for some years after his retirement from the Governorship of Bihar. The Reporter would do better, if instead of picking holes in the work of the Municipalities, he tried to understand their difficulties and made helpful suggestions as to how best they can be minimised if not eliminated. The first thing to grasp is that tender democratic plants cannot grow under an overshadowing bureaucracy.

**Scindia Shipbuilding Yard:**—On Saturday, the 21st June, Babu Rajendra Prasad laid the foundation stone of the shipbuilding yard which the Scindia Steamship Company is building at Vizagapatam. This is a great enterprise testifying to the courage, persistence and foresight of the Directors. It is a sad fact that the Indian shipbuilding industry which was a flourishing one in the early part of the last century, was allowed to die out owing to the unsympathetic attitude of the British Government. The policy of that Government in industrial matters has been to encourage just so much development as will create a demand for machinery and plant manufactured in Great Britain. Railways were built but even today India has to import all her locomotive engines. In regard to ships, India many years ago became wholly dependent on Britain and other countries. Efforts to break the monopoly were defeated by the competition of the big British Company and the short-sighted economy of Indian merchants. One of these was made by the late Jamssetjee Tata but it failed as he did not get support from Indian shippers. The Scindia Company itself was started without much official encouragement and has had to face many difficulties which were described in the address of Mr. Walchand Hirachand, Chairman of the Company, at Vizagapatam. The project of a

shipbuilding yard had likewise to be pushed forward against much official indifference. But these have been overcome, and we would have wished that the sponge had been passed on them. The shipping business requires more co-operation from Government than other industries and it is the part of wisdom to let bygones be bygones. Another observation we should like to make is, the inadvisability of identifying an essentially industrial movement with an essentially political movement like the Congress. Babu Rajendra Prasad is a very distinguished Indian and his prominent association with the function would not be anyway less auspicious if he had stood in his own right. But he thought it proper to declare that he was there as the representative of the Congress, thus making shipbuilding in India a part of the party programme. Then, again, there was no need to have any religious ceremony at the stone-laying function. But, if it was thought necessary to have one, there should have been Muslim, Christian and other invocations along with the Hindu prayers. We are a nation of many communities each jealous of its status and none should feel left out on such occasions.

**The Congress and Gandhiji :—**Soon after the Poona resolution for a provisional national government was adopted by the Congress, there were strong rumours that Gandhiji contemplated leaving the Congress, with those of its members—it was thought it would be a small number—who firmly believed in his principles. The lack of response from the British left the Congress in a difficult position out of which it escaped by placing itself under Gandhiji's leadership again. Gandhiji has of late been expressing some dissatisfaction with the material with which he is working in the Congress and he has expressed his ability to rebuild the whole organisation with but five true men. This had led to a feeling that Gandhiji not finding the requisite conditions for his leadership in the party might be considering retiring from its leadership. On Thursday, however, came the somewhat surprising news that Mr. K. M. Munshi had resigned his membership of the Congress. Mr. Munshi who has a keen eye to the dramatic, had not very long ago declared his devotion to Gandhiji in a book entitled "I Follow the Mahatma." It was hardly to be expected that so rapid a change would come over this disciple. There are reports that further resignations are likely. The disagreement apparently is over Gandhiji's non-violent approach to the communal problem and Mr. Munshi in his statement has declared his intention to observe the situation and call those who are likely to support his views to a conference. Mr. Munshi now that he has severed his formal connection with the Congress, might expect to figure prominently at the coming meeting of the expanded Sapru Conference, at Poona.

**The Police, the Public and the Riots :—**There has been nothing reassuring in the progress of the riots situation. There would seem to be little reason to persist in even calling the disturbances of the past two months "riots," as they have nothing of the mob both in the violence displayed and in the manner in which the assailants evade police vigilance. The mood of disturbers of the peace on both sides reflects cold calculation rather than a momentary frenzy. On the other hand, in spite of the now fashionable practice of reviling the citizens of Bombay for cowardice, it would seem from the nature of the assaults—very often on small shopkeepers or their assistants—that there is quite a bit of ordinary everyday courage shown by the public. It is all very well for prominent individuals to harangue the citizens from safe and untroubled areas in the city. But many of the incidents have actually occurred in business localities where, in spite of the trouble, traders have gone about their work. Nevertheless it is true that Hindu shops in Muslim areas or Muslim shops in Hindu localities are shut down during the disturbances. Mr. Kirpalani, the General Secretary of the Congress, who, it is reported, will follow Mr. Munshi out of the Congress, urged in an article the other day that economic boycott should be practised against the offending community. As a matter of fact without any lead from anyone, such boycott is being practised through necessity. To make it widespread throughout the city and probably throughout the country, is to aggravate the problems of the day by penalising innocent members of the public. At a meeting in Bombay of the Mayor's Peace Committee, the Police Commissioner deplored the lack of co-operation from the public and asked the citizens to take a more energetic interest in bringing the disturbances to an end. We do not know what the Police expect from the public. Obviously anyone who intervenes in a street assault, is rendering himself liable to be caught up for rioting himself, apart from the fact that as an unarmed man he stands on unequal ground in tackling armed men who apparently are trained to use their illicit weapons to deadly effect. The plea so frequently put forward that the Police cannot settle this disturbance has naturally caused the general public to look back with admiration to the firm handling of the riots situation by Mr. Munshi during the Congress Ministry. But that disturbance was a riot and yielded to firm handling. The Police in Bombay have wide powers and the restrictions placed on the press remove all healthy checks. That trouble in the city should go on intermittently for nearly two months does not show that there is any great competence in handling the situation.

**British Women Support War :—**The passion for making statements seems to have gripped a number of people at the moment. This is extremely unfortunate as nothing even



accidentally helpful can be hoped for from the exchanges which grow out of each statement. There have been particularly a number of appeals from Britain to India which could well have been omitted. There have been on this side replies which the public could profitably have left unread. The latest was an appeal from about a dozen British women who have, according to their statement, thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the war despite their anti-war feelings and who ask Indian women to consider the position in the same light and to join in the war effort. It is a kind of follow up to Miss Rathbone's earlier letter, though it is more emotional, makes no claim to be intellectual and has a restricted appeal. The dozen women who have signed the statement have been in India and have friends in the women's movement. They felt apparently that they must do something to solve the Indian problem and, as an appeal to the British Government made earlier by some of them had failed, they thought they might try the other side. The appeal, like social conversation, follows the pleasant path of avoiding all painful topics.

**Indian Women Still Pacifists :—**A reply to the appeal has been sent by Indian women leaders, prominent among whom are Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Rani Laxmibai Rajwade, Mrs. Radhabai Subbaroyan, Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, which is, to say the least, sadly disappointing. As representatives of the Women's Conference, if not in their individual capacity, one would have expected these distinguished women to have reasoned out their position. Instead, the statement which they have put out is a stringing together of Congress clichés without even troubling to alter the language of Gandhiji's statements on war. And the worst of it is, after explaining that they cannot be "in love" with either Nazism or British imperialism, because of the racial injustice inflicted on the non-European races, they come out with the following irrelevant and somewhat nauseating paragraph :

Now perhaps you will understand why we as women are against all war. Women's part is just now to stand up for truth and non-violence as against untruth and violence which surround us. We admire the self-sacrifice of British women of which you write with just pride. How we wish you had taken a braver and prouder part by telling your men to wash their hand clean of human blood. You might not have succeeded all at once but you would have led the way to the establishment of a permanent peace. We take leave to doubt the wisdom of women aping men in the black art of human slaughter on a scale hitherto unknown.

A reference back to the British women's appeal discloses nothing in that ineffectual, harmless and rather pathetic document, to call forth this reaction. The reply concludes with an apology for having been forced to be unpleasant. There was nothing in the situation which compelled this. It is true that it is rather difficult when two countries are at loggerheads for the women of the weaker country to sit back and listen to patronising sermons and lectures

from women of the dominating power ; and the good results of a long association are apt to be lost in recriminations and in claims, on the one side, of having conferred unequalled benefits. Nevertheless, as leaders of the women's movement, if not as votaries of Truth and Non-violence, surely these eminent countrywomen of ours could well have given some indication of their appreciation of the very solid advantages women have gained under British rule.

**The Missionary and the Indian :—**Reviewing a pamphlet on the treatment of missionaries who would not toe the line, a writer in the *Hindu* of Madras asks why Indian Christians have not taken up the matter and why this subject should have attracted two non-Christians. The first question can best be answered by Christians themselves. As for the second, it is rather late in the day to enunciate the principle that reforms in a community or the problems of a community are the exclusive concern of that community, and least of all in regard to any question affecting missionaries who make it their sole business to interest themselves in the troubles of communities other than their own, with a wide mixture of motives. Surely the missionary community cannot expect immunity from outside criticism. The reviewer who seems to be a prominent Indian Christian from the South writing under his initials "V. C.", remarks that there is no place for the practice of true Christianity even in Christian Missions. The question naturally arises, What are Christian Missions here for if not for the propagation of "true Christianity" ?

**War News :—**The first reports of the encounters between German and Soviet forces showed a singular tendency on the Russian side to present a balanced and credible account of the war. There were none of the wild claims of heavy losses inflicted on the enemy with negligible casualties suffered on one's own side to which the public has been treated by so many belligerents in the past. But towards the week-end, there has been general confusion created by the most astonishing rival claims. The plight of countries like Poland and the Baltic and Scandinavian States, which, after suffering great hardship on the outbreak of the Anglo-German War, had to make concessions to Russo-German pressure, and is now forced to side with one or the other in the new hostilities, is terrible. The article on Finland which we take from the *No Frontier Service*, gives a vivid account of conditions in such countries. The Soviet Government has justified its attack on the Finnish capital, on the ground that the presence of German troops in Finland constitute a menace to Russia, and it asks Finland to clear its shores of German intruders. Even if Finland were willing an anxious to do so, it is doubtful whether it has the strength to shake off the Nazis. The position in Poland must be much the same except that there was no independent Poland left after Russia and Germany had shared the territory out. General Sikorski's feeling of relief at Russo-German hostilities will certainly not be shared in Poland.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 28, 1941.

## GERMANY'S WAR AGAINST RUSSIA.

On Sunday June 22, the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Ribbentrop, handed over a note to the Russian Ambassador in Berlin, charging the Soviet Government of disloyalty to the German-Soviet Pact of August 1939. Two hours before the handing of the Note, German forces had crossed the frontier at several points and M. Molotov in his broadcast on Sunday afternoon expressed surprise at this sudden aggression without any previous protest. It is a striking testimony to the power of suggestion that the German Note follows closely the British and American journalistic reports of the past twenty-two months alleging disagreement between Germany and Russia. Most correspondents argued that Stalin was using his neutrality and Hitler's war entanglements to add to his own territories. This is the very core of Hitler's charge and he attributes his restraint so far to forbearance and friendship. On the other hand, the Soviet, according to him, was pushing things to breaking-point, and the massing of 160 divisions on Russia's Western frontier conveyed all manner of fears to the Nazis. At the same time, it is equally surprising that the defence put up by Russia, and incidentally supported by Britain, fits in accurately with the denials of any breach of the German-Soviet agreement repeatedly stressed in the past by both Moscow and Berlin. It seems clear, however, that nothing that Soviet Russia could do would have satisfied the Nazis and, if once war with Germany is regarded as inevitable, then Russian policy in the past two years is amply justified. The position of the "Free Poles" who are running their shadow Government in London, has added to the complexities of the problem. The leader of this group, General Sikorski, has stated that the aggression carried out by Hitler against Russia has liquidated Poland's grievances against Russia! This is astounding as the Soviet has so far shown no sign of relinquishing either Sovietised Poland or any other territorial gain. Moreover, from all accounts, Russia's action in intervening in the war between Germany and Poland to the disadvantage of the latter, was denounced by Poles at the time as more objectionable even than Germany's direct aggression. The Nazi aggression on Russia has had one practical result. It has eliminated a number of neutrals in Europe by drawing in Spain and Vichy, Hungary and Rumania into a crusade against Bolshevism. It is also not improbable that the United States of America which was being drawn slowly into the Anglo-German War, might hesitate to commit itself as far in the cause of Bolshevism as it was willing to go in support of democracy. Less than two years ago Americans were subjected both from within and outside to sustained propa-

ganda against Russia in the cause of Finland now again bombed by the Soviet. And it is not easy to undo the work of that campaign. British commentators who had derided the effectiveness of the Russian army both during the Finnish campaign and during the period when they despaired of Russia ever fighting with Britain against the Nazis, are similarly themselves hard pressed to explain to the public that the Russian military machine is efficient, or they obstruct those who would gain courage from Russia's involvement in this war. For the same reason there is also a certain caution in public acceptance of Soviet versions of encounters with the enemy.

In his broadcast on the War the British Prime Minister offered full military and economic co-operation to Russia against Germany. But he was careful to point out that this does not imply any diminution of his feelings towards Bolshevism. On the contrary he recalled his past denunciations and affirmed that he did not recant a word of them. He said:

The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. It is devoid of all theme and principle except appetite for racial domination. It excels in all forms of human wickedness in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression. No one has been a more consistent opponent of Communism than I have been for the last twenty-five years. I will unsay no word that I have spoken about it.

We are not surprised that after this M. Stalin has felt obliged to announce to the world that, Russian defence had not been planned counting, upon any co-operation from other nations but that, since co-operation has been offered, he accepts it against the common enemy. As a matter of fact, there is room to hope that the present co-operative action between the two countries may fare better than the co-operation between Germany and Russia initiated by the Pact which astonished the world two years ago. Stalin's Russia is not Bolshevist in the same sense as Lenin's or Trotsky's Russia. It has completely abandoned its world propaganda and has settled down much on the lines of bourgeois countries. It is practically no more than a system of State socialism. Likewise, British democracy has moved towards State socialism, rapidly under the stress of war. The ideology of the two countries may be found at the end of the war to be much nearer each other than either side suspects. Indeed, in the symposium "Germany Speaks" which was compiled with the special object of bringing about Anglo-German co-operation, Freiherr von Rheinbaben, former Minister of State, observed in the course of his essay entitled "Germany and England:"

In England, too, the State today has extended its control in many ways. The period of "laissez aller, laissez faire" is irrevocably past and gone. Let us glance round. We see, also in England, in regard to education, hygiene, road-making, sports, labour service, air raid precautions, food supply in case of war, control of industry, co-operation with trade unions, building of houses, eradication of

slums, and countless other things, the firm hand of the State—and shall see it more in a near future.

The writer sought to establish by these examples an affinity between the ideologies of Britain and Germany. So far as State control and initiative are concerned, there is no unbridgeable gulf between Communist, National Socialist and Democratic countries. It may be that, as the result of the present clashes, a common ideology may emerge. Good often comes in the guise of evil. As between the Nazi-Fascist ideology and the Bolshevik ideology, the latter has shown itself the superior in two important respects. It has succeeded in establishing what no other system has been able to achieve, a single standard of morality for men and women; and it has shown considerable concern for the sympathetic treatment of children. Though both Nazis and Bolsheviks have resorted to violence in establishing and maintaining themselves, Bolshevism has done so as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. Not the omnipotence of the State but the well-being of the people is the professed goal of Communism.

#### THE WAR AND INDIA.

In his broadcast on the Russo-German war, the Prime Minister made a passing reference to the 350 millions of the Indian people. He said that the Nazis' conquest of Russia will inevitably lead to the enslavement of the Chinese and Indians. Having regard to the fact that at the present time Indian resources in men and material are being largely drawn upon for the defence of the Commonwealth and that there is already talk of the Russo-German war making heavier calls on India, it is "an terminological inexactitude"—to use Mr. Churchill's own famous phrase—to talk of India being an early or easy victim of Nazi aggression. Naturally the first concern of Great Britain is to ward off invasion from her soil. The fate of India need not and it does not worry British statesmen. Mr. Churchill may be right in holding that the conquest of Russia by Germany would inevitably bring India under the Nazi flag. For many years, Tsarist Russia was the great menace to India's freedom and prosperity. Even a few weeks ago, one of the many rumours suggested the conclusion of a Russo-German Pact in which this country along with Iran and Afghanistan was assigned to Russia. For our part, we prefer not to speculate on what will happen on the conclusion of the war. For one thing, no one can say with even a distant approach to certainty what the condition of the world will be at the end of the war. Then, again, there may be imponderables among the factors concerning India's future, which may upset all calculations based on the assumption that because India has submitted to British rule, she must necessarily submit to any rule which gets the better of Britain. A country which has maintained continuity of life and culture for several milleniums before any European nation was born, may maintain

that continuity when some of them cease to exist. The other day Mr. Churchill quoted a sentence from a weekly newspaper conducted by his American maternal ancestor, Mr. Jerome, to the effect that a people who do not remember their past can not give a worthy direction to their future. Indians thinking of their long past can not believe that the momentum of it has been exhausted and that they have no future to look to except as the subjects of one or another of the European mechanised powers. India's destiny is independent of the conflicts between European races. What is true of Indians is also true of the Chinese.

#### ART AND ADMINISTRATION.

Sir Akbar Hydari opening an Art Exhibition in Hyderabad, made a suggestive reference to the advantage to the administration of having the people trained in the love of Art. In the ultimate analysis, Art and Philosophy are identical. They are both

the love of loving, rage

Of knowing, seeing, feeling the absolute truth of things  
For Truth's sake whole and sole, and not any good truth brings  
The knower, seer, feeler, beside.

Unless this love of truth for truth's sake inspires the artist as well as the art-lover, Art has no spiritual value. It is merely of sensual interest. In the highest sense of the term everything can be rendered artistic—the smallest as well as the greatest, if approached in the spirit of truth. A people trained to the love of art, that is the love of truth for the sake of truth, must have an administration which is itself an artistic achievement. One of the recognised features of all art is the frugality of means in relation to ends. "Out of three sounds we make not a fourth sound but a star," it was said of music. An Administration which requires an enormous apparatus to keep it going, scores of emergency powers, unlimited authority for "rounding up" suspects, a huge army and an extensive system of Police, open and secret, is certainly not an artistic administration, whatever else it may be. "Any one," said Cavour, "can govern a country in a state of siege." Administration to be a fine art, should have its apparatus not too prominently displayed. The love of truth is as essential to an artistic administration as to the painting of a masterpiece. Violence always offends the aesthetic sense. It is ugly and on that ground alone, apart from the ethics of Ahimsa, administration by violence can never be tolerated by an artistically-minded people. Every people on the face of the earth are endowed with the artistic sense, though the opportunities for developing it may be denied to them. The Italians, the Germans, the Russians, the Japanese, have a highly developed artistic sense, and that is the strongest ground for hoping that they will not long submit to a system of Government which relies chiefly on violence for enforcing its policies.

### B. J. PADSHAH.

B. J. Padshah who died on Friday the 20th June at the age of 77 at the Parsi General Hospital in Bombay, was one of the most remarkable Indians of our time. In power of brain I always thought of him as next only to Mahadev Govind Ranade at whose house I first met him soon after coming to Bombay. That was forty-one years ago and the impression was strengthened by my subsequent contacts with Padshah. For fifteen years since Padshah ceased to be connected with the Tatas, he was in Bombay only for a few days on his passage from one country to another. It was by an accident that I came to know of Padshah's presence in Bombay last November. I called on him at the Parsi General Hospital and found him quite his old self. The war had restricted his peregrinations to India. He had drawn up a tour programme covering a period of eighteen months by which time he perhaps expected that the war would have ended. It was, therefore, a surprise when information came on Friday of his death in a Bombay hospital and that the funeral would take place next morning. There was a congregation at the Towers of Silence of white-clad Parsis with a sprinkling of Hindu friends. The Parsi ritual has been simplified and there was none of the bustle and confusion which mark the ceremonial in a Hindu home. After about an hour of chanting of prayers—the intonation is so similar that it may be mistaken for the chant of Vedic verses—the Parsis went into the room where the body was lying to have a last look at it. Non-Parsis are not allowed this privilege. The Parsi professional bearers went through a short formality outside the room before entering the chamber. In a few minutes, the bier covered completely with a spotless white shroud passed by on its way to the Tower of Silence. The congregation rose and saluted with hands joined after the manner of namaskar. Overhead the sky was flecked with clouds. There had been a few cooling showers early in the morning and a pleasant breeze was wafted over the scene. The younger Parsis followed the bier up the steep climb leading to the Tower. The elder Parsis and non-Parsis dispersed. It was all over by 9 a. m.

Padshah seldom indulged in reminiscences. Once in the course of a conversation, he displayed special knowledge of the ways of horses. By one of the fortunate mischances which have played a beneficent part in many lives, he was spared from becoming a horse-dealer like his father. He had a brilliant academic career in Bombay, but he never formally took his degree. His name does not appear in the calendar in the list of graduates. The same thing happened in Cambridge where he had a strenuous career but never claimed his degree. At Cambridge he came under the influence of Professor Henry Sidgwick. Padshah used to say that he got his bias in favour of Socialism from Sidgwick's writings. Sidgwick himself was opposed to Socialism but so impartial and even sympathetic was his presentation of the doctrine of which he disapproved, that in the case of Padshah, and perhaps others, his presentation served as the most effective socialist propaganda. But Padshah was not a Socialist. He fought shy of labels of any kind. He came perhaps nearest to the Fabians.

Padshah became Vice-Principal of the Sind College at Karachi. He was a most successful Professor and his influence on his students was unique. For many years after he left the College, he was still known to many people as Professor Padshah. He was indeed a born teacher. In the Continent of

Europe and in the United States he would have risen to world eminence as a great educationist. One smiles when one reads the newspapers describing him as an industrialist in their headlines. Industries interested him as a facet of social life, and circumstances, chief of which was his great admiration for Jamshejee Tata, engaged his attention for several years on preparing the ground for the great steel and hydro-electric industries associated with the Tatas. His first and chief interest, however, was in the Institute of Science which he conceived and planned as one of the world's great institutions for post-graduate studies in Science. Padshah resigned the Vice-Principalship of the Karachi College as a protest against his supersession by an Englishman when the Principalship fell vacant. He seldom referred to this in later life—he had a horror of even seeming to be a man with a grievance. The profit motive is an integral part of modern industrialism. Padshah held that wholesome industrialism should have the well-being of its workers and the healthy development of society as its main concern even if it resulted in pecuniary loss thereby. He was a fervent free trader; he acquiesced grudgingly in J. S. Mill's concession in favour of infant industries; he was against any industry or enterprise seeking protection from Government.

What a man does is largely conditioned by circumstance. It is, therefore, more pertinent in judging of men to consider what they are. Padshah was an ascetic though he would laugh at any profession of asceticism. He was a non-smoker but not because smoking was regarded as a sin by orthodox Parsis. He was a total abstainer though drinking is not considered a sin by his community. Padshah's vegetarianism extended even to his shoes. He always wore shoes made of canvas or artificial leather made of vegetable fibre, which he procured from abroad. He would not ride in a carriage drawn by animals because he thought it was an infliction on the animals. The first automobile in Bombay—a steam driven one—was procured for him by Jamshejee Tata. Till then, whatever the distance, he would walk it out. Even with a painful foot, he would trudge the distance between his home and the railway station in Bandra. Speaking of his home, brings on me a flood of memories. In my early days in this city, it was Padshah who introduced me to Bombay life. He was one of the few Indians who had absolutely no communal sense. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Europeans, all gathered under his hospitable roof. Padshah's later preoccupations with industry broke up that centre of light from which many, like myself, carried away an urge for disinterested and unpretentious service. It was at the Padshah home that I had my introduction to Robert Browning. Padshah used to read and make us read his poems. A favourite one was Rabbi Ben Ezra and in it the favoured lines were:

Then, welcome each rebuff;  
That turns earth's smoothness rough,  
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!  
Be our joy three-parts pain!  
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;  
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge  
the throe!

Padshah had many of the qualities which the Gita attributes to the man of steadfast mind. He was the same in heat and cold, in comfort and pain, in praise and censure. He always preferred the harder to the easier way. When he was at Delhi last December, he, a man of seventy-six and a heavy one, insisted on climbing to the top of Kutab Minar which many younger men decline to attempt. In the same way in

religion he chose the difficult path of dispensing with the Supreme Being and living by a rule which he had framed for himself. He disclaimed, and did so rather aggressively, any religious belief; but few men with religious beliefs, excelled him in behaviour. He was one of the purest souls I have met.

K. NATARAJAN.

#### VACCINATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

A friend in India has sent me a copy of your issue for October 19th 1940 with its extremely interesting article by Miss Lalitha I. Moses, "For a Healthier India."

Miss Moses has stressed the need for a pure and abundant water supply and for a great improvement in rural sanitation. Might I be allowed to point out that the history of Great Britain in regard to small-pox, typhus fever, typhoid fever and tuberculosis proves that many diseases can be stamped out by the sweeping away of bad sanitary conditions and the improvement of the economic condition of the people. Poverty undoubtedly causes much ill-health; bad sanitation will cause disease even in well-off people.

It is sometimes said that vaccination will abolish small-pox. The history of Great Britain shows that this statement is entirely false. In the year 1872 when 85 per cent of the infants born in England and Wales were vaccinated, 19,022 small-pox deaths were recorded. By the year 1937 vaccination had declined to such an extent that 34 per cent. of the infants born were submitted to the operation. Small-pox had disappeared. With steady declining vaccination the small-pox deaths dropped in the decennium 1912-1921 to 122; in the decennium 1922-1931 they numbered 250 (many of them due to some other disease); and in the nine years 1932-1940 they totalled 14. The great Public Health Act of 1875 was undoubtedly the instrument which resulted in this great decline in small-pox. It forbade the use of shallow wells for water supplies; it ensured a proper system of drainage for all the large towns; it provided for the proper paving and cleansing of streets; and it contained provision for the isolation of infectious diseases.

The town of Leicester was one of the first to secure the passing of a special Public Health Act enabling the town council to undertake sanitary reforms. Leicester in 1864 lost 104 persons with small-pox and, in 1872, in spite of the thorough vaccination of the population, had an epidemic which carried off 346 persons. After 1881 vaccination declined until to-day only about 3 per cent. of the children born in that city are vaccinated. Since 1886 only 53 deaths from smallpox have been recorded in Leicester, and of these only one has been registered in the last 36 years. Leicester has practically abolished its slums and at great expense has provided the town with a splendid supply of pure water. It has a proper drainage system. It has proved that vaccination can be dispensed with and that to make a town healthy it is essential to attend to sanitation and the water supply.

Might I be allowed to point out that there is another objection to vaccination besides its uselessness, namely, its injuriousness to health? Few countries record deaths from vaccination as Great Britain does and even here many such deaths occur which are attributed to some cause other than vaccination but even our incomplete returns show that in England and Wales in the thirty-four years ended 1933, 197 children under five died of small-pox while 297 died from the results of vaccination.

Correspondents in India have often told me of the serious effects of vaccination on their children and many objectors to the operation are certain that former children were killed by it. A study of small-pox and vaccination in India proves that vaccination has had no influence on small-pox in that country. The disease goes up and down, breaking out into epidemics every four or five years, regardless of the millions of babies, young children, and adults who are vaccinated every year. Until the authorities realise that the secret of the conquest of this disease is the introduction of sanitation and supplies of pure water, small-pox will always rage at intervals in India.

For many Indians the cruelty involved in the manufacture of vaccine lymph is the reason for their refusing to have their children vaccinated. There can be no doubt that calves suffer when being used for the production of the vaccine lymph. Only a few people know that lymph is obtained from sores produced artificially by cutting the skin of calves and rubbing vaccine lymph into the cuts, allowing them to fester. The sores mature in four or five days. Sometimes in India the calves die before the lymph can be extracted. I believe the living calf is still used in India when the lymph is extracted from the sores which have formed, but in this country the Government Lymph Establishment decided from July 1st 1936 to kill the calves before the lymph was extracted from the sores. Even so the poor little creatures have to undergo the ordeal of being strapped to a table, having their skin cut and the lymph rubbed in, and suffering the irritation and possible pain involved in the formation and maturing of the sores. It is a horrible business and humane people must object to it very strongly.

Westminster, London.  
6th. February, 1941.

Yours etc,  
L. LOAT,  
Secretary,

*National Anti-Vaccination League*

#### GANDHIJI, VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

While thanking you for publishing my letter in your issue of June 14, I am sorry to note that in your comments on the same you have not frankly admitted your error in suggesting that Gandhiji, in his letter to the *Times of India* of 8th May was enunciating a new doctrine which was subversive of all that he had taught before. Instead, you have chosen to shift your point and confuse the issue by questioning the very basis of the Gandhian philosophy of Non-violence. No one would gainsay your right to question the basic soundness of that philosophy, but that was not what you were mainly concerned with in your editorial comments of May 24. You then had asked a definite question: "But has he (Gandhiji) ever said before that those who 'can not or will not be non-violent' should hold and make effective use of arms?" and I quoted for the benefit of yourself and your readers about a dozen statements made by Gandhiji during the past two decades to the same effect as suggested by your query. Instead of straightaway admitting that you now recognised that Gandhiji had all along been saying that it was open to those who had no basic faith in non-violence to resist violence with violent means, you have chosen to split hairs and writtens: "Everybody knew that Gandhiji wanted his non-



violence to be non-violence of the strong but his writings so far showed that he was converting non-violence of the weak into non-violence of the strong. This is not the position taken in the sentence which we marked as pointing a new policy." It is somewhat difficult to make out what you are driving at by these remarks, but I take it you are here merely repeating the suggestion you made in your issue of May 24, namely: "If words have any meaning, it would seem that he is now revising his theory and recognising definitely that non-violence is not so much a physical state as a mental attitude." I do not know where you got the idea that Gandhiji ever regarded non-violence as a "physical state." If you would re-read Gandhiji's statement dated 17-8-35, quoted by me, you would see that Gandhiji has *all along* recognised that non-violence is not so much a physical state as a mental attitude. There is, therefore, no meaning in your suggesting that this truth has only now dawned on him. Here are a few more statements made by Gandhiji directly bearing on the point:

Each individual must be taught the art of self-defence. It is more a mental state that has to be inculcated than that our bodies should be trained for retaliation. Our mental training has been one of feeling helpless. Bravery is not a quality of the body, it is of the soul. I have seen cowards encased in tough muscle, and rare courage in the frailest body... The weakest of us physically must be taught the art of facing dangers and giving a good account of ourselves. *Young India*—20-10-21.

Non-violence, to be a potent force, must begin with the mind. Non-violence of the mere body without the co-operation of the mind is non-violence of the weak or the cowardly and has, therefore, no potency. *Young India* 2-4-31.

As to your opening question, "If non-violence is only for the strong, is violence then for the weak who are incapable of it?" Gandhiji has furnished an effective answer in the statement he made towards the end of 1938 in the course of an interview to Dr. Mott:

If the best mind of the world has not imbibed the spirit of non-violence, they would have to meet gangsterism in the orthodox way. But that would only show that we have not got far beyond the law of the jungle, that we have not yet learnt to appreciate the heritage that God has given us, that in spite of the teaching of Christianity which is 1900 years old and of Hinduism and Buddhism which are older and even of Islam, we have not made much headway as human beings. But whilst I would understand the use of force by those who have not the spirit of non-violence in them, I would have those who know non-violence to throw their whole weight in demonstrating that even gangsterism has to be met by non-violence.

You complain of "paradoxical sayings" by Gandhiji. You must be aware that Gandhiji rarely—I would even say, never—indulges in paradoxes deliberately. He dislikes nothing so wholeheartedly as innuendoes, euphemisms, beatings about the bush in telling the truth and paradoxes deliberately calculated to confuse the mind. But, life itself being full of paradoxes and the human mind being unable to see all the facets of Truth at one and the same time, even bare statements of the Truth are bound to appear as paradoxes. Maxims like 'Thou shalt not kill' and 'Thou shalt not lie' in English and their Sanskrit equivalents though plainly worded enough for 'ordinary people,' would, on a little reflection, raise such perplexing questionings in one's mind as 'Should I kill or not the viper that is making a dash at me?' Or 'Should I speak the truth and betray my brother hiding within the hayrick to the dacoit who comes in search of him?' You know volumes can be and have been written on the implications of simple ethical maxims like the ones mentioned by me. So, what is the fun of your saying, 'Ordinary people only understand the

plain meaning of words'? The plain truth is that not only ordinary people but even intellectuals do not ordinarily understand the real implications of simple maxims like 'kill not' and 'lie not', and hence the necessity for teachers like Gandhiji to din the truth into the ears of these people by repeated expositions of its various facets.

Bombay, } Yours etc.,  
18th June 1941. } KRISHNA KUMAR.

[Mr. Kumar has hit on the difference between Gandhiji's previous statements and his recent explanation of non-violence. The quotations of Mr. Kumar showed that Gandhiji had declared that "it was open for those who had no faith in non-violence to resist violence with violent means." But he washed his hands of all responsibility for them. Now have they his approval? What else does the phrase "My non-violence includes" mean? The point, however, is purely academic since the publication of the Gandhi-Munshi letters. If Gandhiji's non-violence really "included the holding and effective use of arms by those who cannot or will not be non-violent", there would have been no need for Mr. Munshi to resign because he believed in violent resistance to goondaism. In the circumstances Gandhiji's remark was no more than a debating-point made in the heat of controversy.—Editor.

#### SIR I. RAHIMTOOLA ON MR. AMERY.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I entirely agree with you when you pay in your issue of 21st June a handsome tribute to the veteran octogenarian, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, for his effective reply to Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, in regard to his statement in Parliament the other day that "India is prosperous," and say that the old gentleman has rendered a distinct service to the country. The chief merit of Sir Ibrahim's statement lies in the fact that in marshalling his facts and figures in support of his position he has wholly relied on published official documents and on pronouncements made by official spokesmen. Although India has been proved, times without number, to be one of the poorest countries in the world, men of the Imperialistic school always try, in season and out of season, to dwell on the imaginary prosperity of India under British rule, and would never dare or care to answer the arguments put forward on the other side by men like Dada bhai Naoroji, William Digby, Romesh Dutt and others. Mr. Amery in his anxiety to mislead members of Parliament in general advanced the other day the same old Imperialistic theory about the prosperity of India and it is eminently satisfactory to find an old gentleman like Sir Ibrahim, a gentleman again who has not only passed several years in public life, but has also had administrative experience as a successful Executive Councillor of the Government of Bombay—coming out of his retirement and thoroughly exposing the fallacy underlying the recent statement of the Secretary of State for India. I hope that arrangements have been made to distribute copies of Sir I. Rahimtoola's statement to some enthusiastic members of Parliament who interest themselves in Indian affairs and who, I doubt not, would put questions to the Secretary of State about the prosperous condition of India!

May I point out, in passing how refreshing it is to note the spirit of patriotism, that runs through the whole statement of Sir Ibrahim, in sharp contrast with the fissiparous activities of a certain other school of politicians who are following the methods of dividing India!

Poona, } Yours truly,  
June, 22, 1941. } S. N. KARNATKI.

## HITLER AND STALIN IN FINLAND.

(BY KURT D. SINGER.)

"The Finns won the war but lost the peace." Although from a purely military point of view the first assertion is scarcely tenable, these are, nevertheless, the words the Finns use to describe their present dilemma. When the Red Army marched into their land, they offered vigorous resistance, but it takes more than arms and physical endurance to resist the new aggressor, who is slowly but persistently robbing the Finnish people of their hard-won freedom.

Strange as it may sound, the Finns are using Germany as a bogey to frighten off Russia. The Finnish press stresses again and again how Germany helped in their fight for freedom against the Czars, and again and again it is hinted that German help will come again when the need is greatest. When Hitler wished to send troops through Sweden to northern Norway, he sent the Swedish government an ultimatum. Finland needed no ultimatum. From adherents of Fascist groups to the radical Socialists, Finns were glad to oblige. German troops in transit, on Finnish soil, would be a warning to Stalin, and when the soldiers disembarked in Finnish ports, especially in Vasa, they received a hearty welcome.

Today Americans returning from Petsamo report that the great arctic highway which leads to that city from Rovaniemi, northernmost railroad station in Finland, is always crowded with German troops. More are stationed in Ivalo, the largest city in this district, and in the great resort hotel in Rovaniemi German officers lead a carefree life as they await developments on the northern front. The Finns themselves who live in that area are suffering real want. It is almost impossible to buy food anywhere. The only thing that public restaurants still offer to passing travellers is a beverage for which they have coined the name "silver tea" which is next thing to plain hot water.

In Petsamo, ships leaving for the United States are examined by German army inspectors, and passenger lists must be submitted to Nazi officials for approval.

All Finland is busy today with construction; Finland with its 4,000,000 inhabitants has 350,000 homeless as a result of the war. To repair or rebuild houses for 150,000 people alone, the Finnish government needs \$ 8,000,000. But although the people are doing everything possible to eradicate traces of the war, circumstances are stronger than the will alone. Food rationing is still oppressive in all districts because of the difficulties in importing foodstuffs, even though Petsamo is open. Only in Germany is the bread worse than in Finland; there is a distressing lack of fats, sugar and coffee. Meat supplies are sufficient, but chocolate is a rarity and fruits, except for some Italian lemons, are not to be found at any price. The small children have never yet seen a banana, and older ones can scarcely remember what they are like.

Finland is arming. Not against Russia and not against Germany, every Finnish military man will declare. But the arms programme continues. Finland does not trust the present status of the peace. The fate of the Baltic countries has shown that the struggle for domination in the region is not yet at an end. And Russia is not very satisfied with the new Finnish President, Ryti, and continues to meddle in the country's internal affairs. So far the moment there is peace in the land—and

yet war. There are no more black-outs, but war censorship continues just as it was during the days of war. Hard words against Russia are definitely taboo, and any criticism of Nazi Germany is forbidden. Even the prize-winning book "V. Saraja" dealing with the Russian war, in spite of its distinction, has been banned. Likewise the play "Against the Hordes of the East" by Lauri Haarlas has been forbidden. These drastic restrictions of the freedom of the press serve only too well to remind the people of the double pressure they are under.

The Finnish people hate Nazism, but they fear and hate Sovietism more. From the Leftist Socialists to the Lappo-Fascists, they are united in the determination to keep the Russians out no matter what the cost. For this reason old enmities at home are for the moment forgotten. Lappo-Fascists who set fire to workers' homes, suppressed the labour press and crushed the labour movement of 1930 are today represented in the Finnish coalition cabinet in which the Socialists still hold the majority vote. The "genuine" Fascists, on the other hand, who are united in an organization called the Karelian Union, are the obedient servants and pampered pets of the Nazi "invaders." They appear as guests of honour at German festivities, and they have won the support of the Progressive Party, a semi-liberal organization, and of a widely read newspaper, the *Helsingin Sanomat*, for important elements in Finland hope that Hitler will help their country to recapture the conquered area now held by the USSR.

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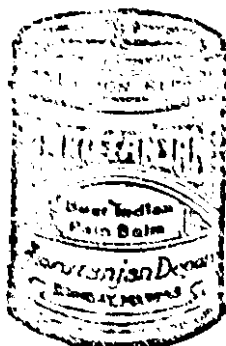
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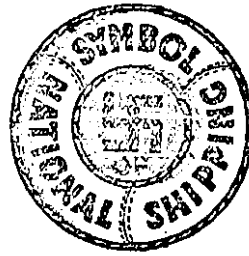
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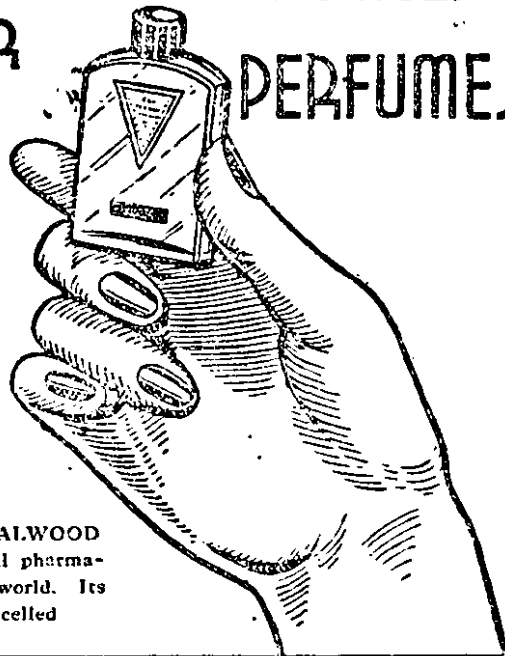
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Civil Marriage and Excommunication:—**The Maharaja of Cochin, almost alone among Indian rulers, possesses the prerogative of exercising control over the socio-religious life of all classes of his Hindu subjects including Brahmins. In the exercise of this right, His Highness the present Maharaja has confirmed the excommunication by the Cochin Brahmins of one of their number who married a Sudra woman under the Cochin Civil Marriage Act:

"Whatever be the nature of a civil marriage between a Brahmin lady and a Sudra youth and whatever the rights conferred in respect of such a marriage by the civil law of the land, Sastras and Vedas have prohibited it and have declared it to be a sin." On this ground His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin rejected a petition of the cancellation of an order excommunicating a husband and a wife belonging to Sudra (non-Brahmin) and Brahmin caste respectively. The late Maharaja had for the same reason prohibited the entry of the couple into State temples. The Shastras relegate the offspring of such marriages to the category of chandalas, the very lowest of outcastes. The Civil Law protects them from all but the purely social consequences attached by the old authorities to such heterodox practices. Practically excommunication nowadays means nothing more than not being invited to caste dinners which many people who are held in high regard by their caste people do not care to attend. It is not stated who appealed to the Maharaja against the order of the orthodox castemen. The Cochin couple should have accepted it proudly as the consequence of their deliberate deviation from the established practice. The reformer must concede the right of his orthodox relative to choose with whom he would dine, marry or worship while insisting on his right to do the same and cheerfully accepting the consequences. This is the distinction between the Gandhian and the traditional Indian method of social and religious reform. The cause of reform suffers when coercion is used to advance reform.

**The Bengal Orphanage Bill:—**Strong public feeling has been aroused against a Bill for the supervision of Orphanages and Widows' Homes introduced in the Bengal Legislative Assembly by Mrs. Shahbuddin. The necessity for supervision of Orphanages and Widows' Homes can not be questioned. Under the guise of philanthropy, much corruption and immorality have been brought to light in some institutions. There have been prosecutions and convictions. The need for legislation being admitted, it is important that legislation does not give rise to worse evils. One of the provisions of the Bill is that every institution for orphans and widows should deposit two years' cost of maintenance with Government. Mrs. Shahbuddin in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, denounces these institutions as clearing houses for procuring girls for brothels. If that be so, the provision about deposit would not in the least improve these institutions. Two of the most lucrative trades in the modern world is the traffic in drink and drugs and the closely allied traffic in women. The trade will readily put up not only two years' cost of maintenance but ten years' cost. The genuine philanthropic institutions mostly dependent on subscriptions and contributions from the middle classes who have several other calls on their lean purses, will be swept out of existence by heavily financed enterprises which will be able to elude official supervision. We wonder that a lady of Mrs. Shahbuddin's intelligence should have fallen into the illusion that strong financial backing is a guarantee of moral purity. Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, surely no interested partisan, wrote in a letter to the promoters of a public meeting held to protest against the Bill that if the Bill in its present form was passed into law, many useful institutions would have to be closed down and a large number of destitute women would be rendered homeless. We may add that measures of this kind are worse than useless unless they have a concensus of support from social workers of all sections of the community behind them.

**India and the Far East:—**Sir William Hunter who was the most prominent and in many ways the most intelligent writer on India in the third-quarter of the last century, described the conquest of Burma as the resumption of the Eastward march of the India, which had been suspended for about a thousand years. The truth under-

lying this observation is brought out by the Indo-Burma Pact on immigration which has just been initialled by Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, leader of the Indian delegation and the Hon. U. Saw, Premier of Burma. The terms of the Pact have as yet not been published but judging from the speeches of the Indian leader and the Burmese Premier, it is evident that the importance of establishing trustful relations with Burma, has been kept in view by the Indian delegation. India and the countries comprehended in the phrase "Far East" together formed a single cultural unit not in ancient times alone but also up to roughly the Mahomedan which may be termed the medieval period of Indian history. They are now being resumed under the aegis and inspiration of British Imperialism. The process takes many directions political, economic, religious. The Gaya correspondent of the *Searchlight* of Patna reports that five saplings of the sacred Bodhi Tree are being taken to Thailand under charge of a special officer deputed by the Thailand Government. They were handed to him by the Collector of Gaya, which shows that this gesture of goodwill towards Buddhism, the official religion of Thailand, is made officially on behalf of the Indian people.

**Executive Councillor and Federal Court:**—It is announced that Sir Mahomed Zaffrullah Khan has been selected to fill the place of Sir Shah Sulaiman as a Judge of the Supreme Federal Court of India. The Federal Court has been established but Federation has practically lapsed. There is a general complaint that the Federal Court has little work to show for the money expended on it. It is several months since Sir Sulaiman died. The Government of India had made a reference about two Acts relating to women's property to the Court and as it could not function without the full complement of three judges, the Chief Justice of Bombay was nominated to the vacancy a few days before the reference was fixed for hearing and, after the opinion of the Court was delivered, he reverted to his permanent post in Bombay. The nomination of a temporary judge for particular cases is open to grave objection though in this particular case the subject-matter of the reference had no political significance whatever. When Mr. Jayakar went to the Privy Council, the vacancy was filled within a few weeks by the appointment of Sir S. Varadacharya. The delay in nominating a successor to Sir Shah Sulaiman was obviously due to the difficulty of finding a Muslim with the requisite qualifications. The transfer of so important a member of the Government as Sir Mahomed Zaffrullah has recently become, leads to the same conclusion. On general principles, the interchange of functionaries between high judicial tribunals and Executive Councils is not desirable. The independence of the judiciary is the corner-stone of every Government whatever the form of the constitution may be. The mere suspicion that a Member

of the Executive Council can expect a judgeship of the highest court in the land on the expiry of his term is detrimental to the executive as well as the judicial administration. The rule should be that, when a man attains the highest position in either branch of the Government of a country, he should consider his career as a public official as having reached its apex, and should look forward only to be consulted by Government and the public alike in an unofficial capacity. It is highly desirable that at the threshold of Indian freedom sound traditions should be established. On merits, Sir Mahomed's selection is not open to criticism. He is, as we have often observed, one of the brainiest of Indian public men and may be expected confidently to give a good account of himself in whatever position he may be called. His recent broadcast on the post-war settlement, might have led others to think, as it did us, that he was probably destined to be one of India's representatives at the International Conference to decide on post-war problems at the end of the war. His nomination to the Federal Court does not preclude the expectation but then the same difficulty will arise of finding a successor to him.

**Russia and the War:**—The purely accidental development, from the Russian point of view, of Germany having attacked the Soviet forces and attempted an invasion of Soviet territories, has had very strange reactions, in no quarters perhaps as unaccountable as in some sections of the press in India. Typical of the wildest extravagances of this section is the following extract from an editorial note in the usually sober *Guardian* of Madras :

For the U. S. S. R. will be fighting not only for the land of many nations and peoples within the wide domain across Europe and Asia, but for the very existence of the life of the greatest economic and social revolution. Opinions may differ with regard to the proletarian communism, but even those who abhor it, cannot stand unmoved when the thugs of Central Europe are trying to strangle it. Here in India the Trade Union Movement, under the leadership of conservatives and radical socialists has been partially committed to non-co-operation with war efforts in India but the war against Russia will awaken the dormant conscience of even these; else they will be disgracing the Red Flag with the symbols of Sovietism, the Sickle and the Scythe, that workers carry. It would be indeed, more appropriate to use those words of Karl Marx. "Workers of the world unite"—yes, against the fiend and his hell-hounds that are now baying at the Russian Bear with its uplifted paws.

It is difficult to see why those who "abhor communism," should feel sympathetic to Russia in the conflict between it and Germany. As for the others, had these events occurred three years ago, nothing could have been more certain than that Great Britain and her Empire would have remained neutral with several leaders from her governing class not unsympathetic to Nazi Germany. Even now from the public pronouncements of British ministers it is clear that there is a certain anxiety to keep the two Allies distinct in opposing Germany. Mr. M. N. Roy has been advocating a change of attitude on the part of Indian political leaders on the ground that

Russia's entry into the war has made a great difference. Russia is in this war for no ideological reason but purely for self-defence. Had Hitler's forces left her alone, there is no cause for believing that Stalin would have entered into hostilities for the defence of workers elsewhere. It is foolish to think that the attack on Russia has given India any cause to reconsider her position in regard to the war. We can sympathise with those who urged the submerging of Indian claims on Britain while that country was in danger and who threw themselves enthusiastically into the war effort. But those who now propose to change from apathy to enthusiasm just because Russia is menaced, would seem to be depending on the confusions which are bound to result in the post-war settlement. In the political sphere alone, these will be incalculable but some hint is already evident. Fortunately for Britain, Finland by siding with Germany has, like Roumania, staked its fortunes on the war itself instead of the ensuing peace. Britain for the time is not confronted with the difficult task of supporting the claims of General Mannerheim and General Antonescu against the workers and peasants system of administration set up by the Soviet State. But her position in regard to Col. Beck for whose cause she took on the war with Germany, is likely to be unenviable when she sits with Soviet Russia to work out a peace. That the Soviet system which grew out of a repudiation of bourgeois nationalist ideas, is admirably suited to strengthen nationalism, is shown by German admissions that Russian resistance to aggression is unprecedented and fierce. The people seem to have been made to feel more than in other countries, except Britain, that they have a stake in the country. We had thought that Mr. Roy's opposition to Stalin was because a world movement was diverted into and confined within the channels of nationalism. If that is so, he should be the last to allow himself and through him the section of the Indian public which listens to him, to be duped into believing that the Russian cause is that of workers the world over. Stalin's recent appeal was significantly one based on nationalism alone. As commentators have observed, it might well have been spoken by Mr. Churchill. It would certainly not have been the sort of appeal which Lenin and Trotsky would have made. Stalin would seem to have destroyed the revolutionary spirit of Russian Communism and to have developed a system undistinguishable from what prevails in other European countries. He opposes to German nationalism not a new idea but its Russian counterpart. This was not what early Russian Bolshevism contemplated.

**What Non-Violence Permits:—**In an address to the "Peace Brigades" which have been formed under the Congress aegis to meet the communal situation, Mr. Mahadev Desai communicated to the volunteers a message from Gandhiji giving the limits of non-violence.

Probably it was thought necessary, in view of the many qualities which distinguish Gandhiji's non-violence from what is normally understood by the term, to tell his audience that they were permitted to knock a knife out of the hand of the goonda if they felt strong enough to do so, or to overpower a goonda and hand him over to the police. Mr. Desai has recently toured Ahmedabad and reported on happenings during the recent disturbances there to Gandhiji. It would appear from his speech that many Congressmen, under a mistaken sense of Gandhian non-violence, have refrained from obvious reactions. If it is allowed to peace volunteers to use a little violence to prevent greater violence, we do not see why Mr. K. M. Munshi who surely sought nothing more in his correspondence with Gandhiji, should have been advised to resign from the Congress, or why he should have accepted the advice with alacrity. At the same time things have come to a pretty bad pass if people whose lives are in danger, need to be told by Gandhiji what exactly they should do without incurring the sin of violence. It would be more seemly if leaders of the Congress and their understudies addressed themselves to serious problems instead of indulging in inane discussions on absurd details.

**Bombay Isolated:—**After a delay of over a fortnight which caused considerable anxiety the rains descended on Bombay and the surrounding country with a vengeance on the Tuesday. There were breaches in the two branches of the G. I. P. Railway, and trains from the South East as well as from the North were held up at wayside stations. The Railway Enquiry Office at the rare moments when it could be got on the telephone, was vague. It could not say where the trains were held up and when they were likely to arrive at their destination. At first it seemed that this was due to official callousness but it transpired later that telegraphic and telephonic communications were interrupted and that there was no means of the Railway authorities obtaining particulars. By the time the G. I. P. Railway had the lines put in sufficient repair to allow of a few trains to get over, the B. B. & C. I. Railway reported more serious interruptions and for a day both lines were out of action. Bombay experienced many of the discomforts of a siege. The daily supplies of vegetables, fruit and other perishable articles of food for which Bombay depends on imports from up-country were almost completely cut off. At the time of writing (Friday morning) fresh breaches are reported. The weather is monsoonish and the meteorological forecasts do not enable a reliable forecast of what will happen in the next few days. Surat had 20 inches of rain in twenty-four hours ending 8 a. m., Wednesday. News of heavy rains and floods in Malabar and other parts of the country are equally serious. The one redeeming feature is that the crime wave in Bombay has been swept away and there have been no cases of stabbing.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 5, 1941.

## C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

The news of the death of C. Y. Chintamani would have come as a severe shock to his many friends all over the country. He was only sixty. His naturally weak constitution was seriously undermined by the hard struggles of his early life. After a short apprenticeship in weekly journalism in his native town, Vizianagaram, he shifted to Madras where he had the great advantage of working with the pioneer Indian journalist, G. Subrahmanya Iyer, on the journals which he later conducted after the severance of his connection with the *Hindu* which he had founded and developed into a vigorous organ of Indian opinion. These journals were, on the whole, much less successful in establishing themselves in the public confidence. After or just before Subrahmanya Iyer's death, Chintamani was obliged to seek other avenues of activity. He became Assistant Secretary to the Indian Industrial Conference under Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, who was its founder and General Secretary. Mr. Mudholkar was a busy lawyer in Amraoti in Berar with Sir M. V. Joshi, his close associate in public life, as the next busiest practitioner in the town which was then more completely isolated from the rest of India than it is now. Mr. Mudholkar was a good man who tried in various ways to serve his country. In all he did much spade work but never rose to full leadership. This was largely due to his somewhat easygoing methods which made Chintamani's collaboration with him rather an unnecessarily arduous job. Not only did the bulk of the writing and organising work fall upon him, but he was handicapped by the unusual hours which his chief's professional engagements would permit for public work. In the course of his peregrinations in connection with the Industrial Conference, Chintamani came in contact with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. These two men represent two different types in temperament and character. It is to the credit of Chintamani and proof of the complete confidence which he inspired in them that he was able to ensure and maintain for a considerable time the co-operation of the two in developing the *Leader* as the powerful successor of two older journals which the Pandit and Dr. Sinha had been conducting. Chintamani completely identified himself with the United Provinces where he had made his home, and though he never acquired more than a rudimentary acquaintance with either Urdu or Hindi, the languages of the Province, he came early to be accepted by the elite of Allahabad as one of themselves. This was largely due to the breadth of mind of the Hindustani leaders. But it is also due to the fact that Prayag as one of the most ancient and cherished places of Hindu pilgrimage had

always a large floating population from all parts of the country, and permanent colonies of priests from every province to minister to the spiritual needs of pilgrims according to their own traditional ways. Not only Allahabad, but Benares and Gaya, the two other great centres of pilgrimage, are in the United Provinces. The province as a whole and these cities in particular had, therefore, an atmosphere of Hindu cosmopolitanism which should be taken into account in an estimate of the comparative ease with which Chintamani became naturalised in Allahabad. Chintamani's selection to a Ministership by Sir Harcourt Butler, one of the ablest and most farsighted of British Indian administrators, was hailed by all classes of the people of the province as a choice amply representative of their aspirations. Chintamani introduced many useful reforms, though it is doubtful if the splitting up of the Allahabad University into three universities, Allahabad, Agra and Lucknow, has been a real advantage to higher education in the United Provinces. Unlike some other public men who attained office, Chintamani never forgot that he was a public man; and when he found that something was required of him as a Minister which did not square with his ideas of what was due from him as a public man, he resigned without hesitation though it meant a considerable loss to one who was never free from pecuniary cares. Many who have written of Chintamani have referred to his prodigious memory, as if that was his most striking characteristic. He had, indeed, a tremendous store readily available at any moment of the personal details of the life of politicians and public men, Indian and British, whom he respected. Chintamani could tell without a moment's reflection when any one of them was born, when he died, how many sons he had, in what quarter of a town he lived and such other matters. But he did not certainly owe his distinction as a public man to the possession of a memory for desultory details. Such facts are best gathered from reference books whenever called for, and all that a publicist need know is where to look for them. A memory loaded with unessential details about every individual of one's acquaintance, is a handicap rather than a help to clear and vigorous thinking. The brain channels clogged with minute particulars cannot function as conduits for the free flow of thought on matters of moment as they arise from time to time. Chintamani himself sometimes seemed to value his memory for details much above its true worth. But his efficiency and power as a publicist were due to other qualities which he possessed in a large measure. He was a fair critic, saw sides of a question different from his own, and his criticism of opponents was free from imputation of motives. His faith in the British connection was almost as deep as his faith in his religion and, strange as it may seem to superficial observation, it is this very depth of

faith that made his denunciation of the mistakes of Government both vehement and weighty. A telegram published by the *Bombay Chronicle* on Thursday says that on the day previous to his death he wrote for the *Leader* an article calling upon his countrymen to boycott the schemes that are being discussed for a post-war settlement on the basis of an exclusive European concert as they boycotted the Simon Commission. Europeanism is the ugly monster which India has to get rid of in order to be free in spirit. Not Europeans but Europeanism. If the war does nothing to remove this deadly octopus, it will have not only been fought in vain so far as India is concerned but would have really rendered the task of India's emancipation more difficult than it has been. But we doubt the wisdom of boycotting as a means of frustrating such schemes. Many of us now feel that the boycott of the Simon Commission was a mistake and that the scheme of the Simon Commission was much fairer and left the road clearer to India's progress than the Hoare scheme which its rejection landed us in. We must oppose Europeanism with our whole strength and with such assistance as may be available to us if we can not fight it single-handed.

We have referred to Chintamani by the name his parents gave him and which he endowed with honour by his life and work. We have not referred to Sir C. Y. Chintamani, but to Chintamani as that seems more becoming to one who to the end was a working journalist. To a merchant or an official, the possession of titles are an advantage. They help them in their work. They advance their prospects. But to a working Indian journalist, they are worse than worthless. They are a positive handicap to his usefulness. The authorities are apt to resent any effective criticism from the pen of a decorated journalist as an act of base ingratitude. The nationalist and even those Indians who have no love for nationalism and are, indeed, themselves longing for official recognition, are sure to discount even a deserved support of a Government measure, as prompted by a desire to please the authority which has honoured the journalist with a collar and a medal. The late Nawab of Dacca, when he was given a Grand Cross on the annulment of the Bengal Partition of which he was the chief protagonist, is said to have exclaimed that the collar was really a halter round his neck as a leader of East Bengal Muslims. To the working journalist in India, official recognition has nearly the same value. Many friends were surprised that Chintamani did not refuse the knighthood as they felt that would have been more in keeping with the honour of his whole career.

**Exit Auchinlech :—**On Wednesday night India heard with astonishment the announcement on the radio that Sir Claude Auchinlech, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India, has been transferred to the command of the Army in the Middle East and that as a matter of fact he was already in Cairo. No Commander-in-Chief was heralded with such a blast of journalistic trumpets as Sir Claude. The chorus was led by an Indian journal with Congress leanings and that was emphasised as proof of the desire of His Majesty's Government to send to this country an officer acceptable to the Indian people. Sir Claude's wonderful gifts as an administrator were widely advertised and it was confidently predicted that he would revolutionise the organisation of the Indian Army on the lines desired by Indian nationalists. Alas, for all these hopes and predictions. Sir Claude has been just five months in this country and he has been removed to another sphere and the officer in command in the Middle East has been sent to India as he needs a lighter burden. The situation in the Middle East is said to have become much too heavy for the shoulders of General Wavell. Sir Claude Auchinlech in a long and rather perfervid statement eulogises everybody concerned, the Indian Army, Lord Linlithgow and General Wavell. Incidentally, he criticises those who hold that Indian's frontiers are clearly defined by nature and that Indian troops should defend the country at those frontiers. Sir Claude says that this is a fallacy and that military experience has proved that the enemy should be fought at the most distant places so as to keep him away from the country. This reminds us of Lord Salisbury's warning to Lord Lytton when the latter was Viceroy and the former Secretary of State for India, to beware of military experts : if they had their way they will not be content until the frontiers had been pushed forward to the moon. Military experts do not apparently realise that the cost of a policy based on the principle enunciated by our late Commander-in-Chief would be prohibitive even for the United States and would be utterly beyond the resources of India. When Sir Claude was appointed to India, it was said by the Press buglers that it was a recognition by the British Government of the vital importance of Indian defence to the Empire. Now it is a sort of rest cure for a great General worn down by his Herculean tasks in the Middle East. There is only one meaning to be attached to this sudden shifting of reasons, that the true position of India is that of a pawn in the imperial game. There have been whispers of Sir Claude's vigorous pro-Indian policy having brought him in conflict with the stolid Viceroy. But Sir Claude's tribute to the calm wisdom of Lord Linlithgow shows that if there were any differences, the late Commander-in-Chief has come to realise that the do-nothing policy is the best one for India.



### THE POPE ON GOD'S WAYS.

Broadcasting from Vatican City on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul on the 29th June, His Holiness the Pope delivered an address of which the following summary by Reuter's Agency was published in the daily papers :

After commenting on the wretchedness of European populations under the yoke of war, His Holiness said, "We ask, how can God allow such horrors? Christ replied to this question through St. Peter when he said: 'Thy ways are not my ways.' Men judge events with a foreshortened vision of time. God sees events from on high and from the unmoved centre of eternity. It is necessary to trust in God and to rely on divine justice. The triumph of evil can not endure. Hours of good will come with freedom, and with joy, and will permit the resurrection of justice and peace."

The sentence quoted by His Holiness as Christ's reply to questioners, occurs in the 55th Chapter of Isaiah. There the Prophet says that God will pardon sinners if they repent. "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways, my ways, saith the Lord." The plain meaning is that the natural man is liable to sin through ignorance of the ways of God but if he repents having learnt God's ways, he will be pardoned. His Holiness has attributed the passage to St. Peter and to Jesus. We have not been able to trace this reference in the New Testament. On the contrary, many texts in the latter rather show that the Christian ideology postulates that God's ways are and should be also man's. For instance, man is exhorted to be perfect as his Father in heaven, which he can not be if his ways are different from God's, much less, if he did not know what God's ways were. In another verse, man is exhorted to remember the ways of God, which implies that he knows what they are but may have forgotten them. Whether, however, God said it through Isaiah or Christ through Peter, the explanation given by His Holiness does not satisfy a mind which is not indoctrinated in the infallibility of the Pontiff. On a point of Christian theology, however, it will be presumptuous on the part of a layman and a non-Christian to question the views of the Pope. But, as a matter of logic and commonsense, any one is free to express his doubts, and that is all that is here attempted.

To the man in the street, the Pope's statement will convey no meaning; His Holiness observes that justice will triumph in the end. When is that to be? The world even according to biblical computation has existed for some 6,000 years, but the yoke of war has never been absent from its neck. If not actual war, passive war in the shape of political domination, economic exploitation, cultural aggression. Will the next six thousand years see the end of war, and the triumph of justice? Why, asks the man in the street, should he and his near and dear suffer in the hope that some others several thousand years hence may enjoy peace and justice? Why should not God Who is omnipotent, put an end to war here and now? Why should He tolerate Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini? Why should He not strike them dead with a flash of lightning, and leave the world in the righteous hands of His Holiness, Mr. Winston Churchill and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt? God's ways in tolerating the Dictators seems to be rather like the ways of Satan. Are the ways of men the same as Satan's? And does God allow them a long rope so that they may hang themselves at the end of it, leaving the way clear for Justice and Freedom? Why create Dictators at all? The fact is that His Holiness is in a difficult position. He must speak in parables just

as his Master had to for fear that Caesar might be offended and resort to drastic steps beginning with the suppression of the Vatican Radio. Sceptics will not be satisfied with the explanation that God chooses to give miscreants a long run instead of putting his foot down on them and sternly warning them to stop their devilry. The nations of Europe have lived under the discipline of Christianity for a thousand years. It is a remarkable fact that those nations which have been the longest under that discipline are the most violent in their rejection of it. It is doubtful if a further period of a thousand years under the same discipline would bring about any improvement. This discipline is sought assiduously by several Christian missions to be extended to Asia and Africa. But with this difference. While Christianity and political freedom and economic prosperity are associated together in Europe, the Christianity preached to the heathen is carefully pruned so as to ensure White supremacy in the dark continents. Coloured races when they become Christians, and even if they do not, are expected to support the White man's war. As against the Pope's thesis, we offer an explanation of the war which may be at least not violently illogical. The Christian religion has operated at least in Europe as a powerful stimulus to greed of wealth and power. Edwin Arnold said of Buddhism that it had made Asia mild. This cannot be said of Christianity in Europe. Circumstances have favoured the domination of the White races so far. They have succeeded in dominating coloured peoples and depriving them of their freedom and the fruits of their labours, often using cruel and bloodthirsty means. Now they are quarrelling about the spoils. Equal access to raw materials, has been laid down as one of the conditions of the new world order by the American Secretary of State. By "equal access" he no doubt means that all must be able to buy the raw materials at the same price. But the United States has cornered nearly all the world's gold and Mr. Cordell Hull does not say whether all countries will have equal access to the American gold hoards. The United States can bring about peace in a day if she opens up her hoard and distributes them among all the nations according to their needs. His Holiness might have made a suggestion to that effect but he has prudently refrained from doing so. If the world must have gold and if the country which has accumulated most of it, will not part with it voluntarily, either the world must do without gold or take it from that country by force or fraud. Thoughtful Americans have realised that the gold hoards are a menace to their future.

**Resistance and Relief:**—Members of the War Resisters' International, which has its headquarters in London, are proving under wartime terrors that their opposition to war does not prevent their making a valuable contribution to the relief of its helpless victims. One of their activities is giving aid to British people who have been "bombed out" of their homes and who have lost everything. Their widespread distribution of clothing is greatly helped by large consignments which arrive on almost every ship coming from South Africa, sent by the two South African groups of War Resisters in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. These clothes have gone to refugees from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, France and Belgium as well as to British sufferers. The British authorities have recognized the value of this work by giving permission for the importation of these goods free of customs duty.—Nofrontier News Service.

## THE PHILIPPINES IN THE PRESENT WORLD WAR.

(By WALTER BROOKS FOLEY, MANILA.)

An American general once said that war is hell. Hell is supposed to be occupied by those who deliberately chose to be immoral. It is therefore a philosophical question only as to whether there are morals in our present war of catastrophe. For if war is hell, war is certainly immoral.

The real question is whether there is such a thing as a right war or a wrong war, a good war or a bad war. It is something like asking whether you and I can have a good enemies and bad friends. There are those who believe in what they call righteous or holy or moral wars. We must answer the question.

We, in the Philippines, must be deeply interested from several angles. In the first place, the Philippine Constitution is the only one which "renounces war as an instrument of national policy." That is a basic recognition of the futility of force in deciding finally the affairs of mankind. Since the members of the Philippine Constitutional Convention were wise enough to know this to be true, it is altogether fitting and proper that we should examine our attitude on the moral relation of the Philippines to a world war in progress.

No one has been heard advocating any change of the Philippine Convention to amend Article II, Section 8 as quoted above. That being true we may accept the renunciation of war as the definite position of the Philippine government, perhaps more so than any other government in the world, for nowhere else have the people as a whole voted on whether such an article should be made the law of the land. The answer then would seem to be that, since war is not held to be an adequate means of adjusting national relationships, the Philippines must regard with suspicion any nation which insists on using such a basically immoral technique.

This, it can be seen, will involve, as all morals do, the choosing between right and wrong. If it is wrong to wage war, it is clear that the nation so involved must be assigned to an immoral category. That may lead some to try and decide the rightness of wars of defence or the wrongness of wars of aggression. This in turn involves definitions of how far national rights extend. For instance, at least one American of prominence announced a couple of years ago that America's first line of defence was on the Rhine in Europe. Others say that it is in the Netherlands Indies in the Pacific. Can we lay out right and wrong on the globe and measure them with a compass? Or is there far more involved than a geographical sector of the earth's surface? Is it possible for one side to be right, and another side completely wrong?

Then, we must face the question that, if war is immoral according to the Philippine Constitution, or if it is hell according to General Sherman, what can make it right in Germany, or what can make it a right choice for those who believe they must use it to assure a more perfect world?

Fundamentally, people the world over do not believe war is a decent or righteous procedure. As a matter of fact, the present war is proving that to fight a war moral scruples are impossible. No known philosophy of war can prove that war promotes the total human welfare. It is destructive of the highest and best. When the highest and best are destroyed, mankind inherently, though perhaps slowly, revolts against such a practice.

We are really considering a vital question for we are a part of the war today. Not just in sympathy or

emotion. Not just in agreement or disagreement. The whole world is at war. We cannot make decisions of any value save as we predicate part of our judgment on what the war is doing to the world. We must recognize that we are discussing morality while practicing immorality. That seems to be quite a customary human procedure. Incidentally it proves that we cannot discard morality. We strive for greater perfection. We believe in the best even while we do the worst. We keep ideals alive.

It is a mere rhetorical question to ask whether the war will bring on world revolution. We are in the midst of a revolution. It can no more be stopped by one or all of us than old King Canute could sweep back the tide with his broom, or than the raising of storm signals will drive back a typhoon. The farmers of Pampanga know there is a revolution. The Assemblymen know it. We all know it in one degree or another.

We are quite literally at the heart of an international social tornado. Scientists tell us it is quiet at the centre of a tornado. But, if the storm shifts to any degree in any direction, the calm will become a tempest. And we had better get our philosophy of life straightened out before we become deeply enmeshed in more rapidly moving events. Some of our time should be spent trying to find out where we are mentally and psychologically.

In ploughing a field it is necessary to keep an eye on a distant object in order to end up with a straight furrow. That provision in the Philippine Constitution which renounces war is a substantial landmark that can help to give the Philippines a straight historical furrow of decent co-operative international relations.

This question of whether the Philippines has a moral stake in the war is not a hypothetical question. No country can be independent today. Certainly the United States recognized that fact when it helped to bind together the North and South American continents. An independent country, in the sense we used the word a few short years ago, is an anomaly today and will be more so tomorrow. That means various things.

It means that, when one country is immoral, it quickly colours all other countries with its immorality. It makes it more difficult to know what is the best, and nations are, therefore, tempted to choose what they call the lesser of two evils. People may be called to engage in a war which is basically immoral to defend rights which they will almost certainly lose in the war they will fight. Our only salvation seems to be that God has the ability to use even the wrath of men to praise Him, and to effect a changed and better condition.

Lack of complete independence for any country means, and emphasizes the fact, that it is really impossible to separate morals from politics and economics. The reason we have war is because we have insisted on having a divorce as between business and government on the one hand and morals on the other. There is at present no Christian government in the world. There is no great Christian structure of economics. True, Communism has its values, but, when it is based on conflict between classes, it explodes or dies out through lack of proper balance in its human elements. Democracy has great significance but keep it only in the political framework, and do not allow it in the business structure and it will fail. Morality is the cement of humanity. It will make for world independence when realistically applied.

Has the Philippines a moral stake in the present world war? Decidedly, unless we believe we

can conceal 16,000,000 people in a kind of hermitage in the Oriental seas. We know this is impossible. There are no barriers of sufficient height or depth to shut out the air waves and the transportation systems and the social changes of the rest of the world. This is no out-of-the-way corner where people by the millions can hide and vegetate.

Anyway, we do not regard a hermit as the best example of humanity in a world that needs help. Nor can we regard millions of people living alone as worthy collaborators in a world torn with revolution.

The great moral challenge that faces all believers in democracy is to "give until it hurts." We have no longer any moral right to think in terms of merely taking something. We must learn to give. A fair share of our social and national existence must be devoted to world enterprises and objectives. There is nothing within one country big enough to hold all our loyalty. Our allegiance must be to the betterment of the children of men wherever found.

We cannot sanction any "new disorder in East Asia." We must drive toward a new world order. Not an order of conquest but of voluntary collaboration. We must avoid using the immoral techniques of the enemies of international morality.

The moral challenge to the Philippines lies in making effective the pledge of the Constitution to renounce war by uniting enthusiastically with countries pledged to build up rather than to tear down. The moral relationship to the war lies in knowing that human freedom means not just exercising and demanding rights but also assuming responsibilities.

Every nation today is giving up its freedom, but only as that is done with the object of seeing other millions lifted into freedom, can greater freedom and independence be secured for all concerned.

We should be ashamed because the human race has not gone beyond the stage of battle. We should deeply regret that it is still engaging in economic and political wars which settle nothing, but debase human dignity and personality and waste the resources of all nations. Wars are the jungle creeping in on the clearings of human civilization. We need greater open spaces developed through using our brains to learn how to live together. The people of the Philippines have a chance to maintain social sanity in a world where, over great areas, only confusion reigns supreme. My belief is that these Islands can offer havens for the promotion of intelligent international morality through a willingness to sacrifice local interests in the interest of world advance.

So, our contention is that the Philippines do have a moral stake in the present world war. These are days when we need to use the accumulation of the world's wisdom. That wisdom has been concentrated in the form of moral values. A people can win the way to greatness only by accepting a moral basis for human development, and by building its government on that foundation. Otherwise the citizens will be caught by the outgoing tide and swept into an oblivion of immoral futility.

**Hindu Law Reform:**—The Hindu Law Committee, which recently submitted its report in accordance with its terms of reference, has recommended, *inter alia*, that no satisfactory basis for legislation could be found without a comprehensive survey of the whole field of Hindu law, says a Press Note. It has, therefore, been decided that the Committee should continue to sit in order that it may undertake such a survey, commencing with a review of the law of succession. Thereafter the Committee intends, if time permits, to take up for consideration the law of marriage, which also forms the subject matter of various Bills introduced in the Central Legislature.

### ALL-INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS CONFERENCE.

A constitution for the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was adopted by the Standing Committee at its meeting of March 5, 1941, to come into operation on a date fixed by the President. By virtue of the powers conferred on him by a special resolution of the Standing Committee of the Newspaper Editors' Conference, the President has announced that the new constitution, as amended by the resolution of the Simla meeting of the Standing Committee, has come into operation from June 1, 1941. We give it below:

(1) **Name:** The Name of the Conference shall be the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

(2) **Objects:** The objects of the Conference shall be:—

(a) To preserve the high traditions and standards of journalism.

(b) To safeguard the rights of the Press in regard to freedom of publication of news and comment.

(c) To secure facilities and privileges to the Press for the due discharge of its responsibilities.

(d) To represent the Press in India in its relations with the public and public institutions; and, particularly in its relations with Government, to set up Committees which would act as liaison bodies between the Government and the Press as a whole.

(e) To establish and develop contacts with associations having similar objects in other countries.

(3) **Membership:** (a) Any periodical for the publication of which a declaration under the Indian Press Act is necessary, may be enrolled as a member on submitting an application prescribed in Form A.

(b) Any registered News Agency may be enrolled by a special resolution of the Standing Committee.

(4) (a) Each member shall be represented at the Conference by its Editor or the Editor's nominee.

(b) No person shall, even though he may represent at any given session more than one member, have more than one vote at the Conference.

(5) (a) Journalists of standing invited by the President to join the Conference may be admitted as special members.

(b) Special members shall pay the same subscription and enjoy the same rights and privileges as other members but shall be exempt from disqualification arising out of want of connection with newspapers.

(6) Each member shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 50 within a prescribed period.

(7) Membership shall become vacant:

(a) When the member paper submits its resignation.

(b) When there is a declared default in the payment of subscription.

(c) When the member paper ceases publication or suspends publication for more than three months.

(8) **Annual Meeting:** (a) The Conference shall meet once a year on dates and at a place previously fixed by the Standing Committee.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Conference may be called by the President or by a resolution of the Standing Committee.

(9) The Conference shall be presided over by a member previously elected in accordance with the directions of the Standing Committee, subject to the

proviso that every member of the Conference shall have a vote in electing the President.

(10) The President of the Conference shall continue to hold office throughout the year. He shall preside over any extraordinary session that may be summoned during the year and he shall be the Chairman of the Standing Committee.

(11) **Standing Committee:** (a) At every ordinary session the Conference shall appoint a Standing Committee consisting of 21 members elected by those present.

(b) The President of the Conference shall have power to nominate additional members to the Committee but the number of members thus nominated shall not exceed seven.

(12) (a) The Standing Committee will ordinarily meet once in three months.

(b) Special meetings may be summoned by the President whenever he may think it necessary.

(c) The quorum for the meeting of the Standing Committee, special and ordinary, shall be seven.

(d) A notice of ten days shall be given in the case of ordinary meetings and four days in the case of special meetings.

(13) (a) The Standing Committee shall elect one or more of its members as Secretary or Secretaries of the Conference.

(b) One of the Secretaries shall also act as the Convenor of the Standing Committee.

(c) The Standing Committee shall elect one of its members to act as Treasurer.

(d) In the absence of the President, the Standing Committee shall elect its own Chairman of the meeting.

(14) A seat in the Standing Committee shall be deemed vacant:

(a) when a member submits his resignation and it is accepted.

(b) when the member ceases connection with the paper on whose behalf he attended the Conference.

(c) when the paper ceases publication or suspends publication voluntarily for more than 3 months.

(15) All vacancies which occur in the Standing Committee during a year, shall be filled by co-option by the Committee at its next meeting.

(16) **Central Advisory Committee:** (a) The Standing Committee shall at its first meeting after the Conference make recommendations for nomination to the Central Press Advisory Committee.

(b) The President of the Conference shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Central Press Advisory Committee.

(c) All representations to Government shall go in the name of the President.

(17) (a) The function of the Central Press Advisory Committee, so far as newspapers published in Delhi and in such areas where Press Advisory Committees are not in existence, are the same as those of a Provincial Advisory Committee, except that it will also deal direct with the Chief Press Advisor and the Government of India.

(b) During the intervals between the meetings of the Standing Committee and the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, the Central Press Advisory Committee will also exercise on behalf of the Standing Committee such functions as the Standing Committee or the President may entrust to it in matters affecting the press as a whole or the Press of more than one province and in

maintaining liaison between the different provincial committees and between those committees and the Standing Committee.

(c) The function of the Standing Committee as Executive of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference is to carry out the resolutions of the Conference from time to time and to represent the Press of India as a whole in all matters affecting the relations between the Press and the Government and also to exercise such influence over the Press in India as they may consider necessary in the interests of Journalism. It is a body to which any Provincial Press Advisory Committee or the Central Press Advisory Committee on the one hand, or the Government on the other hand, may refer matters of importance or principle in which difficulties or disputes have arisen, but it will not ordinarily entertain complaints from individual newspapers nor will it take up matters of a purely local or provincial concern, until it is satisfied that the possibilities of negotiation between the Provincial Press Advisory Committee and the Provincial Government or, as the case may be, between the Central Press Advisory Committee and the Central Government have been exhausted.

(18) **Provincial Committee:** The Standing Committee may constitute Provincial Committees to carry on the work of the Conference in their respective provinces.

(19) Every member of the Conference shall also be a member of the Provincial Committee in the Province in which the paper is published.

(20) Subject to the directions of the Standing Committee, the Provincial Committees shall constitute their own Executive Committees to carry on the work of the Conference.

(21) (a) All nominations to Press Advisory Committees and other similar bodies shall be made by the President who will be guided by the recommendations of the Standing Committee or the provincial Executive Committee as the case may be.

(b) A seat in the Provincial Press Advisory Committee constituted under the above rule shall be deemed vacant:

(1) when a newspaper ceases publication or suspends publication voluntarily for more than 3 months.

(2) when a member submits his resignation and it is accepted.

(3) when a member ceases to be connected with the newspaper on whose behalf he was nominated.

(c) All vacancies occurring in the above manner shall be filled by nomination by the President.

(22) All residuary powers in regard to the work of the Conference shall vest in the Conference itself and, when it is not in session, in the President.

(23) The Constitution of the Conference shall not be amended save by a special resolution of the Conference approved by three-fourths of the members present constituting not less than two-thirds of the total number of the members of the Conference.

**Training Unit for Women:**—With the announced purpose of preparing women "who believe in the irresistible power of fearless and constructive goodwill for service at home and abroad," the American Friends Service Committee is setting up a Civilian Training Unit for Women, to be operated from July 1 to August 31 on a farm near Philadelphia. The announcement of the Committee states its belief that "many women have had little opportunity to experiment with any form of constructive physical work. Opportunities to use their hands in constructive ways are scarce. The Civilian Training Unit is an effort to provide these opportunities in situations of real need, under competent technical and spiritual leadership."—No-frontier News Service.

### BUDDHA AS SOCIAL REFORMER.\*

(BY VINAYACARYA BHIKKU M. PRAJNA SHREE.)

In one of his incarnations as a Bodhisatva, Gautama Buddha was born in a Chandala family and was known by the name of Matanga. His appearance was so ungainly that people shrank from him when they beheld him. He lived outside the city gates in a hut made of skins and begged his daily food from the city.

Once it happened to be some auspicious day which was proclaimed by the king of the realm for public amusements and festivals. On such occasions it was the custom for all maidens, irrespective of caste, creed, race or social standing, to come out of their different abodes and engage in amusements in public and private parks, to their hearts' content.

There was then a lady, Ditthamangalika by name, who was a maiden of surpassing beauty. She was the daughter of a wealthy nobleman of the Brahmin caste. This lady appeared on that day, and followed by a retinue of attendants—ladies in waiting and servants—she was on her way to her father's park. As they were just about to pass the city-gates they met Matanga who was on his daily round of begging, and seeing him, Ditthamangalika was so shocked at the sight of this ugly creature that she ordered her attendants to turn back homewards, saying it was an ill-omen to meet such a sight, and to proceed further would mean certain disaster. The servants hearing this sudden diversion and knowing the beggar to be the cause, became enraged at him for having spoilt their coveted revelry. In their excitement they flung stones at the beggar and cudgelled him and, supposing him to be dead, they went home.

Matanga, after he had lain some hours in an unconscious state in a gutter, regained his breath and with great effort groped his way along the street and from inquiries made, learnt why he had been treated in such a manner. He argued whether the public gate was open only to the wealthy and the noble, and then resolved to teach that lady a good lesson for her conceit. With this resolution in mind, he slowly went along the streets declaring his woes to the public and at last reached the palace of Ditthamangalika. There he laid himself down before the gates. The Lord of the house, seeing the wretch, at once ordered his servants to dismiss him with one of the lowest coins current at time, so that he might buy some oil and apply on his body to heal his wounds. But when the servant came up to the beggar he refused to accept anything but the hand of the fair lady Ditthamangalika. Hearing this, the nobleman ordered his servants to offer him two of those coins—one to buy oil and the other to buy something to appease his hunger. But Matanga would not rise. Then they raised the number to tens, hundreds and even up to thousands. But he did not accept. Later in the evening, the lady of the palace approached Matanga and standing behind a screen within earshot of him, begged him to forgive her daughter and raised his prize to several thousands and at last to millions and tried her best to avert this disgrace and menace. To all these apologies and offerings, Matanga lent a deaf ear and callously demanded Ditthamangalika for his wife.

The first day passed. Now there was no possibility of putting this man from the place for none would dare to touch him as he was a Chandala—an untouchable. The second day dawned and he would not move. The third, and the fourth, and the fifth, and even the sixth followed. By this time the beggar was fast approaching death, due to starvation,

in addition to hard handling by Ditthamangalika's men.

Now it was the seventh day of Matanga's fasting. People of equal rank, who lived in the neighbourhood, saw the impending danger that would fall on their families too, if the beggar were to die at this place. In their great anxiety they came to Ditthamangalika's parents and asked them either to get rid of the Chandala by some means or else to deliver their daughter if they were to save themselves and the neighbourhood from being outcast. For there was a severe custom prevailing in those days. If it so happened that a Chandala was starved to death in front of any house, the inmates of that house together with those of seven houses on either side and every direction of it, would become outcasts. On the other hand, the unsuccessful suitors of Ditthamangalika, hearing of this threat to the proud lady, sent errands to Matanga not to lose hope but to hold fast to his resolution.

Now the parents of Ditthamangalika had no other choice but to deliver their conceited daughter to the Chandala beggar, if the whole neighbourhood and they themselves were to be relieved of this impending catastrophe. So they gave her poor clothing and delivered her to Matanga, in spite of the greatest lamentations of the young lady. Matanga, who was now very feeble, asked the lady—now his lawful wife—to lift him up and take him to his hut and she walked through the streets with the Chandala beggar leaning against her. Reaching his hut she bathed him in hot water and applied oil on the body and looked after him very kindly.

This Chandala beggar, as is already said, was no common being but the Bodhisatva, and, as such, he never wanted to leave a dark spot on the chastity of this girl but he wanted to subdue her conceit and thereby teach a lesson to other proud folk as well. So he stayed with her for a short while, until he recouped his health and then he went off to the wilderness and became an ascetic. There he spent a few days in deep meditation before he attained intuitive wisdom.

Armed with such high achievements, he thought that Ditthamangalika would now find herself relieved of her woes and then he rose up into the air and appeared at her door. Whereupon she saluted him and heard him declare to her that he was no more an ordinary being and that he had arrived there to disclose the fact to her and thereby to the whole world, thus relieving the misery brought upon her through him. He also asked her to proclaim to the world that her husband was no other person than the Maha Brahma himself and that he would show his true appearance on the full moon day that was due seven days hence. But she was too timid to make such utterings as she herself was not at all convinced of the accomplishments he spoke of. Therefore, Matanga, now a great Rishi, through his divine powers, rose into the air and displayed some miracles to dispel her doubts and knowing that she was convinced, he once again vanished from her sight and reappeared at his forest abode.

She now walked the streets and announced that which was to be. No one believed her. But, when she persisted, they began to think there might be some truth in what she said.

At last came the full-moon night and as the citizens were eagerly watching for the miracle to happen, and when the moon had half gone her way in the sky, Rishi Matanga showed himself in the guise of Maha Brahma. This extraordinary sight amazed and bewildered the people to such an extent that they would not believe their own eyes and thought that two moons had dawned

\*The Mahabodhi, Oaloutta.



upon them. From there the Rishi came slowly downward, in the sight of the on-lookers, and went to the humble abode of Ditthamangalika. He then placed his hand upon her hand and told her that she would be a mother in due time, and advising her to live through the fortune of that child, rose up before the eyes of the onlookers, and then disappeared.

Now the citizens, out of respect to Ditthamangalika, bathed her in perfumed waters, adorned her magnificently and took her round in a grand procession through the city. Afterwards they made her live in a specially erected pavilion in the heart of the city and regarded and adored her as a mother-goddess. Thus as she was passing her days in happiness and royal comfort, the time of motherhood came to her and a son was born. The people rejoiced and named him Prince Mandavya. The citizens now regarding the Prince, as the son of Maha Brahma, held him in divine respect, and from the whole country and even from distant lands, people began to flock into this city to gain a sight of him so much so that, it is said, even the gates were insufficient for them to pass through and at last citizens had to keep guard for the protection of the Prince. Thus he became the idol of the country and in such stately environments he grew up to be a hale and hardy youth. He had received immense wealth and he began to offer daily arms to Brahmins only, entirely neglecting the poor, the sick and other most deserving ones.

Rishi Matanga, happened to see this by the power of his divine eye. He saw that his son, through conceit, was exclusively entertaining Brahmins and wilfully neglecting the poor. Therefore, he appeared at the door of his son in his ascetic robes. The son, not knowing who he was, looked upon him contemptuously and inquired who this intruder was. His followers, the Brahmins and the guards, at once dragged the unknown ascetic aside and maltreated him. He calmly endured this rude treatment. Then, by means of his divine powers, he rose into the air and coming down again, alighted at the city gates.

Meanwhile, the terrestrial gods who were angry at the treatment which the foolish young Prince had given to the ascetic, turned him into a maniac, thus causing him great suffering. Ditthamangalika, hearing of the incident, learned from the guards all that had occurred. She knew at once who this ascetic was, and made her way to the city gates where she met him.

Approaching him in great reverence, she saluted him and implored him to forgive her son. At the time the Rishi was quietly taking some gruel which he had begged on the street, and, as he heard Ditthamangalika speaking thus, he gave his bowl to her with what remained in it and asked her to add some water and give it to his son who was under demoniacal influence. So she did and her son got instant relief. Now she took him and the Brahmins to the ascetic at whose feet they knelt down got his pardon. Then the ascetic (Bodhistava) advised the youth to extend his charities to all deserving persons and also held a sermon on righteous living after which he went back to his forest abode.

**India Summer School** :—The India Summer School starts at Oxford on July 12 under the auspices of the Argonauts, a union of the younger generation, which recently issued an appeal for Indian political unity. The Indian Committee of the Argonauts hopes that July 12 will be observed as a day of dedication to India in every mosque, temple and church in the British Commonwealth and America.

## SHIP-BUILDING IN INDIA.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

An Editorial Note in your last week's issue refers to the ship-building industry started in India under Indian control and Indian management. This reminds me of Parsi ship-builders who two hundred years ago built the East India Company's ships, an interesting account of which is given in Prof. Ardesir S. Wadia's book *The Message of Zoroaster*. I beg to draw the attention of your readers to the following extract :—

".....Those Parsi naval architects—the master-builders of the Bombay dockyard—had for their motto 'Thorough'—the true ideal of their profession—and they spent their lives in realising it. In spite of the varied opportunities opened out to them to make money, they never cared to avail themselves of those opportunities; their life and soul being bent on the attainment of one object—namely, how to build strongly and build solidly with the best materials available. The founder of the Bombay Dockyard—Lowji Nusserwanji Wadia—was often given a free hand to buy materials for building the Honourable East India Company's ships, but after a long service he died comparatively a poor man. 'In 1774 this most respectable man and upright servant of the Honourable Company died, leaving no other property after a service of forty years than his dwelling-house in the bazaar and about 20,000 rupees in cash but he left what was of far greater estimation with his family, a rich inheritance of ability, industry and integrity, which they have preserved unimpaired to the present day,' says Mr. W. J. Money, Superintendent of Marines to the Honourable the Governor-in-Council at Bombay (1810).

"This speaks for the integrity of Parsi engineers—(ship-builders) of old; now for the quality of the work they turned out. One of the grandsons of this venerable founder of the Bombay Dockyard, Jamshedji Bomanji Wadia, was the first of the Parsi master-builders to be entrusted by the Lords of the Admiralty with the building of men-of-war in India. It was at first suggested to their lordships to send out a European builder and shipwrights; but Sir Thomas Trowbridge, who was then a member of the Board of Admiralty and was intimately acquainted with the character and merits of Jamshedji, pledged his word to the Government that he would build not only frigates but ships of the line to their perfect satisfaction without the least European assistance and orders were accordingly issued for the construction of two frigates and a seventy-four. Speaking about one of them, H. M. S. *Minden*, Captain Thomas Low says, 'She was taken into dock, carefully measured, the plank taken off in many places, and timbers strictly examined. The workmanship and materials throughout the whole structure were admired. The report made by the surveyors of the Navy, will not, I believe, note one fault.....I have heard many of them declare that no ship so highly finished or composed throughout of material so good had been launched from any of His Majesty's dockyards, or any yard in England, during the last fifty years.' These were no mere complimentary words, but their truth has been verified by actual experience. Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew wrote to the Superintendent of Marines at Bombay and begged him to tell Jamshedji that he ought to be proud of his frigates and said, 'The *Salsette* sails as well as any of our frigates, stands up better, and had any other ship but her been frozen up in the Baltic, as she was for nine weeks,

she would not have stood the buffeting of the ice one day, whereas she came off unburnt.' This is a remarkable testimony to the spirit in which Parsis of old did their duty and of the fidelity with which they acted up to the ideal they had set before them....."

It is earnestly to be hoped that our Indian young men who, as a result of ship-building industry now started in India, will be engaged in the ship-building business, will emulate the diligence, thoroughness, efficiency, uprightness, integrity and business honesty of Parsi shipbuilders of two hundred years ago regarding work as worship of God and doing all work to the best of their ability on a principle of religious honesty.

Bombay, }  
June 30, 1941. }

Yours truly,  
ZOROASTRIAN.

### THE CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY BOMBAY.

The year 1939-40 was a land-mark in the history of the Children's Aid Society, surpassed in its importance, if at all, by the year of its inauguration in 1927. In September 1939 the Society opened a Certified School at Chembur, and assumed responsibility of providing in the Children's Home at Chembur for maintenance, education and training of a maximum of 600 children between the age 7 and 18 coming under the Bombay Children Act. In the same year it also undertook to manage, for the Government, the David Sassoon Industrial School which is the oldest of the Certified Schools in the Province. Thus the Children's Aid Society which was first concerned, naturally, in consolidating the measures necessary to operate the Bombay Children Act, made rapid strides towards developing into a premier organisation in the country, taking upon itself the full measure of responsibility for child welfare work in all its aspects in the City and Suburban District.

There was marked increase in both the volume and quality of children's work, particularly preventive work carried on in the Umarchadi Remand Home. The probation staff of the Home was recruited from the rank of those trained in probation methods, particularly in case work. This in itself was a great achievement in that the Society was the first body in this country to recognise the claims of science and specialised training in the handling of social problem children. The effect of professionalising the probation service was tremendous both on outlook and on the manner of tackling the children problems in the City.

The next step which naturally attracted the serious attention of the Society was to improve the Certified School machinery in order to make it breathe the true spirit of the Children Act. The idea as well as the plan of the Children's Home at Chembur was conceived by Mr. Munshi, and with the alacrity and thoroughness which are characteristic of him, Mr. Munshi revolutionised the institutional education of social problem children in Bombay City.

The co-ordination of arrangements in regard to both administration, and planning and correlation of school and vocational curricula made possible by vesting the management in the Children's Aid Society of the two Certified Schools in the City was a measure of greatest importance to the furtherance of Children's work. Here again the Society and the public owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Munshi, who, more than any one else, was responsible for bringing in the three institutions *viz.*, the Remand Home at Umarchadi, the Children's Home at Chembur and the David Sassoon Industrial School under the unified control of the Children's Aid Society.

## THE ARYAN PATH.

EDITOR : SOPHIA WADIA

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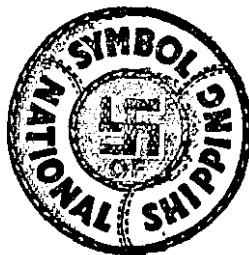
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Russia and the War:**—Will Russia emerge victorious from the war with Germany? Even those bitterly opposed to Hitlerism and bent on destroying it root and branch, while speaking enthusiastically of Russia's resistance, seem to have some doubt about the result. Hitler, no doubt, counted on creating a split in the democratic states by his surprise attack on the Bolsheviks. So far as capitalists are concerned, and the democratic states are also capitalistic, there is little to choose between the Bolsheviks and the Nazis. Perhaps it is more tolerant to the latter as they have not rejected capitalism outright. Those who still regard Russia as governed by the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky, will naturally dislike supporting Stalin as ex-President Hoover does in the United States. As a matter of fact, Stalin is not a Leninist. The slogan with which he has appealed to the Russian people "for Fatherland and the Revolution," is as far different from the old Bolshevik battle-cry "Workers of the World Unite" as chalk from cheese. Bolshevism was a world movement. It was a denial of nationalism and proclaimed the solidarity of workers all the world over. The Fatherland was nothing to it. The success and security of Bolshevism, according to Trotsky, demanded a constant propaganda among all workers throughout the world. Lenin himself departed from an axiom of Karl Marx—that the class war could only succeed in industrialised countries. Lenin sought to force it upon Russia which, like India, was a land of peasants. Stalin, perhaps, sought to correct the mistake by undertaking rapid industrialisation of the country. In order to effect this, however, he had to give up the propaganda programme and to get rid of those who clung to Lenin's ideology—that is to say, the men who had made the revolution and had the revolutionary fervour strong in them. In other words, Stalin was actually leading a counter-revolution to Lenin's which was brought about, strange to say, by German instigation. Russia, according to expert opinion, has nearly all the

requirements for a successful resistance—food, armaments and technical skill. The doubt to which we referred, seems to be about the existence of capable leadership. A message at the early stage of the invasion stated that there was a revival of religion in the shape of enthusiasm for the Orthodox Church to which the peasantry has been devoted for centuries. If this be the case, it means that the people have lost faith in the revolutionary leaders who proclaimed that Religion was an opiate... Stalin himself has not included "Bolshevism" in his slogan. Whichever side might win the war, Bolshevism as understood by enthusiasts, would seem to have no future.

**Russia's Example:**—While the late Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Claude Auchinleck, tells us that the defence of India would be best provided for by fighting the enemy at the most remote fronts, Russia is employing with considerable success the method by which she destroyed Napoleon's army when he invaded that country a century ago. Russia did not choose to fight the Germans in any of the European frontiers though they were much closer to her than Egypt to India. She extended her territory when Hitler was engaged in the Baltic States, in Poland and in Roumania with his consent or acquiescence. It now seems as if Hitler had contemplated all along getting these territories back at the first favourable opportunity. His invasion of Russia in violation of the Pact which he concluded barely two years ago, has destroyed the last shred of reputation for fair dealing which remained to him. Russia was perhaps not so wholly trustful of his intentions as she professes to have been. However that may be, the method she has resorted to to destroy the invader has lessons which large, industrially undeveloped countries may profit by. That method is to destroy everything that may be useful to the invader by laying waste the land across his path. It will be a hard task for the invader to bring all his supplies from the countries under his control. Napoleon's task was comparatively easy. He had only to find food for his men and horses. Hitler will have in addition to find the wherewithal to feed the machines, which can only be done by maintaining long lines of communication. Russia can retreat thousands of miles in her own territory. Germany will find her resources sorely

taxed to follow her all the way. Undeveloped countries with only agriculture for their main industry, with only tracks for roads, and covered by jungles where no aeroplanes can light, have the best natural protection against modern mechanised armies. They can beat off the enemy with pickaxes and such other primitive implements despite President Roosevelt's dictum. The best security lies in waiting for the enemy to come to us and not in going long distances to meet him.

**The Russo-German War and India :—**A valued friend writes :—“The view that the Russo-German war has brought India within the danger zone, is not supported by a study of the situation in the light of patent facts. This view seems to assume too readily that Germany is likely to defeat Russia. This assumption, to my mind, is, to say the least, premature. Russia is a vast country with a greater variety of races than India and the defeat of one section will by no means mean the defeat of the whole. The occupation of Moscow will not have the same significance as the occupation of Brussels or Paris. Germany's greatest difficulties will commence when she plunges deeper and deeper into the Siberian wastes. She will be swallowed up by Asia where her military machine will get stuck. Germany's victory over Russia will be no less her undoing than her defeat. If Germany is defeated, there is, of course, little reason for the cry that India will be her next victim. Great Britain and India have, therefore, reason to regard the Russo-German conflict as a God-send. They should set about strengthening their mutual relations with a view to render their help in creating a new world more valuable than that of any other group.”

**Food and War :—***Foreign Affairs* for April published an article by Karl Brandt. We publish a summary of it headed “Food : a Key Factor in the New Order” by the *Information Service* of the Federal Council of Churches in America. In passing we may take this opportunity to acknowledge the valuable information which the fortnightly bulletins of the Council furnish of the deeper currents of thought in the United States, not ordinarily available in the popular reviews. Food is not, as Professor Brandt suggests, a key factor only in the New Order. It has been that from the beginning of time. Man like animals has always wandered in search of food, camouflaged as religion, military glory, destruction of wrong-doers and the upholding of justice and righteousness. The great migrations in ancient times were from lands where food and water had become insufficient to feed men and their cattle. All the great empires were at bottom the finding of food for a people who lacked food and had no scruples about stealing it from others better situated by fraud or force. Hitler's invasions are but new versions of an old impulse. The “Economic Interpretation of History” is a useful attempt to probe the

question of international conflicts to their roots. “Food,” Professor Brandt observes, “has always served the Nazis as an instrument for outmanoeuvring their political opponents in neutral countries and for exacting complaisance.” Perhaps, the Nazis do this more deliberately and systematically than other nations who do not produce enough food in their own lands and depend upon the production of other lands to feed their populations. The whole structure of industrial civilisation is based on the principle that a man should be a wage-slave or starve. The world is in revolt against this doctrine—the democracies most of all. To deprive a man of food because he does not agree with you in politics is fundamentally the same as demanding security from a newspaper because you do not approve of its views. There is great need at the present day to relate questions to principles. Totalitarianism is the logical consequence of mass production by machinery. Even religion has not escaped this bane. Mass conversions come under the same category. There is more than the similarity of sound between Missions and Machines.

**Pandit Malaviya on Ahimsa :—**There is no other country in the world where a number of able and intelligent men would have required to be convinced by reference to ancient shastras that it is lawful and not sinful for a man to defend himself against another who attempts to murder him, or his neighbour for that matter. A conference was held last week at the residence of the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, of leading Hindu gentleman who wished to find a way of dealing with communal disturbances such as those which occurred in several parts of India including Bombay city. The Pandit extolled Gandhiji's non-violence doctrine which has become more and more absolute in recent years, but suggested that until the public had reached the same moral elevation as Gandhiji, violence can not be excluded from the means of countering violence. He recommended the repeal of the Arms Act which, in the earlier Congress sessions, was one of the subjects of standing resolutions passed by that body. A man armed with a gun is likely to inspire more respect in a would-be assassin than one unarmed. On the whole, the free possession of arms with some training in using them is a greater safeguard of the public peace than a disarmed public. As a rule, the deprivation of the right to possess arms is a measure dictated by considerations of his own safety by a conqueror afraid of risings of the conquered race. At the same time, the sudden distribution of arms among a people long deprived of their use, is likely to help aggressors who in a recent case were said to have possessed themselves of the weapons of their victims. The right of self-defence is inherent in every living being. Even a rat will turn upon the cat in a desperate effort to save itself. A sadhu or a sanyasi may be justified in yielding without a struggle to the aggressor.

Gandhiji's doctrine belongs to the order of Christ's injunction to turn the other cheek which no Christian thinks of doing. Pandit Malaviya solemnly cited Manu, Veda Vyasa and the Indian Penal Code as permitting violence in self-defence. Very few of his audience guide themselves in life by reference to any of these authorities, except perhaps the last. The right of self-defence, however, springs from a personal and individual instinct and does not extend to organised bodies outside the police under a government administering a country on a legal basis. The Conference after deliberating for three hours resolved that under the present circumstances the only course open to Hindus was that they should organise volunteer defence associations in their wards and in groups of villages for warding off deliberate organised attacks upon them. The decision represents a growing feeling in the country that the protection afforded has failed to protect peaceful citizens.

**British Propaganda** :— There have been some strong criticisms of British propaganda in the House of Commons. The ineffectiveness of much of British propaganda, notably in the United States whose support, moral no less than material, is so necessary to Britain, has been frequently commented on. One writer has remarked that the cause of Britain would be better served if three out of four British propagandists remained at home. But in all the criticisms, the essential point is missed, namely, that the British case is difficult to present because it involves many contradictions which it is not easy to explain away to the satisfaction of an unbiased public. Take the latest instance, Mr. Antony Eden's answer to a question about negotiating peace with Hitler. After enlarging on the unreliability of Hitler, the British Foreign Secretary said "in Hitler's world there is no equality between man and man." Mr. Eden may have forgotten, or he did not care to remember, that there is a country called India under British rule. But the Indian can do neither. And, when the Indian reads Mr. Eden's statement, he naturally asks himself—as we did—is there equality between man and man in British India? There was no greater believer in British rule in India than the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani. In the last article he contributed to his paper, the *Leader*, he bitterly resented the exclusion of Indians from the Government of India's re-construction committee and called upon his countrymen to boycott it just as they boycotted the Simon Commission for the same reason. In an editorial headed "Insult," he said that there can be only one answer to "the unspeakable insult" involved in the Government of India's action. He charged the Government of India with "grossly and ungratefully abusing" the war efforts of India. This is only one instance. All round there are evidences of the inequality between Englishman and Indian and between Indians themselves, which is a feature of th

British Indian system. This is also the reason for the failure of British diplomacy, reference to which by Mr. Lloyd George in a recent discussion in the House of Commons provoked Mr. Winston Churchill to taunt his old chief with having developed a Petain mentality. A diplomat was described by Disraeli as a gentleman who was sent abroad to lie for his country's good. But there must be plausibility in the lies—they must be made to seem true. The cleverest diplomat even with the help of Mr. Duff Cooper's "talking points" must find it not a light task to persuade the American or any other public that bureaucratic rule in India is consistent with the talk about freedom, equality between man and man, and democracy. Mr. Antony Eden expressed the view that it would not be possible to negotiate with Germany until the veracity of its leaders was established beyond doubt. If two nations at war can not negotiate for peace unless the heads of their respective Governments can produce certificates in proof of their veracity, few wars can ever end except through an imposed peace which, as history has repeatedly proved, is the prelude to a fresh war after the nations have had time to recover from their effects. When the Indian skeleton in the British cupboard is clothed with the flesh of real freedom, the greatest handicap to British diplomacy and propaganda will have been removed. A contented India will be the best propaganda for Britain. It is, therefore, pre-eminently as a war measure that the question of Indian self-rule should be dealt with, and dealt with immediately, to facilitate the successful prosecution of the war.

**Ship-Building in India** :—The controversy about the assistance and encouragement given by the Government of India to the Scindia Company for the ship-building enterprise at Vizagapatam, is still being vigorously carried on. The *Times of India* has demanded that the Government of India should reply to the allegations against them by Mr. Walchand Hirachand, the Chairman of the Scindia Company. Meanwhile a ship, the "Travancore," financed by the Maharaja of Travancore, was launched in Calcutta by the wife of Admiral Fitzherbert commanding the Royal Indian Navy. "We are proud of the fact," observed Mr. Haddow, the Chairman of the firm which built this addition to the Royal Indian Navy. "that this is the first shipbuilding yard in India to build what I am sure will prove to be a most useful unit of the Indian Navy. It is one of the many that we have been commissioned to build." Only the engines and the boiler of the *Travancore* were imported from Great Britain. The ship, it was claimed, should be regarded as an achievement in Indian ship-building. It would appear, therefore, that Government are not indifferent to the growth of the ship-building industry in this country. They have actively encouraged it in the case of Mr. Haddow's firm and only haggled about the terms in respect of Mr. Walchand Hirachand's enterprise.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 12, 1941.

## INDIA AND BRITAIN.

If the war has been responsible for Mr. Amery's declaration that India's constitutional problem is one solely for Indians to solve, it has also been the cause of greater interest among British politicians, intellectuals and businessmen in Indian affairs. The arrest of several eminent Congressmen in previous civil disobedience campaigns—all of them much more justifiable than the present one—evoked little sympathy from Britain. But from all accounts the present arrests on a much smaller scale have shaken the complacency of the British. The April *Journal* of the East India Association records the proceedings of two interesting meetings on India's relations with Britain. Mr. J. P. Eddy's paper which suggested notably that the Princes should be associated with the Federation on an experimental basis for seven years in the first instance and that minority safeguards should be entrusted to the Federal Court, drew an important comment from Mr. H. S. L. Polak to the effect that the British were wrong in their assumptions regarding Hindu-Muslim relations. Mr. Polak spoke of

.....our habit of speaking of communities as though they were crystallised, hard and homogeneous. As a matter of fact, I do not think that is the position at all in India. The Muhammedans are not a homogenous community, and the Hindus are not a homogeneous community.....Then, too, there is another kind of crystallisation. There is the suggestion that the Muhammedans are entirely different from the Hindus though.....something like 89 per cent of them were of Hindu origin. When you have that kind of thing you have a cultural element, which is a different element from the pure-Islamic element and which in many ways modifies the 100 per cent Islamic cultural point of view.

This is an important point and we are glad that Mr. Polak made it though the other speakers at the meeting overlooked this fundamental question in discussing "India's constitutional problem." The habit of regarding communities, whether in India or abroad, as hard, crystallized and homogeneous is part of that Nazism which the present war is out to destroy. As a matter of fact, nowhere is there any community which can be so described and least of all in India where through the centuries a process of fusion has been going on between the communities. The conclusion of the speaker that Dominion Status must be preceded by a settlement of internal differences, naturally places a premium on communal differences. Mr. Eddy's appeal was for goodwill, wisdom and understanding which he evidently advances as a substitute for "a material change in the constitutional status of India" But neither he nor the other speakers were able to suggest how goodwill, etc., were to be brought into the relations of India and Britain without meeting India's national aspirations.

At Mr. Eddy's meeting, Miss Mary Sorabji threatened to "drop a brick". Her suggestion that the task of winning India to the war effort should be entrusted to women on whose "winsome ways" she laid great store, was ignored at the meeting but it apparently inspired the Secretary to arrange for an experimental "women's day" at the East India Association. The chief speaker was Lady Hartog and Lady Layton took the chair, while all the participants, with two exceptions, were women speakers. Lady Layton in her presidential remark showed a breadth of vision which few Englishmen today and still fewer Englishwomen seem to be capable of. She observed that, after the measure of democratic rule seen in the provinces, it was not unusual to find disturbed conditions in Indian politics when India was declared to be at war with Germany. "For them," she said, "to find themselves in a situation in which they could neither voluntarily offer to come in as the self-governing Dominions had done, nor remain neutral when a smaller country like Egypt.....and Ireland had chosen that alternative, undoubtedly caused a great ferment." She asked for a great deal of faith in British dealings with India and imagination and knowledge. She deplored the failure of the Government to do anything after August. Lady Hartog stressed the future and was careful to avoid hurting anyone's feelings. But her speech was overshadowed by Lady Layton's. The two addresses, however, would appear to have stung some of the women into opposition. Miss Rathbone who has earned distinction by her appeal to India, asked her countrymen to treat Indians more seriously and not to humour them. Miss Rathbone on the ground that "we" have realized Britain's mistakes in the past, and had fought for Indian self-government, appealed for magnanimity from India. She said:

There was a time when we here were all passionately throwing ourselves into the struggle for Indian reforms and for Indian self-government. We realized the mistakes that England had committed in the past, and felt it was our duty to throw our whole strength into enabling India to realize herself. Great steps were taken forward during those years—and now, is there not something bitterly disappointing in the reaction of India, that they should show, first, so little magnanimity and, secondly, such short sight even from a self-interested point of view?

The realization of Britain's mistakes by the British has always, we are afraid, been in retrospect. As for Miss Rathbone and her friends throwing themselves into India's struggle, this is the first time we hear of it.

While the *Journal* of the East India Association reports these debates on India which mark a livelier and more sympathetic note than is common in the functions of this sedate platform for retired Governors and civilians, a press message the other day mentioned that Lord Willingdon at a recent meeting had told the Association that the only method of dealing with India was to regard the Congress as just another political party as he had done during his Viceroyalty. Nobody present pro-



bably must have mentioned that the Willingdon regime was specially noteworthy for the substitution of government by ordinance for the rule of law, and that in principle at any rate there was little to distinguish it from the Hitlerism which the British are out to destroy. When British speakers wonder at the failure of Indians today to distinguish between British Imperialism and Nazism, they may remember that men like Lord Willingdon have helped to confuse the issues in Indian minds. We are not sure, however, that it would not be better even for Britain if Indian politicians outgrew the superstitious belief of several generations, carefully nurtured by the British themselves, in a special quality exclusively conferred on Britain and her people, known variously as fairplay, sportsmanship, sound commonsense, genius for compromise, and love of justice. This has tended to obscure the real basis of Indo-British relations and has led the most rabid of political extremists to look for conduct from British administrators different from what one would expect in members of a ruling race to those over whom they rule. This is clearly shown in Congress declarations of not desiring to embarrass the Government and in a very general preference for British to other foreign rule which makes many politicians waver in pressing their claims for independence. The result is that Indians having been taken in by propaganda are disappointed that the British are still imperialistic, and the British who have no illusions about the theories they have put about, are surprised that Indians do not recognize the essentially mild character of their domination. Inadequate appreciation of the mischief of their own conceit leads the average Britisher to regard the Indian "non-embarrassment" policy as a mask to cover sinister intentions or hopes. The other superstition which rests in the luck of Britain or British national capacity to muddle through, is responsible for decisions taken by political parties in India to continue agitation even during the crisis that confronts Britain. After all there is no merit in helping a man who, whether he is confident or not, is going to win in the end.

**Electric Shock from Aerial:**—A Bombay Government Press Note says: "The Electrical Engineer to the Government of Bombay warns the public that, when radio sets are removed, it is advisable to remove the aerial lead to the set or place it out of reach so that no person or child may, through ignorance, connect the aerial to any part of the lighting installation. In a recent instance a person on the terrace of a building in Ahmedabad touched a bare wire radio aerial and received a severe electric shock. It was found that the radio set had been removed from the premises for repair and that the pin plug of the aerial lead for the set had been inserted in the socket connected to the lighting installation and intended for portable apparatus. The electric energy in the socket was conveyed to the radio aerial so that any person coming in contact with the aerial received an electric shock."

#### THE CONGRESS PROGRAMME IN MYSORE.

At the first session of the reformed Legislative Council of Mysore, Mrs. Yesodara Dasappa, elected representative of the women's constituency of Mysore City, carried by a large majority a motion for a cut in the grant for the Muzrai or Ecclesiastical Department to draw the attention of Government to the injustice of not permitting Harijans to enter the Muzrai temples. Before Mrs. Dasappa's motion was taken up, a Harijan representative in the Council had secured the acceptance by Government of his motion urging the desirability and necessity of making grants for the maintenance of a few selected Adi-Karnatak (Harijan) temples and for the construction of a few more of them. On the assurance that the practice of giving grants for the purpose adopted last year would be continued, Mr. Chennagiramah withdrew his motion for a token cut. Mrs. Dasappa's motion was for a radical change in the existing practice. It suggested that a committee may be appointed, if need be, to ascertain public opinion on the question. The motion was supported by a number of elected and nominated members. No non-official member opposed the motion. The opposition came from two Government spokesmen, the Muzrai Commissioner, Mr. S. Abdul Majid, who, as a Muslim, sympathised with the object of Mrs. Dasappa's motion, but in his official capacity said that the motion, if accepted and acted upon by Government, would have no practical effect. The Muzrai Commissioner said that his Department was in charge of some 26,000 religious institutions most of which had been built and endowed by private devotees. Of these some 3,000 received cash grants from Government. Except 58 of them, they received Rs. 50 or less. If they stopped these grants, added the Commissioner, the effect would be negligible. The majority of the institutions had sufficient resources to stand on their own legs. The Muzrai Commissioner described the relation of Government to these institutions as that of a trustee. Rajamantrapravina Anantaraman, the Finance Member of Government, speaking after him, corrected this. He said that the grants given by Government did not entitle the latter to exercise any sort of control over the institutions. He repeated the Commissioner's statement that the stopping of the grants would have no effect on the management of the institutions. The Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation had been cited in support of the motion. That Proclamation was mandatory. It rested on the prerogative of the Maharajas of Travancore which they have enjoyed from time immemorial. The rulers of Mysore have never claimed to possess a similar prerogative nor the rulers of any other State, Hindu or Muslim. The Minister further pointed out that the conditions in the two States, Travancore and Mysore, were different. "In point of culture and personal habits, the Harijans in Travancore were not inferior to any community including the Brahmin community in Travancore." The Minister hinted that perhaps there had been a fall in the number of worshippers of the communities who worshipped at the Travancore temples before the Proclamation was issued. "If the object be not a political stunt," added Rajamantrapravina Anantaraman, "but a real effort to provide facilities to the Harijans, then that object will not be achieved."

The temple entry question, it has always seemed to us, is not one for decision by a Legislature composed of members following different religions. It is a question concerning only Hindus. If there were a convention such as the one in the House of Lords that, when the House sits as a judicial tribunal, only

Law Lords would attend, it may go some way to mitigate the anomaly of a Christian and a Muslim discussing the propriety or otherwise of the customs observed in Hindu temples. In many Christian Churches in the South, Harijan converts are excluded by caste Christian converts. Animal sacrifices still continue in some Hindu shrines and they are a part of Muslim religious ritual. If these questions are to be debated in Legislatures, normal legislative business will be greatly hampered. The Finance Minister suggested that educative propaganda by reformers might be more effective for the object in view than Government action. He might have asked the Hon. lady mover if she was prepared to admit Harijans to her home on the same terms as caste Hindus. We trust she is. Otherwise, the bringing in of a motion in the Legislative Council to compel the orthodox temple-goers to associate with people with whom they feel a strong objection to associate in worship, is no more than a 'political stunt' as Mr. Anantaraman characterised it. The Hindu members who supported Mrs. Dasappa, might ask themselves the same question. The Indian Christian member, Mr. Rayappan, who spoke first in support of the motion, may be asked what he has done or proposes to do about a similar custom in Christian Churches. At the same time, Government cannot go behind the Legislative Council which constitutionally stands for public opinion in the State. They should accept the verdict of the Council. In accordance with Parliamentary practice, a Committee, such as that which Mrs. Dasappa recommended, should be appointed with herself as the Chairman to enquire and report on the question. Some social reformers who view such questions from a purely social standpoint and without any reference to political issues, should be placed on the Committee in order to bring out how far advocacy of temple entry represents a real change of heart in respect of association with Harijans on an equal footing. Mr. Anantaraman's statement as to the cultural advance of Travancore Harijans, will come as a surprise to many who have not heard of the remarkable mission of the great leader, Sri Narayan Swami, who laboured for years to raise the standards of the Ezhavas of Travancore. There is room for similar work in all parts of the country. Not many years ago, women were the strongest opponents of reforms. The mere suggestion of admitting Harijans to equality would have made them shrink in horror. That a woman member should have come forward to sponsor a motion for Harijan equality, is a highly gratifying sign of the times.

The Mysore Congress Party has not boycotted the new constitution. Its members attend and take part in the business of the Legislature. We deal above with the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the motion brought by a woman member in of admission of Harijans to Hindu temples. Another item of the British Indian Congress programme, Prohibition, was also debated in the Council on the motion of a Congress member, Mr. Maryappa. Mr. Maryappa wished the Government to take immediate steps for the gradual introduction of Prohibition throughout the State and to appoint a committee to suggest suitable measures for making good the loss of exoise revenue which may be caused thereby. "Immediate steps for the gradual introduction of Prohibition," is a good example of "animated moderation" which, according to Walter Bagehot, is the distinguishing characteristic of British politics. The attitude of the Mysore Government to the motion is not what it was not many years ago. The Government is not only sympathetic but has actually introduced Prohi-

bition in some of the districts although only of a partial kind. Mr. Maryappa thanked Government for this advance and wished it to accelerate its pace which at the present rate would take a century before Prohibition was introduced in the whole State. The motion, unlike that on Temple Entry, met with a mixed reception and was carried only by a small majority. The opposition was mainly on the ground that Prohibition may bring in the sales tax as in Madras and Bombay. The Finance and Revenue Minister, Mr. Anantaraman, who opposed the resolution on behalf of Government, took the same line as he did on the Temple Entry resolution. He sympathised with the object but doubted the feasibility of enforcing Prohibition. The Madras precedent did not apply. It was not altogether a success. He had heard it said that in some part of the Prohibition area in Madras "in the same oven while food was being cooked on one side, illicit distillation was going on on the other side." Somewhat inconsistently, he also pointed out that propaganda had for many years been carried on in the Madras Prohibition area. He also questioned the efficacy of Prohibition for the purpose of promoting abstinence. None of the speakers referred to the fiasco in Bombay where Prohibition broke down because the Congress Government was obliged to tack to it a 'permit' system which practically made its enforcement impossible. The Congress, if it really wanted Prohibition, should have begun by taking a pledge of total abstinence from its members. This it did not venture to do although we repeatedly urged it to do so. The Mysore leaders would do well to rectify this glaring mistake if they really intend to remove the curse of drunkenness from the State and are not merely getting up a show in imitation of their British Indian friends. In matters of social reform example should accompany precept. Mysore used to have a bad reputation in this respect. We have no doubt things have much improved since, as they have in the rest of the country thanks to the influence of movements of social and religious reform.

#### NUTRITION RESEARCH, COONOR.

McCarrison's fame in the field of nutrition research has made the Laboratories at Coonor generally known to the world at large but few are aware of its small beginnings, its chequered career and present precarious existence. In 1918 McCarrison started his "Beri-Beri inquiry" in one room in the Pasteur Institute at Coonor. He had an assistant and little equipment and the enquiry had to be suspended in 1920, as McCarrison was invalided home. From 1922-23 there was an attempt at a revival with the title of "Deficiency Diseases Enquiry" which was "axed" by the Inchoape Committee. A more successful attempt at resuscitation followed in 1925, and, though the research unit bearing the name of "Nutrition Research Laboratories" has been allowed to continue its existence with considerable expansion, it is greatly handicapped by the fact that the whole scheme is run on a temporary basis—a ready and attractive victim to retrenchment or War Saving Schemes.

The work in Coonor has been financed throughout by the Indian Research Fund Association, an official body with its headquarters at Simla and Delhi. McCarrison retired in 1935 handing over to Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, the present Director, who is assisted by about a dozen research workers. Additional accommodation in the adjoining jam factory and in the Pasteur Institute has been secured. The equipment and reference books at the disposal of the research unit are good. The

association with the Pasteur Institute has enabled the two institutions to form a good scientific and medical library, the main intellectual attraction in Coonoor.

During the last fifteen years the main lines of works of the laboratories has been the investigation of the nutritive value of about three hundred Indian foodstuffs, the carrying out of diet surveys and the assessment of the state of nutrition of localised groups of the population in different parts of India. The results of such surveys show the deficiency of Indian diets and the directions in which alterations are necessary from the standpoint of nutrition. Thus the cheap Indian diet containing rice as its main cereal, may be made to approximate to a well-balanced diet by supplementing it with pulses, green leafy vegetables and, when possible, milk and milk products.

An influential research unit can, therefore, not only guide but direct the agricultural and public health policy of a country. It can by its labours find out commonly available sources of "protective" or essential food-factors. The recent discovery of the high Vitamin A content of shark liver oil is an example. Another instance is that of *amla* or the Indian gooseberry which is reputed to have a high Vitamin C content—the juice of one berry being about equal in content to that of two oranges. The latest enterprise of the Research Unit, is the manufacture of *amla* powder which is being sent to Calcutta for compression into tablets. At present a good deal of money is being wasted in freight (the *amla* itself costs nothing) and it is possible that steps are being considered to eliminate this expenditure by arranging for the manufacture of the tablets near the Laboratories. As tons of the powder are likely to be turned out the saving will be considerable and the preparation of tablets can go on independent of a breakdown in the Railway services like the recent one by which Bombay was practically isolated.

The Research Unit at Coonoor adopts several means of spreading the "newer knowledge of nutrition." The Laboratories include a museum of exhibits, posters and charts for educational propaganda. For popular reading, Health Bulletin No. 23 on "The Nutritive Value of Indian Foods and the Planning of Satisfactory Diets" has been compiled and a revised edition is expected to be published shortly. A more intensive and specialised form of propaganda is the "Training Class for Health Officers" inaugurated in 1937. The class lasts for nine weeks and was held in 1937, 1938 and 1939. In 1940 and 1941 the classes were thrown open to non-medical students and included chemists, agriculturalists and educationists. Students from all parts of India can attend the course which is given free of charge. In fact at its inception the Health Officers were paid Rs. 2 per day to attend the course.

But for one solitary exception, the Nutrition Research Laboratories have not attracted much attention from the philanthropic public. In 1926, the Raja of Parlakimedi visited the Research Unit as a member of the Royal Commission on agriculture and, realising the importance of nutrition in India, donated a sum of one lakh. We want many such generous donations if nutrition research is to make rapid strides. But it is a matter for regret that the Raja did not insist on the establishment of the Laboratories on a permanent basis as an essential condition of his endowment. Any institution that is continued on a temporary basis for an indefinitely long period, is in danger of becoming stagnant and stagnation is the very antithesis of research. The first duty of the Indian Research Fund

Association is to see that the Research Unit in Coonoor is put on a permanent footing. The importance of the subject of Nutrition Research is generally conceded and there should be little difficulty in obtaining the necessary support from the public. The atmosphere of permanency is bound to provide the incentive and stimulus for venturing into fresh fields of research. India is in a favourable position for making valuable contributions to research and with due support and encouragement there is every possibility of the Coonoor Institute becoming the National Nutrition Research Institute of India. Japan has already forged ahead with its Imperial Institute of Nutrition at Tokyo and India should not be allowed to lag behind.

#### FOOD—"A KEY FACTOR IN THE NEW ORDER."

Karl Brandt, economist of the Food Research Institute, Stanford University, and formerly professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Berlin, is author of an article entitled "Food as a Political Instrument in Europe" in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs* (New York).

Discussion in the United States of the European food situation largely in "conventional physical terms" reveals that "the American public is not yet aware of the full implications of what is really going on in connection with Europe's production, distribution and consumption of food. In the totalitarian state food has ceased to be simply food as we all know it—a commodity of civilian origin and destination. It has acquired new and different aspects. It has become a complete chest of tools in the workshop of the modern tyrant."

"Even statistically food has been driven underground," and information about harvests, imports, exports, destruction and consumption has become a military secret. However, "appraisals of the food and raw material situation made before the commencement of the Battle of Norway and the Battle of France still hold." This statement seems to imply that the transfer of reserves from one holder to another does not reduce the general stock. Mr. Brandt later indicates that Germany will think twice before allowing starvation and pestilence to spread in Europe.

"The German totalitarian state...in preparing for war made its food control a model system for all the phases of its rigid, thoroughgoing, centralized, planned economy." Food was transformed "from an economic end into a political means. Food became an instrument for executing domestic policies, for forcing the integration of the race, for persuading farmers to cooperate, for breaking the backbone of processing industries, for weaning a 'degenerate' and mis-educated people away from luxuries and unheroic attitudes. The granting of food became a premium for accomplishment and withholding of it became a punishment for failure or dissent. Food could establish equality or set up distinctions, it could 'liquidate' inferior individuals and groups...the Nazis saw what a beautiful instrument it could be for manoeuvring and disciplining the masses," a concept "entirely harmonious with the philosophy underlying the totalitarian state."

The result of such manipulation is "to give the entire food economy unprecedented elasticity." It is protected against disturbance and can ignore both increasing costs and popular resentment. This reconstruction was begun in 1934. "Food imports were curtailed, farm prices for food were raised, dealers' margins were narrowed, and consumer prices were raised moderately. Agriculture, the food

processing industries, and trade were studied and reassembled in accordance with the blueprint of the food cartel. Every living soul, whether farmer or labourer, grain-dealer or milk retailer, thereby became a soldier of the Reich Food Estate, subject to the equivalent of martial law and bound to obey it on penalty of losing his freedom or his neck." Then came psychological preparation. The Nazi "put their best nutrition specialists, dieticians, economists and psychologists to work to devise a streamlined rationing system that would feed the people sufficiently well, that would permit the regulation of the carry-over through a tightening or loosening of the national belt, and that would be proof against bootlegging."

Rations are manipulated to bolster national morale. To impress upon citizens the seriousness of a situation limitations are imposed, and a difficult moment is passed with the help of special distribution of modest luxuries. Single-meal campaigns spread radical sentiment against "capitalists." "Hoarding or bootlegging food, or violation of rationing laws, carries the death penalty, or in minor cases a term in a concentration camp."

The system is easily extended to the international field. "Food has also served the Nazis as an instrument for outmanoeuvring their political opponents in neutral countries and for exacting complaisance." The technique is extremely adaptable and highly effective with an agricultural country especially. Purchases of foreign food for the Reich are concentrated in a single authority. An offer to buy at a high price is made to a foreign government, conditions both political and otherwise are set, and then publicity is turned on until the matter is well known to the farmers of the country concerned. The powerful farm bloc in an agrarian country does the rest and the nation is in the grip of a big and powerful debtor. "By outbidding countries with arbitrarily chosen higher prices; by granting subsidized credits and clearing agreements; by buying on a national scale in certain selected transactions; and by the simultaneous use of diplomatic and military pressure, Germany succeeded, between 1933 and 1939, in forcing the proportion of exports taken by her from Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary and Turkey from a former low of 15 per cent to a high of 40 per cent. Simultaneously she forced these countries to raise the percentage of their purchases in Germany, so that instead of representing 19 per cent of their imports these represented 46 per cent."

Since war began, these means have been supplemented by causing inflation of the currencies of neutral or conquered areas, by the arbitrary fixing of the currency ratio to the mark, by forcing rationing in countries with food surpluses, and by forcing export to Germany. In Denmark pressure for export has been indirect, lest the supply be diminished, and the desired result gained through raising prices. "Thus Denmark has a real export boom"—limited to the Reich. In Holland "the incentives are skyrocketing prices, paid in depreciating guilders and the withdrawal of German duties. Dutch farmers desperately need an outlet. German purchases prevent wholesale bankruptcy." Because German men are with the army abroad the Reich is eager to import labour, especially mechanics. "Food is the lure used to secure them." Refusal brings confiscation of the ration card; or cards are withheld and workmen informed that "plenty of food can be had in such-and-such a German industrial centre."

Mr. Brandt sees the critical period in the European food problem as due late this Spring. After that it will become less tense, with radical

changes in types of crop produced according to plan. He points out that "the continent's total import deficit in foodstuffs before the war did not amount to more than 5 per cent of its bread-grain requirements or 6 per cent (10.5 million tons) of bread and feed-grain requirements combined. The real shortage is in fats—1.3 to 1.4 millions tons. Germany today has an untouched war reserve of 6.5 million tons of grain, and this alone would permit her to adjust the situation in countries of greatest need without seriously depleting her stocks. The fat deficit will persist, but it will decrease as potatoes, sugar beets and mangels become available for feeding hog, cows and sheeps, and as more oilseeds, such as rape, are grown. A herd of 100 million pigs now consumes tremendous amounts of feed which could be used as human food."

Mr. Brandt quotes several incidents to show that the "Nazis consider themselves complete masters of the European food situation." Among these are the statement of German Secretary of Agriculture Walter Darré that there would be "no special difficulties" in the occupied areas; the statement of German Ambassador Eberhard von Stohrer in Madrid that Spain did not dollar credit from the United States since Germany could supply her needs; the German-Belgian negotiations of food shipments to Belgium from Soviet Russia; and Germany's interference with the Norwegian barter arrangement to exchange aluminum for Russian grain. To this list might now be added the Nazi publication of the barter agreement with Vichy at the time when the United States was preparing to send food to France.

#### SIR S. CHETTY'S MISSION.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I read with great interest your editorial in *The Reformer* of the 21st June 1941 about the mission entrusted to Sir Shanmukham Chetty. The compliment that you pay to Sir Shanmukham is indeed well deserved. As you rightly point out, he is eminently qualified both by temperament and experience to play the role of peace-maker between communities and as bridge-builder between the old and the young. From this point of view, it is no doubt a loss to the country to send away such a public servant to distant America.

There is, however, another side to this question to which I would like to draw your attention. Is not this mission to the U. S. A. itself a great thing from the point of view of the country? This is an independent purchasing mission going on behalf of the Government of our country with an equal status with England and the Dominions in the eyes of the Americans. Apart from this, this will be the first occasion when a distinguished Indian will come into direct contact with the Government of a great country like the U. S. A. At the end of the war, America will command great influence in shaping not merely the economic policy but even the political policy of Great Britain. Would it not be useful, therefore, in these circumstances if a distinguished Indian has opportunities of establishing contact with leaders of Government and public opinion in America? Considered from this aspect, Sir Shanmukham's mission seems to be equally great in the interests of the country at this juncture. Those who know Shanmukham intimately feel confident that he will fill the new role with credit to himself and honour to India.

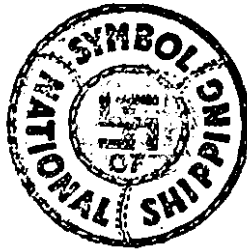
Coimbatore, }  
29th June 1941. }

Yours etc,  
N. LAKSHMANAN.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## JAPAN'S DILEMMA.

The declaration of war against Russia by Germany created a most unpleasant dilemma for Japan. Just a few weeks before the declaration, the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Matsuoka, had officially visited Moscow and Berlin. His reception at Moscow was marked by exceptional cordiality. His experiences at Berlin do not seem to have been equally happy. He is reported to have had rather a stormy interview with Herr Hitler. But the Axis Pact remained and the new Soviet Pact which followed seemed for the moment to be a tribute to Mr. Matsuoka's diplomatic genius. The Russo-German war broke up this pleasing prospect. Japan has had to decide whether she would side with the Axis partners or the Soviet friend. The Soviet-British Pact, sweeping away the long standing distrust between the two countries overnight, further complicated the situation for Japan. Mr. Winston Churchill declared this week that Russia is the ally of Britain. The days of miracles have not ceased. What further miracles are in store time will show. For Japan, the question now is, Should she observe a benevolent neutrality towards Russia or Germany? She is bound by the Axis Pact to go to the help of Germany if the latter is attacked by a third power in the war with Britain. In this case, Russia did not attack Germany. It is Germany which declared war on Russia. All that the pact with Russia requires Japan to do is to respect Russian territorial rights and not to attack her when she is engaged in war. Germany too cannot expect Japanese military co-operation unless she is attacked by another Power. The United States has been for the last several months always on the point of declaring war against Germany but beyond high sounding words directed against Hitlerism, it has been content with supplying arms and ammunition to Britain and that too not as speedily and in as large quantities as would effectively change the tide of war. British attacks on Germany could be much more effective

at the present juncture if there was sufficiently ample supplies from the United States. Japan has not been able to get out of her dilemma except by recourse to the extreme course of a change of Ministry. The Konoye Cabinet has resigned in order to make way for a stronger Cabinet. By stronger is obviously meant a Cabinet more free from inconvenient and embarrassing commitments. The Emperor has asked Prince Konoye to form a new Cabinet.

That the Konoye Cabinet had submitted its resignation and is now carrying on under an Imperial mandate until its successor has been appointed, shows that Japan is now ready for something more vigorous than the carefully calculated efforts of Prince Konoye to hold the balance between various conflicting interests in Japan. The Konoye Cabinet came into office on July 22, 1940. A month earlier Prince Konoye had resigned from the Privy Council and he had spent the thirty days in organising a "totalitarian" party under his leadership. Several of the old political parties had been dissolved and the trade unions were broken up. Prince Konoye, however, reassured the business world by not seeking a similar dissolution from the employers' group, which was, on the other hand, expected to contribute to the building up of the new structure. In August Prince Konoye, then Premier, told his Cabinet that he was setting up a Preparatory Commission for organizing the new structure. On the Commission itself he balanced business interests against political extremism and the Premier declared himself emphatically against any narrowly political interpretation being given to the new structure. It could not, he said, "take the form of a political party" but it should unify all phases of Japan's national life including politics, economics, education and culture. The Premier's stand satisfied neither the business group nor the political extremists on the Commission and after six stormy meetings the Preparatory Commission set up a new association called the Imperial Rule Assistance Association with Prince Konoye as its President.

The Premier immediately reversed several decisions of the Commission through the newly set-up Association—the first fundamental change being to make the Premier ex-officio President of the Association. This effectively made the new body subordinate to the Government

of the country, instead of giving it an independent, permanent status and a controlling power over temporary governments. The Premier evaded decision on all issues with careful skill, even absenting himself for nearly two months from the Diet on the ground of ill-health, and going so far as to make a deal with representative leaders of the Diet and business by which he undertook on behalf of the Government to drop its electoral reform scheme and to extend the life of the Diet and not to press for legislation applying its programme for a new economic structure, in return for an undertaking on the other side to pass the Budget and the necessary wartime measures with the greatest speed. Unlike political deals in other countries, there was no secrecy about this one, the press being invited to the conferences. However, like other deals, the Japanese pact broke down as the opposition realised how much it had agreed to keep silent about. Moreover, Prince Konoye found his troubles increasing after March 1941 when the military party, tired of a "weak" Cabinet, set its mind to capturing and dominating the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. The internal quarrel over policy having been fairly settled, it may be assumed that the military party has consolidated its position and is now in the ascendant. Tokyo's attitude to the war will now take on a more vigorous aspect. The history of the past four years militates against Japan joining Russia and Britain both of whom will have to forsake General Chiang Kaishek openly to win Japan to active alliance. The events of the present war in Europe have been startling enough in all conscience but they would fade into normalcy in the face of such a development.

Prince Konoye for all his vacillation, has proved definite on one point: He showed little hesitation in eliminating foreign influence from all spheres of Japanese life. Mr. T. A. Bisson records in a Foreign Policy Association Report:

On September 4, 1940, after several of its 47 branches had already dissolved, the Japan-Manchukuo Federation of Rotary Clubs voted to disband. Sale of the American-owned newspaper, the *Japan Advertiser*, to the *Japan Times*, an English language paper controlled by Japanese interests, was announced on October 10. Two months later the *Japan Chronicle* of Kobe, the last foreign-owned newspaper in Japan, was similarly transferred to the *Japan Times*. The various Christian denominations were being united into a single Japanese Christian Church, with ownership of all church property vested in Japanese hands. Prohibition of foreign financial support to evangelistic work after December 31, 1940 and to educational work after April 1, 1941, forced many missionaries to return to their homelands.

The attitude taken up by the Japanese Government, largely endorsed by Japanese Christians, has been well received in the United States and in Canada. The *Christian Evangelist* for May 29, reports a meeting in Atlantic City between United States and Canadian missionaries, on the one hand, and a Japanese delegation, on the other. Bishop Abe

of the Japan Methodist Church, asserted that the new structure movement had helped to push forward his dreams of Church union. He read a semi-official document in which the following significant passage occurs:

"During the summer of 1940, far-reaching structural changes were introduced into the domestic life of Japan. This proved a turning point in many phases of the nation's life. In the realm of thought, in politics, in industry and in the cultural world there was a concerted movement to achieve national integration and solidarity.

"This reacted upon the Christian community, stimulated the latent urge for church union and greatly augmented the tempo of the movement to achieve Christian unity.

"This crisis-situation brought to a head the question of church union. On the 17th of October, 1940, at a great mass meeting, attended by 25,000 Protestant Christians, it was definitely decided to establish a united church."

The *Christian Evangelist* further reports:

Mr. Kozaki (another delegate) said that the Government stimulated the movement toward church union but exerted no pressure to accomplish that end. The minimum requirement of 50 congregations and 5,000 members for Government recognition eliminated all except seven denominations from the possibility of securing that recognition.

All the Japanese delegates agreed that the question of whether there was a place for the foreign missionary would depend on the type of missionary; that Japanese churchmen are so absorbed in the problems of reorganizing the new church that they have been unable to work out arrangements for future missionary participation; and that the foreign missionary will in future have to be governed by the needs of the Church in Japan. The Americans and Canadians very correctly accepted that position.

## NOTES.

The Congress:—The sensation caused by the resignation of Mr. K. M. Munshi of his membership of the Indian National Congress, has subsided. To the onlooker it seemed that the reason assigned by Mr. Munshi for his resignation was inadequate. Gandhiji's views on ahimsa have been public property for several years past and he did not raise any new issue in the letter to the correspondent which Mr. Munshi mentioned as his reason. Mr. Munshi's attempt to start a new party has confirmed the belief that there were other reasons besides this for his sudden resolution. The attempt has fallen flat. The method of secession does not find favour with the public. The general feeling so far as we have been able to gauge it, is that Mr. Munshi's right course was to work to bring about a broadening of the basis of the Congress so as to include all nationalists instead of trying to narrow still further the circle of its membership. The Congress through over fifty years of its existence has acquired a special position in the esteem of the public not only in India but also abroad. Sir Hari Singh Gour who has never been in sympathy with the Congress, is obliged to admit that during his visit to the United States before the war he found a strong



pro-Congress attitude among the masses. Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the *Statesman* now in England, writing to the *Spectator* confirms Sir Hari Singh's impression. He says that the pro-Congress attitude is evident from coast to coast. This is noteworthy in view of the fact that Gandhiji has vetoed proposals made from time to time to embark on foreign propaganda on behalf of the Congress. The influence of the Congress in America and other countries is almost wholly due to the personality of Gandhiji and his adherence to the principles of truth and ahimsa. Mr. Munshi by attacking the principle of ahimsa which even those who do not practice it, do not like to see condemned, has placed himself in a position of considerable disadvantage. The time is come when a concerted effort should be made by all parties to expand the Congress organisation so as to include all Indians with a genuine national outlook based on a high ethical plane. That is to say, all Indians who in seeking to promote the interests of their country, will be steadfast in the faith that the interests of every nation are bound up with those of every other. This is just the time for such an attempt and Gandhiji is the one person who can make it with the best chance of success.

**The Indo-Burma Pact:**—The terms of the Indo-Burma Pact initialled early this month by Sir Girjashankar Bajpai on behalf of the Government of India and U. Saw, Prime Minister of Burma, at Rangoon, are reported to have been approved this week by the Standing Committee on Emigration of the Indian Legislature. But the terms have not been published and there is complaint both in India and in Burma about the secretive policy followed in this transaction. The Indian Chambers of Commerce in Madras and Calcutta, both vitally interested in the question, have protested against the non-publication of the terms before placing them before the Standing Committee which, owing to the abstention of Congress members, has suffered in its representative character. The Burmese protest is not less emphatic. *The Reformer* has more than once urged that no pact with Burma or Ceylon, which does not meet with the acceptance of the respective peoples, will be of more than ephemeral value. Not only should every such pact be acceptable at present but its terms should be such as to promote good understanding between the two countries to an ever increasing extent in the years to come. The policy of secrecy does not accord with either of these ends.

**Census Commissioner of India's New Job:**—It is understood, from a Press message published on Monday evening, that the services of Mr. M. W. W. Yeats, Census Commissioner of India, are shortly to be placed at the disposal of the Supply Department. Mr. Yeats, it was added, will be in charge of the work connected with American purchases. The enumeration part of the Census was finished only a few months

ago. The most important and responsible part of the work, writing the Report, remains. It is of great advantage, if not absolutely essential, that the writer of the Report should be the one who planned and directed the operations from the start, that is, about eighteen months back. To transfer Mr. Yeats who was specially chosen for this important duty to "work connected with American purchases" for which a special commission under Sir Shanmukham Chetty is being sent to America, cannot but strike the intelligent observer as a stupid waste of valuable talent and experience. Mr. Yeats has come into bad odour with some influential politicians because he stood up for the honesty and integrity of his Census staff, both of which had been assailed by them. He refused to have a recount demanded by them and declared emphatically his full confidence in the intelligence and impartiality of his officials. The new man whoever he may be who is put in charge of the Census work, will labour under a grave disadvantage. He will have to pick up the thread where it has been snipped—no easy task. The Census is a purely scientific function of the administration and on its strict accuracy depends the success or failure of nearly all the social services, official and non-official, which should turn to it for data. The Census has, besides, a world importance. Students of sociology in all parts of the world will have to glean information from the Census Reports of different countries. The mere suspicion that political considerations influence the choice of persons selected for Census work and the direction of Census operations, will destroy the scientific value of the material gathered at great expense.

**Sir A. Wavell's Statement:**—Sir Archbald Wavell's statement to journalists on Thursday does not suggest the war-weary veteran who has accepted transfer from the Middle East to India as a means of recuperation. There is an enthusiastic vigour about it which shows that the new Commander-in-Chief welcomes the transfer as a greater opportunity for strengthening Indian and Empire defence than the battle-fields of Africa. Sir Archbald repeatedly acknowledged the crucial part played by Indian troops and Indian supplies in the success of his Middle East campaign. His Excellency announced the names of members of the Advisory Committee chosen from the Indian Legislature and the appointment of Sir G. V. Bewoor as Joint Defence Secretary who will also be the spokesman of the Defence Department in the Legislature. We regard the appointment as marking a more important stage in Indian administration than the Advisory Committee in regard to which we are inclined to the same view as Mr. Jinnah. The inherent weakness of an advisory body is much aggravated by the narrow communal lines on which it has been constituted.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 19, 1941.

## INDIAN PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES.

We reprint in another column two messages published last week in the *Bombay Chronicle* from its London correspondent. The first quotes from an article from the political correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, an English newspaper of high standing, stating that Indian propaganda is hampering the efforts of British propagandists in the United States. He says that the Indians are financed by the Nazis and that their propaganda is carried on in the interests of the latter. The second message quotes the opinion of Miss Winifred Cullis who recently returned from a tour in the States on behalf of the British Ministry of Information. She, no doubt, made full use of the "Talking Points" on India supplied by that Ministry. She says that, though she saw much Indian propaganda against Britain, she never heard it said that it was financed by Nazis. The question of who pays, is from a rational point of view a minor matter. The important point is whether what the propagandist puts out is true or false. The introduction of the question of finance is naked propaganda. When we first read the message, we felt that it was very probably concocted to explain the failure of some who had tried to carry on pro-British and anti-Indian propaganda in the States. British newspapers normally observe a high standard but, where national interests are involved, they are capable of being as unscrupulous as journals which have no great reputation to fall back upon. The revelation before the Parliamentary Committee which enquired into the circumstances of the Jameson raid in the beginning of this century, how a sealed letter was sent from London to be posted from South Africa by a leading British newspaper, came as a shock to those who had been brought up in the belief that British journalism had a high regard for the sacredness of facts. The world, and journalism with it, has progressed by leaps and bounds since then. But the progress has been more mechanical than moral.

The *Daily Telegraph's* political correspondent has overshot the mark in this effort at anti-Indian propaganda. There is no need for Nazis financing lectures by Indians in the States. It is the custom, and a wholesome one, in the States to pay lecturers, and many Englishmen regularly include lectures in America among the sources of their annual income. Some Indians too depend for their living in the States on lecturing tours. Too many of them with ridiculously poor equipment profess to expound Indian philosophy and religion for which there is a considerable demand in that country. One of the embarrassments of the Indian who

is on a temporary visit to the States, is to be asked to read the palms of farmers and their wives in the countryside. But this does not represent educated American interest in Indian thought and culture in all its depth and width. Indian philosophy and religion attracted the interest of American thinkers many years before they appealed to the same class in England. Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier and other men of letters showed their high appreciation of it in their writings. The interest then aroused has never ceased. Some of the most valuable contributions to Indology in recent times have been by Americans. They approach Indian problems with an open mind. The American Universities, the most important of them, devote special attention to India—not only to ancient Indian literature but to current events in this country. Some of them have complete sets of Indian periodicals and even daily newspapers in their reading rooms. They maintain the Indian section of their libraries up-to-date. Indian students are as a rule welcomed and in more than one case they have been selected for academic appointments in preference to American competitors. As regards social relations, Indians wearing their national dress, the turban in particular, have few difficulties even in the Southern States. On the whole, the American attitude to India and Indians is one of sympathy and appreciation, and, as it springs from an understanding of their national culture, it is not likely to be affected by propaganda inspired by such malignant stuff as the "Talking Points" officially supplied to British propagandists. Every time an English propagandist is confronted by an Indian on an American platform, the former is likely to find himself reduced to such devices as trying to discredit the latter as a mercenary, although he himself is amply remunerated at the expense, too, of the Indian taxpayer! The Indian, even if he is a mercenary, pleads for his own country, which cannot be said of his opposite number.

There are inherent difficulties in the way of success of British propaganda in the United States. Thoughtful Indians do not believe that India's emancipation will come from any extraneous source or help. They know India must save her own soul or lose it irrevocably. The first difficulty for the British propagandist in the United States, is that the memory of the Declaration of Independence survives and is still largely the background of American politics. President Roosevelt himself invokes the spirit of that Declaration on every occasion on which he calls upon his countrymen to fight Hitlerism. Societies like the Daughters of the Revolution, of which the President's wife was, and is perhaps still a member, keep alive the memory of the struggle through which America achieve her own freedom. Englishmen may like to think that that struggle was against some third party and that they had no concern with it but few Americans do so. British rule in India was established at about the same time

as it was ousted from the territory which is comprised in the United States. During the century and a half the States have grown to be the wealthiest country in the world and a Great Power whose help is now the mainstay of Britain, while the people of India remain one of the poorest populations on earth. The contrast is patent. No propaganda is needed to convey its significance to the American people. The explanation offered in the "Talking Points," namely, that the Indian people have always been poor, provokes the ready retort, Why if you can not improve their lot are you there at all? The single fact that with tens of thousand miles of railway, India still has to import locomotive engines from Scotland is enough propaganda in itself. We have ourselves tried to balance the benefits and defects of British rule. The benefits are moral; the defects material. Nowadays, however, no one, least of all the English people, attaches more importance to moral than to material results. The war efforts afford a conspicuous illustration. The moral sentiment of the country has no relation to the great success which has attended the efforts to collect men, money and materials for the war.

There is another point. In no country in the world have the methods of propaganda been so carefully studied as in the States. This has been done both by propagandists and by those who oppose propaganda methods. Three years ago a society was formed in America with for President, Professor Kirtley F. Mather, the distinguished geologist of Harvard University, and several other scholars, educationists and public men as members for exposing propaganda. A summary of its objects was published in *The Reformer* of 15th January 1938. Its bulletins have been so effective, we gather from a recent issue of the *New Republic*, that an attempt is being made by the National Manufacturers' Association to have it suppressed. Many books have also been published on the subject several of which have been noticed in *The Reformer* from time to time. The most illuminating of these is the "War Propaganda and the United States" by Harold Lavine and James Wetchsler both strongly anti-Nazi (Yale University Press)—a unique contribution to propaganda study made during a war. The Americans are a reading people and they are the least liable to be carried off their feet by propaganda.

**A Welcome Departure** :—The Bombay Municipal Corporation made a welcome departure from a long-standing practice on Thursday by electing by a large majority Miss Kapila Khandwala as Secretary of its School-Committee. The great majority of teachers in Municipal primary schools are women and they will find a woman as head of the Department a more accessible and understanding superior than a man. The change now inaugurated will no doubt continued in future selections.

#### FROM LENIN TO STALIN.

Mr. Winston Churchill announced in the House of Commons on Tuesday that Russia was regarded as an ally of Britain. Since Russia had been attacked more than a fortnight earlier by Germany, the surprise in this is that it should have taken so long for the British Premier to make up his mind on the alliance. To many the news that Britain is an ally of Russia's must be even more startling than the Russo-German Pact of 1939. But the public in all countries have ceased to worry about ideologies as intellectuals had ceased long before to regard these surface differences seriously. "However deep the differences," writes Mr. R. H. S. Crossman in "Government and Governed," "between the various forms of governments, the resemblances are still more remarkable. Fascist Germany, Communist Russia and Democratic America are infinitely more closely related to one another than they are to any political organisation which existed in any of those three countries two hundred years ago. It is because the resemblances are so great that the differences arouse such passionate feeling." Mr. Crossman based his thesis on the conditions which each government found itself called upon to deal with. His argument is that the similarity of the problems naturally lead to similar treatment through similar institutions. But the attempts made by Lenin in Russia to introduce radical reforms into the Russian system and the fact that industrialization in Russia followed on revolutionary changes in the political structure, have created a widespread impression that the Soviet State differs vastly from other governments. Several books have been published recently which dispel this illusion. The most brilliant and convincing of them are Mr. Max Eastman's study of Marxism, "Is Marxism a Science?", and his analysis of Russia, "Stalin's Russia" (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin; 7s. 6d.).

Mr. Eastman who has a high regard for the scientific, begins with a denunciation of the propaganda which has displaced straight-thinking in Russia. He attaches a special odium to the word "ideology" which, he says, Karl Marx used in a contemptuous sense. He writes:

A prime factor in the wisdom of Karl Marx was his perception of the discrepancy between the ideas with which men commonly make and write history and the actual forces in play, the actual changes that are in progress. He called these loose-floating ideas ideologies, a term of contempt which he borrowed from Napoleon Bonaparte, and which freely translated into American means 'applesauce.' And he made heroic efforts to delve down under all ideologies and use his mind in the making of history as a mechanic does in the making of bridges or automobiles. It was by using his mind in this ardently matter-of-fact way that Lenin guided the Russian workers' and peasants' revolution to victory and laid what seemed to be the foundations of socialism.

Mr. Eastman charges the intellectual socialists both in Russia and outside of coming round to support Russia when every vestige of socialism has been abandoned by Stalin. He asserts, and proves his assertion by quotation, that the conditions which men like John Dewey and others praise, were introduced by Lenin but have been removed completely by Stalin. He specifically mentions the school system, the position of women, the question of sex and family relations, and the stand on war and peace.

The quotations in regard to the education of children are the most revealing. We give below an extract relating to the decrees of Lenin followed by one from the laws promulgated by Stalin

Pupils of the older classes in the secondary schools, must not, dare not, consider themselves children, and govern their destiny to suit the wishes of their parents and teachers...Utilization of a system of marks for estimating the knowledge and conduct of the pupil is abolished. Distribution of medals and insignia is abolished.....All punishment in school is forbidden.....All examinations—entrance, grade and graduation—are abolished....The wearing of school uniforms is forbidden.

Introduce in all schools a uniform type of pupil's report card on which all the principal rules for the conduct of the pupils are inscribed. Establish a personal record for every pupils....In the personal record there will be entered for the entire duration of his studies the marks of the pupils for every quarter, his prizes and his punishments...A special apparatus of Communist Youth organizers is to be installed for the surveillance of the pupil inside and outside of school. They are to watch over the morality and the state of mind of the pupils...Establish a single form of dress for the pupils of the primary, semi-secondary, and secondary schools, this uniform to be introduced to begin with, in 1936 in the schools of Moscow.

If we mention education it is because education is a fundamental issue with modern states. Mr. Eastman is equally convincing in all the other spheres of state intervention in private life. Lenin, for instance, conceived of the Communist Party as a temporary expedient which would give place at some time to the proletariat. Stalin has secured permanency to the Communist bureaucracy. To Lenin the concept of individual freedom was the ruling force. But even before his death he saw that his work had failed in bringing freedom to the masses. Mr. Eastman has some illuminating comments to offer on the weakening of the Third International by too great insistence on Russian predominance—a point which Mr. Ciliga, a Yugoslavian Communist, makes with great force as derived from personal experience in his "Russian Enigma." Like Mr. Ciliga too, Mr. Eastman denounces the failure of Stalin's Russia to help Communist Parties in other countries to seize power, and the growing tendency to unite with other powers in playing the old game of international diplomacy. Mr. Eastman's picture is convincing proof that Stalin's Russia is no better if not worse than other national Governments elsewhere.

#### THE POPE ON GOD'S WAYS.

In our comment on the statement attributed to His Holiness the Pope in answer to those who ask why God allows the miseries inflicted on Europe by the present war, we pointed out that the assertion that God's ways are not Man's ways which His Holiness said was made by Jesus Christ to Peter, was made by the Prophet Isaiah who preceded Jesus by some centuries and is not to be found in any of the books of the New Testament. On the other hand, there were passages in the Gospels and the Epistles implying that there was no unbridgable gulf between Man's ways and God's ways, and that the Christ incarnation itself demonstrated how the Man in God is transformed into the God in Man. The Catholic *Examiner* in its reference to our observations is silent on this point. Indeed it maintains that to doubt or deny that God's ways are different from Man's is irreligious and rationalist. It avers, "What Christians, however, do believe, is that Heaven will never be realized on earth.....". If Christians believe this, what do they understand by the declaration of the Founder of their Faith: "The Kingdom of God is within you." If we may make a friendly suggestion, we would tell the *Examiner* that,

however easily its reasoning may go down elsewhere it appears to belong to the kindergarten stage of religion. It recalls what Professor James B. Pratt wrote in an article on Hinayana Buddhism in the *Visvabharati Quarterly* four years ago: "There is a grandeur in the Buddhistic conception of the cosmos, a sweep of the imagination in its range over time and space, that makes many of the doctrines of traditional and orthodox Christianity seem almost petty." The *Examiner's* view is the really irreligious view. It practically assumes that God can not fulfil his will on earth, as every Christian is taught to pray, without adopting the ways of Satan which are assumed to be also Man's. This is the inevitable result of attempting to approach the profound problems of religion in the spirit of Peter Bell:

The primrose by a river's brim  
A yellow primrose was to him  
And it was nothing more.

#### KALUTARA.

I had heard so much about the organisation and work of the Health Units in Ceylon that, when I learned that a small party was planning a trip, I decided to join it. We were five in all and it was not without misgivings that we began our journey. We had no passports and, in the short time at our disposal, could not get certificates giving proof of recent vaccination. Every person we consulted was doubtful of our being permitted to proceed beyond Mandapam and the brightest prospect held out to us was that of being detained at the Mandapam Quarantine Camp for an indefinite period with a final order to retrace our steps. We managed the vaccination certificates (after proper re-vaccination, of course) and armed with a letter to Dr. Lucius Nicholls, the Director of the Bacteriological and Pasteur Institute at Colombo, we reached Mandapam Camp early in the morning. Here the porters and station officials informed us that the office of the Protector of Emigrants would open at 8 a. m. and if we obtained permits we would be allowed to proceed to the Camp where medical examination and disinfection would begin after the arrival of the Medical Officer of Health at 10 a. m. We were also informed that, as we had no passports, we should have to deposit a security bond which might amount to anything from Rs. 50 per head according to the discretion of the Health Officer. However, the Protector granted us the permits without any difficulty and later the Medical Officer of Health also passed us saying that, as there were two doctors in the party, he would be satisfied with a personal bond.

With a great feeling of relief at having got over the formalities, we entrained for Dhanuskodi the same afternoon and reached Colombo the following morning after an uneventful journey. After arranging for hotel accommodation we reported ourselves to the Medical Officer who, after enquiring the purpose and duration of our visit, advised us to get into touch with Dr. Sen Gupta. We then tried to telephone to Dr. Nicholls but got no reply. As we had planned to stay only two days in Colombo we had no time to lose. So I looked up the telephone directory for Dr. (Mrs.) Ram Aluwahare's number. I had known the doctor and her husband during my sojourn abroad nearly nine years ago, but was doubtful if they would remember me. Dr. Ram did not have any difficulty in placing me and offered to come to the hotel after half an hour. She came and took us to her house in Bambalapitiya and insisted on our staying to dinner though she could not promise that the servants would rise to the occasion at such

short notice. After dinner Mr. Aluwahare rang up the Medical Officer of Health and arranged for our visit to the Kalutara Health Unit on the following morning. Dr. Ram was desirous of seeing the Unit herself and offered to take us in her car.

Kalutara is a village situated twenty-five miles from Colombo and the Health Unit covers two urban council Towns, one Sanitary Board town and one hundred and one villages. The estimated population for 1941 is 91,477 and consists of Sinhalese, Muslims, Burghers, Tamils, Europeans and Malayalees. The vital statistics for 1940 are: Birth rate, 85.2; Death rate, 16.6; Infant death rate, 77.9; and Maternal death rate, 5.3. The Health Unit was started in 1926 and is supported by local official and voluntary organisations. The Unit comprises a Maternity and Nursery Home, fifteen Health Centres, and 86 Schools (School population 16,000) with a personnel of one medical officer of Health, one School medical officer, one Field medical officer, one Supervising Sanitary Assistant, ten Sanitary Assistants, five Public Health Nurses, two School Health Nurses, twenty-four mid-wives and two clerks.

The Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Abhayaratne, met us on our arrival at the Health Unit and described its working and personnel. He then took us to different places to see the members of the Staff at field work, to an ante-natal clinic, a "little mothers" class, the maternity and the Nursery Home. At the latter we were shown a specially improvised incubator for rearing premature babies, a branch in which Dr. Abhayaratne was reputed for developing a successful technique. The High rate of mortality among premature infants is well known and the difficulty of keeping them alive. Treatment for hookworm is given as a routine measure to all mothers as this infection is very commonly present. The Unit provides a domiciliary midwifery service free of charge for normal cases and the abnormal ones are referred to Hospital. The efficiency of this service is indicated by the low maternal mortality rate of 5.3.

We were under the impression that our visit would be over at lunch-time but Dr. Abhayaratne's enthusiasm was so great that, after treating us to a sumptuous lunch at the Beruwele rest-house, he conducted us through a tour of some villages for inspecting the covered wells and sanitary latrines constructed there under the auspices of the Unit. These left nothing to be desired and the remarkable point was the comparatively low cost of their construction, probably due to personal supervision and consequent elimination of the middleman's profit. He persuaded the non-medical members of the party to visit the cottage industries and other sections but they were so medically-minded that they declined to be separated.

Our visit had lasted six hours and we had the Schools and Small-pox Camp left over. But it was past five and a sharp shower of rain descended on us and forced the doctor to part company from us, with certainly many regrets on his side for he was keen on showing us everything. Some of us felt that a day was barely sufficient to see all the details of the working of the Health Unit.

What was the secret of the drive and success of the Kalutara Health Unit? We were told that it was the personal integrity, high sense of duty, enthusiasm and hard work of Dr. Chellappa, the Director of Public Health in Ceylon and his assistant Dr. Sen Gupta who had himself worked at Kalutara for some time. Any member of the staff who is found guilty of laziness or dishonesty is summarily dismissed. So perfect is the organisation that during our tour of

inspection we were amazed at the ease with which Dr. Abhayaratne was able to trace his field-workers at different points using their advance programmes posted in the office for reference.

The Unit has a six months' training course for Health Visitors. Indeed the reputation of the Unit for organisation and efficiency is so high that the Rockefeller authorities have deputed several of their Medical officers of Health for a period of six weeks' training at Kalutara Health Unit prior to their taking up their duties in charge of their rural Health Units in different parts of India.

B. N.

#### SIR S. CHETTY'S MISSION.

Mr. Lakshmanan's letter on Sir Shanmukham Chetty's Stores-Purchasing Mission to the United States emanates from one who is a Coimbatorean, like Sir Shanmukham himself. Mr. Lakshmanan agrees that Sir Shanmukham has many qualities which make his presence in India at this juncture likely to be of much public benefit. As against this he speaks vaguely of the sympathy and understanding of America as likely to be of advantage to India in post-war reconstruction. In the first place, sympathy and understanding are not the natural consequences of trade transactions. If they were, there should be the utmost understanding and sympathy between Ceylon and India, between Burma and India, between Japan and India, not to mention between Britain and India. As between individuals, also, business relations imply an attitude of watchful suspicion. The Americans are experts in driving hard bargains, and Sir Shanmukham whose main interests so far have been in politics and administration, is unlikely to prove a match for them. Mr. M. W. W. Yeats, it is understood, will be in charge of the work connected with American Purchases. Having appointed Sir Shanmukham as Head of the Purchasing Mission to America, where is the need to create another appointment to be in charge of the same subject at this end? Was Sir Shanmukham told beforehand of Mr. Yeat's job in the same sphere of American purchases?

Sir Shanmukham has served with distinction as President of the Indian Legislative Assembly and Dewan of Cochin. He has experience as a Parliamentarian and an administrator which only a few other Indians have to the same extent. He attended the Madras session of the Muslim League which showed that he is on good terms with the leaders of that body. Apart from the scope which these afford in the public life of the country, there is talk of expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and quite a number of names are being publicly canvassed for them. Few of those mentioned have the qualifications for one of these jobs. That Sir Shanmukham should have been at this juncture persuaded to leave the country for an indeterminate period on a commercial mission, suggests that somebody was interested in seeing Sir Shanmukham out of the way. This may be wholly wrong. Sir Shanmukham, of course, must be presumed to know best his own interests.

Since writing the above I have seen Sir Shanmukham's valedictory speech in Madras. A man does well to magnify his work and I have nothing but admiration for the idealistic view which he takes of his mission. I wish nothing more than that he should come back without disillusionment, as but a few others have done before him. If he does that he would, indeed, have achieved a great personal success considering the conditions which circumscribe his initiative. He will have to work "in co-ordination"



with the similar British mission already in the United States. Then, the Americans have the whiphand in selling goods to the British Empire at present. There is no room for bargaining. There is no other country to which we can "deliver the goods." There is not another Indian among Sir Shanmukham's colleagues. And Mr. Yeatts has been appointed "in connection with" the same work here. Sir Shanmukham's selection is no doubt a personal compliment. From the public point of view, from which these comments are made, it is a distinct disservice to Indian national interests.

A FRIEND.

### SANITATION AND VACCINATION.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer,*  
Sir,

In your issue of June 28, a letter is published from the Secretary, National Anti-Vaccination League, London, showing the uselessness and injuriousness of vaccination from the experience of England extending for a period of seventy-five years. The experience of other countries also proves the dangerous futility of vaccination and re-vaccination time after time. According to statistics published by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, smallpox is most prevalent in Mexico, Japan, Italy, Portugal and Philippine Islands simply because in these countries the most insanitary conditions and poverty prevail in spite of the fact that vaccination, re-vaccination and re-re-vaccination have taken place extensively in those countries. In the Philippine Islands, in Italy and in Japan where vaccination and re-vaccination are compulsory, there have been a number of very disastrous epidemics of small-pox. Official statistics for the Philippine Islands show more than 24 million vaccinations in the years 1911-20 and yet there were more than 75,000 deaths from small-pox in that period. Italy in 1919 had 18,213 fatalities from smallpox as compared to 358 in the United States and in 1920 Italy had 12,155 fatalities from small-pox against 508 in the United States. The experience of Japan in no way supports the vaccination theory. The records officially supplied show the enormous amount of vaccination and re-vaccination that has taken place in Japan since the passing of various Vaccination Acts. In no country in the world is vaccination, re-vaccination and re-re-vaccination so vigorously enforced as in Japan. And yet three years ago a small-pox epidemic attacked over 18,000 of its inhabitants and carried off 6,000 of them which surely proves that the most complete faith in vaccination is useless. The cause of the epidemic proceeding epidemics is easily discovered. Returning travellers tell us tales of the most awful insanitary conditions in the middle and poor class houses and when these are removed, Japan will lose her small-pox and not till then. Compulsory re-vaccination has never saved a country from small-pox. The country with the highest small-pox death rate in the world is Mexico where re-vaccination every five years has been compulsory for the last fifteen years but it has not saved that country from smallpox epidemics. In Mesopotamia in 1915-16 there were 287 cases of smallpox in British soldiers who had been successfully re-vaccinated within three years of their attack and of these 29 died.

In the London *Truth* of January 17, 1923 Dr. Walter Hadwen, M. D., J. P., says in an article headed "Sanitation versus Vaccination":—

Now, one fact stands out pre-eminently in every part of the World where smallpox has appeared—namely, it

has been invariably associated with insanitary and unhygienic conditions. From time immemorial it has been called in Austria "The Beggars' disease." It has followed in the wake of filth, poverty, wars, pestilences, famines and general insanitation, in all ages.....Small-pox outbreaks and epidemics have invariably been the call of Nature to responsible authorities at home. Put your house in order, personal, municipal and civic cleanliness has been her unvarying demand, a demand which was couched in one striking injunction by the Prophet of old "Wash and be clean."

Readers can obtain literature on the subject from National Anti-vaccination League, 25, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S. W. 1

Bombay,  
July 14, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
R. S. JAVERI,  
*Honorary Secretary,*  
*Bombay Humanitarian League.*

### INDIAN PROPAGANDISTS IN U. S. A.

The *Bombay Chronicle* published in its issue of July 11 a message from its London correspondent dated the 10th July :

"The *Daily Telegraph's* Political Correspondent alleges that Nazis are exploiting the Indian situation in the United States. According to him many educated Indians of both sexes are reported to tour the United States for lecturing, German sources paying the expenses. Isolationists are also using India as an argument against Britain. American audiences make India an important subject for questions, and paid agitators sometimes take advantage of it to break up meetings. British Government are considering new ways of letting America know the truth about Indian questions. Mr. Amery may broadcast to the United States. The correspondent concluded that some M. P.'s think that the time has come for the Government to make a new move to end the constitutional deadlock in India. They argue that this will make for better Anglo-American understanding. Enquiries made in London show that no date has yet been fixed for Mr. Amery's broadcast to America. With regard to the activities of Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Messrs. Polak and T. A. Raman who are on the other side of the Atlantic, I am told that Sir F. Noon went to America purely to participate in Indo-American trade negotiations and visit the office of the Indian Trade Commissioner in the United States. Apart from making one or two speeches, he confined himself to the task for which he went to America. Mr. H. S. L. Polak has not reached U. S. as he is still engaged in a lecture tour in Canada. As for Mr. T. A. Raman, he has hardly made any speeches in the United States, as he is there purely as a journalist interviewing American editors and writing for them. As Sir F. Noon arrived in London yesterday, I tried to interview him, but was told that he was too tired to give a press interview."

The *Chronicle* correspondent cabled next day:

"Apropos yesterday's "Daily Telegraph's" allegation that some Indians are lecturing in the United States and their expenses are being paid by German sources, I saw Prof. Winifred Cullis who has recently been on an extensive lecture tour of the United States, Canada and Far East on behalf of the Ministry of Information. She could not confirm the allegation. She said: "When I was in the United States I heard some complaints about Indian speakers mis-representing the India situation but I must frankly say that nobody said to me that their expenses were being paid by German sources." Prof. Winifred Cullis arrived in Britain at the end of May from the United States."

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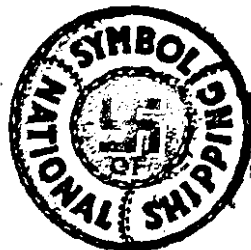
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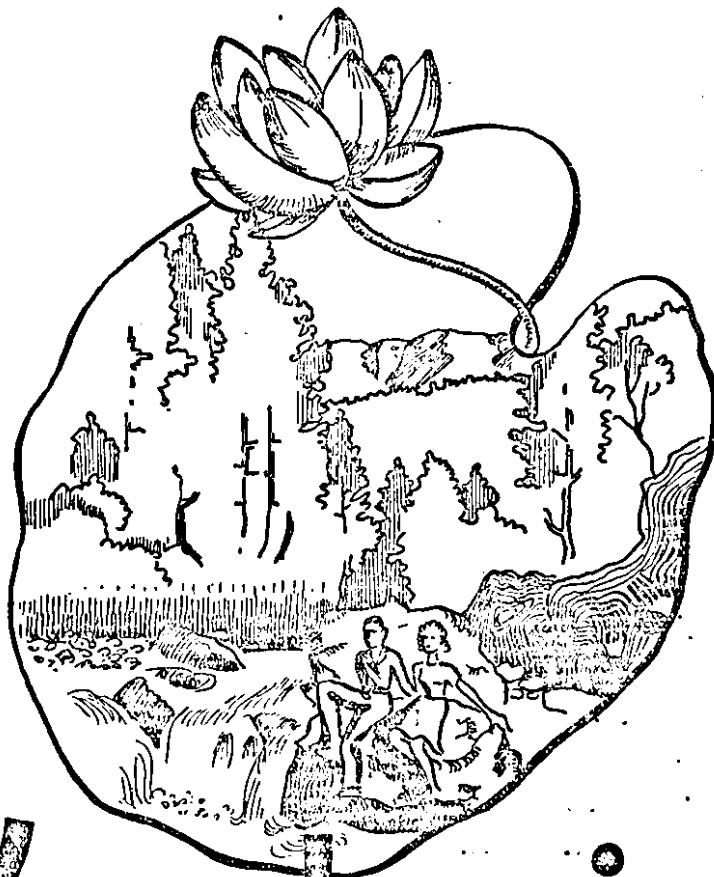
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## MORALITY, NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL.

In the July number of the *Indian Review*, Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia's article headed "A Problem of the Nations" occupies the first place. Mr. Wadia begins by observing that one of the old problems of European civilization is the difference between the standard of morality held up as the ideal of conduct for individuals and the practical ignoring of morality frequently permitted to nations. Mr. Justice Wadia deals with his thesis with a wealth of learning and argument which makes his observations a landmark in political thought in contemporary literature. But we are tempted to demur to the assumption that individual morality is very much higher than international morality. If the large majority of individuals in a community were imbued by a high moral standard, it is *a priori* impossible that the nation as a whole can fall far short of the individual standard. Rather, the moral standard of a group must represent an intensification of that of the individuals of whom it is composed. A hundred good men banded together will strengthen not weaken the goodness of each of them. The fact is that the international moral standard is a true reflection of the individual standard. The apparent superiority of individual morality is really due to the diversion of personal feuds, rivalries and animosities to venues like the legislature, the law courts and the share market where they clash with each other with words instead of swords. What is called "strategy" in war is known by different names in these different spheres. But the motives, the emotions, the cruelties of war are present also in these substitutes for it—perhaps in a worse degree.

Men have been murdered in disputes about money or a piece of land. The sword kills the body, the so-called civilized modes of economic competition poison our souls. Mr. Justice Wadia seems to think that mankind has advanced morally as indivi-

iduals but lagged behind as nations. This is not the case. The great moral precepts were promulgated long before the beginning of recorded history. The ten commandments were preceded centuries previously by the Code of Hammurabi which itself was doubtless derived from earlier codes. The Mahabharata contains rules to be observed in war, which are far ahead of those which are honoured as international law more in the breach than in the observance in modern times. And what is more they were observed in part at least by Hindu rulers against enemies who recognised no limits to the right of conquest. It was not for want of warning from great leaders that Europe has drifted into its present a-moral mentality. John Bright warned Britain almost in every one of his speeches in and out of Parliament that the moral law was intended not only for individuals but also for nations. Ruskin with a wholly different background pleaded with equal eloquence against the essential inhumanity of machine morality. But the voices of these prophet were drowned by the blatant imperialism of Benjamin Disraeli, which found its poet-laureate in Rudyard Kipling. Darwinism, Hegelism and Bismarckism moulded the scientific, philosophical and political thought of Europe. Economics which is a branch of Ethics, cut itself off from the parent stem. Morality became a by-word. War is not a departure from normal individual morality. Just as the ravings of delirium often represent the subconscious working of the patient's mind, so war is the outcropping of the repressed instincts for rapine and slaughter. As Europe has perfected lethal weapons more than any other part of the world, the passion for war burns most fiercely in its bosom. Europeanism is the great enemy of peace. Hitlerism is but the most obnoxious phase of it so far manifested. Not the creation of institutions but the renovation of human nature can save humanity from the recurring horrors of war. Mere non-violence, that is, abstinence from violence, is not enough. International trade adjustments will not help in the least. The root of the evil is not economic. The corruption is in the soul. A great spiritual revival, that is to say, the revival of the belief that man is spirit, will alone save mankind. "Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers," lamented Tennyson. It is high time that men let Wisdom take precedence of Knowledge.

**Whittier and Hindu Thought** :—We referred in *The Reformer* of July 12 to the permeation of American thought by Hindu influence and mentioned the poet, Whittier, among those who were pioneers in this field. In the collected poems of Whittier are found some pieces taken from episodes in the Mahabharata and other Indian classics. Modern Indian religious movements also interested the Poet. There is a Prayer of the Brahmo Samaj among the Oriental poems. But the permeation of Hindu ideas is brought out most clearly in Whittier's reflective and descriptive poems. One of these is "The Reformer" which has a bearing on current history. The Poet begins by sketching in a few nervous stanzas the horror and resentment aroused among orthodox and conservative, administrators and clergymen, by the iconoclastic activities of the reformer. Then, in a dramatic transition he pictures the new and brighter world which rises on the debris. The effect of this reflection is next summed up :

Grown wiser from the lesson given,  
I fear no longer ; for I know  
That, where the share is deepest driven,  
The best fruits grow.  
So wisely taught the Indian seer ;  
Destroying Seva, forming Brahm,  
Who wake by turns Earth's love and fear,  
Are one, the same.

Robert Browning in "Paracelsus" develops the same thought with reference to a natural phenomenon. The eruption of a volcano spreads desolation far and wide. The overflowing lava burns up all life for miles around. But in the course of a few years this very material becomes the soil on which bloom gardens of fruit and flower, and "God renews his ancient rapture."

**"Blood-thirsty Oriental"** :—It is a commonplace in the discussion of the international reactions of the United States that, while a war among European nations will reopen the lines of cleavage in its composite nationality which have but recently closed and that not completely, a war with Japan will have quite the contrary effect of contributing a fresh and firm element consolidating its unity. Colonel Knox, the Secretary for War in the Roosevelt Cabinet, is obviously bent on working racial prejudice to the utmost. In a speech this week he is reported to have referred to Japan as a "blood-thirsty Oriental." By using the term "Oriental," Colonel Knox was deliberately challenging the whole of Asia, while as a matter of fact America is professing great sympathy with China which is a large part of the Orient. He was not merely indicating the geographical position of Japan, but was deliberately arousing racial prejudice by evoking the sinister associations surrounding the word in the minds of the section of the American people which is responsible for the ban on Asiatic citizenship. In contrast to the American War Secretary's truculent language is the guarded, almost propitiatory, language which the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, used about the same time regarding war

with Japan. Mr. Eden expressed regret at such a development and was at pains to show that the initiative did not come from Britain. His words suggest that even at this eleventh hour Britain would welcome a friendly understanding with Japan if that was possible without sacrificing any vital interest of the British Empire. On their Japanese policy there have been differences between the United States and Britain for several years past. There is an undercurrent of sympathy between the British and the Japanese like the feeling between a master and an apt pupil. Much as the Indian may regret the aggressive tendencies which Japan has developed chiefly on account of restrictions placed on the expansion of her population and trade by the United States and British Dominions, he can not but sympathise with the one Asiatic country which has mastered the Western technique and is using it to vindicate incidentally the claims of the Oriental to equal and civilised treatment. The use of billingsgate implying aspersions against Oriental is not the best way convincing the East of the sincerity of professions regarding universal peace.

**A Census of Phenomenon** :—We reprint from the Calcutta Municipal Gazette the report of Mr. R. A. Dutch, Census Superintendent of Bengal, on the preliminary results of the Census in Calcutta city and West Bengal generally. The statistics for East Bengal are not yet available and Mr. Dutch said that they were important, as a variation in the communal ratio in that division was likely to have more effect on the ratio of the province as a whole than a similar variation in any other division. Pending the publication of the East Bengal figures, there are a few observations which are suggested by Mr. Dutch's attempted explanation of the incredible increases indicated in the population of Calcutta city. The Hindu population increased by over 7 lakhs and the Muslim population also increased by 2 lakhs. The increase in the case of Hindus works out at 86 per cent and that of Muslims at 60 per cent. Where did this enormous influx find accommodation in that city of bustees? Even the famous Calcutta maidan cannot provide standing space for about 9 million additional population. Mr. Dutch notes that the disparity between the sexes increased in the case of both Hindus and Muslims. Great cities attracting immigrants in large numbers have always this disparity. The analogy of 8,500 Sikhs and 6,600 Jains, however, is wholly inappropriate. The aggregates should be approximately equal in order to make such statistical comparisons of any value. There can be no reliable comparison between a feature affecting a few thousand Sikhs and fifteen million Hindus or even five million Muslims. Then, again, the sex disparity among Hindus is small in comparison with that among Muslims. Altogether it seems that the only conclusion possible on the tentative figures, is that there was a sudden influx of both communities into Calcutta on the date of the Census. The age

distribution of the population, Hindu and Muslim, can afford a useful clue to the interpretation of variations which, making full allowances for the boycott of the 1931 census, are still astounding.

**Sir Shanmukham Chetty** :—Since Sir Shanmukham left these shores, rumours have circulated to the effect that he may after all not remain long in the United States and that, indeed, he may be ordered while yet on the way to proceed to London as High Commissioner for India in the place of Sir Feroz Khan Noon, who has been appointed Minister for Labour in the expanded Indian Executive Council. Colour is lent to this rumour by the use of a significant phrase in the Government communique defining the functions of the Agent-General. It is "for the present" attached to the reference to Sir Shanmukham's appointment. It was understood from the first that Sir Shanmukham's tenure would be the duration of the war. Sir Shanmukham himself in one of his farewell speeches said that his friends who wanted him back soon, should pray for an early end to the war in victory for Britain. *The Reformer* had pointed out the anomaly of sending an Indian of Sir Shanmukham's calibre as purchaser of goods. His transfer to the High Commissionership to London may meet the objection to some extent. The High Commissioner in London has other duties besides buying and selling, though some of these are in abeyance owing to the war. If Sir Shanmukham declines to go to London which is at present more exposed to German air raids than Washington, he will find on returning to his native land that all the jobs to which he might have aspired on the strength of his qualifications, have been filled up. The rumour about his transfer to London is explained as arising from Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai's appointment as Agent General in Washington which, it is urged, makes a Purchaser-General in that country unnecessary. It all looks as if jobs are created before there is any clear understanding of their need. Appointments precede the definition of duties. Mr. Yeat's appointment "in connection with American purchases" is another illustration of the same tendency.

**Bombay Fisheries** :—The Fisheries Department of the Government of Bombay is contemplating a timely expansion of the fishing industry by providing more motor-boats for use by fishermen. This will ensure more fish for the growing population. A proper expansion must include provision for cold storage and inland transport by "fish" trains and bring the commodity within the means of all fish-eating families. The fish trade in Japan has trebled within the last fifteen years because the Government set out to improve the nutrition of the people by a deliberate and considered policy. Improved methods should afford more facilities for catching deep sea-fish whose livers yield oils rich in Vitamin A. We trust it will fall within the province of the Fisheries Department to discover and put on the market a commonly available and cheap cod-liver oil substitute. The Madras and Baroda Governments have given the lead in this direction by the manufacture of shark liver oil but

its price which is higher than the pre-war price of imported cold-liver oil, puts it beyond the reach of those who are in real need of it.

**The Indo-Burma Pact** :—The circumstances surrounding the conclusion of the Indo-Burma Emigration Pact were so carefully guarded from the public view that when the terms were announced last week, the public and the Press were unable to grasp its full significance. On the strength, however, that it was negotiated by a delegation headed by an Indian Member of the Government who has been for many years in close contact with the problems of Indians Overseas, there was a distinct bias in its favour in the first comments in the Press. That the Standing Committee on Emigration of the Indian Legislature unanimously approved of it further predisposed public opinion in its favour. Closer examination of the terms, however, showed that the Pact was an utterly one-sided one and that some of the terms agreed to were humiliating to India. This impression has gained strength every day and the great meeting convened in Madras, the province immediately affected by the Pact under the Chairmanship of Sir Mahomed Oosman, who has held high office including the acting Governorship of the Presidency. One of the speakers, the Indian Christian leader, Mr. Chakkarai Chetty, observed that they should be thankful to the Government of India and to Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai for bringing all parties in South India to one platform on this question. The Chairman commented on the extraordinary transformation of what was announced to be an exploratory deputation into a plenipotentiary. The meeting passed a long resolution covering every item in the Pact. The provisions regarding cohabitation were, it declared, unusual and drastic and may lend themselves to grave abuse. The last clause of the resolution urged the postponement of the despatch of an official deputation on a similar errand to Ceylon to a more favourable opportunity "when a Delegation composed of the Hon. the Commerce Member and the Hon. Member designate for Indians Overseas (Mr. M. S. Aney) and a few non-officials may be sent to negotiate on the subjects of immigration and trade together at the same time." The stress laid on the consideration together of trade and immigration, is important. The serious defects of the Bajpai Pact are due to a Trade Pact having been adopted before the immigration question was taken up. Sir Girja Shankar was greatly handicapped by this precipitate action the responsibility for which rests on the Commerce and Finance Departments of the Government of India. The sending of a deputation to Ceylon headed by the Commerce Member, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, will be in no wise an improvement. The Ceylon and all other similar negotiations should be left in the hands of the Member for the Indians Overseas portfolio unfettered by the association of other departmental heads. Meanwhile, there should be no relaxing in India's protest against what we are constrained to designate a shameful arrangement.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 2, 1941.

THE HINDU LAW COMMITTEE'S  
REPORT.

The Hindu Law Committee was appointed by a Resolution of the Government of India in January. It consists of four members, Sir B. N. Rau, Chairman, and Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter, Mr. J. R. Gharpure and Mr. V. V. Joshi of Baroda, members. Its terms of reference consisted of several items, the main one being to examine the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937, and to suggest such amendments to it as would resolve the doubts felt as to the construction of that Act, to clarify the nature of the right conferred by the Act on the widow, and to remove any injustice that may have been done by the Act to the daughter. The Committee was required in carrying out this task to take into consideration the proposals contained in six Bills which are before the Legislature and two Bills which await introduction, sponsored by different members of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. At the outset the Committee had to decide what was meant by the Act of 1937. This Act was amended in 1938 in material particulars, the most important being the position assigned to the daughter in the order of succession. The earlier Act had given her a high place, immediately after the widow, while the later Act virtually deprived her of any position in it. The Committee assumed that what it had to examine was the Act as amended. Another difficulty which confronted the Committee on the threshold of its enquiry was, whether the term 'property' in the Act included agricultural land. This came as a surprise to the lay public. But as the Committee points out, the existence of this doubt had been noticed in the Press. The *Hindu* of Madras and the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi are quoted in evidence. The question was referred by the Government of India to the Federal Court which found that agricultural land was not included in the term "property" used in the Act because, under the Government of India Act of 1935, legislation regarding agricultural land was reserved to Provincial Legislatures. In view of this finding of the Federal Court, the Rau Committee recommended that legislation covering agricultural land should be passed by Governors' Acts in the Congress Provinces and by the Legislatures in the four provinces where they are functioning. The Committee has drafted a Bill for this purpose with retrospective effect but validating transactions completed in the interval between the passing of the original and amending Acts. As regards the main issue, namely the rights of the widow and daughter, the Committee admits that the Act of 1937 as amended by that of 1938 does involve some anomaly and injustice but it is not prepared

on that account to recommend its repeal which was suggested by a few, "very few," witnesses. The Acts have established an important principle, the right of the widow to her husband's property. The germ of this principle, according to the Committee, is to be found in the ancient Shastras. But the germ was not allowed to germinate owing to circumstances about which the Committee is not so explicit as about the existence of the germ in the Sutras as early as the 5th century before the Christian era.

The explanation that the denial or restriction of women's rights is due to the machinations of a selfish priesthood, is too facile to be accepted by persons who have studied the origin, growth and decay of social institutions. Every ancient institution, as pointed out by Sir Henry Maine, was the outcome of a felt, and often long-felt, want. Ancient peoples had not the facilities, they certainly had not the itch, to start an institution to afford a platform for every whim or fancy of its members as it arose. An ancient Greek custom prescribed that the reformer should appear with a halter round his neck before the Council of Elders. If he satisfied the Council that his reform was in harmony with healthy progress, he was acclaimed as leader and installed in the seat of honour. If he failed to convince the Council of the efficacy of his proposals or his own good faith, he was instantly strangled then and there and his ideas died with him. No one would wish this ancient custom to be revived in our time. But it is obvious that some restraint will be welcome on the light-hearted and irresponsible way in which Bills of far-reaching social significance are drafted and brought into the Legislature. The distinction between a true reformer and a mere innovator is that, while the former aims at the healthy development of society as an organic entity, the latter in order to satisfy some temporary or individual inconvenience or even hardship does not mind adopting changes which may harm the social organism at vital points. Our appreciation of the Rau Committee Report is all the greater for the spirit of reverence in which they approach the study of the problems set to them. The Committee records that a large majority of replies to its questionnaires, expressed themselves in favour of the monogamous principle in Hindu marriages. It adds:

The restoration of monogamy as a rule of Hindu law is in conformity with Manu's ideal of "mutual fidelity unto death." We say restoration advisedly, for we believe that, according to early Hindu law, monogamy was the approved rule and polygamy an exception requiring legal justification. There is no reason why the statute-book should not reflect, as far as possible, the highest ideals of the race.

Our appreciation of the spirit of the Committee's approach to social problems does not, of course, imply approval of all its recommendations. We think, for instance, that something should have been recommended at least to mitigate the hardship of the daughter whose

hopes were raised in 1937 to a giddy height only to be dashed to the ground the very next year. Nothing, to our mind, brings out more distressingly the utter unsuitability of the British Indian Legislature, as at present constituted, to deal with delicate social questions involving irreparable hurt to human susceptibilities. The Committee might also have suggested some immediate means of checking the evil, the growth of which it recognises, of educated men discarding their wives on the fatuous ground that they are not sufficiently entertaining according to modern notions, and, what is worse, of educated women who are expected to protect and advance the interests of their backward sisters, themselves taking the initiative in such marriages. This evil, if left unchecked, will bring the fabric of Hindu society down with a crash.

These and other reforms which the eight Bills now in incubation are designed to meet, the Committee has postponed in favour of a codification of the Hindu law as a whole. The Committee with characteristic fairness sets side by side the advantages and disadvantages of immediate legislation and postponement until codification. It decides in favour of the latter course and Government have accepted the recommendation and extended its terms of reference. We can think of no Committee whose personnel will be more competent to carry out this monumental work. Sir Hari Singh Gour has in his Hindu Code attempted with a measure of success the task of codifying the Hindu law. But his work is vitiated by just the lack of reverence for the past which we so keenly appreciate in the Rau Committee's Report. Gour approaches these problems with, what it will not be too much to call, a strong anti-Hindu bias. He starts with the idea that the whole Hindu system is rotten-ripe for destruction. We trust that the Rau Committee will be able to produce within a reasonable period a Code which will commend itself, as it earnestly wishes, to orthodox and reformers alike. Hindu Society meanwhile, is not standing still. Owing to the dimming of the ancient lights and the delay in the advent of new ones, Hindu Society, is suffering from a sort of locomotor ataxy, a disease in which the different parts of the body are unable to coordinate their movements. In matters some of which we have indicated above, immediate action is necessary. "Piecemeal legislation" has been deprecated by some prominent women workers without quite understanding its significance. A small reform may be an obstacle to a great reform, only if the former is not in accord with the basic principle of the latter. Proceeding by small reforms conceived in the right spirit, has the immense advantage of giving time to society to adjust itself to a new idea. After all, all legislation to regulate the behaviour of a living, growing organism can only be tentative and "piecemeal." Life is

self-directing. The tiniest insect is a greater marvel than the most intricate machine, because the machine cannot move of itself while the insect knows its way by instinct. Society is not a machine but a living organism. By the time the code is drafted, even if it only be a few months, Society would have already reacted to some new impulse. Catchwords everywhere dangerous and misleading are most so in social legislation. The Committee has described how in the past when Hindu society functioned as an integral whole, its laws and customs were regulated in response to changes in ideals and environment through the judgment of men of eminence, fathers of Society, who wrote commentaries which laid down the law according to the *dharma*. It may seem that this method is out of place in our days. This is not altogether the case. Even if it is, it is high time that Indian leaders set about devising an instrument of social legislation more aware of and responsive to social needs than a legislature elected by voters the majority of whom are accustomed to follow and not to lead in social life.

#### HINDU LAW COMMITTEE.

(BY K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, SATARA CITY.)

The reference first made to the Hindu Law Committee presided over by Justice Rao was very limited indeed. The Committee was only asked to examine some non-official bills pertaining to Hindu Women's Right to Property Act 1938, pending before the Imperial Legislative Assembly. It was also asked to consider two other Bills regarding Women's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance.

This Committee, while submitting its report in accordance with the original terms of reference, recommended *inter alia* that no satisfactory basis for legislation could be found without a comprehensive survey of the whole field of Hindu Law. It has, therefore, been decided now that the Committee should continue to sit in order that it may undertake such a survey commencing with a review of the law of succession. Thereafter the Committee intends to take up for consideration the law of marriage.

A humble attempt is, therefore, made in this article to suggest specific changes in some of the rules of Hindu Law. Almost every department of Hindu Law needs reform. For instance, the law of marriage requires urgent amendment. The time has certainly come for the Hindu Society to discard polygamy as a rule of Hindu Law. According to ancient Smriti texts, monogamy was certainly the approved rule and polygamy was an exceptional provision. It was only when the wife was barren, diseased or vicious or when she consented, that the second marriage could be validly contracted. The right to take a second wife in former days required legal participation; but the present rule of Hindu Law that the husband may marry again without the wife's consent or any justification is worse. It must be noted that marriages contracted between Hindus under the Special Marriage Act are monogamous. This reform is one of the most urgent needs and does not certainly require elaborate justification.

It must also be declared in law that, when one is insane or an idiot, one is incompetent to marry. In fact this ought to be the correct interpretation of Hindu Law, but there seems to be a serious differ-



ence of opinion on this point. The Madras High Court has observed that the marriage of a person of unsound mind if duly solemnised is valid marriage, (14 Madras 316) but the Privy Council proceeded on the assumption that insanity at the time of marriage might make it invalid (38 Cal. 700.). It may be that instances of such marriages are rare, but the law ought to be made quite clear by the legislature.

Prohibition of Sagotra marriages has been felt to be a serious restriction of the field of choice. The belief in the old days was probably that the members of a Rishi-Gotra were all of one blood, but really there is no real feeling of consanguinity between persons, merely because they have the same gotra. Further, a law giving greater freedom of choice need not be availed of except by those who feel no religious scruples. The legislature might, therefore, repeal this archaic and drastic rule which has no longer any vital significance.

The right of divorce for women is being long agitated by women's conferences and even by members of legislature. In this connection it must be observed that dissolution of marriage should be allowed only to a minimum extent where justification for it is of the plainest description and where, of course, it will raise the standard of morality, but not to such an extent as will lead to a general loosening of the marriage tie and promote immorality and ruin of Hindu family ideals. Divorce may conveniently be allowed where the husband (a) is incurably of unsound mind; or (b) is suffering from an incurable or virulent form of leprosy; or (c) has deserted the wife without just cause for a period of at least five years; or (d) has become a convert to Christianity or Islam; or (e) on the ground that the husband has any other woman as concubine.

In the field of inheritance also several changes are called for. By far the most important is to recognise a daughter's right to inherit along with the son. According to the ancient rule of Hindu Law, the daughter comes next after the widow as also in default of her. This has been now altered by the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act under which a widow succeeds even along with her sons or step-sons. The rights of daughters are, therefore, materially affected by this Act. There is no good reason why the daughter should not have some share in the property of her husband. In fact, there should be no serious objection to this reform which at one stroke would place all Hindu women on a much better footing than at present. A son's wife will also bring into her husband's family her share in her father's estate.

A further reform in this connection is also required. The estate taken by the daughter, the sister or any other female born in the family, should be throughout India an absolute estate as it is in Bombay. The rules of succession to Stridhan property, depending as they do upon the kind of Stridhan, and upon the form of marriage, should be simplified by providing uniform rules of succession. Absolute right of women over all species of stridhan should be fully established. The rule that a woman succeeding as an heir to another woman's stridhan can take only a limited estate should be repealed.

Serious inroads have been made into the coparcenary by the rules regarding a son's liability for his father's debts, by the doctrine of change in status by unilateral declaration of intention, and by the recent enactment that a widow of an undivided member takes her husband's interest in the coparcenary property. It is certainly high time to declare that every member of the joint family is entitled to his specific share and to a brogate

the rule of survivorship so as to make the members of the joint family hold the family property in quasi-severality as tenants-in-common. The legislature should lay down one mode of succession and the rules should be the same whether the family is divided or undivided and whether the property is separate or joint. Right by birth and survivorship and the restrictions imposed by them on the power of alienation and the deprivation of the right of succession of those who are nearer and dearer to the deceased male member than a coparcenary, are all outward indications of the ancient type of family which has become almost extinct. The large urban life of these days, the consequent separation of all the members of the family and their employment in distant parts of the country and above all the new ideas of individuality and the consequent conflicts in the aims and aspirations of the various members of the family have resulted in the emergence of the modern Hindu family life which is both in actuality and in sentiment far removed from the spirit and purpose, the area and the ideals of the ancient joint family system.

#### INDIA AND THE U. S. A.

The *Indian Witness*, organ of the American Methodist Mission, published from Lucknow, in its issue of July 24 gives Indians advice as to what they should do if they want to enlist American sympathy and support for their cause. "Individuals in the National Congress have at various times," it writes, "advocated appealing to America for support of its programme in India." Individuals might have done so but the Congress has turned down the proposal every time it was made. In doing so, the Congress has been guided by a sound instinct. Deep down in the heart and conscience of every thoughtful Indian, is the conviction that the cause of India by its inherent justice can dispense with any outside support. Then, again, whatever the popular feeling in the United States, the ruling class there is itself steeped in racial prejudice and economic imperialism. The case of Ireland is different. There is in the U. S. A. a considerable number of Irishmen who, while American by nationality, are Irish in their political outlook. Indians, on the other hand, are prohibited from acquiring an American domicile. There are hundreds of men and women in the States who regard this ban as utterly unjustifiable. But they cannot persuade the ruling class to do the right thing by Asiatics. President Wilson whose idealism did not extend to coloured races, at the Peace Conference got over the Japanese amendment in favour of racial equality which had the support of all countries except the British Dominions and himself. While Indians have great respect for the energy and enterprise of the citizens of the Great Republic, they have also a lively appreciation of their weaknesses also. One of these is much talking to little purpose. More than once in recent days one has been tempted to send over to the American President, a transcript of Cardinal Newman's fine lines beginning:

Prune thou thy words, thy thoughts control,  
Which o'er thee swell and throng,  
They will condense within thy soul  
And turn to purpose strong.

The *Witness's* advice to Indians boils down to this: secure the goodwill of American Missionaries in India and they will secure for you the support of the American people. Few Indians who know the facts, will be prepared to pay this price. A recent controversy has brought out in high relief the

conditions under which foreign missionaries carry on their proselytising activities in this country. A week earlier the editor of the *Witness* had pointed out the mote in its neighbour's eye after a drive in an ekka at Lucknow in the following words: "...Light-hearted lying abounds in India. It will be difficult to build habits of public honesty in India unless there can be a fundamental change in the public attitude towards lying." The *Witness* says that the American people are against revolutionary changes. They themselves achieved their present status by revolution with much less excuse. In any case, India does not want to be told what she should do. India will win her own salvation by her own unaided efforts. The time will come when the nations of the world, and America among them, will realise that the world will not settle down to a system of peace and harmony until India takes her place in the World Parliament speaking in her own right and voicing the intense longing for Peace which runs through Indian thought as a golden thread from the beginning of time. Then the nations will demand India's presence. We can wait. It will come right in God's good time. We are obliged to the *Witness* for its kind intentions but we really do not want any outside help in winning our salvation. Salvation won with another's help is not true freedom. No one can attain heaven without dying himself.

#### BOMBAY SCHOOLS SECRETARY.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In your issue of the 19th July while noticing the appointment of Miss Khandwala as Secretary of Bombay Municipal Schools Committee you have made a statement regarding the proportion of women teachers on the staff of Municipal Schools. I trust it has been based on definite knowledge, though I am afraid it is a sweeping statement to make. But, apart from this, I should very much like to know what your opinions are on the question of the desirability or otherwise of looking upon responsible executive appointments as occasions or opportunities for the exercise of party patronage. This is not the first time that a party appointment has been made to an executive post, during the life-time of the present corporation.

That some members of the Congress party itself appended minutes of dissent and refrained from voting, shows the justice of these remarks.

Has not the time arrived when the selection of men and women for executive appointments of a responsible character at least be entrusted to the Public Services Commission which is already functioning in our presidency?

Khar, }  
23rd July 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
VEERBAL H. MEHTA

(Mr. Mehta is right. The number of women teachers in Bombay Municipal Schools is 941 and the number of male teachers 1660. Our statement of women teachers being in a large majority, was, therefore, incorrect. It was made under the belief that a progressive and wealthy municipality like Bombay City would have adopted the principle now generally accepted, that children in the primary stage are best instructed by women teachers. The number of girls in the Municipal schools was over 44,000, and boys just slightly over 61,000. The proportion of women teachers should be considerably increased even if men teachers are preferred for boys. The figures are for 1939-40 taken from the Report on Public Instruction. It is certainly undesirable that the appointment of public officials should be on party lines but, if a candidate has the requisite qualifications, her nomination should not be prejudiced because she happens to be supported by members of a political party.—Editor.)

#### INDIAN IMMIGRATION AGREEMENT.\*

The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement, and the Baxter Commission Report on Indian Immigration into Burma are now available to the public. In a joint statement the two Governments explain the two main principles on which the Agreement is based, namely that Burma has, subject to the provisions of the Government of Burma Act, 1935, the right to determine the composition of her own population and secondly, that Indians who have wholly identified themselves with the interests of Burma, should enjoy the same rights as members of the permanent population, and express the hope that the agreement now achieved will serve to remove any cause for misapprehension which may have arisen either between the two countries or between the two communities in Burma and furnished a lasting foundation for the development in the future of the firmest ties of friendship and goodwill.

The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement itself is a short one containing 27 clauses couched in language clear and unambiguous. The Baxter Commission Report, on the other hand, is a fairly lengthy one, containing 192 pages of reading matter as well as statistical tables. It will be recalled that the Baxter Commission was a fact-finding one on Indian Immigration and that its report formed the basis of the discussions between the two Government delegations, discussions the happy outcome of which is the present Immigration Agreement. Any detailed and useful examination of the latter without a careful study of the report of Mr. James Baxter is not possible. We confess that we have had no time to digest the Baxter Commission Report. We propose to do so in good time and make more detailed comments on the several aspects of this problem of Indian immigration into Burma. Suffice it for the present to say that even a cursory examination of the Baxter report will not fail to reveal it as a document of extreme value. About no other subject have so many mistaken notions been held, so many popular misconceptions and prejudices prevailed than that of the little studied subject of Indian immigration into Burma. Neither were sufficient data for an adequate study of the subject available. Even the appointment of the Baxter Commission was the cause for great misunderstanding. Mistakenly some people appeared to think that the Baxter Commission was appointed to make out a case for restricting Indian immigration though the primary object was to test and correct current ideas about immigration and see if any system of control was necessary. There was an impression that unrestricted Indian immigration would bring about a definite change in the character of the population, religion and the social customs of Burma, that Indians were driving Burmans into poverty and unemployment, that Indians used Burma as a convenience coming to it when conditions were bad in India, remaining here long enough to take the bread out of the mouths of Burmans and giving nothing in return. The Baxter Commission Report demonstrates the falsity of these charges. It shows that the flow of immigration is automatically decreasing, that the surplus of incoming over outgoing Indians is decreasing, that the growth of Indian population is slowing down, if it has not already ceased, that there is no danger of Burma being flooded with Indians or becoming Indianised. It reveals not only that the flow of Immigration does not depend on the local conditions in India but that it follows the demand for labour created by changing conditions of prosperity in Burma. It also shows that to an increasing extent Burmans are taking their place in all grades of

\*From the *Rangoon Times*, 22nd July, 1941.

industrial employment. It also reveals the extent to which they are replacing and are likely to replace Indians. It is true Mr. Baxter's conclusions may not coincide with popular expectations, but the facts on which those conclusions are based, cannot be ignored by well-wishers of Burma and those interested in its future welfare and progress.

The immigration agreement itself must be reckoned as a landmark in Indo-Burma relations. Entered into by an ardent nationalist like the Hon'ble U. Saw, it not only safeguards the interest of his countrymen but does justice to those Indians who have made Burma their home or who have come here to work for the benefit of both. It is true criticisms can and will be made by both parties of particular provisions or details of the agreement; but taken as a whole the agreement is sound in principle. As clarifying the position of this immigrant community, the agreement has an especial value. No longer is there any cause to regard the members of this community as undesirable interlopers or to entertain those fears about them which to some extent or other, were at the bottom of the troubles which marred the not remote past in this country.

#### CENSUS IN CALCUTTA.

There has been an about 86 per cent increase in the Hindu population of the City of Calcutta, the present number being over fifteen lakhs as against over 8 lakhs in the previous census. The Muslim population has also increased to nearly 5 lakhs from about 3 lakhs in the previous census, the rate of increase being about 60 per cent. Both the communities have shown a fall in their sex-ratio; the number of Hindu females has fallen to 490 per thousand from 502 per thousand males in the previous census, whereas the number of Muslim females has fallen to 330 per thousand males from 354 in the previous census.

"The possible explanation in this decline in the sex-ratio in Calcutta," said Mr. R. A. Dutch, Census Superintendent, Bengal, in an interview with the Press, "may be found in the probability that the large increase in the Calcutta population is due to immigration and that immigrants do not as a rule bring their women with them. For instance, the Sikh population in Calcutta is entirely immigrant and there we actually find a large difference between the proportion of the two sexes, the numbers being about 6,000 males and only less than 2,500 females. Jains also with a total population of about 6,600 in Calcutta has twice as many males as females. On the other hand, Anglo-Indians who are to a large extent domiciled in Calcutta with their total population exceeding 20,000, show more females than males."

In Howrah out of a total population of about 3,79,000 there are about 3,11,000 Hindus and 65,000 Muslims.

Mr. Dutch said that big cities like Calcutta and Howrah where so much of the population was immigrant, always showed some abnormal features.

"For the province as a whole," he stated, "from figures which are available at present, there is no indication that the communal ratio will be much altered. Both Hindus and Muslims have shown a marked increase in population. In previous census Muslims showed a progressive tendency to increase the proportion to the population as a whole. I am not yet in a position to say whether this tendency will be exemplified in this census also."

"A simple and ready-made gauge is found," he said, "in the proportion of the Muslims to the total population of a given district. At present I

have not got the Muslim figures for Dacca Division. Of the districts of which I have received figures, Noakhali showed largest variation in communal ratio. In 1931, the Muslims were about 78.5 per cent of the total population. At this census they are about 81 per cent. In other districts variation is much less. As for instance in Bogra, Rangpur, Pabna, Khulna, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore and Darjeeling variation is only a fraction of one per cent. In the border districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Burdwan the proportion of Muslims to the whole population has fallen by a little above one per cent. This is probably due to the influx of aborigines from the neighbouring province. In Murshidabad Muslims were 55.56 per cent of the total population in 1931. In this Census they are about 56.5 per cent of the total population.

"In this respect," he further said, "Dacca division is important. The population of the division is very large and the predominance of Muslims is well marked. A variation in the communal ratio within that division is likely to have more effect on the ratio of the province as a whole than a similar variation in any other division."

—CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE.

#### AMERICAN YOUTH.

A reader sends us the following from the *Student Paper* of the University of Iowa :—

"Take us back to solid ground." Who doubts that the burdens of our generation after the war will be the greatest in our history. To face it our generation has to be tough as nails, physically, mentally, spiritually. What are you going to do about it?

You can't leave our generation ignorant of the means of living, to make your mistakes all over again, to muddle through crises, to prolong the softness of the American race. The American people have a right to look to youth for leadership. You have got to show us the way. The time has come for us to demand that you must.

Specifically :—

What should we be doing now about solving the problems you have put off for generations? You know, as well as we, that these problems are the result of a wholesale unwillingness to face facts.

We all know that Americans—the rank and file of us—have never been trained in how to live. You will have to accept the blame. You haven't taught us to be able to take it.

We aren't living within our means, and we follow your example.

We are afraid of hard work; you never taught us to love it.

We can't accept responsibility; you couldn't before us.

We don't know the meaning of discipline; you didn't discipline us.

We have nothing to which we can cling as the understood, almost intangible, jewel of our American heritage. It is there, but you understood it even less than we.

It should be clear that there is nothing derogatory to our attitude toward America's crisis. We are dedicated to the preservation of the American way of life as we know it and as we have known it all our lives. No sacrifice is too great for that.

But we are profoundly interested in the days beyond this crisis. It is not right that we should be, in any future time or under any future circumstances, lacking in spiritual, intellectual, and physical fibre.

We are lacking today—sadly lacking—in those qualities which make it possible for us to cope intelligently with emergencies. They are fruits of training and America's universities have missed the boat.

#### THE SAPRU CONFERENCE AT POONA.

The Non-Party Leaders Conference held its second session under the presidentship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, on July 26 and 27 at Poona. It was a larger body than the Bombay Conference but it would still for several reasons be better to continue designating it the Sapru Conference. A non-party organisation rests on something more than a name and, though Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is scrupulous in avoiding any charge of seeking to form a new party, there is ample evidence to show that the Conference is fast developing into a political party itself. A meeting of 120 odd persons cannot be made up all of leaders and the organisers when they invited so many must have been clear in their own minds as to the functions of 115 out of the 120. Moreover, those who were not in agreement with the Bombay Conference resolution, were more or less politely asked to stay away. Not all the invitees attended. Nevertheless even of the some seventy who came to Poona, there were many whom one had not expected to find in what was meant to be a gathering of front-rank politicians. There was much argument defending the criticism that the "leaders" were generals without an army. But it would have been even more correct to say of many, if not most of, the men Poona that they were what might be conveniently called *ad hoc* generals. At the same time, it is difficult to think of a "non-party" leaders meeting at Poona without Mr. N. C. Kelkar being associated with it. All this did convey the impression that the Conference organisers had attempted to get together men of a particular school of thought with the object of arriving at certain decisions. Nor did it take very long for some of the more enthusiastic invitees to realise that their job for the main would be merely to ratify resolutions placed before them. They found in short that they had been put on the pedestal of leadership only to be pulled down to the role of camp-followers. It was, perhaps, inevitable but that did not in any way make the position more endurable. The Bombay Conference was in contrast to the Poona meeting more of a "leaders' conference." The Right Honorable M. R. Jayakar stated in his speech that there were to be quarterly meetings of the Sapru Conference, and wanted them to be even more frequent. The purpose of such meetings is not clear unless it is to build up a party and consolidate the position of the leaders of the Conference. A certain confusion has been caused by recent official and non-official references to a centre party. The words "Centre Party" create a misleading impression in so far as they mark out Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League and Gandhiji's Congress as the political extremes. In fact, the two are based on widely differing principles and have not the common ground on which a compromise can be arrived at. Hence Mr. Jinnah's charge against the Sapru Conference, that it is a shadow of the Congress, is not incorrect in so far as the Bombay Conference leaders take a moderate stand on the same platform as the Congress. By its Poona decisions, the Sapru Conference has taken up a position midway between the new members of the expanded Viceroy's Council and the Congress Poona resolution now repudiated but likely to be adopted again at any time. All the speakers

at Poona lauded the new members and regretted that they were given such small tasks. At the same time several members felt that it would be a great step forward if the Congress prisoners were released.

It was not to be expected that such a meeting could give a clear lead to the country. What the Poona Conference achieved was condemnation of the limited nature of reform contained in the decision to expand the Viceroy's Council without attacking those who had accepted office. But the British Government itself does not claim any measure of advance in the changes it has made. There was a tendency on the part of those who complimented the Government for its selection, to praise the personnel in order to condemn the small power which had been given to experienced and tried-administrators. This rather lent itself to propaganda and the opportunity must have been fully availed of. The Conference, however, could not condemn the new scheme outright as Mr. Jinnah has done since they could not exercise disciplinary action on those of their group who had left them, as Mr. Jinnah has threatened he would do in the Muslim League. The sentiment repeatedly expressed by the speakers that the new members would exert their influence to press the demands of the Sapru Conference, was a pathetic hope. The frequently cited aphorism in favour of taking two annas and asking for the rest of the rupee, forgets if it ever appreciated the psychological reactions which the receipt of two annas brings about in the minds of giver and recipient. Mr. Aney has already taken on the appearance of authority in his replies to criticism.

The speeches at Poona were rather feeble. There was a feeling, as Mr. Srinivasa Sastri had said in an interview, that the Viceroy's offer had queered the pitch of the Conference. It is difficult to take seriously the demand for finance and defence being entrusted to Indian hands when all speakers emphasised their determination to continue present policies, if not to intensify them. Mr. Jayakar's speech which was looked forward to as his first political pronouncement after giving up the Privy Council, borne signs of too much anxiety as to its effect. His statement that several young men had asked him about the possibilities of joining the air force, showed the trend of Maharashtrian opinion, perhaps, but nowhere else in the country would it have been regarded as typical. It is dangerous to raise such hopes in the Government which might well be dashed to the ground in case they are ever tested. The emphasis of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on his own sturdy independence is getting a little too common and should by now to have become superfluous. Sir Mirza Ismail, who is another acquisition to the Poona Conference, came out with a remarkable plea for a unitary Government at the Centre. Sir Radhakrishnan's oration in support of the main resolution must have surprised many as coming from one who has not been interested in party politics. For the rest, the speakers were not expected to say very much and, if they did try to contribute something in the short time allowed them, they found themselves straying from the resolution and were pulled up by the president. The juxtaposition of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to so many Indian Liberals has naturally raised the question whether Sir Tej is returning to the fold from which he had strayed for over a decade. The Poona Conference rather favours the opposite inference. There is nothing of Liberalism in the conduct of the session or in the resolutions. Certainly no Liberal can look with equanimity on the resolution empowering Sir Tej to draw up the Constitution.

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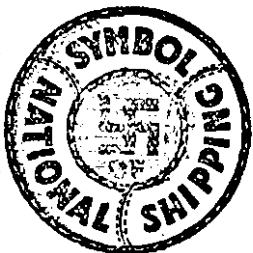
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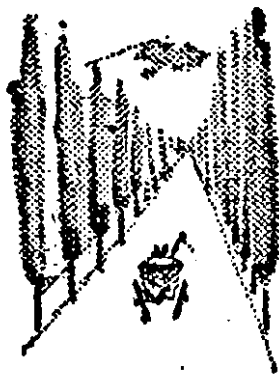
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

### DR. TAGORE

The Poet Rabindranath Tagore passed away on Thursday after a protracted failing of health during the last year. Instantly arose a chorus of praise and lamentation from diverse quarters. Political rivalry was hushed. Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah were among the first to lay their wreaths on the deathbed. Sarojini Naidu in a broadcast spoke feelingly of a fellow poet who was also a fellow Bengalee. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Mr. M. R. Jayakar voiced the sentiments of cultural India. For the moment we had a glimpse of the Indian unity which is so desired by Indians and so dreaded by those opposed to Indian aspirations. How did this come about? Tagore was no professing promoter of unity movements. Little good has come out of such movements and little can be expected of them. Tagore's way was a different way. He was a seeker all his life of the Supreme Unity underlying the infinite phenomenal diversity proclaimed by the seers and sages of all lands and of India pre-eminently. The greater includes the less. The realisation of the spiritual unity of the universe necessarily leads to the realisation of all lesser unities. The doctrine of ultimate unity is put forward by the ancients not as a possible hypothesis but as a demonstrable fact. There are two ways of proving it. One is the method of meditation which Tagore's father, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, adopted. The keyword to this way is, "Be still." By detaching yourself from the distractions of the world around you, you get a direct perception of the Supreme Unity which underlies all existence. Rabindranath Tagore himself chose the more objective way. He travelled far and wide. He probed into the everyday lives of ordinary men and women. And he arrived at the same conclusion, which he sought to inculcate in his fellowmen through his poems, plays and stories. His own countrymen remained unappreciative until the west gave the lead by the

award of the Nobel Prize for literature to Tagore. The greatest tragedy of foreign rule is that the people lose faith in their own capacity to think and judge and must take their opinions secondhand from aliens. Tagore's popularity in India dates from the Nobel Prize. Even now the genuine significance of his work is but faintly understood by his own people. Tagore was not an ascetic. Neither was he a stoic. He keenly felt the criticisms, at times very acrimonious which his own people passed on his work. His great service to Hinduism was his teaching, by precept and practice, that it does not, as is generally assumed by Hindus and outsiders, preclude the joy of life. He taught that to be happy was not necessarily to be sinful, that indeed to diffuse happiness was the highest duty of man. He wished his people and all men to cast out fear from their hearts, to look for beauty and find it everywhere, and to live up to the highest in them in perfect confidence that evil will not come out of good. He is gone but his message remains and it is one which India never needed more urgently.

**Call to the Congress:—**Some time back the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry had publicly entreated the Congress and Gandhiji to change their policy and reassume the Governments in the seven Provinces in which they have a majority in the Legislature, as the only means of preventing the country from drifting into chaos and anarchy. The Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar has this week made a similar appeal. *The Reformer* had sometime back suggested that the time was opportune for Gandhiji, who commands the respect of all parties, to enlarge the Congress so as to facilitate the entrance of all Indian schools of politics. Gandhiji has so far given no indication even to the effect that these calls to the Congress have reached him. His latest pronouncement on the arrest of Khurshed Behn, a grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, who was only recently released on the expiry of a term of imprisonment, may perhaps be understood as having reference to the appeals of the two distinguished Indian statesmen. Gandhiji considers the arrest as proof that the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council implies no change of heart on the part of British authorities. Would it have been proof of a change of heart if Khurshed Behn had not been

re-arrested? We hardly think it. A change of heart must find positive expression. Judging from its resolutions, and not from the speeches made on them by their proposers and supporters, it may be thought that the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council was itself, in the opinion of the Sapru Conference, a change of heart in the British Government. The British Government will let nothing stand in the way of a change of heart if it is dictated by circumstances. The Russo-British Alliance is the latest and most striking illustration. If Gandhiji really desires a change of heart on the part of the British Government, it is "up to him," to use the popular phrase, to help them to effect one. He should take the initiative himself and not leave it to the British Government, which in practice means letting ourselves be the sport of circumstance. By making the Congress a completely inclusive body and by restoring to the seven provinces the Government of which they have been deprived, Gandhiji can create a situation which will make it impossible for the British Government to retain its heart unchanged. It is no good waiting for an event to happen, when you are in a position to make it happen immediately. The appeal of men like Messrs. Sastry and Jayakar—they do not make any conditions, be it noted—is a sure sign that the country as a whole would welcome Gandhiji's favourable response to it. It implies, of course, that if the Congress Governments resume their functions they will have the whole-hearted support, not only of the two eminent leaders, but also of the large body of informed and responsible opinion which they represent.

**Constitutional Change:—**The repeated declarations of British and British Indian officials that the Government of India Act of 1935 will have to be radically altered after the war and the hints thrown out by Mr. Amery that an executive on the American model might be found more suitable for India, have not unnaturally led Indian politicians to wonder what changes are contemplated by the Government. Any alteration which can commend itself to Britain will, it is not wrong to infer, have to prove its utility in preventing stalemates of the type which the outbreak of war found in India. Mr. Amery has plainly told the Congress that they can never expect to have again the power and position they enjoyed under the 1935 Constitution. So far as the legislatures are concerned, this can only mean a manipulation of the electoral system with a view to nullify the popular strength of the Congress. If the war leads to a further deterioration of Britain's grasp on democratic principles, then the most direct method of achieving this end will be adopted of disfranchising the Congress and pro-Congress population. There is precedent for this in Russia, Italy, Germany and several of the Balkan States. It is believed, however, that, though a leaf will be taken from Fascist Italy, it will only be in the matter of introducing

functional representation. It would be heading for another disappointment if the British pinned their faith to functional representation. The legislatures must, whether in a democracy or, when there is a legislature, in a dictatorship, in the long run be representative of the people. The hope that it would be easier to manage men through their professional interests, is a futile one and indirectly derives from the Marxian over-emphasis on economic values. Functional representation by itself can not have any power to change the political fortunes of a country. But functional representation is rarely found by itself. In Italy political views are a qualification or a bar to citizenship rights, including that of voting. In the only Indian State in which it is favoured, Hyderabad, a minority of less than 10 per cent has had to be given 50 per cent representation. It will be interesting to see with what leaven the British propose to leaven the electoral lump. The suggestion for an irremovable executive is something which can be judged by past experience. India has had an irremovable executive for generations now and she still has one. Though it was considerate of the Sapru Conference to accept the expansion of the Viceroy's Council, it was obviously superfluous. The seven gentlemen had already accepted the expansion and nothing less than the Secretary of State's wrath or the Viceroy's displeasure could touch them. We suppose that the executive will be kept irremovable while experiments are made with the legislatures. If functional representation proves the boon it is expected to be, then the executive will be made responsible to the legislature. An irremovable executive in any sense of the term as a permanent feature of a constitution, seems somehow to postulate revolutionary foundations and certainly must possess the capacity to put down counter-revolution. We cannot conceive of it as emerging out of the deliberations of two nations.

**Extension of Provincial Legislatures Term:—**Amidst the frequent shufflings and reshufflings of the Churchill Ministry, it is difficult to remember the names of persons who fill the several posts. It seems that the Duke of Devonshire is the present Under-Secretary of State for India. We doubt if a Duke occupied the position ever before. The Duke some time back delivered an address to the undergraduates of Leeds University of which he is Chancellor. In the course of his address he feebly parodied Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy in relation to India. He said, so far as we remember, that India will be governed in India, by India, for India. What his lordship intended to mean by "India" was not clear. A day or two after the Duke's remarks were cabled to India, another message declared that it meant nothing more than what Mr. Amery said in August last year, what Lord Linlithgow said this year, and what Secretaries of States have been saying at all times. We are not sure whether the Duke was Under-Secretary for India

when he made that speech. Perhaps, he was for he declared at Leeds that he spoke with the full authority of the Government. He seems to have accepted the rebuff in good grace. Early this week he carried through the House of Lords a Bill to extend the term of the Provincial Legislative Councils which will shortly expire, until the duration of the war and twelve months thereafter. Before Germany declared war on Russia, the probable duration of the war was put at varying lengths from three to ten years. The involvement of Russia which is now the principal in place of Great Britain in the war, makes it likely that this war may last till the end of the century. The Provincial Councils in the Punjab, Bengal, Assam and Sind are functioning and they will continue to function until then although many of their present members may be gathered to their fathers. In the seven Congress provinces, Governors will presumably carry on their one-man rule for the rest of the century. It seems in view of the extension, that the appointment of Mr. Hodson to frame a new constitution for India, is somewhat premature. Mr. Hodson is only thirty-five years of age but by 2,000 A.D. he will be ninety years of age and will be hardly able to recognise the work of his brain. The Extension Act following as it does on the heels of the Expansion of the Executive Council, is significant. The Expanded Council is also meant to last for the duration of the war.

**India in Parliament:**—Speeches in Parliament on India have lost all interest. There is no reality about them. The Minister in charge repeats old arguments with the air of new discoveries and the members, many of whom do not even care to be present, vote whatever he wants. A few might make a show of being critical but no one takes them seriously. The majority of members are sublimely ignorant of India except as a market for goods and a field for the employment of young Britons on salaries which they will not get anywhere else, and they therefore automatically support the Government on Indian questions though they may disapprove of it on all other questions. Mr. Amery is a long-winded and uninspiring speaker and one has to wade through oceans of commonplace in the hope, often unfulfilled, of lighting upon some definite expression of policy. His manner of playing with the Pakistan idea so long and his qualified rejection of it in his last speech, is characteristic of his contempt for Indian leaders and his confidence in the capacity of his Parliamentary audience to swallow any cock and bull story set forth from the Treasury Bench. The few members who know something of Indian aspirations and disabilities, are prevented by party discipline from giving free expression to their views. In his last speech Mr. Amery enlarged on the importance of expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Its importance, however, is likely to be in a very different direction to that expected by the Secretary of State. Experience will demonstrate that unless the Viceroy's attitude towards the expanded

Council is totally different to what it has been to the unexpanded one, mere addition to the number of Indians is of little significance. What would really matter is that the Indian members should be free to apply their Indian minds to Indian problems with a single eye to the interests of the Indian people. For instance, they should be free to bring India's war efforts into rational relation with the meagre resources of the Indian people. When the cotton duties were finally repealed in 1875, Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, wrote "India must be bled." In the last war, India was, in the words of the Viceroy, "bled white." In its leading article in the issue of May 9, the *Spectator*, which reflects the views of the British governing class, wrote: "India is the natural source of reinforcements, and if need be India must be temporarily stripped to provide them." Mark the word "stripped." The extent to which this stripping process has already proceeded is not known. Are the "expanded" members expected and are they prepared to be a party to the "stripping?" The expanded Council has been described as a War Cabinet. But surely the newly appointed members who are specifically nominated because of their Indian descent, may be expected to remember the duty which they owe to their people. Their doing so may bring them into conflict even with the Viceroy. They should have their resignations ready drawn up in their pockets if they are to serve the cause of India as Indians.

**Lakhs and Millions:**—Several mathematically inclined readers have with evident glee pointed out that in our note last week on the Bengal census, we had used the word "millions" for "lakhs." We plead guilty. But it is an extenuation that the absence of any word in an Indian language to denote a million; and a similar lack in English of one word for a hundred thousand, create a confusion when both are used as they are in India.

**A Rational Famine Code:**—The report on the Hissar famine by Lt.-Colonel C. M. Nicol, Director of Public Health, Punjab, is an example of the growing importance of the subject of Nutrition in India. The provision of relief without work, relief pay and arrangements for procuring food of the right kind, generous allowances for children and adolescents whose caloric demands are higher than those of adults, and the maintenance of milk animals, are the main suggestions in the report. The unproductiveness of famine labour and the scandal of making famine-stricken victims walk ten to fifteen miles daily to obtain their pittance, are plain facts though they were not so to those responsible for the present famine code. It is heartening to note that in the Hissar famine the women were given gratuitous relief on the spot. The supply of sprouted pulse was another departure. We hope that the impending revision of the famine code for all India will incorporate many such enlightened measures.



## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 9, 1941.

## THE EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

In his presidential address to the open session of the All-India Editors' Conference, Mr. K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu* pointed out last November, "It is our sole concern to conduct a newspaper free to express opinions frankly, and to that end factual representation of events in the widest sense must be allowed." This is embodied in the constitution of the Editors' Conference which has, prominent among its objects, the safeguarding of the rights of the Press in regard to freedom of publication of news and comment. Subsequent resolutions of the Standing Committee must be read against this background. There were three resolutions adopted in February which briefly laid down the procedure that the Chief Press Adviser should not advise non-publication or censor passages without consulting the Central Advisory Committee, that, where there is need to act without such consultation because of urgency, the matter should be placed before the next meeting of the Central Advisory Committee, and that differences of opinion should be referred to the Standing Committee. Apart from this, it was agreed by the Standing Committee that military matters, as, for instance, the location of an aerodrome or the transfer of a regiment, were to be left to the Chief Press Adviser. The Government of India in their reply dated February 25 accepted these demands only stipulating that military matters (described variously as "routine matters," as "matters beyond doubt," and as "unimportant matters,") would not be referred to the Central Advisory Committee before advising non-publication, and that only important cases would be referred to the Central Advisory Committee. The specific example they gave of items which would not be referred, was "the location of an aerodrome."

As for Gandhiji's statements, the Standing Committee, whilst it was not prepared to place Gandhiji in a special position of absolute immunity, was at the same time not willing to connive at the imposition of special restrictions on him which other political figures were free from. It might be mentioned that at the February meeting the point of view was generally accepted by the Government of India no less than by the press that the satyagraha campaign was a "symbolic movement" for freedom of speech. This opinion was also expressed later in the Assembly by Sir Reginald Maxwell. Nevertheless, the Standing Committee agreed that statements issued by Gandhiji against this war and statements made by him in furtherance of the anti-war phase of the satyagraha campaign would be submitted for press-advising. The Government in return undertook not to ban Gandhiji's statements ordinarily and, where they were inclined to ban, to consult the Central

Advisory Committee. In actual practice, however, between February and May, Government showed themselves "inclined to ban" every statement of Gandhiji's. And the decision to refer or not to refer was sought to be taken away from the Editor on whom the ultimate responsibility lies. Mere failure to refer a statement to the Press Adviser was even regarded as a breach of the agreement subsisting between the Editors and the Government. Government tended to forget that any newspaper or agency which is reluctant to utilise the Press Adviser's services, is liable itself to suffer; that the Press advising system is a purely voluntary system and newspapers are under no legal obligation to avail themselves of it; that Press advising is a very different thing from pre-publication censorship.

It was emphasized from the outset that no newspaper shall be condemned unless "deliberate and systematic attempt to impede the war effort" is proved against it, and every Editor was to be given an opportunity to prove his case before a body of his fellows. The machinery evolved at that Conference and improved, in the light of practical experience, at subsequent meetings, was built up on the assumption that the press in India was well disposed to the Government in this country. The provisions of the Defence of India Act are obviously designed to restrain an unfriendly press and, during such period as a working arrangement exists between the Government and Editors in India, it must be assumed that the provisions of the Defence of India Act are held in abeyance.

The two main resolutions of the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference which met on July 23rd and 24th at Bombay and, the reply of the Government of India which are all published this week, should be read in the light of these facts. The first resolution is a marked improvement on the past decisions of the Conference because it sets down in words which cannot be misunderstood or misinterpreted, one clear formula for all statements and reports. This has all along been the purpose of the main body of the Conference. Unfortunately Government's reluctance to follow a uniform policy necessitated separate resolutions differently worded to achieve uniformity—with consequent misunderstanding. The Government's response to the resolution, however, might have been conceived in a more cooperative spirit. We cannot see the purpose of Press Advisory Committees if they are not to be consulted by Press Advisers, Provincial as well as Central, in all matters relating to the Government's dealings with the press. The language of the Government of India's reply would seem to imply that the obligation on the part of the Press Advisers to consult their committees is contingent on the Editors' accepting an obligation on their part to make frequent use of the Press Advisory System. This reintroduces an element of vagueness in the relations between the Government and the Press, which

is bound to give rise to complaints on both sides of breaches of the Agreement. If, however, the Government primarily and, to a much less extent, the Press can refrain from levelling such charges, the Agreement formulated after eight months of negotiation stands every chance of establishing itself.

The second resolution is that the Standing Committee exercises the full weight of its authority to impress upon all Editors and Press Agencies the necessity of respecting the agreement. There has not been one instance, we believe, of the Standing Committee having so far failed in its duty. The main value of the resolution lies in the response it has evoked from Government who promise to impress its importance on provincial governments. The Standing Committee is not the executive of a long established organisation and it has as yet to build up its position. To such building up, even more than the possible disregard of its authority by one or two newspapers, the consistent flouting of its resolutions by certain provincial governments have proved and will prove a great hindrance. There has been a general desire so far, on the part of both the Government and the Press, to maintain healthy relations and it is this, more than any agreement, which has kept the machinery unaffected by lapses from the spirit of the Delhi Agreement—mainly on the part of the Government.

**Succession and Marriage:**—After deciding that the weight of reasoning is in favour of postponing the Bills either before the Legislature or pending introduction, the Rau Committee proceeded to state that it would take the subject of codification of Hindu law in parts—"piecemeal"—and that it would take up the part relating to succession before taking up the part relating to marriage. It would be more logical and more convenient to take up the marriage part first and that relating to succession next. The central feature of the reforms relating to marriage, is the adoption of monogamy as the basis of Hindu marriages. The Committee finds that there is a great weight of Hindu opinion in favour of this crucial reform. A number of questions which arise regarding the right of wives in polygamous marriages, will be swept away by making monogamy the sole legal Hindu marriage. This will considerably facilitate the codification (and simplification) of the law of succession. An even more important consideration for giving priority to marriage law reform, is that the anomalies arising from polygamy are actually more productive of acute hardship than those connected with succession to property. They have driven some women mad. Another argument in favour of dealing with marriage first, is that marriage concerns practically the whole population, whereas only a fraction of the population has any property worth mentioning to benefit by the law of succession.

#### THE INDO-BURMA AGREEMENT.

The essential principles to be kept in view in considering the Indo-Burma Agreement which has been framed or may hereafter be framed, is that it must not infringe the legitimate rights and aspirations of the people of Burma and should, indeed, be helpful to their preservation and realisation; and that it should at the same time not involve any discrimination against the people of India and should be consistent with their self-respect. To begin with, all claims based on the conquest of Burma with Indian money and Indian troops had best be avoided. The conquest of Burma was one of the greatest wrongs in history done by a great Imperialist Power to an inoffensive neighbour on the flimsiest of pretexts and the part of India in this affair is not one of which India can be proud, much less one for which Burma may be expected to be grateful. For the same reason the maintenance by India of Burma as a deficit province since the conquest, does not constitute a claim on Burma. India was but an instrument in the conquest and administration of Burma and not a principal. The relations between Burma and India as they existed for many centuries prior to the British conquest of India, were cultural and spiritual. They were of the most cordial character. It should be the aim of India to resume them. The Burmese should be left to do their own scavenging and other menial work without relegating it to Indian immigrants. The scavengers hold the key-position in every town and village. If Ministers and Judges take a vacation, life will go on in these places without much dislocation. But if the scavengers struck work, epidemics will follow and take a heavy toll of life. It is dangerous for any people to leave this crucial function to other nationals. In so far as the banning of unskilled labour signifies that the Burmese are beginning to appreciate the dignity of labour, it is one which should be welcomed by all friends of Burma. The existence of a practically unlimited supply of unskilled labour in this country, obliged to seek a livelihood in neighbouring countries for a wage which the natives of those countries will not accept except under dire necessity, is a serious blot on the Government of India. The prevention of the emigration of unskilled labour unless promptly accompanied by measures to provide substitutes in India itself, will only intensify the blot. It is high time the Government of India adopted as its definite policy that unskilled labour will in no circumstances be allowed to be recruited for other countries from this country. Colonisation of suitable tracts in other countries under favourable conditions, is a different matter. The restriction in the Agreement placed on the emigration of unskilled labour should be amended into complete prohibition. This writer made this suggestion as regards the immigration of unskilled labour to Ceylon to Sir Jagadish Prasad when he was Member in Charge of the Department. Sir Jagadish waved aside the suggestion as one which Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, then Premier of Madras, would not hear of and "nobody can make him change his mind." What Mr. Rajagopalacharya would have done, if he was now occupying the same position, to the Bajpai-U. Saw Pact, it is vain to speculate about.

The terms of the Agreement which impose restrictions on the movements of Indians born or domiciled in Burma, are opposed to elementary principles of citizenship. Persons of these two classes are Burmese citizens as much as the Burmese and no restraint which is not placed on the Burmese can be placed on them. They can relinquish their Burma citizenship only in the way in which a native

Burman can relinquish his. Burma-born and domiciled Indians are entitled to the same franchise and other rights as the native Burmese, and the reasons for which they are forfeited will be the same as those for the latter. The Government of Burma is entitled to lay down the conditions, period of residence and others, if any, for the acquisition of domicile by non-Burmese. But they should be the same for all outsiders and there should be no discrimination against Indians. The same principle should apply as regards entry of Indians to Burma for purposes of trade, or as students or tourists. That is to say, there should be no discrimination against them as Indians. The conditions should be the same for all nationals, whether Chinese, British or American. According to the Agreement an Indian seeking entrance into Burma, must provide himself with a passport; he must next get a visa on it; he must have a "Permit." With an "A" permit for which he must pay Rs. 500, he can stay indefinitely in Burma and accept employment therein. No bar, it is stated, will be placed on the acquisition of a Burman domicile by the holders of the "A" permit. The holder of a "B" permit, valid for a maximum period of three years which can be extended up to nine years at the discretion of Government, can accept employment in Burma but unless he has applied for and obtained an "A" permit (which he is allowed to do) he cannot qualify for a Burmese domicile. The first objection to this Permit system is—and it is a conclusive one—that it does not apply to nationals of any other nationality. If it is intended to have any other purpose than that of bringing a certain sum of money to the Burmese Government, it is sure to fail; not only to fail but to become a source of abuse and corruption. It will not prevent undesirables from entering Burma. It will only operate as a source of harassment to honest people who are attracted to Burma by the prospect of securing a means of livelihood more easily than in their native land. The amount realised from permits will by no means compensate for the evils which will come in their train. The number of such Indians are already on the decrease. It will rapidly dwindle into a negligible few with the political and economic development of India. It is only a source of irritation which in the interests of good relations between Burmese and Indians, might well be dropped. The conditions as regards dependants, are vexatious and difficult to enforce in practice.

The most obnoxious clause in the Agreement is the one relating to marriage and cohabitation with a Burmese woman by an Indian. It is hard to believe that either the British India or the Burmese delegation meant this to be seriously enforced. It has all the appearance of being intended as a sop to the small section of the Burmese who cherish anti-Indian prejudices. But it can be made use of to harass and oppress and disgrace people under pressure from the same source. The clause is an affront to India's moral personality. Indian opinion will support the most drastic legislation which the Government of Burma may enact against the betrayal of innocent women irrespective of race and nationality. But it cannot tolerate a provision which holds up the Indian community in Burma and, by implication, the people of India as miscreants against whom Burmese women have to be protected by a special provision involving forfeiture of rights acquired by them by lawful means. The clause should be expunged. The explanation that cohabitation does not cover casual connections but only the living with a woman without a legal marriage, implies that brothel-life is preferable to concubinage or even marriage.

The one principle, and the only one insisted on in these observations, is no discrimination against Indians. None is asked in their favour either. The argument based on stake in the country is a dangerous one. Indian leaders have all these years been protesting against it as an argument for special privileges to foreigners and withholding legitimate rights from the Indian people. We cannot have one rule for ourselves and another for a sister nation. The argument is dangerous because if "stake in the country" is a good argument, its logical corollary is that the country should have a stake in those who base their claim to favoured treatment on their possession of a stake in the country.

#### KHURSHED BEHN'S DETENTION.

Miss Khurshed Behn Naoroji was ordered some time back not to travel beyond the limits of Bombay city. As a matter of fact, we believe that, for some years, she had been working and had her domicile in the Frontier districts as a peace-missionary. On her representation to Government of the real nature of her work, the order was relaxed so as to extend to the whole Bombay Province. This made no difference to her as she was still prevented from going to Wardha where Gandhiji is or to the Frontier where her work lay. Impatient of her enforced idleness—Khurshed Behn could not apparently think of some alternative humanitarian activity in Bombay city or Province—she decided to go to Wardha, and informed the authorities of her intention to do so. This led to her arrest and, to use Gandhiji's phrase "without trial being kidnapped to Yervada Central Jail." Khurshed Behn, it should be mentioned, was agreeable to being externed from the Frontier area, in consideration of the stress on the British Government at the present time. But she was unable to understand why she should not go to Wardha to see Gandhiji or to Allahabad to see the Kamala Nehru Hospital. Had Khurshed Behn been initiated in Yoga, she would have found peace of mind in Bombay city or even in a more restricted environment. Without the special mental discipline which yoga inculcates, peace of mind cannot be had even if one had the whole wide world to roam in. Khurshed Behn felt that she must see Gandhiji or the Kamala Nehru Hospital, and she was prepared to take the consequences. It is not clear why the authorities feared danger to India if the granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji—Gandhiji is careful to note that he was called the Grand Old Man of India—and apostle of non-violence to the Pathans, satisfied her longing to see the Allahabad Hospital, even if her meeting Gandhiji was considered incompatible with the security of the country. We have no means of knowing at firsthand what the effect of Khurshed Behn's mission to "Pirs, Khans, Mullicks as well as dacoits" has been. All is not obviously quiet on the Frontier notwithstanding her labours for nine months previous to her arrest. We cannot but admire the pluck and faith in her cause shown by Miss Khurshed Behn reared, so to say, in the lap of luxury in undertaking what to many others would seem to be a quixotic enterprise. The leopard cannot change its spots nor the Frontier man his predatory instincts, they would say. The leopard's spots are not to be compared to human instincts. The spots affect the skin and are a biological incident. Instincts are a part of the mind which can be educated and trained to control its instincts by reason. Khurshed Behn's work among the Pathans, therefore, is not to be dismissed as altogether misdirected. But you cannot change in nine months the inheritance of generations. We are sure that she knows it. Her zeal and persever-

ance, therefore, are all the more worthy of admiration. The action of the authorities seems to have been mechanical. Perhaps, it may be due to the prevailing fashion of decrying non-violence and extolling violence as the whole duty of the citizen in the presence of war. It is likely that Gandhiji, if Khurshed Behn had been allowed to see him at Wardha, might have persuaded her that there is plenty of room for humanitarian work in Bombay city itself. Not many days ago large parts of the city were as disturbed as the Frontier when the tribesmen are in the mood to kill and loot. As Khurshed Behn is detained without trial, Government will perhaps soon realize that she will be less danger to India's safety as a free woman than as a distressed detainee.

### INDIAN PRINCES AND THE WAR.

(BY SRIVATSA.)

The attitude of the Indian Princes to the present war cannot be unconcerned with the question of Britain's war aims. Notwithstanding their claim to treatment as a distinctive group, the Princes are, first and last, Indians exercising their rule over a people and a territory that form an integral part of India. It is impossible that they can be indifferent to such a vital question as Britain's war aims.

Unfortunately, the motive that impelled Britain to enter into the present war has not been made quite clear. There has, of course, been no dearth of pronouncements on the subject by British statesmen. Mr. Winston Churchill in his famous speech of 18 May 1940 said:

You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: It is victory; victory at all costs; victory in spite of all terror; victory, however long and hard the road may be; for, without victory, there is no survival. Let that be realised, no survival for the British Empire; no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for; no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal.

A more recent utterance of a British statesman revealed that England's war aims were to win the war! However brilliant and inspiring such perorations and epigrammatic utterances may be, they do not unfortunately help us to get a realistic view of the shape of things to come.

If the utterances of statesmen are unhelpful the writings of publicists are no better. Today the international press is extremely fond of discussing the feasibility and the implications of a "world federation," but the new world it envisages and the federation it seeks to build up do not obviously take into account non-European countries and non-European peoples. Discussing Mr. Streit's idea of a federation of democracies, Mr. Ramsay Muir, of the British Liberal Party and leader of its intellectuals, declared that the Liberals were opposed to the scheme because India would under such an arrangement become the pivot of the Commonwealth by virtue of its numbers, area, etc. Even the 1940 manifesto of the British Labour party could not see the world bigger than Europe. In fact, the Western conception of the world, to quote the *Hindu*, "is Europe with the colonial empires of its various Powers cast for the role of satellites, the rest of humanity looming darkly on the periphery as a dimly understood phenomenon of no great account." Caught into the vortex of war, Europe has still to run the full course of its travail, and realization may yet dawn upon it that its blatant assertion of superiority to other peoples is indefensible and unjust.

Britain's attitude towards India in this great crisis is most unfortunate. We have had a surfeit of

official declarations on the country's political goal. Even Dominion Status is offered, but the offer is so thoroughly pruned that what would actually reach our hands is only the stump. Lord Salisbury's speech in the House of Lords in November 1939 on the Indian question was much more outspoken than most of the official pronouncements. He said:

I gather what he (Lord Samuel) meant by Dominion Status was that the Indian Government will have a right, if it pleases, to become independent. If that is his object, what becomes of all the safeguards we discussed in both the Houses of Parliament? Why did we take so much trouble about safeguards if in a year or so Lord Samuel and his friends want to put power in the hands of the Indian Parliament to become independent and sweep away every safeguard which we have carefully prepared and on the strength of which Parliament agreed to the India Act? There is no value in using these phrases like Dominion Status. Whatever the status the essential problems remain the same.

The British Government which at present is anxious to enlist the co-operation of every section of public opinion in this country to redouble its war efforts, is not inclined to be as frank and outspoken as Lord Salisbury. Its desire to introduce reforms may be sincere, but on the question of maintaining its own effective control over the administration it refuses to compromise. The natural outcome of this policy is to alienate all the leading political parties in the country. The Congress prefers to wander in the wilderness as it considers co-operation with an unbending bureaucracy impossible. The Muslim League which wants to strike a hard bargain at the cost of others, finds in the non-compliance with its extravagant communal demands a barrier to co-operation with the Government. The Hindu Mahasabha's collaboration with the authorities is, it is felt, opportunistic and will not outlast the war. Thus, owing to the absence of a firm policy based upon a genuine desire to fulfil the legitimate demands of nationalist India, the Government is deprived of the country's solid support which would have been an asset in the present situation.

The Princes are not worried by any of the considerations which have compelled the great parties in the country to withhold their co-operation from the Government in its war efforts. It is, of course, impossible for them to share the views of the nationalists and keep away from the war. Their subordination to the British Government allows them no option on a question vitally affecting the Paramount Power. Whatever their own predilections, they are compelled to place the entire resources of their States at the disposal of the Government. Non-compliance is unthinkable, and it is a tribute to the wisdom of the Princes that there has not occurred a single instance in which the Government was provoked to take action against a state for disregarding its demand.

Moreover, by their treaties the States are bound to render military aid to the Government. It is true that not all of them have such compacts, but the guarantee of the British Government to protect the Princes from foreign aggression entails upon them the obligation to render every aid to the Government to enable the fulfilment of its undertaking. Today the Princes owe their position and security entirely to the British Government. The disarmament of their States and the deprivation of their international status, besides constituting a serious derogation from their sovereignty, have made them absolutely dependent upon the Paramount Power. Even their internal security is a matter of Imperial concern. And as a *quid pro quo* for preserving the Princes on their thrones and allowing them the enjoyment of an attenuated sovereignty, the Government feels justified in making any demands upon the resources of their



States, "It is indeed an essential duty," says Lee-Warner, "that the protected state should co-operate to the full measure of its resources in repelling a common enemy."

But the great help which the Princes are now rendering to the Government, is not based entirely upon a realization of their obligations and sense of loyalty to the Paramount Power. Their generosity is not altogether the outcome of an altruistic impulse, but is rather due to a keen perception of political opportunity. There are many questions outstanding with the Government on which they set much store. There is, for example, the question of Paramountcy which has all these years successfully evaded definition despite the costly efforts of the Princes. The Princes believe that, by helping the Government in its hour of its need, they will be paving the way for a successful representation of their case. Moreover, there is the vexed question of popular demand for self-government. Could it be that the generous war efforts of the Princes are prompted by a desire to enlist the support of the Government for turning down the demands of the people?

The spirit of emulation is yet another reason for Princely generosity. They are loth to be out-distanced even by the members of their own order in any matter. Describing them Sir Henry Cotton says :

It is impossible to imagine a more sensitive body than our Indian feudatories. They are consumed by petty jealousies among themselves, by questions of precedence, of salutes, of the strength of their armies. The example of one chief is infectious, the others cannot be outdone, and thus they vie with one another in their enthusiastic receptions of the Viceroy on his occasional visits, and in the display of those barbaric attributes of loyalty which are the surest passport for recognition and favour from the Government.

Sir Henry Cotton wrote these words in 1905, but they are as true today as then. Sir Kailas Narayan Haksar is a well-known and enthusiastic supporter of the Princes, who treat him as one of their trusted advisers. In an article written in January 1941, even Sir Kailas was constrained to observe that

during the last forty years or so, the world has witnessed the unedifying spectacle of Rulers of States going all out to strip their compeers in the race for honours and decorations. One has watched with pathetic interest the swelling breasts and gleaming eyes of those who can disport more than one row of miniatures or more than one diamond-studded star, even though the diamonds be self-acquired.

#### LAW STUDENTS.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

May I be allowed to draw the attention of the High Court and the Bar Council to the highly distressing condition of the unsuccessful Advocate's Examination candidates.

The long vacation dropped a curtain over the matter to the painful suspense of the students.

It is clear that these unlucky students cannot go in for the L. L. B. new course since it is very costly for them. They are at the fag end of their studies and yet they cannot get out of it! They are in an awkward fix.

I believe that the Bombay Bar Council is considering recommending one more examination for those students only who have passed in one part in response to the representation from unsuccessful candidates.

They are certain to be congratulated on taking a step like this. Yet a few important suggestions would not be untimely.

First, two more chances and not one only may please be allowed for all unsuccessful candidates.

Secondly, if the Bar Council give one chance as stated above to one part passed candidates only 111 students in all would get a chance to reappear, while the remaining 95 candidates who had to take the risk of appearing for both the parts due to discontinuance of the examination will not be able to avail themselves of this opportunity graciously allowed by the High Court and the Bar Council. Some of these have passed in 5 or 6 subjects even out of 8. The case of these students is no less deserving than that of one-part passed candidates. Their number too, is comparatively not negligible.

In the light of these suggestions I hope the Bar Council and the High Court will extend the advantage of two more chances and not one only, to all candidates whether they pass in one part or fail in two parts.

This granted, the labours and ambition of poor and deserving candidates who have spent precious years of their lives in the study of law will not go unrewarded.

Kolhapur, }  
July 22, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
M. D. KARKHANIS.

#### EDITORS AND PRESS ADVISING.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Standing Committee of the All-India Editors' Conference:—

1. This Committee has heard the statement from the President explaining the developments since its last meeting regarding publication of Mahatma Gandhi's statements. Although the Standing Committee is still of the view that in practical working there should have been no difficulty in implementing the suggestion on the subject put forward by it at its Simla meeting, in view of the difference between the Government and the Standing Committee regarding the interpretation of the resolutions of the Committee and in order to remove any room for doubt or misunderstanding in the future, the Committee suggests the following procedure in respect of all statements and reports from whatever source: "No Editor, whether of a newspaper or a news agency, shall be under any obligation to refer any statement or report to the Press Adviser unless he considers it necessary to do so. In the event of the Government, whether Central or Provincial, holding publication of any matter by a newspaper or a news agency to be in any manner objectionable, the matter shall, except in cases of grave emergency, be brought before the local Press Advisory Committee and a warning issued, if necessary, thereafter. The Committee urges that no penal action should be taken without consultation with the Press Advisory Committee and that, only in cases of deliberate and systematic infringement, after preliminary warnings have been conveyed, to the newspaper or the news agency concerned should such action be taken."

2. The Standing Committee recognises that the success of the Advisory system largely depends on a correct mutual understanding of the respective functions and responsibilities of the Government on the one hand and members of the Press on the other; the Standing Committee, therefore, suggests that a uniform system of procedure should be adopted for all meetings of Provincial Press Advisory Committees with representatives of Government where complaints are made against individual newspapers or matters affecting Government's relations with the Press are considered. A senior official should attend all such meetings on behalf of the Government and



after a full and frank discussion in the light of the Gentlemen's Agreement between the two parties, the Committee's views, whether unanimous or divided, should be recorded on any matter brought before it. The Standing Committee expects the Provincial Press Advisory Committees to use their influence with the members of the Press in the Province to build up and maintain the highest traditions of Journalism. To the same end, the Standing Committee is concerned to establish and maintain contacts with Government for the efficient discharge of the responsibilities of the Press and expects Government to make this task easy by impressing on its representatives the need to show active sympathy and goodwill in its relations with the Press.

#### GOVERNMENT'S REPLY.

Resolution No. 1: The Government of India accept this resolution in the spirit in which they believe it was intended. The success of the Advisory System, in their opinion, depends on the extent to which each party is prepared voluntarily to seek the advice of the other; thus, while it is recognised that Editors and news agencies on the one hand should continue to possess full discretion in the matter of seeking press advice, it is hoped that, in practice, they will avail themselves freely of the opportunities for such advice which the system provides. On the other hand, it is felt that Governments (both Central and Provincial) should be left an equally full discretion in the matter of giving Press advice and of taking action against offending papers on the understanding that, in practice, they will observe the spirit of Resolution

No. 5 passed at the February meeting and avoid arbitrary or precipitate action, by making full use of their Advisory Committees and of preliminary warning whenever the circumstances render it possible to do so. In fact, to adopt the language of the first resolution passed by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference on November 10th, 1940, the Government of India believe that from the point of view of the Press, the results they seek are best achieved by a policy of trust and co-operation instead of by imperative directions. If the Committee agrees, the Government of India will proceed on this basis, regarding resolutions Nos. 1 and 4 of the February meeting as formally cancelled, and will request Provincial Governments to proceed on similar lines.

Resolution No. 2: The Government of India entirely endorse the views expressed and the recommendations made in this resolution and will communicate it officially to Provincial Governments with the request that they will do all they can to reciprocate. The Government of India welcome in particular the suggestion that a uniform system of procedure should be adopted for all meetings of Provincial Press Advisory Committees which they believe should be based on the actual procedure that has been found to work successfully in certain provinces. If the practice of oral discussion and prompt decision can be satisfactorily established, the Government of India themselves can imagine few circumstances in which it should not be possible for Governments to consult their Advisory Committees before taking action against the Press.

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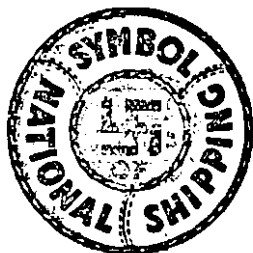
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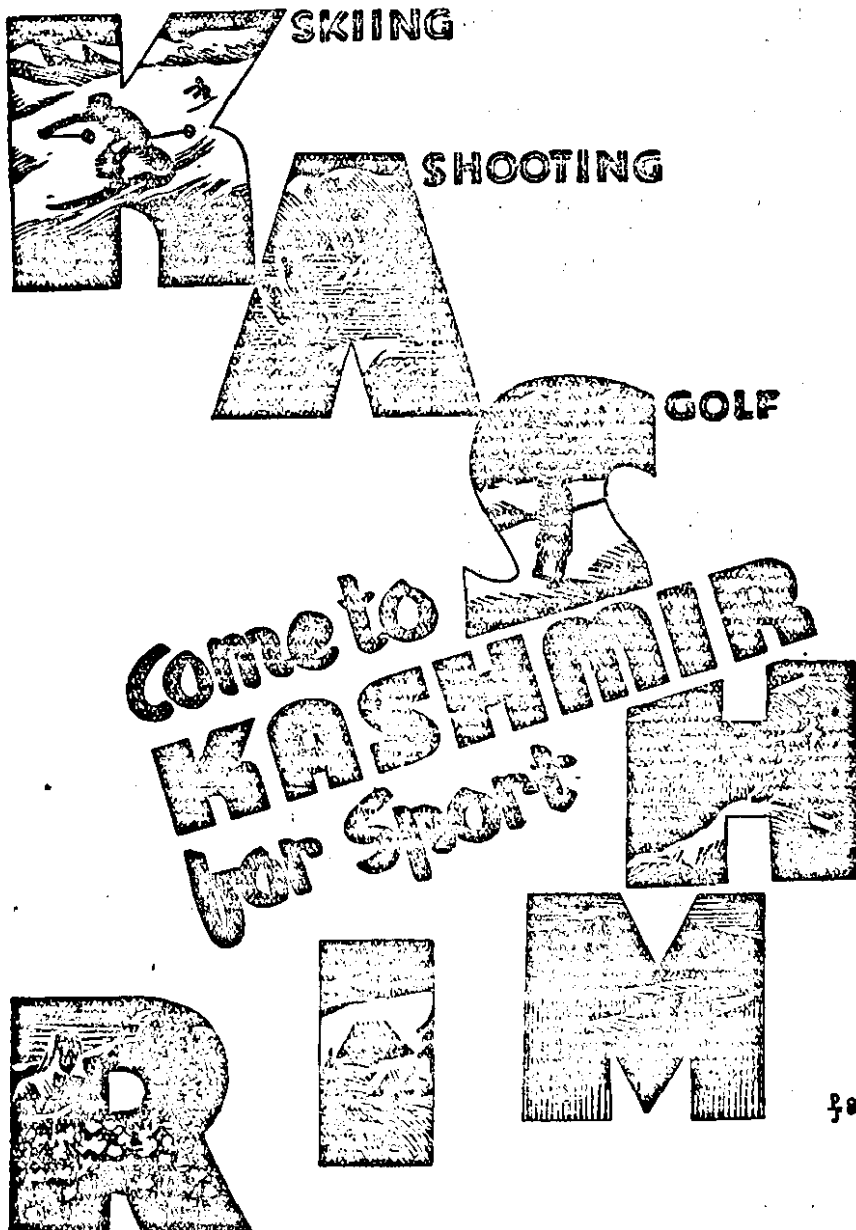
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## NOTES.

**Hindu Law Committee:**—In our last reference to the Report of the Hindu Law Committee we suggested that it would simplify the task of codifying Hindu Law if the Committee took up the part relating to marriage first instead of succession as it had proposed. No question of succession could arise until marriage had become established as an institution. But the method adopted by the Committee has reduced the difficulties attendant on the reversal of this natural order to a minimum. The Committee has taken up first not the whole subject of succession but only that part of it relating to male succession on which there is more scope for agreement than for controversy. In the first memorandum issued, the Committee accepts the seven main relations in the order of succession to a Hindu and for the rest suggests the broad lines on which the order of succession may be easily determined. Even a layman can, the Committee thinks, without difficulty find out where he stands by applying its rules. We are afraid that this is rather optimistic. The Committee has done its best to clarify the meaning of the rules by illustrations from hypothetical cases; still we are not quite able to follow the illustrations and we can think of some cases which the illustrations do not cover. Propinquity to the dead owner is made the test. But, on the whole, the rules of the Committee are sufficient for practical purposes. An important point to be noted is that in the determination of propinquity the old distinction between agnates and cognates is dispensed with. A descendant of a daughter will take precedence over the descendant of a grandson as the latter is more remote than the former. This is in conformity with the principle, which the Committee indicates as that which will govern its treatment of the next and more controversial subject of female heirs. The principle which the Committee thinks it is now time to accept, is "that no woman shall be disqualified for succession merely by reason of her sex."

This will be the starting-point of the next memorandum which will be on the subject of female succession.

**Sir Jagadish Prasad's Advice to Young Men:**—Sir Jagadish Prasad who is so important a member of the Sapru Conference that organisers have to arrange the seating on the dais at its sessions so as to give the appearance of there being two presidents with equal powers, finds the atmosphere of Poona peculiarly congenial. After the other members had dispersed, Sir Jagadish stayed on at Poona and addressed students' gatherings in that city. Sir Jagadish's main theme is that Indians should join the army in large numbers. But the reasons he gives for this arise from very mixed motives. The worst, perhaps, is the hidden threat that those communities which abstain from joining, would be at a disadvantage. Sir Jagadish has not yet shaken off the official in him to the point of identifying himself with the people, and his speech last Thursday to the students of Wadia College bears painful evidence of the two worlds between which Sir Jagadish finds himself. For example,

We are profoundly ignorant of the military problems of our country, because we had no inside knowledge of them. If Indians attempted to offer suggestions they are sneered at as arm-chair politicians.

Sir Jagadish told the students that if they joined the army they would gain in personal habits and indirectly benefit the country. "There was," he is reported to have said, "a certain slovenliness in the young men, doing things in a leisurely, insufficient way, without sufficient attention to details and with a certain lack of precision and self-devotion to the work in hand." If the country cannot be converted into one vast civil service, let it at least be turned into an army that there might be efficiency. When Sir Jagadish has in the past pleaded for the youth of India becoming war-minded, it is apparently regimentation of ideas and actions that he has been really wanting. In any other country the patriotic part of the speech would have dealt with the defence needs of the country. Sir Jagadish, however, contented himself with a harrowing picture of what Nazi domination would mean to India.

**Race Antagonism:**—Sir Jagadish Prasad came very near the heart of the subject when he said that the exclusion of Indians from the higher ranks of the army had created racial antagonism. Only he had confused cause and effect.



The position of negroes in the U. S. army is not dissimilar to that of Indians in the Empire forces and, as it is easier to achieve detachment in someone else's difficulties, we might usefully consider their case. At the outset of the war, there were indications that American negroes were demanding equality with American whites. Exclusion from higher ranks places an invidious ban on those excluded and it is generally evidence of many more discriminations between persons of equal rank in matters of pay and allowances. President Roosevelt's recent call to Americans to rise superior to racial prejudice in organising for defence bears out the view that race discrimination is the cause of exclusion from high office and not its effect. In India itself, men like Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah and Dr. Jivraj Mehta have pointed out discrimination against India and Indians in spheres of life with which they are familiar. The Indian army is generally a closed book so far as most Indians are concerned. But there is a tendency on the part of Indians, educated or otherwise, to assume that there must be graver discrimination just because in the army the light of Indian public opinion does not brighten the darker side. Moreover, it is not easy to forget that even in the smaller task of reorganising the police in Bombay a vigorous Congress Minister like Mr. K. M. Munshi was forced to acquiesce in certain distinctions that he found between Indian and European. Indian publicists, in the circumstances, are naturally reluctant to commend a field which has remained unaffected by the main currents of Indian life. We had hoped that some at any rate of the editors who had been sent to Egypt and to Singapore, would be able to throw light on the overseas aspect of the subject. But for some mysterious reason they have all been singularly silent about their visits and none of them has apparently felt any inclination to explain the conditions in which Indians serve abroad.

**The "New Statesman" on India :—**We quoted last week the *Spectator's* dictum "India must be stripped." It is but fair to say that there is a section of British opinion opposed to this view. The *New Statesman and Nation* is an organ of independent opinion with a leaning towards Socialism. It was founded by Sydney Webb, and Gokhale in the early days did much to recommend it to the Indian public. Since then it has not followed a consistent policy in Indian affairs. But it is now taking a definite line and its articles on India are characterised by justice and sympathy. In a leading article in its issue of the 10th May, the day after the *Spectator's* plea for stripping India, the *New Statesman* criticised severely the wrong-headed policy which Britain was pursuing in this country. Here is a passage :

Since India has been allowed few officers, and since the mass of Indians are not fighting men, they (the British) are accustomed to feel contempt for threats of Indian revolt. They can always buy

enough Indians to carry on the administration. India's poverty ensures that labour will be forthcoming for the war factories, and Indian capitalists are usually willing enough to produce goods for which we will pay. Nothing could be more short-sighted. The policy of seeking always the friendship of Moslems has been disastrous as we have seen in the Near East where Hitler's propaganda has made positive and more attractive offers. German propaganda today is immensely active not only throughout the Near East but also in India. Germany can point to 150 years of British rule, and, ignoring the positive assets that Britain has brought to India, can point out that the mass of Indians are abjectly poor, that 92 per cent of them are still illiterate and that by and large Britain has used India as a country for investment, from which she still draws 50 millions in interest alone each year, and treats her as a colony to be administered by civil servants whose pensions the Indian people pay. That British policy has been set upon the road to Indian freedom since 1919 is less likely to be stressed in German propaganda. It is also likely to be ignored by many Indian listeners, who are only aware of the simple fact that their leaders are in gaol and that India has been dragged into a war in which she has no obvious interest.

**German Propaganda:—**The quotation is lengthy but there are some points in it which should arouse serious thought in Indian minds. The most prominent of these is the remark of the *New Statesman* about the pro-Muslim policy of Britain. The Muslim countries of the Middle East which Britain had helped liberally for whatever reason, and which, she had hoped, would recognise moral if not legal obligations to help the British, have failed to do so under one pretext or another. British statesmen for reasons of their own have put a pleasant face over this failure but American commentators have been quite frank about it. The *New Statesman's* remark is about the first to appear in a responsible English review. As the Muslim League has been referring to other Muslim countries as a background for its claims, it is natural that the behaviour of the latter should react on the position of the Muslim League. The secession of a few prominent members is much less important to the League than the change in British public opinion indicated by the remark of the *New Statesman*. The facts about India under a century and a half of British rule are well known to Indians and German propaganda is not needed to enlighten them. British propaganda does not question them but insists that the condition of India would be much worse under the Nazis. Indian leaders now in gaols would be much worse off in German concentration camps. Large doses of castor oil may be administered to them instead of the morning tea if the Fascists got control of India. The prospect of Dominion status, remote as it is, would vanish altogether if Nazi or Fascist ruled the country instead of the British. The Indian public and a section of eminent leaders have accepted these arguments at their face value. The Sapru Conference demands, therefore, that Indians should be given full control of Defence policy in order to avert these calamities. The *New Statesman's* fears about German propaganda are very much exaggerated. There is very little of it and

few people nowadays listen in to German radio talks which besides are effectively jammed.

**Petrol Rationing:**—Much has been written since Government's decision was first announced about the petrol rationing system which comes into operation today. The logic of the argument that it has got to be done, is final and nobody shows any inclination to question the rationing itself. There have been, however, appeals for a generous grant of supplementary rations which it is difficult to appreciate. The basic ration is something every car-owner is entitled to; the supplementary rations will depend largely on Government's acceptance of the applicant's claims to serve the community. There is a wide field of patronage thrown open which will lead to corruption. When Government's decision is to be taken by some petty official, one realizes the difficulties which inhere to the system. The supplementary ration system lends itself to all manner of fraud. In all reason, the extra allowance cannot exceed the basic ration itself, otherwise the plea that petrol supplies have to be conserved becomes ludicrous. Nor does it do any credit to the brain which conceived of 200 miles per month as the basic ration for a country like India. There is no explanation for this figure except that British officialdom, moved by sympathy for Britain which has adopted it as the basic ration, decided that as a dependency India should adopt a similar self-denial in a spirit of *couvade*. But, if the rationing is taken seriously and the motoring public in self-sacrifice accepted the basic ration and did not ask for more, officialdom would feel as well as look foolish. The care with which the public is told of liberal administration of the system, and the obscurity in which any principle involved is hid, does not inspire confidence in the scheme and its working. The measure depends on its success on the supplementary rations, not on the basic ration. In one word, patronage. There is uncertainty as to the basis on which extra gallons will be allowed—whether it will be, as the basic ration is based, on the car itself, or on the number of persons who use the car. The best safeguard against abuses of the system that we can think of, is publicity. If the supplementary rations granted and the names of men to whom they are given are published, then public opinion will provide a ready corrective. The petrol ration scheme bears a strange likeness to the Bombay Congress Government's liquor permit scheme. Probably that was why opinion in Bombay is general that Bombay will administer it in a more liberal spirit than other provinces.

**Mr. Hodson in Bombay:**—Mr. H. V. Hodson, Reforms Commissioner with the Government of India, paid a visit to Bombay early this month and it was reported in a carefully-worded para in the *Times of India* that he had left after having discussed with officials and non-officials of different shades of opinion, problems connected with the framing of the future constitution of India after the end of the war. It seems to be

very much a case of an official finding work for himself. So far as the future constitution is concerned, it is optimistic, to say the least, for discussions to be started on it now when nobody knows when the war will end. Mr. Amery, moreover, has repeatedly argued that the new constitution was purely the concern of Indians and no more than a helping hand could be expected from the British. Apparently this was not seriously meant, since Mr. Hodson has come down specially on this job with the authority of the Secretary of State and is not improbably vigorously canvassing support for some scheme he has in mind. As Mr. Amery has been throwing out hints in the direction of an irremovable executive and a legislature built on functional representation, it is not difficult to guess in what way Mr. Hodson's mind works. This writer had an opportunity of meeting Mr. Hodson in the days when he was not an official, shortly after the Munich Pact, and the impression he had gained was that Mr. Hodson looked on every crisis as an opportunity for strengthening and even extending the British Empire and Britain's influence to the exclusion, if not to the detriment, of all other interests. That in the intervening months Mr. Hodson should have moved from the periphery to the centre of Indian politics is not reassuring. His activities in India are so much wasted effort. His real field of work would, if we might make the suggestion, lie somewhere in the Middle East where effective presentation of Britain's case is sorely needed. His experience in India, short though it has been, will stand him in good stead as there too he will have a great Muslim population to consider.

**Lord Willingdon:**—Lord Willingdon whose death took place this week came to India as Governor of Bombay. He was an obscure member of Parliament sitting with the Liberals. From Bombay he went on to Madras as its Governor. From Madras he was sent to Canada as Governor-General but returned to India at the expiry of his term there, as Viceroy. Thus the greater part of his official career was in India serving the Empire and drawing high emoluments for doing so from the Indian taxpayer. In his own way he tried also to advance Indian progress. During the last war he wrote to Mr. Lloyd George urging that a step should be taken to put India on an equality with the Dominions. The admission of India to the Imperial Conference and to the international conferences which followed the war, was the result of his intervention. When he came to India as Viceroy he declared more than once his hope to become a constitutional Viceroy, as in Canada, before the end of his term. He was no doubt sincere but circumstances were too much for him; and he was not the man to grapple with circumstances. He worked to bring about closer intercourse between Indians and Englishmen through the race-course, sports clubs and such other mechanical means. He was a well-meaning man anxious to do what he could to help India without sacrificing his own comfort.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 16, 1941.

## TAGORE AND THE NOBEL PRIZE.

The eightieth birthday of Rabindra Nath Tagore fell on the 7th May. The *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* brought out that month a special number containing exhaustive chronological notes of the principal events in the Poet's life. By including his writings among the events, the *Gazette* supplied to some extent the background of the Poet's personal and family life which surely played a larger part in moulding his ideas than the appreciations of him published before and since his death indicate. The Tagore Birthday number of the *Visvabharathi Quarterly* contains several interesting studies of the Poet's work from different aspects by writers of considerable ability and distinction. The special numbers of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* and *Visvabharathi Quarterly*, together form a valuable record indispensable to future biographers of the Poet. In his fine appreciation in the *Quarterly* of the Poet several of whose compositions were first published in his *Modern Review*, Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee corrects some wrong impressions regarding the Poet's work. One of these is that none of the Poet's works were translated into English prior to the "Gitanjali." Mr. Chatterjee says that he was responsible for persuading the Poet reluctantly to let his thoughts appear in an English garb. When Mr. Chatterjee first suggested to him the idea of translating some of his writings into English, Tagore playfully put him off by quoting a verse from his own writings: "On what pretext shall I now call back her to whom I bade adieu in tears?" But, as Mr. Chatterjee observes, "his genius and the English muse would not let him off so easily." The suggestion worked. Mr. Chatterjee was one day shown some English translations by the Poet. The first English translations of the Poet's works appeared in the *Modern Review* in 1911. The influence of Mr. Chatterjee's suggestion did not cease with the publication of the translations in the *Modern Review*. It led the Poet to produce the English Gitanjali, the manuscript of which he took to London and showed to Rothenstein and other English literary friends. Gitanjali was published and the Nobel Prize awarded in 1913. The Poet heard the West calling and his resistance gave way.

The other impression which Mr. Chatterjee corrects, is that Tagore's genius was not recognised before he won the Nobel Prize. Mr. Chatterjee says that this is true only as regards "outside Bengal" but not of Bengal. The Poet was honoured in Bengal before he was awarded the Nobel Prize. Mr. Chatterjee writes with singular knowledge of the facts of the Poet's literary career and his statement is, of course, to be accepted. But the Poet himself in replying to the address presented

to him by the citizens of Calcutta, congratulating him on the Nobel award, replied with some asperity rebuking most of them who had come for "having waited to recognise him till the West had acknowledged his poetry in this striking manner." (*Municipal Gazette*). Even in Bengal the award did much to hush the voice of criticism which, according to another contributor to this birthday number, "threatened to engulf him in the earlier half of his career." The Poet himself, according to this contributor, was depressed at being chosen for the prize. Professor K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar writes:

The award and the lionising by the public that it led to, really depressed him. He was utterly sincere when he remarked: "I shall never get any peace again. I shall be worried with appeals, all kinds of people will be writing to me. My heart sank when I saw those people at Bombay and realized that they were going to make a public show of me there."

There was a simple way out of the difficulty. The Poet might have refused the prize and refused to be made a show of by his Bombay admirers. He did not do this, because he again and again had declared his repudiation of "renunciation" which, from ancient times, has been the keynote of Indian culture. "Deliverance," Tagore had sung, "is not for me in renunciation, I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight." Professor Iyengar suggests that Tagore's acceptance was itself an act of self-abnegation in the interests of his country. "The Nobel Prize put him—and through him modern India—on the map of world literature."

The Nobel Prize would seem to have influenced him in a curious way. It made him acutely conscious of the capability of India to produce writers and thinkers of his type whom the West delighted to honour. But the West had no qualms about holding India in subjection. Intellectual equality with the West, made the political inferiority of his nation the more galling to his spirit. Tagore began to take closer interest in politics. His criticisms of Western civilisation and British rule in India became uncompromising. He could see no bright spots anywhere in them. In striking disregard of his repudiation of renunciation, he sought the joy of renunciation by surrendering the title and insignia of knighthood which the British Government had conferred on him. When he visited England in 1920 he was surprised "and not a little pained at the 'studied aloofness' on the part of several English friends and admirers who had resented his outspoken comments on the character of British rule in India and the renunciation of his knighthood." The Poet was not a politician and he was often misled. He could not find his bearings in this alien sphere and, after a brief but vigorous struggle against some of its extravagances, he helplessly settled down to drift with the current. Once at least, in the case of the Communal Award, he had publicly to recant his expressed opinion. In his contribution on the

Poet's novels and short stories in the *Visva-bharati Quarterly*, Professor S. K. Banerjee writes of "the downward grade" being more pronounced in Tagore's later productions. Whether this tendency was the consequence of the subtle reaction in the Poet's political views and his attitude to western civilization, we cannot say. The recognition which in Tagore's case, and in that of others, Europe has ungrudgingly accorded to the achievements of non-Europeans individually makes the general European attitude to Oriental nations as being incapable of governing themselves, untenable. Professor W. E. Hocking in his "The Spirit of World Politics" gives pointed expression to this incongruity. He writes :

Nations presenting a case for independence will, always and justly, point to their men of intellectual eminence. It is an event of first rate importance for national India when a Nobel Prize is conferred on a physicist of her own breeding ( Sir C. V. Raman ).

#### RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

(BY PROFESSOR P. A. WADIA, BOMBAY).

In the death of Tagore it is not India alone that has lost one of her greatest sons; it is humanity that mourns the passing away of one who contributed by his thought and work to the building up of the temple where men could come to worship whatsoever things are beautiful and noble and of good report, irrespective of birth and caste and creed. Born in a family which had all the traditions of learning and artistic talents of Bengali heritage, he had opportunities of contacts with the West, not only through his early education but through a stay in England in his youth, and through his later visits to Europe and America. A poet by nature, a rebel against the conventional and the commonplace, he retained to his last years the vision and imagination which in most of us fade out with advancing age, and which have legitimately entitled him to the pre-eminent position that he occupied as a poet, a philosopher, and an interpreter of the soul of India. Nay more—Tagore more than any other son of India, will remain, and increasingly as the years roll on, the prophet of an age that has witnessed the shrinking of the earth's proportions and brought the denizens of the most distant lands into a neighbourhood that should make the dull-witted and the self-centred alike cease asking the question, 'Who is my neighbour?'

Shantiniketan was Tagore's great lifework, the living embodiment of all his ideals and dreams that he set forth for the uplifting of a weary world in his poetry and philosophy. And this monumental creation of his dreams points out to humanity the way to the increasing realisation of a new social order that alone can save humanity from the chaos in which it is engulfed. It stands for the unification of the human race, the meeting-place of the differentiated cultures and traditions of nations and races, where all that is great in human thought can enter into a living exchange of ideas and ideals, where differences of colour and creed can be subordinated and effaced in the co-operative pursuit of truth, where the aggressive and self-seeking pursuits of daily life might be replaced by a living fellowship of men and women absorbed in garnering and promoting the best and the highest creative products of art and thought. But more than this, Shantiniketan stands for a way of life that humanity needs

more than ever today when a process of commercialisation poisons to the roots the dearest possessions of the human soul. Man today needs more than ever an education and a social environment that contact with the air and sunlight and god-given earth alone can provide. Consider the lily of the field, it spins not, neither does it toil, and yet Solomon in all his glory was not like unto one of these. To see the laws of nature reproduced in our human relationships has been the dream of the poets and the prophets all down the stream of human history. The poet longs for it, idealist exponents of anarchism plead for it, and ever and anon political thinkers preach it in the vein of a Jean Jacques Rousseau. The complexities of civilised life, the drab, soul-killing atmosphere of modern urbanised civilisation which tends to reduce men to standardised commodities, stand contrasted with the life for which Shantiniketan stands, a life in the midst of birds and flowers, a life in the open air, where the contractual relations of industrial bargains are unknown, where birds and flowers are free from morbid anxieties for the morrow, where men can escape from the bitter struggle of economic existence, and can hope to transform that existence into the likeness of nature so that the interchange of human services can be as spontaneous and devoid of selfishness as the rise and fall of ocean tides and the perfume of sweet-smelling flowers. This is the message of Shantiniketan which will live through the ages; it has been the message of his works, his writings, his poetry; and though in later generations the resuscitated forest academy may become atrophied through the loss of life-giving blood, the ideal of the institution, like the best of his creative work in literature, will permeate the thought and mould the lives of the generations to come.

#### ✓ PRINCES, STATES PEOPLES AND THE WAR. ✓

(BY SRIVATSA)

Whatever may be the motives of the Princes, it is a fact that large sums of money from the States are steadily pouring into the war chest. According to a press message dated 7th July 1941, gifts of money by the States as contributions to the war effort during the period from April 1940 to April 1941 totalled Rs. 2,29,76,000 non-recurring and Rs. 37,61,000 recurring. These figures do not, of course, take into account the money spent by the States for the enlargement and reorganization of their forces, which have been unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government and which are being freely employed at the cost of the States' revenues.

This enormous expenditure of money for war purposes is made by the Princes in the name of certain high-sounding and familiar ideals, which they have not cared to apply to their own governments. We are told that the present war is being waged to make liberty and democracy safe in the world. The Allies, we are assured, are out on a holy crusade against the Huns of Europe and the totalitarian tyranny of the Italo-German dictators. Many thinking persons are not quite sure in their minds for what purpose the present war is being waged, and it is, therefore, a little amusing to listen to the effusions of some of our Princes on Britain's war aims.

Notwithstanding their generous donations to the war fund and their eloquent support to the war effort, the Princes cannot be indifferent to the fact that the money they so freely gift away, belongs to their subjects and that they themselves are guilty of the faults with which they arraign the Axis Powers. I do not forget that as feudatories they have to discharge their obligations to the

Paramount Power, but it is unfair and unjust to dispose of the resources of their States without taking their people into confidence.

The issue is plain enough. The money contributed by the Princes is derived from their people and it is in the fitness of things that they should be consulted as to the manner and extent of its disposal. It is wrong for the Princes to assume that they have sole and undivided rights of ownership over the resources of their States. Such claims are no longer tenable. The States' people are now fully conscious of their rights. The anticipations of the joint authors of the Montford Report that "hopes and aspirations may overleap frontier lines like sparks across a street" have come true. It is true that public opinion in the States is not yet sufficiently organised to make itself felt, but it certainly is not the path of wisdom for the Princes altogether to ignore its existence.

Effective popular control over public revenues is impossible without the introduction of responsible government in the States. But the prospect of sharing power with their subjects is most repugnant to the generality of the Princes. In whichever State such a demand has been made, it has invariably been met with rifles. For long the Princes are accustomed to treat themselves as the State itself and feel that any measure designed to associate their people with the administration is tantamount to the permanent loss of their authority. But by holding such views the Princes expose themselves to all the reproach which is heaped on the heads of the Western dictators. They cannot serve the cause of freedom by denying it to their own people. They forfeit the right to accuse the Axis Powers as aggressive when their own attitude towards their subjects is no better. Surely, it is unwise for them to point out the mote in others' eyes, ignoring the beam in their own.

Unfortunately, the Paramount Power has not helped the Princes to get a correct view of their position on the question of introducing responsible government in the States. There seems to be a widespread feeling among the Princes that they are under no obligation to confer self-government upon their people. The Paramount Power, while reserving to itself the right of undefined intervention in the internal affairs of the States, has in no single instance intervened on behalf of the people on the specific issue of granting self-government to them. It is, of course, too much to expect the Government to do so, as it also has remained most unresponsive to popular demand in British India. Moreover, the introduction of a better system of governance in the States than in British India is apt to affect the prestige of the Government with its ugly consequences. Of course, we have had no dearth of pronouncements from high quarters urging the Princes to improve their administrations, but such advice is most ineffective, firstly, because it is not mandatory, and, secondly, because no one knows the extent to which the State governments could be made responsive to popular demand.

Owing to this uncertain and ambiguous attitude of the British Government, certain advisers to the Princes have thought it proper to raise constitutional issues on the question of introducing self-government in the States, with a view presumably to overwhelm the States people with clever arguments. Speaking at the Sri Mulam Assembly of Travancore on 2nd February 1938, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, the Dewan of the State, said that "legally, it is not possible without the active concurrence of the British Government for the Ruler to divest himself of his undivided authority and jurisdiction over the governance of his State in favour of any other authority." One does not know whether the

constitutional theory enunciated by the Travancore Dewan is acceptable to the Princes of India. If it is, they will then have to retrace all the steps they took on the question of their sovereignty when submitting their case to the Butler Committee.

In the joint opinion, submitted by Sir Leslie Scott and his colleagues to the Butler Committee on behalf of the Princes, it was stated that "the Indian States today possess all original sovereign powers except in so far as any have been transferred to the Crown." The Counsel was emphatic that paramountcy did not confer upon the British Government "an unlimited reservoir of discretionary authority over the Indian States" but that it was strictly confined to such rights as were expressly ceded to it by the States. Arguing that the Government's rights of paramountcy were limited to the conduct of the States' foreign relations and the protection of the Princes and their successors from external and internal dangers, the Council contended thus:

We can find no justification for saying that the rights of the Crown in its capacity as Paramount Power extend beyond these matters. The true test of the legality of any claim by the Crown, based on paramountcy, to interference in the internal sovereignty of a State must, we think, be found in the answer to the following question, Is the act which the Crown claims to do, necessary for the purpose of exercising the rights or fulfilling the obligations of the Crown in connection with foreign relations and external and internal security? If the claim be tested in this way, its legality or otherwise should be readily ascertainable.

If the above exposition of the Princes' case is to be accepted as authoritative, the conferring of responsible government upon the States people is entirely within the competence of their Rulers and the Paramount Power has no manner of concern with the question.

Let us now briefly consider the Government's attitude to the question. Speaking in Parliament on 21st February 1938 on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton said that the consent of the Paramount Power had not been required before any constitutional reforms were introduced by the rulers. In a written statement the Under-Secretary of State for India declared on 16th December 1938 that "the Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by the Rulers." Yet another declaration was made in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary for India on 6th April 1939. It reads thus:

The policy indicated in the reply on December 16, 1938 does not imply and is not to be taken to imply that the Paramount Power would recognise a Ruler as having endowed any constitutional body which he may create with a greater degree of authority than that which he himself is recognized as possessing. No State would be regarded as relieved of its obligations to the Paramount Power by the fact that the Ruler divested himself of the control necessary to discharge them and the Paramount Power would remain free to take such steps as might be required to ensure their fulfilment.

Although the last-quoted pronouncement seems less plain than the other two, it is only intended to remind the Princes of their obligations to the Paramount Power and of their disability to confer upon their people more powers than they themselves possess. Despite these unequivocal declarations of the Government's intentions, the Princes' attitude to their people's demands has undergone no change. The fact is that the undefined nature of their relations with the Paramount Power and the refusal of the latter to put a limit to its right of paramountcy are not calculated to smoothen the path of responsible government in the States. Moreover, as I have



already stated, the Government's views on the necessity for internal reform are not intended to be enforced, and, so long as the initiative on such a vital question is left entirely in the hands of the Princes, the problem becomes almost insoluble.

But it is manifestly unjust to deprive the States people of the benefits of self-government owing to the accident of their subjection to Princely rule. It is really inconsequential whether the Paramount Power or the Princes have plenary jurisdiction in the States, so long as there is no bar to the introduction of responsible government in them. As Professor Keith rightly observes, it is impossible for the Crown's advisers to contend that the States people shall be denied the rights of Indians in the Provinces, and it is their clear duty to secure that the Princes shall enter upon constitutional reforms resulting in responsible government. Then alone would the introduction of an all-India federation become practical politics.

The war is no bar to the introduction of responsible government in the States, although efforts are reported to have been made in some to put off the "evil day" under the pretext of war emergency. The States are being called upon to make greater sacrifices for the war, and no Ruler, however competent, can shoulder the increased responsibilities of government unaided. Moreover, he will be invested with better authority to utilize the resources of his State for war purposes by introducing responsible government and by associating popular representatives with the administration. Should the Princes be reminded at this hour of the day that the slogan "No taxation without representation" was made the basis of the American War of Independence?

#### MR. AMERY AND INDIAN TECHNICAL SKILL.

(BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, CHIDAMBARAM)

Welcoming on behalf of His Majesty's Government on the 19th May last, the Bevin boys—50 Indian technicians who left our country for technical training in Great Britain—Mr. L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, indulged himself in the following observation:—

"You have come to the oldest and the most highly developed centre of engineering skill in the world in order to acquire for yourself and take back for the benefit of your fellow-workers in India all you can learn from our methods in British industry."

These lines set me musing; and, as a student of antiquity, my thoughts wandered to the distant past when India possessed high technical skill in many fields of human activity.

While I am not oblivious of the defect in comparing things of the past with those of the present, I cannot help mentioning that India possessed till the 19th century technical skill of a high order so as to stand favourable comparison with that of any other country in the world, in the fields of architecture, pottery, jewellery, weaving, carving wood and ivory, ship-building, manufacture of outlery, the smelting and tempering of steel—to mention a few outstanding examples.

Let me confine my attention to iron and steel. Iron was known to the Indians as early as the Vedic age; and iron weapons have been discovered in the sites of later Neolithic Man. The excavations, conducted by Dr. K. N. Puri in the Jaipur State, reveal that "the settlement at Rairh—a small village in Jaipur State about 16 miles south-east of Nawai Railway Station—a Tatanagar of 2000 years ago, was an important industrial centre, specialising in

iron tools" which is confirmed by "the presence of numerous smithies and furnaces and large quantities of iron refuse and slug spread all over the area."

"The tools with which the Egyptians covered their obelisks and the temples of porphyry and syenite with hieroglyphics were made of Indian steel."

It is recorded by Quintus Curtius that a present of steel weighing about thirty pounds was made by Porus to Alexander the Great; and it has been pertinently remarked that it would not have been considered a worthy present acceptable to the greatest conqueror of the age, if its manufacture had been known to the nations of the Western World.

The Iron Pillar at Delhi, perhaps manufactured by the welding process, is a marvel of engineering skill and the despair of even modern highly developed foundries established on scientific lines. The wind and the weather had no effect on it and there is no trace of any rust in spite of its exposure during these fifteen centuries or thereabouts. India can be rightly proud of such skill—now, alas, lying dormant!

It is relevant to consider here how the West fared in this field. "That iron could be converted into cast-steel by fusing it in a closed vessel in contact with carbon was a discovery made by Mr. D. Mushet about the year 1800."

It was only in 1825 that Mr. Charles Mackintosh took out a patent for converting iron steel by "exposing it to the action of carburated hydrogen gas in a closed vessel, at a very high temperature, by which means the process of conversion is completed in a few hours;" whereas, according to the old methods it took 14 to 20 days.

In 1837, the Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain addressed a letter to the Governor of Madras requesting information on the subject of *woolz*—Gujarati name for steel—and, in response to this appeal, Mr. J. M. Heath, former superintendent of the Iron Works at Porto Novo (South Arcot Dist., Madras Presidency) sent a valuable report on the Indian process of manufacture of steel along with specimens—48 of quartz and 52 of oxide of iron.

The report says: "The furnace or bloomery, in which the ore is smelted, is from three to five feet high from the surface of the ground; and the ground is hollowed out beneath it to the depth of from eight inches to a foot.....The blast is supplied by two bellows, each made of a single goat's skin, with a bamboo nozzle."

The process of forging the iron bars is performed by sinking the blooms in a small charcoal furnace, and by repeated heating and hammering to free it as much as possible from the vitrified and reduced oxide of iron; and he adds that it is from this unpromising material that Indian steel is always made and, "were an English manufacturer of steel to be told that cast steel of excellent quality could be made from such iron, he would treat this assertion with great contempt."

Dr. Buchanan in his travels in the South of India remarked that the Indian process of steel manufacture combined the principles of Mushet (1800) and that of Mackintosh (1825). The Indian steel-maker converted iron into steel by fusing it with what he calls 'medicine' and it consisted of dried wood and green leaves. By this process "iron was converted into cast steel by the natives of India in two hours and a half with an application of heat that in this country (England) would be considered quite inadequate to produce such an effect, while, at Sheffield, it required at least four hours to smelt blistered steel in wind furnaces of the

best construction." He concludes that "it appears then that the claim of India to a discovery which has exercised more influence on the arts conducive to civilization and manufacturing industry than any other nation in the whole range of human inventions, is altogether unquestionable."

These quotations will bear out the truth that when other nations were ignorant of the process, the Indians were familiar with a highly skilful process of steel manufacture from times of great antiquity. And its antiquity is no less astonishing than its ingenuity. It was only after the impetus of the Industrial Revolution and the discoveries of Musket and Mackintosh and the study of the Indian processes that the foundation was laid of Western technical skill. It is by a strange irony of circumstances that Indian technicians have gone to England to learn the secrets of technical skill from Englishmen. A century has made a great change in the history of these countries. While England tried to learn from India the secrets of steel manufacture at the beginning of the nineteenth century, our technicians have now left our shores to learn the new secrets from her. All honour to Mr. Bevin to have done this much of justice—at least at this stage! But, will it not be more appropriate for Mr. Amery to say, "you have come from the oldest and once the most highly developed centre of engineering skill in the world to the newest and the most highly developed centre of modern engineering skill. For various reasons you have neglected or forgotten your skill; or it has been stifled. We give you now new facilities to rise again to a height in keeping with the past and consistent with the need of the present."

#### REFLECTIONS IN LONDON.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Having occasion to drive through London the day after the recent and one of the heaviest air-raids upon the City, I passed in my taxi slowly through scenes of the greatest destruction. The news for days had been bad, we were prepared for worse, that our Anzacs and British troops had not been able to save Greece and Yugo-Slavia, these people whose love of freedom had not been corrupted, and who, though it was no easier for them than for the defeatist neutral countries to stand up to overwhelming odds, did so unflinchingly; the anguish of this thought was inexpressible, even apart from the dread of the news of what the sacrifice had been. And all this because we had not enough airplanes, not enough, not enough.

Weighed down with these sad musings I passed ruin after ruin, wondering if any "missing" living beings were still lying trapped under the debris lying in slow agony. Then I reflected, here were we standing alone and so terribly handicapped in every direction, by the defection of those who should have been our allies, by which, for one thing amongst innumerable others, the Channel ports are all given over to the possession of the enemy, so that he has an enormous advantage in launching his air-attacks on us, only being what we are is it that we are saved from overwhelming disaster. More and more war effort and war material do we want, more and more: we will win in the end, but upon the extent of the help and its rapidity in coming will depend the fate of countless lives.

And then it came upon me like a stab! And there are people in India who refuse to postpone the settlement of their government till after the war, and bargain with the Government that unless they are given the post of responsibility that they want at once, they will not only refrain from making the effort, but will actually do all

they can to hinder such war efforts as are being pursued by the true patriots and these threats they are carrying out. And these people pass themselves as intelligent and humane, and talk a great deal about Love, universal brotherhood, ahimsa, and non-violence, and sympathy with the ideals for which we are fighting. But deeds, not words, are the proofs of sincerity and true-heartedness. Without deeds we are quite unable to believe in their professions or their possession of even common humanity.

Cambridge, }  
April 30th 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
I. J. PITT

[It has always been the Indian plea that what was wanted was "deeds, not words" but because of this Indians have been accused of propagating cults of race hatred and suspiciousness. We are sorry that any people should be reduced to a position similar to that of Indians. If it is any consolation we would point out that, even with the best will in the world, India cannot help in the things that are needed to-day by Britain.—Editor.]

#### MORE HONOURED IN THE BREACH THAN THE OBSERVANCE.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

'A custom more honoured in the breach than the observance' is an English phrase often incorrectly employed. Shakespear's *Hamlet* is its source; but the real meaning of the original is seldom apprehended. The relevant lines in the play run thus:

*Ham*: The King doth wake tonight and take his rouse,  
Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up spring reels,  
And, as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,  
The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out  
The triumph of his pledge.

*Hor*: Is it a custom?

*Ham*: Ay, marry, is it;  
But to my mind, though I am native here  
And to the manner born, it is a custom  
More honour'd in the breach than the observance.  
This heavy-headed revel east and west  
Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations:  
They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase  
Soil our addition.....

Hamlet: Act. 1. Sc. 4.

It is instructive to recall Fowler's remarks in his "Modern English Usage." "Whoever will look up the passage," he observes, "will see that it means beyond a doubt, a custom that one deserves more honour for breaking than for keeping; it is often quoted in the wrong and very different sense of a dead letter or rule more often broken than kept." Simply put, *more* here means *better*, not *often*.

Instances of such misuse are easily multiplied. Gandhiji himself once wrote in the *Harijan*: "The Khadi clause of the Congress constitution is more honoured in the breach than the observance." This use is clearly wrong; and the one that follows is equally incorrect. "The Sarda Act was, till the other day," an orthodox lawyer was heard to say, "more honoured in the breach than the observance." But it would be most correct if any iconoclast were to say, "Many of our rituals are more honoured in the breach than the observance."

Let me add an elegant example. A revered English scholar, at whose blessed feet I was privileged to learn, wrote thus in a private letter: "I should love an occasional line from them; but even that may be a tax on their patience, more honoured in the denial than in the payment. Be it so!"

It is a mild shock for the precise pedagogue to see reputed scribes commit this mistake. I shall be forgiven, I hope, for venturing these lines.

Chidambaram }  
August 6, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
B. NATARAJAN.

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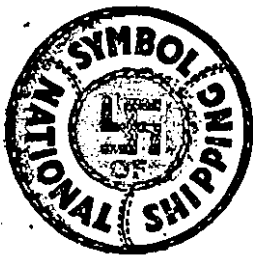
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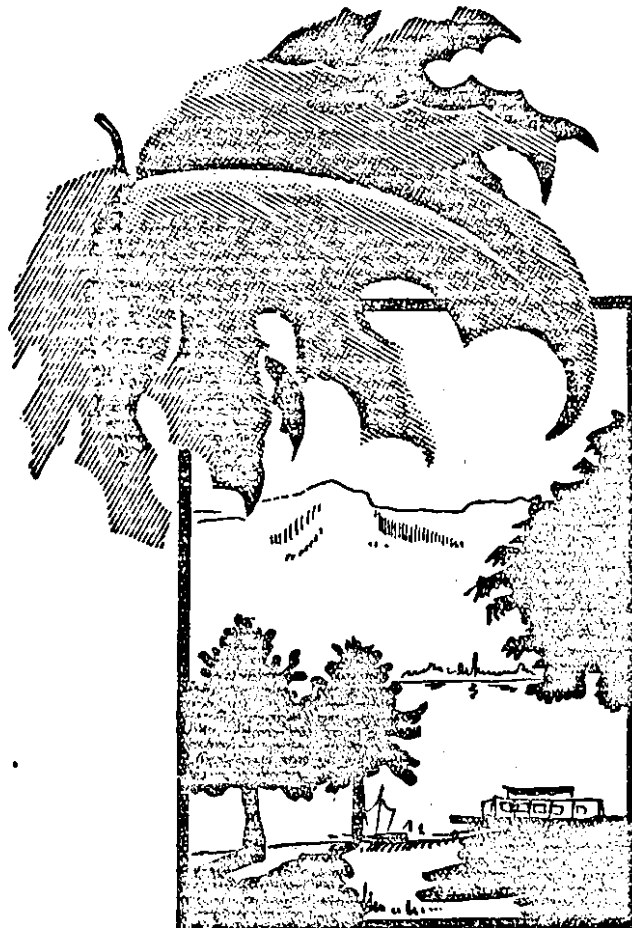
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Indians and Government Service:—**Recently we have had some interesting discussions as to the reasons why Indian medical men were not taking advantage of the openings in the Indian Medical Service due to the Government scheme of Army expansion. Behind and besides the reasons given, there is a distinct aversion to Government service coming over Indian youth which at one time not so long ago was all set towards securing positions in that service. Testimony to this effect comes from Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor of Patna University, who took part in the last *viva voce* examination for the Indian Civil Service. Dr. Sinha on an analysis of the quality of the candidates who appeared before him, finds that "the pick of Indian intellect was not represented at the last examination." When one reads that opinion, one felt strongly inclined to clap for joy. Indian aspirations for self-government have been persistently discredited as being merely a hankering after government jobs. "I half suspect," wrote Lord Morley to Lord Minto, "that what they (Indians) really want a million times beyond political reforms is access to the higher administrative posts of all sorts, though they are alive to the inseparable connection between the two." This can no longer be said of the younger generation of Indian leaders. We say "younger generation" because the acceptance of membership of the expanded Executive Council of the Viceroy by seven gentlemen, most of them of the older generation, shows that they value access to the higher administrative posts beyond political reform. They have no doubt done so as a means of accelerating political reform but that does not altogether dispose of Morley's innuendo as regards Indians. The principal political parties have definitely declined to accept mere Indianisation of the administration as a substitute for control over policy. A distinguished English administrator used to give his support to Indianisation on the

ground that it was best to take the people who would rock the boat, into it. Indianisation is really a barrier to political reform. This is more keenly realised by the younger generation of educated Indians than by some of the older generation. Dr. Sinha gives several others of his impressions such as the almost universal fashion of clean-shaven faces and European dress among the candidates. Of 36 Muslims, only one suggested that Pakistan should be judged on its merits. All the remaining 35 were of opinion that the scheme should be given short shrift. "Pressed to give reasons for their opinion they all declared that the scheme was wholly impracticable on financial grounds, and also on military considerations, and that far from solving the communal problems it would make confusion more confounded." It is clear from the satisfaction expressed by Dr. Sinha at this unexpected consensus of opinion among the Muslim candidates, that that is also his own view. All the thirty-five young men were no doubt sincere, but we can not help feeling that questions on controversial politics are an undue strain on the natural desire of examinees to satisfy the examiner. Bengal which used to be foremost in competing for the Indian Civil Service, seems to have almost retired from the field. Dr. Sinha expresses surprise that there were no candidates from Baroda, Mysore and Hyderabad, but the explanation is obviously that these States have their own Civil Services which absorb their intelligentsia.

**Co-operative Spirit Among Communities:—**Meetings are being held in various parts of the country to consider and adopt new ways of approach to the important question of promoting the co-operative spirit among the different communities of India. Any new approach to the problem should be entirely distinct from and unconnected with any political or economic purpose. That is to say, the question is purely one of social psychology. The will to cherish good feelings towards communities other than one's own and the imagination to visualise the many beneficent effects that would flow from such relationship, are the first essentials; and workers should set about in as quiet and inconspicuous a way as possible to promote them. Personal conduct is of the first importance and those who wish to bring about this result, should themselves show the way by

precept and example—by example even more than by precept. As a beginning, we would suggest that they should take a simple pledge, somewhat as follows:

I solemnly pledge myself to endeavour to the best of my ability, in thought, word and deed, to regard all persons as individuals and as fellowmen, irrespective of caste and creed.

This may seem too vague but the object is to put every man on his conscience. This will set in motion a movement, intellectual at first, which will influence practical conduct in course of time. A clause may be added to the pledge making it incumbent on every one who takes it, to get as many of his friends and acquaintances as possible to take it also.

**The Bombay University Convocation :—**The announcement about a month ago that Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India, had been invited to deliver the address at the annual convocation of Bombay University for the conferment of degrees, had created a certain amount of uneasiness in the student world of Bombay. The only difference between the two students' organisations in the city was as to the manner of expressing their disapproval—one group favouring a silent boycott whilst the other desired public demonstrations. The feeling against Sir Maurice arose out of his action in not allowing two students of Delhi University who had passed their examination, to take their degrees because they had actively engaged in demonstrations on Anti-Repression Day. It is a wellknown fact that the student world all over India had been greatly perturbed by Sir Maurice's action and Bombay had as warning the example of the Lucknow University where disturbances followed on the wake of Sir Maurice's visit. In the circumstances, it was extremely unwise of the University authorities here to have tempted providence by calling on Sir Maurice Gwyer to address the students—unless it was meant as a mark of support and appreciation of his disciplinary action when it could be nothing less than asking for trouble. Sir Maurice, too, would have chosen the better part had he, in view of previous experience, declined the invitation to save the Bombay University an unpleasant episode. Apparently, however, the students' declarations and resolutions were not regarded very seriously until the last day, when the Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, Mr. R. P. Masani, issued a statement calling on students to respect an honoured guest, and explaining the necessity which had forced Sir Maurice to act against the Delhi students. Mr. Masani quoted from an explanation released to the press by Sir Maurice at the time. We are prepared to accept the reasons for Sir Maurice Gwyer's disciplinary action partly because no responsible individual would indulge in penalties merely for the sake of discipline and also because picketing and strikes even among students must have an element of intimidation

and violence behind them. But they are generally less based on force than the opposition they provoke from the authorities—whether university or police. Among students themselves these activities generally are seen in their proper perspective.

**Students' Demonstrations and Discipline:—**If his conduct is condemned, the question of mildness or severity does not arise. On the other hand, Mr. Masani's plea that the action was mild, can only irritate those who, like the students in Bombay, believe that it was unjustified and unjustifiable. The question of the propriety of Sir Maurice's action does not arise as it is overshadowed by the fact of his present unpopularity with students. But it is, to say the least, ironic that Sir Maurice should have presented his case in a statement which reminded the students that "all causes are better served by self-restraint, dignity and the spirit of tolerance than by terrorism and violence." Mr. Masani points out that no one has the power to deprive a student of his degree. We are glad of this assurance but we fail to see why the power to postpone the actual taking of a degree for a year cannot be extended indefinitely, or from year to year. Such postponement is not a very commendable way of dealing with political offenders in the student community and events have proved that it is not even effective. Whatever may be said of Sir Maurice's first action, there can be little to commend a repetition of it, much less appreciation of it by other Vice-Chancellors. Unfortunately the action taken by the police on Tuesday on student demonstrators has taken the quarrel a step farther. It is agreed that the police lost control of themselves and that unprovoked attacks on students occurred. We trust that after this disgraceful exhibition Sir Maurice Gwyer will think twice before agreeing to make himself the centre of the student-university controversy. It is not desirable for the Chief Justice of the highest court of law in the land to be mixed up in agitations of this kind.

**Sir Maurice's Address :—**Sir Maurice Gwyer's address itself was a peculiar blend of contradictions. Rebuking those who attached greater importance to the degree than to the education that preceded it, Sir Maurice fell into the same error himself when he condemned the system for the large number of failures to obtain degrees and demanded restriction of admission on a basis of selection to eliminate "wastage." His reference to students who would never benefit by a university education, must have flattered the successful candidates before him. But surely the more thoughtful among them must have wondered whether under the Gwyer selection they themselves would have been allowed to pursue their studies at the university. There is nothing to guarantee that any mode of selection would pick out the best. The non-educational portions of Sir Maurice's speech were equally ill-conceived.

**Gujarat Research Society** :—We publish in another column a note on the Economic and Nutritional Survey which the Gujarat Research Society has instituted. The Survey is sure to yield important results which will be of inestimable advantage as an aid to movements for the amelioration of health and economic conditions not only in Gujarat but in the country as a whole. The combination of economics and nutrition in a single survey, however, does not seem to be well-conceived. The economic problem is a very wide and complex one, and, though it has an ultimate bearing on nutrition also, the latter can be studied better and more expeditiously by itself. Science has now come round to the ancient view that what a man eats and drinks is of considerable importance to his health of mind and body. Research work in Nutrition has come to occupy the front place in national health problems. The work can be immediately taken in hand without any elaborate collection of statistics; and improvements in diet with little or no addition to the present cost, will lead to improvement in the health and efficiency of the people within a short time. Such work is already being carried on in some places in the country and the work in Gujarat will be facilitated by reference to results of work elsewhere. While the diet of the Punjabee, the Bengalee, the Maharashtrian and the Madrassee, have been investigated and the result published by McCarrison and his successor, Dr. Aykroyd, in the Coonoor Nutrition Laboratories, we have not seen any reference to the food of Gujaratis in their publications. The Gujarat Research Survey is, therefore, timely and its results will be looked forward to with interest.

**Air Raids and Officials** :—There has been an orgy of official speech-making in Bombay. On Wednesday, August 13, the Governor of Bombay broadcast an appeal for volunteers for A. R. P. work. On Thursday the Viceroy addressed a rally of Civic Guards and later a gathering of A. R. P. workers. And on the same night, Mr. T. T. Kothavala, Provincial Rationing Authority for Bombay, added his little voice to the appeals of the mighty. It is a matter of interest that, while Sir Roger Lumley urged the need for precautionary measures as elementary prudence, and Lord Linlithgow cautioned his audiences to avoid complacency because "tomorrow the war may be at our gates," Mr. Kothavala told his hearers that "every gallon saved here means another gallon carried to the fighting zones, and that by conserving our petrol supplies we are helping to keep war off our frontiers." The difference between the two points of view is not due, as some may infer, to Mr. Kothavala's limited responsibilities giving him a narrower outlook on the war issue. It is, if we may say so, fundamentally the outcome of differences between the British and Indian attitudes on this war. Most British speakers, whatever their private opinions might be, like to speak of the war as though they have just mana-

ged to get in a last word of advice before the bombs which have left the raiding planes strike your city. Indians generally believe that war is unlikely to come to India. Therefore, whilst both Sir Roger and Lord Linlithgow referred to "101 weeks of war" during which nothing had happened in India, with a certain sense of embarrassment, somewhat in the manner of a dramatic company apologising for the absence of the leading lady, Mr. Kothavala needed nothing but his own sense of security to strengthen his case. His emphasis accordingly was more on the return of peace than on the prosecution of the war.

**Britain's War Aim** ?—What did the Viceroy mean when he told A. R. P. workers in Bombay that "we have got to make a good job of it this time!" And, again, "assuredly we shall bring him (the Nazi) down—this time for ever?" The explanation to this is to be found in a speech made by a non-official European in South India. Sir Frederick James speaking on August 16 at Trichinopoly declared his conviction that the end of the war would not come with the overthrow of Hitlerism but only when the doctrines which had inspired the Nazi movement and were the outcome of generations of German philosophy, had been completely eradicated from the minds of the German generations of the future. This goes much further and deeper than mere disarmament and parallels to it will have to be sought outside Europe. Apparently British officials and non-officials in India are confident of Britain's ability to achieve this result.

**Petrol Rationing** :—Mr. Kothavala in mentioning those who were entitled to extra petrol supplies because of their public service, mentioned doctors and insurance agents. Since when have insurance agents become public benefactors? Mr. Kothavala seems to have been carried away by insurance sales talk. Mr. Kothavala gave the basis on which he proposed to check a doctor's claims to extra petrol. It was to be the income-tax returns of the doctor. But he failed to mention the standard by which he was intending to judge the insurance agent's claims. A subsequent announcement states that extra rations will be allowed to businessmen and others which implies that a very wide interpretation will be placed on service to the community—at any rate, wide enough to include personal profit, if it is on a large enough scale. Normally the extra allowance in Bombay will not exceed the basic ration. The Punjab rationing authority has fixed the limit at five times the basic ration. The experience of other provinces in the first days of the rationing experiment would seem to indicate an early revision of the scheme in the light of practical knowledge. In Bombay, in the city itself, a rise in prices followed the introduction of rationing.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 23, 1941.

## INDO-BURMAN MARRIAGES.

The interpolation of a clause relating to marriages of Burmese women with Indians in the Immigration Agreement, caused considerable perplexity. There was nothing in the clauses before or after it to explain how it came to be there. The occurrence of the word "cohabitation" in the same clause added to the perplexity. There was no reference to the subject in the two broad principles which Sir Girjashankar Bajpai placed before the Standing Emigration Committee in June last as those on which he proposed to negotiate with the Burmese Government. The Baxter report which paved the ground for the negotiations had not the remotest reference to the subject. How then did the clause creep into the Pact? For an explanation we have to turn to Justice Braund's Report on the Burma Riots three years ago. The riots arose out of a scurrilous writing against Bhagvan Buddha by a Burmese Muslim. Muslims became objects of indiscriminate attack by fanatical Burmans and non-Muslim Indians were also victims of mob fury in some places. The Braund Committee was appointed to enquire not only into the riots but into all other matters which were or might become causes of conflict between Indians and Burmans. There were riots in Bombay not long ago and the Bombay Government did not order any enquiry although pressed to do so by responsible public bodies, on the ground that such an enquiry might aggravate Communal ill-feeling. But the Government of Burma instituted an enquiry of the widest possible kind, and the only regard they showed for the consideration of the Bombay Government was that the examination of witnesses was not open to the public and the press. Intermarriages were mentioned before the Committee by several Burmese witnesses as a source of irritation. The Braund Committee in its interim report devoted a chapter to the subject. They pointed out that

under the customary law of Burma marriage is a contract whereby two persons agree to live together in open and notorious cohabitation. The husband and wife work together for their mutual benefit and share the proceeds between them of their joint labours. There is no ceremony or formality requisite to complete a marriage amongst Burmese Buddhists. All that is required is an intention to contract a permanent union with a view to becoming husband and wife. Nor is there anything in Burmese Buddhist Law which requires the other spouse to be a Buddhist.

The juxtaposition of marriage and cohabitation in the thirteenth clause of the Immigration Agreement, which seemed grotesque, becomes clear in the light of this description of the Burmese marriage. It is further obvious how a Burmese woman who cohabits with a non-Burman in the belief that she becomes his lawful wife may be left in the lurch if the man does not reciprocate her belief. The Braund Committee recommended some protection for the Burmese

wife in such circumstances. The Hon. U. Saw in a recent speech referred to the question and said that "one of the major issues on the solution of which depended the peace and good order of Burma was inter-marriages between Burmese women and non-Burmans, a problem which had been largely solved by the enactment of the Buddhist Women's Marriage Act." It is not clear why it was thought necessary to introduce the intermarriage clause in the Immigration Agreement, when the position of the Burmese woman was secured by a special Act.

Among the sources likely to create friction between Burmese and Indians, the Braund Committee noted the anxiety in the minds of a large number of Burmans regarding the marriage of their women with foreigners, particularly Indians. Among Indians, marriages with Muslims were the cause of special anxiety. The Hindu law forbids intermarriages between persons of castes other than that to which the parties belong. Conversions are not countenanced except by some modern sects. The difficulty in the case of Hindus mainly arose out of succession to property which legislation can easily rectify. In the case of Indian Christians, the disability of Burmese wives to sue for divorce under the Indian Christian Marriage Act, was likewise removable by legislation. The Buddhist Women's Marriage Act to which the Hon. U. Saw referred in his speech has presumably effected both these objects. But intermarriages between Muslim men and Burmese women were a problem of a different character. Muslim men are prohibited by their religion from marrying women who do not follow a religion whose tenets are embodied in a Book. Buddhism is pre-eminently a religion of the individual conscience and reason. It has a vast literature but no single book which holds the same place as the Bible or Koran in the estimation of Christians and Muslims. The Burmese, as Fielding-Hall has shown in his "Soul of a People" are strict observers of the tenets of Buddhism and the Buddhist Church in Burma scrupulously refrains from influencing the secular institutions of the country. Muslims who wish to marry Burmese women, therefore, have to get them converted to Islam before a legal marriage can be contracted. This goes against the grain of a deep-rooted Burmese sentiment. In the words of the Report of the Braund Committee on which there were Burmese and Muslim, but no Hindu or Christian members,

As the law stands, no Burmese Buddhist woman can become the lawful wife of Muslim man without first having embraced his faith. This too has given rise to dissatisfaction, for it is felt to be wrong that a woman should in such circumstances have to abandon her own religion.

Burmese sentiment in this matter is totally different from Indian sentiment which would regard with less disfavour the conversion of a woman to the religion of the man with whom she wishes to live in conjugal felicity than her cohabitation with him while remaining in the



ancestral faith without a legal marriage to the annoyance of her kith and kin. The clause in the Bajpai-U. Saw Agreement is obviously intended to meet the special difficulty in the way of legal marriage by a Muslim with a Burmese Buddhist woman. This seems to have been understood by the negotiators but it has been thought politic to present it as an Indo-Burman issue and not as a Muslim-Buddhist issue which it really is. As a matter of fact it concerns all Muslims and not Indian Muslims alone. The Braund Committee records the existence in Burma of a lakh and a quarter Zerbadis, the result of the union of Burmese women with Muslim traders who visited Burma, Malaya, Sumatra, Java and other such places. Muslims in all these places are known as Zerbadis. Zerbadis in Burma now prefer to be known as Burma-Muslims. The problem which the clause relating to marriage is intended to meet, is a peculiarly Muslim problem relating to Muslims all the world over and is out of place in the Agreement on Indian Immigration.

#### ROOSEVELT-CHURCHILL MANIFESTO

Elsewhere is published the Churchill-Roosevelt Manifesto of eight points. It is a statement intended to rally the world against Hitlerism. It has no legal value and cannot be enforced in a Court of International Law, if ever there is one competent to adjudicate on such a document. High-sounding expressions are so lavishly used nowadays that on many people they have ceased to produce any impression. The fate of President Wilson's fourteen points is a warning against attaching too much importance to the Roosevelt-Churchill Manifesto. It has been urged that the Wilson document was a unilateral one but as, this manifesto bears two signatures, it must be expected to be more effective. It may be so but it is also possible that a document signed by two is liable to more different interpretations than one signed by a single man. Taken together with the commentary of Mr. Attlee, Deputy Premier, that the manifesto applies to Asiatics and Africans, its issue does mark an advance on the pronouncements which declared the freedom of Europe, the preservation of European civilisation, or the protection of Christianity, to be the principal British war aim. That is about the only thing in it to be complacent about, at least for Asiatics and Africans who constitute a considerably larger proportion of the world population than the White races.

It is true that the principle of self-determination is reaffirmed but this principle has not been accepted by the British Government in practice. Repentance without restitution has no spiritual or moral value. The Manifesto states that the signatories desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. As we do not believe in sudden conversions, we can only interpret this declaration in the light

of the behaviour of the British Government towards a considerable part of its Empire. In that light this only means, so far as India is concerned, that British overlordship will continue until all parties and persons in this country unanimously request Britain to relinquish it. Mr. Winston Churchill is a more seasoned politician than President Roosevelt. He has the added advantage of being partially American by descent. We may be sure that he did not sign this document without weighing all the implications of its terms and finding that they are all capable of being interpreted so as to square with policies which will not materially affect Britain's position as a Great Power. The phrase in the fourth clause "with due respect for their existing obligations" is, as we know only too well, capable of wide extensions. These obligations, as in the latest instance of Indians in Burma, may be whittled away. Or they may be conceived and enforced rigidly, as a barrier against according self-government to subject races.

The fifth clause and the sixth clause about economic co-operation between all countries and according them equal access to raw materials, have no meaning unless the United States provides for all nations equal access to its gold hoards, or international trade is regulated on a basis of barter. The last clause expressing the belief that, from realistic and spiritual reasons, all nations must abandon the use of force, has been hailed by Gandhiji as a triumph of his propaganda of non-violence. The same clause which expresses disbelief in violence proposes action which cannot be given effect to without violence continued for an indefinite length of time. The aggressor nations are to be disarmed first. This can not be done without a tremendous use of force. Germany, Italy and Japan will not lightly submit to be disarmed until their enemies do likewise. The Treaty of Versailles provided that the Germans should first disarm and others should follow. The others never followed. If the three powers of the Axis are disarmed by the application of force, they must be kept disarmed by the same means. America and Britain will plead that they are perfectly ready to disarm but, if they carried out their earnest wish, the Axis Powers will rearm and the world will be again exposed to the same dangers as at present. This plea will have to be accepted because there will be no nation strong enough to compel the two powers to abandon it.

There is another consideration. It arises from the invitation to Russia to sign this manifesto and become a third member of the new Axis. As we have shown in these columns, Stalin's Russia is less ideologically as well as actually remote from the British and American Governments than Lenin's Russia was. At the same time, it is also closer in theory and practice to the totalitarian regimes than to the democratic ones. It still calls itself Soviet and has not formally repudiated its adherence to Marxist notions. In India the

possession of Communist literature is liable to involve the possessor in a criminal prosecution or detention without trial. Without either of the two sides approaching each other in the realm of ideas it may be possible as a matter of expediency, in the presence of a common enemy, to unite in a common line of action. But when the danger is over the old line of cleavage will reopen, and the allies of yesterday may become the bitter enemies of tomorrow as has happened in the case of Britain and France, Germany and Russia. Beliefs have a vital influence on behaviour.

The observations of Mr. Attlee, Leader of the Labour Party and Deputy Premier, on the Roosevelt-Churchill Manifesto at a gathering of Africans in London, incline us to take a somewhat more sanguine view. For one thing, Mr. Attlee began with an avowal of the wrongs done to coloured races by Whites and the concern his Party had always felt to bring about a more equitable relation between the British and coloured races. The Deputy Premier was not positive but he believed that the equalities promised in the Churchill-Roosevelt Manifesto applied to Asiatics and Africans equally with Europeans. The Manifesto itself is not clear on the point. It prefers to speak of "lands" rather than of the peoples who inhabit them. We trust that the experience of the last Peace Conference will not be repeated. It will be remembered that President Wilson went back on his professions when Japan proposed to insert racial equality as one of the terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and he was supported by the British delegation which had to take into account the deep-rooted colour prejudice of the Dominions. It is stated that the Dominions—not India—were kept in touch with the tenor of the Churchill-Roosevelt talks. Did they, would they, accept the interpretation put on the Manifesto by Mr. Attlee? If they do, and a public statement is made to that effect, a big stone would be rolled out of the way of India's acceptance of a position of partnership in the Commonwealth. The situation would at once take on a new complexion. The adhesion of Russia is a hopeful feature. Russia has no race prejudices and, although there have been several changes in Soviet policy, there has been and there could be none on this point. Stalin now and then reminds diplomats of his being an Asiatic himself. The British Labour Party has been emerging in its true role since the Anglo-Russian alliance and we may hope that in the shaping of the new world order it will be able to assert itself as a force on the side of freedom and equality irrespective of colour and creed.

#### ADOPTION SANAD AND KOLHAPUR.

( BY M. D. KARKHANIS, KOLHAPUR )

Adoption Sanad! Only two words! But what a momentous issue hangs on them to-day! A couple of words have set the best wits thinking. Volumes can be written on them, yet only a few have dared write with depth. One must be very careful, when, on the correct interpretation of the Sanad, studied in the light of its actual application to cases in Kolhapur history, depends the nature of adoption by Pattarani Tarabaisaheb that is to be sanctioned by the Government. On this depend the fortunes of one million Kolhapur State subjects.

Let us, therefore, go into the Sanad proper, the circumstances in which it was granted in 1862 and its application to the last three cases in the Kolhapur history, especially one which has a striking similarity to the present Maharani Tarabaisaheb.

The policy of lapse followed by Lord Dalhousie created suspicion in the minds of the Indians in general and the Rulers in particular. It was essential to ease their minds after the Mutiny of 1857-58. Hence Queen Victoria of England, Empress of India, issued on the 1st November, 1858, the famous Jahirnama—the Magna Charta of the constitutional rights of the Indian people and the States. It expresses in plain words that

(i) the treaties and engagements gone into with the Indian States would be justly observed ;

(ii) no hindrance would be brought by the Government in the way of adoption of a Successor to a gadi by a Ruler; and

(iii) that the Government would not interfere in the religious affairs of the people.

After this Lord Canning granted in 1862, by order of Queen Victoria, Adoption Sanads to several Indian States like Bansada, Dharmapore, Kolhapur, Sawantwaree, etc., applicable "on failure of natural heirs." In the case of Kolhapur "the Government marked their sense of the Raja's (Baba-Saheb) loyalty by conferring on him the order of the Star of India and granting a Sanad of Adoption (1862)."

We take the following Adoption Sanad, as typical, from Part II Surat Agency-Bansada, Dharampur-No. XXXVII and XXXVIII, 89, from "A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads" by C. V. Aitchison, B. Sc., Edition 1892, Vol. VII, page 89.

No. XXXVII.

Adoption Sunnud granted to the Raja of Bansada-1862.

Her Majesty being desirous that the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued, I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, convey to you the assurance that, on failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and future rulers of your State of a successor, according to Hindu law and to the customs of your race, will be recognized and confirmed.

Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you so long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants, or engagements, which record its obligations to the British Government.

Fort William,  
The 11th March 1892. }

Sd/-Canning.

A similar Sanad was granted to Dhurmpore, Kolhapur, and Sawantwaree.

Let us now trace how this Sanad was made use of in three prominent cases of past Kolhapur Rulers.

*1st Case* :—"This Baba-saheb did not long enjoy his powers, as he died in August 1866. A son that he

had by his first wife, the daughter of the Gaikawar of Baroda, had died some time previously; so being without issue he adopted on his deathbed Nagojirao from the Patankar family." This Nagojirao was named Rajaram and this adoption was sanctioned by the Paramount Power. It is clear from this that Babasaheb was given free choice in the selection of the boy at the time of adoption. Another point worth noting is that this adoption was post-sanctioned and was more or less formal. On 29th of October, 1867 Sir Balter Fryre, Governor of Bombay, recognized Rajaram as the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur in a Darbar held at Poona.

*2nd Case* :—"In 1870 Raja Rajaram proceeded on a tour through Europe but died at Florence in November of that year without leaving any issue." What a strikingly close parallel to that of our beloved Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaj! What an unhappy coincidence! The two cases are exactly similar in name, circumstance and the nature of adoption that followed. Both were Chhatrapatis of the same name; both had two queens; both died all of a sudden away from Kolhapur and in November; both remained loyal to the Government and were at the head of a peaceful good reign. Even the name of the Senior Maharani was Tarabai who was allowed free, unfettered choice in the selection of a boy she liked best. What was, however, the guiding principle that led to her adoption? Here it is. I quote from the same book of "Treaties, etc." by C. V. Aitchison, page 187:

"There was no near blood-relation of the late Chief eligible for adoption; but Government declared its willingness to recognize as his Successor any person who might be selected as the most fitting and acceptable to the family and the principal persons of State, even though he might not fulfil all the conditions required by 'Hindu Law' and 'the Customs of the Kolhapur Family.'"

Here we find how the Government set a new precedent suited to the wishes of the adoptive and the people of the State, giving the adoptive free choice in selection, unfettered by the conditions of the 'Sanad'. In fact, any person could be adopted provided the boy was most fitting; acceptable to the family; acceptable to the principal persons of the State. The British Government has never imposed their will on the adoptives nor does the Sanad or the subsequent declaration aforesaid warrant such a step. Nay, the Royal family has actually adopted the boy first and asked for the sanction afterwards as in the first case cited above.

*3rd Case* :—I now proceed to the last case, that of adoption by Anandibaisaheb, widow of Shivaji V, of Yeshwantrao Ghatge of Kagal styled as Shahu Chhatrapati, son of the Regent Babasaheb Maharaj in March, 1884. In this case, too, the Royal family was given full freedom to select the boy who was nominally approved of by the Government. Here, too, we notice a clear deviation. This time the boy was not from the Bhosle family but from the Ghatge family.

If we examine the choice of adoption of the women from the Royal families we find that every time the choice was quite satisfactory. The Government had taken proper care in educating the boys so selected and they proved themselves worthy of the onerous duties of kingship. Take the case of Rajaram Chhatrapati who died at Florence and that of Shahu Chhatrapati. Both were loyal progressive rulers. The memory of the former is associated with a new era in education, i. e., Rajaram College and that of the latter with the uplift of the backward classes.

What after all do we arrive at after observing all these cases? We come to the conclusion that the boy must be endearing to the adoptive; secondly, he must be liked by the subjects in whose interest he rules; and, lastly, he must be such on whom the Government can rely as a faithful ally in times good and bad.

Now we come to the present Maharani Tarabaisaheb. I have shown how her case is exactly identical to another Tarabai Maharani, the Senior widow of Rajaram Chhatrapati, who died in 1870 at Florence. There is, however, one point of difference between them. Our present Tarabaisaheb is Pattabhishikta Maharani, i. e., one crowned along with her husband, while the past Tarabaisaheb was not crowned and yet she was allowed free choice in adoption. Why not, then, allow free choice to the present Tarabaisaheb who is Pattarani, i. e., crowned? Such a cultured lady, first in the hearts of her subjects, claiming noble descent and friendly to the Government will surely hit upon a choice that will prove to be a 'pillar of the Empire,' one who will strive to fulfil the yearnings of the subjects and who will be a prop of his noble mother.

The question of adoption will have thus to be solved with due respect to the conditions of the Magna Charta of 1858, the Queen's Jahirnama, with due consideration of the Sanad viewed in the light of the new precedent of 'free choice' introduced by the Government in its declaration in the second case quoted above and the wishes of Pattarani, the present Maharani Tarabaisaheb.

I hope, therefore that the Government will be pleased to announce immediately this Pattarani's recognition as a Chhatrapati to this gadi, leaving the choice of adoption to her wishes, let it be to-day or to-morrow.

#### ECONOMIC AND NUTRITION SURVEY OF GUJARATI FAMILIES.

The Gujarat Research Society which is devoted to the scientific study of all problems relating to Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch has undertaken an Economic and Nutrition Survey of Gujarati families in Bombay. There is a widespread belief that the health and physique of the average Gujarati have deteriorated and that steps must be taken to prevent further mischief and to improve the existing conditions. This investigation has been planned in order to find out the exact truth in this matter. In two papers published in the January 1939 and January 1940 issues of the Journal of this Society, abundant material has been published to indicate that the physical measurements of Gujarati college and school students, as well as of adults insured with certain insurance companies, are decidedly poor as compared to those of the members of other communities living under the same climatic conditions. It is, however, necessary to investigate the matter more thoroughly and on a wider scale. Physique and health are closely related to nutrition, and there is further a close relation between the nutrition that a family gets and its economic condition. The scheme now proposed, therefore, provides for the study of all these aspects so that a proper co-relation between them can be established.

An ambitious scheme of this nature requires on the one hand the active co-operation of several experts and trained workers, and on the other hand the willingness on the part of the Gujarati people themselves to give correct information as regards the questions put to them so as to enable us get a correct picture of the present situation. The names of the persons who give information are, therefore, recorded in a separate

Register for the purpose of reference only. The schedules on which the entries are made will contain only numbers assigned to the families examined, and the Register will be treated as confidential. Thus no information of a personal or confidential nature will have any chance of publicity at any stage.

Such an inquiry must entail large cost and the resources of the Society are not adequate for a scheme like the present one. It is highly gratifying under the circumstances that Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas who has a keen interest from the practical as well as scientific point of view in the problem of the physical well-being of Gujaratis has willingly and generously agreed to pay the entire cost of this task, about whose importance and practical utility there can be no doubt.

The Society has also been fortunate in having the sympathetic co-operation of the authorities of Sir Hurkisondas Hospital. The work of this investigation was commenced on 1st July. At present the families connected with the patients in the Hurkisondas Hospital are being approached for information in connection with the inquiry. In course of time, it is hoped that other Gujarati families will come forward to give information required for the purpose.

Two specially trained investigators, who are well qualified for their work, assisted by a lady health visitor, are in immediate charge of the inquiry. Their work is under the supervision of a Committee consisting of well-known medical experts and economists. Some idea of the work may be obtained by a personal visit to the office of the investigators on the third floor of the Sir Hurkisondas Hospital any day between 4 p. m. and 6 p. m. Inquiries may also be addressed to Prof. C. N. Vakil, Hon. General Secretary, Gujarat Research Society, at the School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay, Bombay, 1.

#### ANGLO-AMERICAN DECLARATION.

Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt have met at sea and have drawn up a joint Anglo-United States Declaration, setting out the objectives for which the Allies are fighting and indicating the fundamental principles on which the plans for permanent world peace in future must be based. Mr. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal, disclosed the well-kept secret of the meeting in a special broadcast over all B. B. C. stations. Mr. Attlee said :

"The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, have met at sea. They have been accompanied by officials of their two Governments, including high ranking officers of their Military, Naval and Air services. The whole problem of the supply of munitions of war, as provided by the Lease and Lend Act, for the armed forces of the United States and for those countries actively engaged in resisting aggression has been further examined. Lord Beaverbrook, the Minister of Supply of the British Government, has joined in these conferences. He is going to proceed to Washington to discuss further details with the appropriate officials of the United States. These conferences will also cover the supply problem of the Soviet Union."

"The President and the Prime Minister have had several conferences. They have considered the dangers to world civilisation arising from the policy of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite Government of Germany and other Governments associated therewith have embarked and have made clear the steps which their countries are respectively taking for their safety in facing these

dangers. They have agreed upon the following joint declaration :

#### TEXT OF DECLARATION.

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

Sixth, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Eighth, they believe that all nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament.

#### "FREEDOM FOR ALL RACES."

"You will not find in the declarations which have been made on behalf of the Government of this country on the war, any suggestion that the freedom and social security for which we fight should be denied to any of the races of mankind," said Mr. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister. Mr. Attlee was speaking at a reception given in his honour by West African students in London and he emphasised that the declaration of principles which he had made the day before applied to all the races of the world, coloured as well as white. He said:

"We of the Labour Party have always been conscious of the wrongs done by the white races to those with darker skins. We have been glad to see how with the passing of years the old conception of colonies as places inhabited by inferior people whose function was only to serve and produce wealth for the benefit of other people has made way for juster and nobler ideas.

"Yesterday I was privileged to announce a declaration of principles which apply, I believe, to all the peoples of the world.

"Our enemies, the Nazis, have set up a monstrous and ridiculous racial doctrine. They declare themselves to be the master race to which the rest of us are inferior, and, if they assert that claim in respect of Europeans, you may be quite assured they are going to apply it to everyone else, Asiatics, Africans and everyone.

"We are fighting this war not just for ourselves alone but for all people. We want to lift from all people those two great evils of fear of war and fear of want. I look for an ever-increasing measure of self-effort in Africa and for an ever-rising standard of life for all peoples of Africa."

#### THE WAR.

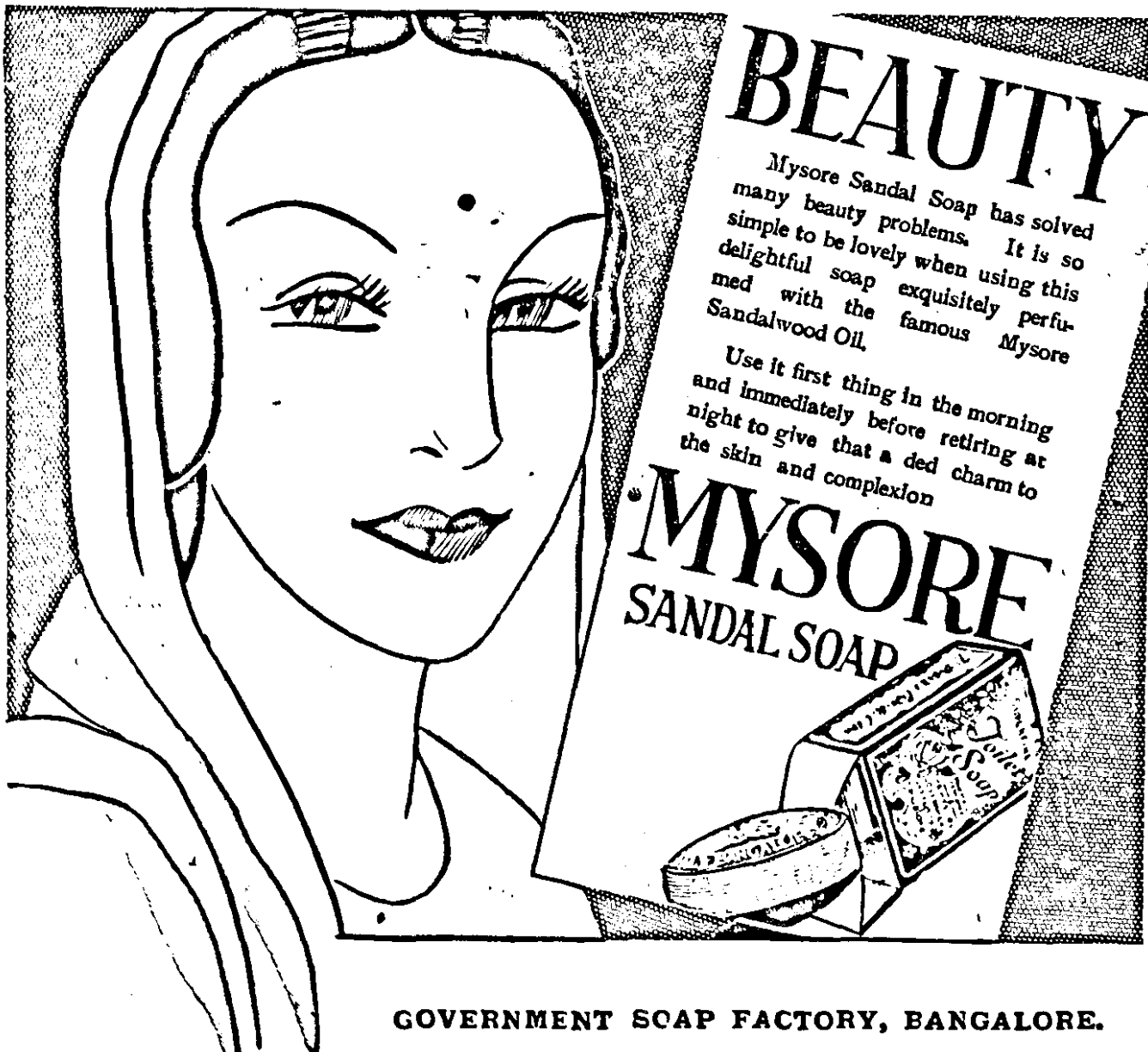
Subsequent to the Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration, there has been considerable diplomatic activity in the Dominions. The Canadian Premier, Mr. Mackenzie King, flew to Britain and in the Australian Parliament Mr. Menzies, the Premier, sought for permission to go over to London to serve as Australian Premier on a War Council that apparently is to be set up. The Labour Party of Australia, however, has voted the proposal down and for the moment Mr. Menzies remains in Australia. Partly the opposition to his going is due to the threat of Japan which seems to be on the verge of a great decision. But also there is in the Dominions a feeling that any central organisation must tend to decrease the growing powers of the Dominions.

On the Russian front the war seems to be settling down to a decision. The report that the Dnieper Dam has been destroyed and Marshal Voroshilof's appeal to the citizens of Leningrad to resist to the last, seem to indicate that Russia is desperate but determined. The resistance which Stalin's Government has put up for over two months, has exceeded the expectations of the Allies, many of whose distinguished leaders had prophesied an early end. It has also supported by demonstration the explanation advanced by several commentators of the collapse of several Balkan powers, that failure to identify national interests with the people of the country, had crippled resistance.

The loss of the seaport and industrial town of Kherson at the mouth of the Dnieper was a foregone conclusion, says a military commentator, who holds that, with the Germans overrunning the lower reaches of the west bank of the river, the town could not be defended.

The Russian forces left behind in Odessa, on the other hand, are reported to be fighting desperately and so far with success. On the rest of the Ukrainian Front, the situation has not altered and a passage of the Dnieper has not been forced.

The German offensive, with Leningrad for objective, is now in full swing. The Russians are stated to be falling back into a region where they will be fighting with their backs to the wall in defence of the great industrial belt of Leningrad.



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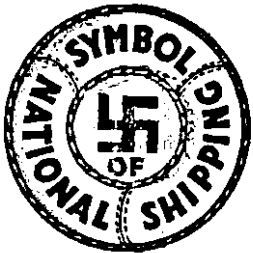
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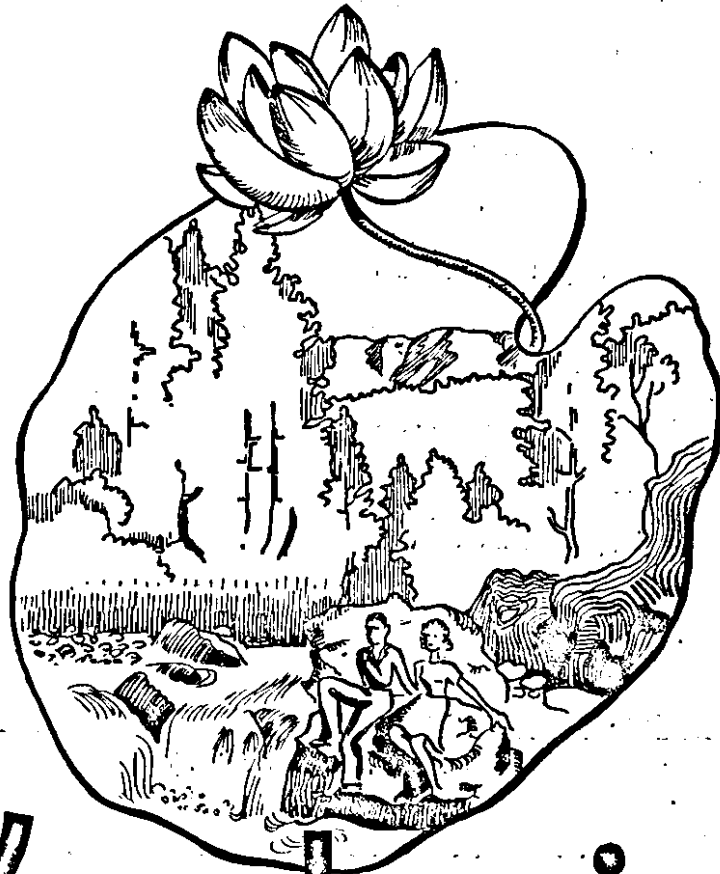
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**The Muslim League :—**Three provincial Prime Ministers, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan of the Punjab, Mr. Fazlul Huq of Bengal and Sir Sadaullah of Assam were among those who were nominated to the Defence Advisory Council by the Viceroy. When these names were found in the list, Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, immediately protested against the conduct of the Viceroy in negotiating with these three members of the Moslem League without his knowledge and behind his back while all the time His Excellency was negotiating with him as President of the League representing the bulk of Indian Muslim opinion. The Viceroy explained that the three men were nominated not as Muslims but in their capacity as Premiers of Provinces. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, improved upon this and spoke of constitutional obligations in the discharge of which the three Premiers had accepted office. The three Premiers defended themselves on the ground suggested by the two authorities. When the Working Committee of the League met on Sunday, Mr. Jinnah produced a communication addressed to him by the Governor of Bombay embodying another from the Viceroy :

The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on the National Council by persons of the highest prominence and capacity. He has, accordingly, invited the Premiers of the Punjab, Bengal, Assam and Sind to serve as members of it.

We have tried our best without success to construe this sentence to mean that the three men were selected not as Muslims but as Premiers. But in fairness to the Viceroy, Sir Sikandar should have sought an explanation from His Excellency. Instead, he and the Assam Premier who were present at the meeting, immediately avowed that they were misled and offered to resign their membership of the Defence Advisory Committee. The Bengal Premier who did not attend the meeting, asked for time to consult the Governor of Bengal

at whose invitation he had joined the Council. Ten days have been granted to him and to the Nawab of Chattari, to Sir Sultan Ahmed and to Begum Shah Nawaz, other members of the governing body of the League, who had accepted nominations, the first and third to the Advisory Council and the second to the expanded Executive Council, to resign to their posts. Mr. Jinnah is authorised to take such action as he may think proper if they do not comply with the mandate. The Nawab is the Prime Minister-designate of Hyderabad and has acted as Governor of the United Provinces. Begum Shah Nawaz is a talented woman politician, was a member of the Round Table Conferences, and is Parliamentary Secretary in the Punjab Government. The firmness with which Mr. Jinnah has dealt with his colleagues, without in the least caring for their personal positions, has produced a striking impression on the Indian public accustomed to see wealthy men escaping censure while poorer men were sternly disciplined and held up to public idiom for breaches of party discipline.

**Government Explains :—**A lengthy statement was issued by Government on Thursday on the happenings in the Working Committee of the Muslim League. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was wise in not referring to the Viceroy before he decided to resign membership of the National Advisory Council. The Government communique does not go beyond asserting and reasserting that the nomination of the three Premiers was made not with reference to their being Muslims but with reference to their occupying the position of Premiers of their respective provinces. The communique studiously avoids any reference to the communication from the Viceroy which the Governor of Bombay passed on to Mr. Jinnah and the production of which in the Standing Committee took Sir Sikandar by surprise. Was this communication an invention or a forgery? If, as is now stated, it was the intention that the three nominations were *ex-officio*, that intention is not apparent from the words of the communication. On the other hand, their meaning is exactly the contrary. They mean that the three gentlemen are to be nominated as representatives of the great Muslim community and it is an additional merit that they are also Premiers of their respective provinces. It is idle to try to get away from this clear statement by such question-begging phrases as "it goes with-

out saying," "there can be no justification," and so on. There is not a special grammar or logic for Viceroys and Secretaries of State. If the Government had frankly said that originally it was the Muslim denomination of these gentlemen which weighed primarily in their nominations but that since, in deference to Mr. Jinnah's susceptibilities, it was decided to place their official positions first, it would have gained credit for candour and Mr. Jinnah would have been "left high and dry" as Lord Birkenhead suggested to Lord Reading when they occupied the offices now held by Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow. The communique says that should the three gentlemen cease to be Premiers they would cease equally and automatically to be members of the National Defence Council. If this is the corollary of the considerations which prompted their nomination, ceasing to be members of the Council should lead to their ceasing to be Premiers. The Working Committee has foreseen and provided for this contingency. When a British statesman begins with the prefatory phrase, "in the conditions of India," as the communique begins is penultimate paragraph, by long experience we know what is to follow. It is a prelude to making out that in the conditions of India, all principles of government considered proper in Great Britain and for European countries generally, should be reversed in their application to India; that right should be read as wrong, black as white, heaven as hell. Such things no longer deceive the Indian public nor should it deceive the British public. The Government communique is a feeble composition which tries to make up for its poverty by ascertive iterations which will not impress a schoolboy nowadays.

**Indo-Ceylon Immigration:**—A Government of India communique issued this week announced the appointment of a delegation to resume the negotiations which were abruptly terminated some months ago to determine the status of Indians in Ceylon and their immigration into the Island. In the course of a discussion in the Ceylon Parliament on a grant to meet the expenses of the Ceylon delegation, it was said that the negotiations were being resumed, as a memorandum recently submitted to the Ceylon Government by the Government of India, showed a more conciliatory disposition than was apparent when the negotiations fell through. It was denied from Simla that any memorandum was sent to the Ceylon Government on the subject. The Government of India communique announcing the nominations to the delegation suggests, on the other hand, that it is the Ceylon Government which is anxious to reopen the negotiations. The speeches made by Sir Baron Jayatiloka, the Home Minister, and Mr. Sarvanamuthu, Mayor of Colombo, at a banquet to the Indian Mayors who attended the Mayors' Conference held in that city, were couched in effusively cordial terms, the former acknowledging that the progress made by Ceylon was due to inspiration from India and the

latter foreshadowing the raising of a statue to the Indian labourer who has done much to promote Ceylon's prosperity. These sentiments are certainly very different from those expressed on the morrow of the break-up of the negotiations some time back and they are to be welcomed as an earnest of future good relations between the two countries and peoples. In passing, we welcome the multiplication of occasions for the exchange of views on problems common to both countries independently of officially sponsored contacts which, in the nature of things, cannot be free and frank. The Indian delegation to Ceylon differs markedly from the delegation to Burma in all respects except that Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Member for Education, Health and Lands, is the leader of both. In Burma he was the whole delegation with Mr. Bozman as Secretary. In Ceylon he will have as colleagues Sir Mirza Ismail, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry and Mr. Rutherford. Mr. Bozman and Mr. Pai will be official advisers, the latter also acting as Secretary to the delegation. It is made clear in the communique that the work of the delegation will be of an exploratory character, that is to say, they will not take final decisions as in the case of Burma. The communique says that negotiations relating to trade are not within the purview of the present delegation, which will be restricted to the immigration and status of Indians in Ceylon. In the case of Burma, a trade pact had been concluded several months before the Immigration negotiations were opened and admittedly this deprived the Immigration negotiations of a valuable lever. Sir Mirza Ismail is an exceptional type but ordinarily a retired official of an Indian State has the same mentality as an official in British India and can be called representative of non-official opinion only in a pickwickian sense.

**A Ceylon Indian's Suggestion:**—Alarmed, perhaps, by the prospect of an Indian Mission to Ceylon, Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar, author, journalist, Member of the State Council of Ceylon, and President, Ceylon Indian Workers' Federation, has produced a "fully gestetnered" folio volume on the Indo-Ceylon "Crisis" with the flaming caption of "The Burning Question of the Day." Nowadays every incident is described as a crisis and every question is represented as "a burning question" by people who wish to focus public attention on the matters which come most closely home to their businesses and their bosoms. Mr. Natesa Aiyar cannot be blamed for this, because everyone from the President of the United States downwards finds it necessary to speak in headlines in order to catch the ear of their public. As a journalist, however, Mr. Natesa Aiyar must know the exact value of the professional tricks for gaining the confidence of serious-minded persons who mould public opinion. Mr. Natesa Aiyar is evidently afraid that a situation might be created with reference to Indo-Ceylonese relations similar to that created



by the Indo-Burma Agreement, and is anxious to avoid it by recommending a course which, he thinks, will take the edge off the anti-Indian sentiment in Ceylon without affecting the interests of the professional and properties classes. Mr. Aiyar's suggestion is, as we understand it, that 100,000 Indians should be repatriated by the Ceylon Government giving a bonus. Mr. Aiyar is sure that the Indians concerned are anxious to return to the mother country and are prevented from doing so only by want of money to settle their debts and pay for their passages. He calculates that his scheme will enable 25,000 families—four persons to the family—to resume their life in their native villages. The experience of the South African repatriates who could not be assimilated by their kith and kin in India, will not be repeated in the case of Ceylon Indians whose manner of life has remained little affected by their sojourn in Ceylon, which has nearly the same standard as this country. Mr. Aiyar is confident that this will be a measure of appeasement which will satisfy the Ceylonese apprehension of being swamped by the overflow of India's population. All this may be true. But would the Ceylon Government be willing to grant a bonus of Rs. 300 per family which is the foundation of the whole scheme? Seventy-five lakhs is not a small amount for Ceylon. Even if the Ceylon Government is willing to find the money or, which is more probable, persuade the Government of India to give it out of its revenues, there are considerations which make Mr. Aiyar's proposal untimely. The last attempt at an Immigration Agreement with Ceylon sought to establish that an Indian after five years residence should secure citizenship rights. Will Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai who represented the Government then, accept a repatriation scheme as a substitute? It is understood that the Ceylon Government is more favourably inclined towards the Indian view now. If that be so, the publication of Mr. Aiyar's scheme is likely to side-track the main issue.

**Hindu Law Committee:**—In the editorial note in *The Reformer* of August 16 it was said that cases not covered by the categories of the Committee could be conceived. This was due to the difficulty of disentangling the male and female lines of descent in the draft proposals. We have since received the memorandum relating to female succession and this taken together with the first memorandum relating to the succession of males, fully sustains the claim of the Committee that the categories suggested are exhaustive. We publish the recommendations of the Committee as regards intestate succession in this issue.

**Officers for Indian Army:**—There is growing evidence that Empire solidarity during the war, at any rate, is winning a temporary victory over the autonomy of the Dominion units of the Commonwealth. The latest is the news that Australian officers trained at Singa-

pore will be attached to British and Indian army units. There are circumstances in which this arrangement might well be an unmixed advantage to both parties and we are sure that Britain and Australia must have secured these conditions. But it is no use pretending that those circumstances prevail today in regard to India. Sir Jagadish Prasad pointed out in a recent speech at Poona that no Indian can apparently be used in the higher ranks of the army. Australians are living in peacetime under laws which forbid Indian entry into Australia except as tourists. When they serve as officers in the Indian army, they will be confirmed in their faith in the policy of exclusion, seeing that in their own country Indians are under restrictions as well. The position is rendered even worse by reports of the distinction with which Indian troops are serving abroad in the many theatres of war. We are naturally proud of the honours won by individual men for distinguished service. Equally natural is the query which comes to every Indian mind whether the officering of Indian units is too arduous a task for men of this type. We find striking proof of this in a Government of India publication—*Indian Information*. In its latest issue it writes:

As a child Lt. Bhagat was asked what his ambition was. He replied it was to become C.-in-C. of the armed forces in India. If personal bravery is a qualification for this office, then Lt. Bhagat should be on his way there already.

Both the writer of this quaint item and Lt. Bhagat know, we trust, how far Lt. Bhagat, or for that matter any other Indian, is from the Commander-in-Chief's office.

**Australian Troops in Empire Wars:**—Mr. Menzies, the Australian Premier, announced on Wednesday in the Australian Parliament that there were no Australians in Iran, adding that "before any Australian troops could be used in any theatre of war, the Australian Government must be consulted." This is an important addition to the rights of a Dominion which did not exist before, and it has come as a concession to Australian opinion after Greece and Crete. Its significance will be readily appreciated in this country where the Congress protest withdrawal from the Central Legislature because of the despatch of Indian troops abroad without consulting Indian opinion, was derided as an impracticable and unreal demand. It was said at the time that it would be useless to ask for permission and delay action on that account in a life and death struggle. Probably it will still be argued that Australia's privileged position has to be bought at the cost of other units in the Empire and that it is all the more necessary for Indian troops to be always ready for service in every theatre of war, now that Australia has shown herself so sensitive on the subject.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 30, 1941.

## BRITAIN, RUSSIA AND IRAN.

On Monday August 25, it was announced that British and Soviet forces had entered Iran, in the words of Major-General Molesworth, to "bring the Iranian Government to their senses." The incident had been preceded by diplomatic negotiations with the Iran Government for the expulsion from Iranian soil of Germans whose numbers had been, according to Anglo-Russian reports, increasing beyond all reasonable proportion in recent weeks. The Iran reply which denied these reports, had not given satisfaction to the British and Russian Governments and joint action had been decided on. The two powers have made it necessarily clear that they have no territorial ambitions in Iran, that their action is directed not against the Iranian people but against German intrigues, and that they will leave the country the moment they have surmounted the needs of the present situation. Iran has gained greatly in the past from British and Russian goodwill but nevertheless the Iranian people have always had a distrust of both these great nations. Professor A. M. Moulvi in his study of "Modern Iran," mentions a cartoon which was published in Teheran at the time of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 which depicted, he says,

the Persian cat sitting uneasily between the Russian bear and the British lion. "I will pat its head," says the bear to the lion. "I shall stroke its tail," says the lion. "I have not been consulted," pleads the cat.

At the same time, the Iranians have equally a deep distrust of German promises as a result of their experience of Wassmuss in the last war. Wassmuss made promises of grants from the German Government which he was able to induce the German Government to honour so far as he was concerned. But he felt, and he convinced the Iranians concerned, that he would serve his Persian friends better by utilising the money for agricultural and farming work in their midst. The failure of his experiment and the consequent loss of promised gold to the Iranians, left bitter feelings on both sides. Like other Muslim countries after the war, Iran had developed strong nationalistic sentiments under the leadership of Reza Shah Pahlvi who deposed the ruling monarch in 1921, and not only ascended the Iranian throne but set up a new dynasty. The Riza Shah regime has been marked by the many harshnesses which military dictatorship always entails. Nevertheless, in the more recent past, he had, it is generally conceded, brought about many reforms in Iran. The outbreak of war between Britain and Germany placed a heavy strain on Iranian foreign policy. The first result was Iranian pressure on Britain to negotiate a new agreement for oil, which virtually absorbed the whole of the company's profits in 1939. A report on Thursday morning mentioned,

on the other hand, what appears to be a typically Iranian application of the "scorched earth" policy made famous in Russia by the Bolsheviks. It seems that the Iran Government denuded their country of essential supplies of oil and wheat and sold them to the Nazis. Whilst this leaves the Anglo-Russian invaders with the task of providing Iran with subsistence, it has obviously removed any reason for the Nazis to intervene. The treaty subsisting between Iran and her three neighbours, Turkey, Afghanistan and Iraq, would have been of more use in resisting aggression, as it was intended to do, had Iran not cut herself adrift from other Muslim countries by harking back to a distinctly Persian cultural nationalism. A Section of Indian Muslims alone feels a bond of sympathy with the Iranian and frets under its inability to support him. Reza Shah, it is reported, appealed for help from the Muslim Powers and their refusal forced him to accept the Anglo-Russian demands on Thursday. In the circumstances, it is inevitable that an Iran in isolation had to submit to whichever power or combination of powers felt strong enough to assume effective control over Iranian affairs and was quick enough to act on the thought. It is a matter for congratulation for the British, once the inevitability of outside domination is conceded, that the Allies should have been the first to take over Iran.

There has been a tendency in some Indian political circles to deplore the Allied intervention as an unpleasant episode which should have been avoided. War itself is an unpleasant affair and the incidents relating to it cannot be evaded. On the other hand, it is suggested that, if oil was the attraction for Germany, Britain and Russia had an equal interest in getting control over Iran as it provided lines of communication between Russia and the Eastern parts of the British Empire. We were surprised to see this in a special message from the Simla correspondent of the *Times of India* which referred in the most casual terms to the danger of Nazi influence in Iran but stressed the advantages gained by Britain's control over Iranian territory. Both the timid apologist and the blatant imperialist have not apparently realised the significance of the Allied intervention and the calculated manner in which the decision to intervene was announced to the world. It is not mere accident that in their language and in the justification for their action Russian and British spokesmen are using the very words and the very reasons advanced by Germany in explaining her aggression on Denmark and Holland and Belgium. Accusations of enemy intrigues on neutral territory by one belligerent, denials by the State concerned most, and action by the accusing belligerent to prevent the other by anticipation—these are the main characteristics of the "conquest" of neutral powers in the present war. This was Nazi Germany's technique in Europe. Britain has turned the weapon against her in Arabia and in Iran. The issues were clouded in Iraq by a military rising and in Syria by the

failure of Mandatory rule. In both these cases, Britain and her Allies offered the indigenous population the prospect of freedom from oppressive control. But in Iran the irony of the situation stands stark and clear.

The response from America justifies the confidence which inspired Britain's actions. Naturally one does not expect Iran, the country unfortunately affected, to feel as America does. And for the rest Asia's appreciation is restrained by the thought that Britain has not hesitated to pursue once again in Asia a policy she has discarded in her relations with other European nations. Russia's case is obviously different as she derives her authority and prestige in an action of this kind from her association with Britain. Her adventures in Finland, in Poland and in Roumania are too recent to be forgotten and they are scarcely calculated to inspire confidence in Russia's absence of territorial ambitions. In an important point, we had hoped that the campaign in Iran would turn out differently from the Syrian and Iraqi campaigns. There Allied intervention proved timely but ineffective in so far as getting hold of the leading Nazi intriguers was concerned. Either they had been well anticipated or they had been spirited away before the British gained control of the situation. The extent of Nazi infiltration was not decided in Iraq and Syria. Riza Shah's submission accepts the British-Russian accusation so far denied. This is an important gain for Britain.

#### GANDHIJI AND THE INDO-BURMA AGREEMENT.

The secrecy which shrouded the procedure of the Indo-Burma negotiations, is responsible for the outcry which has followed the publication of the Agreement on immigration and the status of Indians in Burma. The public in India was unaware of the part which Indian leaders in Burma had taken in the course of the negotiations. The two important Reports of committees instituted by the Burma Government for the purpose of gathering material for the measures which it contemplated with reference to Indians, were not available in India. The extent of the losses and suffering caused during the riots in 1938 to Indians in Burma was only vaguely known in India. Their effect on the Indians in Burma was not at all understood. The publication of the Agreement took the Indian public completely unawares. The terms of the Agreement were felt to be inspired by antipathy to the Indian people. The Agreement appeared to be intended to declare before the whole world that the Burmese regarded Indians as the main obstacle in the way of their progress and prosperity as a nation. The indignation provoked in this country degenerated into a hue and cry against Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai who was the Indian delegation as well as sole delegate.

Gandhiji in his statement on the Agreement says that he has studied the pertinent documents. But his belief that there is no demand from the Burmese for measures restricting Indian immigration and status, shows that his researches did not go far enough. The Braund Committee's Report and the Baxter Report which is avowedly an outcome of the Braund Report, both emphasise the existence of a strong demand from Burmans for measures to determine the status and to restrict

the influx of Indians, though both find that the grounds advanced in justification of the demand are highly exaggerated and are many of them even unfounded. Anti-Indian feeling among the Burmese did not originate from the 1938 riots, as the Braund Committee implies in one passage of its Report. It began with the conquest of Burma by the British with Indian money and Indian troops, particularly the latter. In the risings which broke out shortly after the conquest, Indians shared with Britishers the implacable hostility of the Burmese "brigands." This has been the case all over Asia and Africa, with this difference that, while the sentiment against the British is tempered by fear of their power, hatred of the Indian is aggravated by contempt for his subservience. All the benefits of Imperial exploits have gone to the British, all the odium has fallen upon Indians. And the curious part of it is that the Britisher himself when once he has established himself in a conquered country, encourages the population to think of Indians as its exploiters and of himself as their protector against exploitation!

Thus far I go with Gandhiji. But I differ from him when he condones the exploitation of the conquered Burmese by Indians as being the necessary consequence of the exploitation by the British. Indeed I fail to follow him altogether when he says:

I must admit that Indians have been partners with the Westerners in the exploitation of Burma but with this fundamental difference that the Westerner went to Burma with his gun while the Indian went on sufferance as he has always done in every part of the world.

Does this make a difference? If it does, is that difference to the credit of the Indian? The Englishman is impelled by his lust of conquest to exploit weaker peoples. What impels the Indian to follow him "on sufferance" as Gandhiji puts it? The Indian soldier is compelled by sheer poverty to enlist in the army and once he enlists he ceases to be a free individual. But the Indian who goes to exploit "on sufferance" is under no such obligation. With the soldier it is an alternative between dying of starvation at home and of being killed in fighting abroad. While the former is certain, there is a chance in the latter of surviving and enjoying a pension for the rest of one's lifetime and securing possibly a grant of land. The Indian who partners the Westerner in exploitation, on the other hand, has no such excuse. I am sure that Gandhiji does not accept the bunkum about serving the country by exploiting it. Hocking in his "The Spirit of World Politics" has neatly exposed this plea. He writes of Egypt:

It is pertinent, when we ask who must be protected in Egypt, to be clear by what right one is there at all. The trader is for this generation useful to Egypt; but you and I have not the slightest interest in keeping him there beyond his Egyptian welcome. No matter whether he is of your nationality or of mine, he is there for himself alone; he deserves no thanks—he has his reward. And he deserves no political pains in his behalf, beyond the care for his life and property in passing. As Egypt grows in mental completeness his numbers will decline of their own accord. Let us remember that the foreigner in Egypt is, in general, but half a good citizen, having a one-sided concern in the community, namely, in its purchasing power and none too intelligent at that.

The weakest ground for attacking the Agreement is that it would reduce the profits of big business. The employer class is not seriously affected by the Agreement. It may make a few lakhs less of profits but its position is secure. The employee class does not seem to be perturbed by the Agreement either. The following extract from a private

letter from one of this class in Burma is perhaps typical :

The Bajpai Committee's report and the final publication of the terms of Indian immigration have had a very mixed reception. Naturally the Indian population is aghast at some of the provisions. There is one school of thought, however, which is prepared to concede the view that the Indian element has no right to question the inherent right of the Burmese Government to regulate and control Indian immigration, and I for one feel that this is fundamentally correct. Any hardships and individual difficulties arising out of the terms must be remedied and I dare say experience and agitation will bring about the desired amelioration. The rule that those who have been in Burma since 1931, would be considered 'privileged' immigrants and would, therefore, continue to enjoy the old rights and privileges has had a great deal to do in influencing my view on the question because, personally, I will not be affected in the least by the terms of the agreement. This, of course, is a narrow and selfish view. The difficulty has been that I have had very little time to study the question in detail and do not, therefore, feel competent to make any sensible comments. I have heard a lot of sense as well as nonsense said about the terms of the agreement Rangoon but I have deliberately ignored these views as most of them have not been the result of mature consideration.

The labouring classes suffer the most under the Agreement. They are, prohibited except under license to emigrate to Burma. I would welcome this if suitable arrangements are made beforehand to give them work in their native land. In the absence of any such arrangement the prospect before them is one of bleak starvation. The Royal Agricultural Commission of which Lord Linlithgow was Chairman, recognised this and recommended that the best way of meeting the problem was to improve the conditions of emigration. His lordship's Government has now made itself a party to preventing these workers from securing a livelihood in territories in which they have found it for centuries.

Gandhiji rightly says that Indians cannot exist in Burma for one single day without Burmese goodwill. That the Indian in Burma does not enjoy it today, and, what is more, that he is not at all anxious to enjoy it at any future time, became clear from talks with some of the delegation of Indians from that country. I agree with Gandhiji that the question is not one to be decided purely in accordance with local opinion, that is, the opinion of Indians in Burma. But he is not right when he implies that the all-India point of view may in any way or in any sense fall short of the requirements of Indians in Burma. On the contrary, a decision from the all-India point of view is the only decision which would permanently and honourably secure for Indians in Burma or any other country, their legitimate rights and status. An Agreement which merely deals with their disabilities, will inevitably lead to the progressive curtailment of the conceded rights, as has happened in South Africa. The South African settlement was to the effect that in return for India undertaking to prevent further emigration to South Africa, the Indians already there would be regarded and helped to attain the same status as the White population. When this news reached India, Sir Pherozshah Mehta was indignant. This, he said, was "selling the pass." He foresaw that this will not lead to the amelioration of the conditions of life of Indians in South Africa. It will merely facilitate the adoption of other measures to reduce the Indians still further in the economic and social sphere. Experience shows that he was right. While India must understand the requirements of Indians in Burma—they know best where the shoe

pinches—she must be guided in her policy towards Burma by principles rather than by expediency.

Gandhiji asks the Hon. U. Saw to wait until Burma and India are free and in a position to negotiate freely. This is an impracticable suggestion both because it means indefinite waiting which the Burmese Premier cannot afford, and because, honestly, I cannot feel the same confidence as Gandhiji apparently does that the problem would automatically solve itself when India and Burma control their own affairs. Gandhiji has evidently forgotten the measures of the Congress Government in Bihar towards Bengalis long domiciled in that province, which have been quoted in support of the measures to restrict Indian rights in Ceylon and also probably in Burma. The fact is that both India and Burma have drunk of the tiger's milk of nationalism which has come to mean suspicion, hostility and aggression towards other nations.

The one clause which is most offensive and objectionable in the Agreement, and on which no compromise is possible consistently with Indian self-respect, is that relating to marriages. To my astonishment this clause has either been ignored or slurred over in most of the comments on the Agreement. Gandhiji too omits all reference to it. Any inquisitive foreigner who reads the Agreement, and certainly the future historian, will put his finger on this clause as marking definitely the Burman mind towards Indians. All the other clauses about permits and visas will be put aside as matters of detail. This clause is the one which no Indian should have put his initials to under any circumstances. In the leading article in *The Reformer* last week, it was clearly shown that this clause was entirely out of place in the Agreement. It is too wide for the small matter which it seeks to remedy. The grievance in fact is no grievance at all. The Braund Committee's Report makes it clear that the Burmese woman who marries a Mussulman after conversion has all the rights and the full status assigned to wives by the Islamic law. Without conversion she will have none of the rights and, of course, will not have the status. From the point of view of the woman, the latter condition is infinitely less desirable than the former. Burmese opinion, however, seems to object to conversion and not to cohabitation. Underlying the ostensible reason that it is wrong for a person to have to change her religion as a condition of marriage, there is a political reason—the Burmese do not want to have a Buddhist-Muslim problem like the Hindu-Muslim one in India. The descendants of Muslim-Burmese Unions—the Zerbadis—do not identify themselves with the people of Burma. The Burmese difficulty would be met by providing, as the Catholic church insists in the case of Catholic non-Catholic marriages, that the children should be brought up as Buddhist. This may give rise to opposition on the part of Muslims and it may not be possible to carry it out under the Koranic law. That is perhaps the reason why Sir Girjashankar and U. Saw agreed to the marriage clause which leaves the power to permit or withhold permission in the case of marriages of non-Burmese with Burmese women, in the hands of the Government for the time being. The Indian leaders in Burma whom Sir Girjashankar consulted, would seem to have acquiesced in this arrangement only suggesting that Government permission may not be required in the case of "well-to-do Indians." As "well-to-do" people are more prone to desert their wives in favour of other women, than poor men who cannot afford the time and expense for romance, the suggestion had no substance in it, and was rightly ignored.

K. NATARAJAN.

## RELIGION, NATIONALISM AND NAMES.

(BY JOHN BARNABAS, LUCKNOW.)

If Shakespeare resurrected today and saw the Indian Christian in the Indian environment, he would have found that the name meant a lot both to him that bore the name and them that used it. One of the many criticisms levelled against the Indian Christians is that they rejoice in Western names and thus add to their denationalizing process. It is time we understood the implications of names.

When parents select a name for their child, (whether Christians, Hindus or Muslims) (1) they think of a personality whose name might be an inspiration to the child or (2) at other times it is to perpetuate the memory of some departed elder in the family or friend or benefactor. The name signifies the wish of the parent for the child that the child may live up to the ideals indicated by the name. In the case of names meant as an example and an inspiration the source may be religious books, mythological figures or historical personalities. When they are not the names of persons but of flowers or some virtues (such as Shanti, Samadhana, Kamala, Tara, Pushpa, Sadananda, etc.) the parents wish that the child may come to possess the virtue signified.

In the case of Indian Christians it is not always the parents that have selected the name. A large number of them being converts were named by the Missionary who converted them. The mistake they seem to have committed is that in trying to make them "dead to their old life" they changed their name also, as if it was a sign of being "reborn." The present tendency, and that among the higher caste converts, is to retain the old name for one of two reasons. They are not ashamed of their old caste as it was "high," and expect a place of honour in the Christian community being "high caste converts." They very often get it! Some feel they can be as good Christians without a "Christian" name as with one since a name has nothing to do with their convictions or changed convictions. In the case of the "low-caste" converts their old existence was so hateful to them, that they wanted to obliterate the very memory of their recent associations and so insisted on a change. The respect for the person who weaned them away from the fold into which the Hindu caste system had thrust them, was so great that they most often were willing to take the name of the person that converted them. The good old missionary was only too glad to have his memory so perpetuated. Thus we find the Butlers, Boots, Coats, Cooks, Smiths, etc., amidst us. Sometimes the Missionary gave him a "Biblical" name at the time of baptism. But when such converts had to baptize their own children later they named them after the person who had shown them the "new way."

Thus as in every community the Christian names can be divided into three groups, the religious names, the personality recognition names and the virtue-wish names. The last named group has the virtue of being "Indian" names and, therefore, can be common to all religions in India.

There is a growing tendency among Christians to change their names these days. It is well to understand possible reasons. (1) The Christian living in the midst of non-Christians is treated as an alien. His being a Christian and bearing a "Christian" name stands in the way of his getting a job or in his social relations. In short the non-Christian does not easily tolerate him. Recently a friend of mine went to a nationalist Hindu for a job for which he was qualified and he was asked how many generations Christian he was. In another case he was told he

could not be taken on the staff of an institution where there were all non-Christian children and so only a Hindu could do the work. In a third case it was merely suggested to him that he could have the job if he was reconverted to Hinduism. And in all these cases the young man was a nationalist and wore Khadi out of genuine conviction since his college days and his name was entirely Indian. (2) Some feel that being Indians they are ashamed of having "Western" names. But it was not their mistake. Their parents gave them the name and so they want now to change it into an "Indian" name.

This second is a laudable reason. The first is understandable but implies that we want to hide our identity on the surface. Some say it is to reduce the intensity of unfavourable reflexes in the non-Christian that a "foreign" name gives rise to.

There is a very small minority which is showing the peculiar tendency of changing, or more correctly, perverting Indian names into "Anglo-Indian" names. This, I feel, is a particularly perverse mentality. For, it is a mind that feels elevated in the company of Anglo-Indians and, being incapable of aping the real West, is content in aspiring after being an Anglo-Indian. In some cases it is an economic manoeuvre, since that is the only way to get a job in the railway. It is also because the Anglo-Indian has a higher scale of pay in certain concerns. Others do it because they feel more "Christian" with such a perverted name. Still others imagine they get a better "social standing" by such an amendment to their name. Thus Dayal becomes Dial, Datha becomes Dutt, Kaley becomes Kale, Aralikatt become Arlik, Sing—Swing, Ram Bali—Ramble, Bux—Buck, Rathbhan—Rathbone and so on. I cannot suggest a remedy for this strange disease among Indian Christians.

It may be pointed out in passing that the Hindu is not completely immune to the charge of making the name a convenience. There are instances of Hindus taking Western names. Some years ago, before the rise of the national movement in India, it was very easy for a Christian to get a job. Therefore many Hindus took on Western, not Christian, names. I know of a royal family in India almost every member of which takes one Western name to this day. Probably that helps them to get on better with the British Government.

There are a few instances where foreigners take to Indian names. One I. C. S. officer called his daughters by purely Hindu names, names of goddesses, for to him "they sounded nice." The sub-conscious motive, however, must have been to adapt himself to his environment. I know of an English knight with an Indian name.

What is the Indian Christian to do in such a situation? To my mind we should make no apology to the first group of names that I have indicated—the religious names or the Biblical names. If the Hindu prides in names like Rama, Sita, Dushyanta, Prahlada, etc., why not the Indian-Christian treasure names from the Bible, such as Mary, Luke, John, Abraham, etc. As far as possible we may prefer the Indian version of these names, Miriam instead of Mary, Yohan instead of John, Yakub instead of James, Paulus instead of Paul.

The second group of names—Western names taken after Missionaries—should be completely dropped. We cannot afford to retain names like Smith, Butler, Reginald, etc. They are the most highly objectionable. They hide our nationality. Names of most missionaries are not "Christian" names, but national names. They are either American, English, German or Italian. Therefore, we must



revert to either purely religious names or entirely Indian names.

The third group may be increasingly adopted by Indian Christians. They are Indian names, names of flowers or names indicating virtues. Even here we should prefer Leela to Lily, Kripa to Grace. If we are to keep both our religion and our nationality we may increasingly take to such Indian names as Shanti, Sumati, Bhasker, Prabhaker, etc.

That is the way Indian Christians can accommodate the non-Christian who cannot feel one with a person not having an Indian name. On the other hand there is increasingly a need for a better understanding and greater toleration on the part of the non-Christian towards those who have definitely Christian names. He may not tolerate Western names, but for him to jibe at Biblical names is against the very spirit of Hinduism, which is tolerance. The Christian who feels he is Indian in every fibre of his being must be made to feel at home in the midst of a Hindu or a Muslim community, whether he has a Christian name or an Indian name. I am not pleading for mere tolerance; I assert his right to existence.

Both communities must show a spirit of accommodation. The Hindus cannot insist on having it all their own way. Nor can the Christians be foolhardy and persist in alien names. The Hindu must recognize that it is possible for a Christian with a non-Indian name to be much more nationalistic in his thoughts and actions than a Hindu with an Indian name. The Christian must see that the name carries some meaning and has a psychological effect both on himself and on others. Therefore he cannot easily be a George or an Edward or an Elizabeth and be a good Indian at the same time.

For our part let us make no apology for Christian names, in fact we must defend them. Let us mercilessly discard the purely Western Indian names. As for our children let us take more and more to purely Indian names. For the Indian Christian will have to develop a religion rooted in the culture of the land in which he is born. But the non-Christian cannot afford to be a mere on-looker. He has to help in quickening the pace of this process.

#### THE CEYLON GOVERNOR'S CONSCIENCE.

We have rather a serious grievance against Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar. In his publication, "The India Ceylon Crisis" he quotes *The Reformer's* comment on the intervention of the Governor of Ceylon to warn his Ministers that he cannot consistently with the obligations undertaken by his predecessors towards Indians in Ceylon give his assent to some of the legislative measures which they were bringing forward. While pointing out that his intervention only aggravated matters as it enabled the Ministers to raise first class constitutional issues, we said that the stand of the Governor of Ceylon showed him to be a man of conscience. Mr. Natesa Aiyar interpolates the word "imperialist" before conscience which completely changes the meaning intended. Mr. Aiyar has added a note to the effect that the word and the underlining of it are his responsibility. Even so we think he should not have interfered with a quotation. He might have, if he chose, added a comment on it to signify that the Governor's conscience was that of an Imperialist.

#### HINDU LAW COMMITTEE ON INTESTATE SUCCESSION.

The Hindu Law Committee propose the following rules for the whole of India:—

"Rule 1. When a Hindu dies intestate in respect of heritable property, it shall devolve in the following order on the following classes of relations, namely,

1. The "enumerated heirs," that is to say,

(a) *The intestate's widow and descendants:*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) widow.                                       | } (all succeeding simultaneously and with equal rights). |
| (2) son.   |  |
| (3) son of pre-deceased son.                     |  |
| (4) son of pre-deceased son of pre-deceased son. |  |
| (5) unmarried daughter.                          |  |
| (6) married daughter.                            |  |
| (7) daughter's son.                              |  |
| (8) son's daughter.                              |  |
| (9) daughter's daughter.                         |  |

(b) *The intestate's father and his descendants:*

(1) Father. (2) Father's son. (3) Father's son's son. (4) Father's son's son's son. (5) Father's daughter. (6) Father's daughter's son.

(c) *The intestate's father's father and his descendants:*

(1) Father's father. (2) Father's father's son. (3) Father's father's son's son. (4) Father's father's son's son's son. (5) Father's father's daughter's son.

(d) *The intestate's father's father's father and his descendants:*

(1) Father's father's father. (2) Father's father's father's son. (3) Father's father's father's son's son. (4) Father's father's father's son's son's son. (5) Father's father's father's daughter's son.

(e) *The intestate's mother's father and his descendants:*

(1) Mother's father. (2) Mother's father's son. (3) Mother's father's son's son. (4) Mother's father's son's son's son. (5) Mother's father's daughter's son.

Son's daughter and daughter's daughter are the intestate's own descendants and, therefore, belong logically to I (a).

It is unnecessary to mention the son's widow, or the grandson's widow, or the great-grandson's widow, or mother, father's mother's or father's father's mother separately, because by virtue of Rule 8, if widows when succession opens they take the place of their respective husbands.

It will be noticed that if we omit the female heirs in this class, the enumeration is identical, in order and content, with Jimutavahana's as interpreted by G. C. Sarkar. The female heirs are either those enumerated by Jimutavahana himself or those mentioned in Act II of 1929.

II. *Agnates of the deceased* (i. e., persons related to him wholly through males) other than those already enumerated under I.

III. *Cognates of the deceased* (i. e., persons related to him, but not wholly through males) other than those already enumerated under I.

*Explanation:*—A woman who is related to the deceased wholly through males (excluding herself) is an agnate and any other female relation a cognate for the purposes of these Rules.

Rule 2. (a) Each class excludes the next and within each class the earlier group excludes the later.

(b) In each group, persons related to the deceased by the half-blood succeed immediately after persons related by the full-blood.

Rule 3. The order of the heirs in classes II and III shall be determined by the next four rules.

Rule 4. Of two heirs, the one who is nearer in ascent succeeds first.

Rule 5. If the two are equally near in ascent, the one nearer in descent succeeds first.

Rule 6. If the two are equally near both in

ascent and descent, the one who is in the male line of ascent succeeds first.

*Rule 7.* If the two are equally near in ascent and descent and the chain of ascent, if any, is the same in both cases, the one who is in the male line of descent succeeds first.

*Rule 8.* A woman who is a widow when succession opens (except the widow of the deceased himself) takes the place which her husband would have occupied in the order of succession if he had been alive at the time, without prejudice to any other rights which she may have."

The rules are mainly those of the Mitakshara, while the enumeration in class I is mainly that of the Dayabhaga. The scheme as a whole is, therefore, a compromise between the two Schools. We cannot emphasize too strongly that the proposed rules are the rules of *intestate* succession, liable to be overridden by a will.

#### INDIA DELEGATION TO CEYLON.

It is announced that at the request of the Government of Ceylon the Government of India have agreed to a resumption of the informal conversations which came to a close in November 1940. The meeting will take place in Ceylon early in September.

It is hoped that as a result of these exploratory discussions, a solution of various outstanding problems may be found which will help to re-establish on a firm basis of understanding and co-operation the traditional friendship between the two countries.

The Government of India are not yet ready for trade negotiations. These will be taken up at a later date.

Following will constitute the delegation of the Government of India :


Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai (Leader), Sir Mirza Ismail, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Mr. T. G. Rutherford. The Official Advisers to the Delegation will be Mr. G. S. Bozman and Mr. A. V. Pai. Mr. Pai also act as Secretary to the Delegation.

Mr. T. N. S. Raghavan, Agent to the Government of India in Ceylon, will assist the Delegation.

The association of non-officials as part of the Government of India Delegation it is pointed out here represents a return to the procedure followed in the case of Delegations sent to South Africa.

Trade negotiations being expressly excluded for the present, it is presumed that the forthcoming exploratory conversations will be directed primarily to questions relating to immigration and status of Indians in Ceylon. As the problem of immigration to Ceylon is predominantly one affecting South India the selection of the two non-officials is from that part of the country. Mr. T. G. Rutherford was an observer during the conversations in Delhi last November.

Those conversations, it is recalled, broke down on the question of status of Indians in Ceylon but the Government of India in announcing the discontinuance of the talks declared : "The desire of the Government of India that relations between the two countries should be placed on a firm basis of friendship and co-operation has in no way diminished and should a prospect of a resumption of negotiations with greater possibilities of success appear in the future they will be found ready to take advantage of it."



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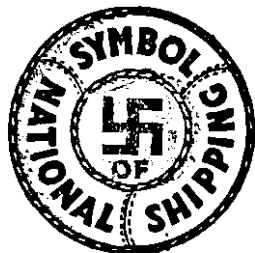
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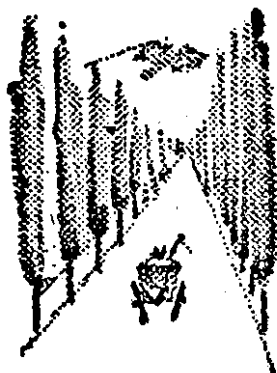
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Lord Linlithgow on the Third War Year:—**The Viceroy broadcast on September 3, the second anniversary of the outbreak of hostilities. He seemed to be in one of those rare moods when he takes it upon himself to speak for the whole of India. His whole address, however, was tinged with a complete disregard of the human factor involved in India's war effort. India was "the focus point" of the Eastern Group; the armies of India "had sought and found glory on many fields;" the deeds of those who fought in Keren and Damascus, Amba Alagi and El Mechili, are "to be inscribed, for India's honour, in golden letters on the banners of victory;" and those who work in India itself whether by giving money or by service, also get the good words of Lord Linlithgow. Everything is seen as part of the war machine. It was only when he came to the part where he appealed for greater effort that Lord Linlithgow talked of sacrifice. On one point, however, there were evident the bruises that His Excellency had suffered in his recent indiscreet encounter with Mr. Jinnah. It was when he said:—

There are those amongst us who would like to reap the harvest of victory without having put their hands to the plough. Others there are who for one reason or another, are not ashamed, though the nation stands in grave peril, to seek to divide the people, to weaken the war effort, to destroy confidence. But that is not the spirit of India. Do not, I beg of you, let this insidious fifth column eat like dry rot into the fabric of your determination. Be united, stand firm and persevere.

There is a sinister ring in this paragraph which all His Excellency's denunciations of Nazism and all that it stand for, cannot completely eradicate. It seems to hint that having failed miserably in the unimaginative conciliation efforts attempted in the past two years, the Government is threatening a resort to the traditional alternative. Lord Linlithgow betrays a sad confusion of thought when he talks of those who look for the "harvest of victory"—

unless he has convinced himself that a further reiteration of India's long-promised goal of Dominion Status is to be the outcome of Britain's victory in the war. The Viceroy does not seem to appreciate the irony of his speaking for India and denouncing dissentients when he has progressively alienated every section of Indian opinion by the policies he is pursuing. Even those who advocate full support to the war regardless of India's capacity, find the Linlithgow method a serious obstacle to the effectiveness of their appeals. There is no 'fifth column' in India and there is not likely to be one. What comes in the way of Indians identifying themselves with Britain is the gap between promise and performance never wider than in the regime of His Excellency.

**India's War Effort:—**The *Round Table* in a special article, the purpose of which is to show that India's place can never be outside the British Empire, makes the following observation which should not be lost sight of by those whose business it is to collect contributions to the war fund:

Her (India's) effort in the present war, splendid as it is, is much more on the scale of Canada and Australia than on that of this country (Britain). That is not the result of British Government in India or of insufficient Indian response to the call of the common cause, but of fundamental economic conditions. Only a long process of industrial development accompanied by a very substantial rise of the standard of living of the agricultural population—a process requiring generations to complete—can create a surplus sufficient to provide a navy, an air force and a mechanised army on a scale at all comparable with India's needs.

If "fundamental economic conditions" in India are not the result of the British Government of India, we should like to know who is responsible for them. When Lord Linlithgow talks of the splendid contributions of Indian troops—of which, by the way, most Indians have a much higher estimate than many Britishers would like to think—we immediately remember the arguments of this and other British writers who plead the inability of India to defend herself as the reason for her continuation in the British Empire. And yet Lord Linlithgow talks freely of India "manning her own defence as well as the outer bastions of her fortress"—in Egypt, in Iraq, in Iran and at Singapore. The British Government will have to find some better reason for India remaining a part of the Empire, in what is euphemistically called "free association." The implications of the contention that without

membership in the Empire India cannot expect help from Britain is political huckstering of the lowest and most irresponsible type. After all, the United States is not asking for political domination over Britain in exchange for the help she is asked to give.

**The Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah:**—The Viceroy's communication to Mr. Jinnah, conveyed for no apparent reason through the Governor of Bombay, suggests an understanding between the two, which the Viceroy thought existed, but which Mr. Jinnah felt it necessary to repudiate. Without such a belief on the part of His Excellency, the occasion for making a communication of the kind to the President of one of the principal political parties mentioned in the letter, is not at all clear. Was a similar communication made to the leaders of the other parties, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha? Was Gandhiji who is in sole command of Congress activities and Mr. Savarkar, the President of the organisation which claims to represent the great or small Hindu community, favoured with a similar communication? Did His Excellency think of asking for suggestions from these two leaders, and did he refrain from doing so lest he should embarrass them as he did in the case of Mr. Jinnah? The Government communique, issued in reply to Mr. Jinnah's statement explaining his position with reference to his colleagues who have accepted positions at the invitation of the Viceroy in the Executive Council and the National Advisory Council, omitted all reference to the accusatory communication. The Viceroy cannot enter into a personal controversy, but if he indulges in personal communications with political leaders, he cannot observe this convention without risking misunderstanding on the part of the public. A minor sensation of the incident is the use of the word "double-crossing" by Mr. Jinnah in connection with the Viceroy's invitation to Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. In a vague way we understand the word to have an unpleasant odour and to be some slang derived from the race course or cards. It has been freely applied by democratic spokesmen to the Nazi Fuehrer. Sir Sikandar has hastened to repudiate the suggestion implied in Mr. Jinnah's statement that he (Sir Sikandar) felt or said that he was double-crossed by the Viceroy. By adhering, however, to his decision to resign from the Advisory Council, after the statement of the Government, Sir Sikandar has shown that he agrees with Mr. Jinnah in his interpretation of the Viceroy's communication through the Governor of Bombay. The Bengal Premier, Mr. Fazlul Huq, who, it was announced, was coming to Bombay to have further consultation with Mr. Jinnah, has postponed his visit. Sir Saadullah, the Premier of Assam, who, it was announced at the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, had also decided to resign, seems to be wavering. One thing is clear. With this incident Indian

politics has entered a new phase. It is no longer possible for high officials to assume that Indian political leaders are likely to believe in private the opinions which they express in public. And that is a distinct gain.

**The Congress President on the War Committee:**—Whatever might be the feeling in the country about the wisdom of the present policy of individual satyagraha pursued by the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership, there can be no two opinions about the discredit into which that great political organisation is being drawn by the actions of those who call themselves leaders of the party and claim on that account to represent India as a whole. It is difficult to appreciate the moral value of a movement in which the outstanding figures, released from jail on grounds of health, immediately proceed to engage in political activities. Nor can much be said either for the negotiations going on behind the scenes to get the movement pulled out of its existing confusion through official initiative. Nevertheless, there were many who were prepared to condone even these lapses from ordinary political standards on the ground that the pitch of politics defiled even a national movement. But the news item which we give below from the *Bombay Chronicle*, must stagger anyone who looks upon politics as something more than an all-in contest:

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress, has wired the following from the Naini Jail to Mr. Parasram Tahilramant, President of the Sind Provincial Congress:—"I consider it inadvisable on the part of the Sind Congress to demand Khan Bahadur Allah Buksh's resignation from the Defence Council. Khan Bahadur Allah Buksh is not a member of the Congress, nor was our support conditional beyond his following the Congress programme in toto. We decided to support him because of the exceptional circumstances in Sind and those circumstances had not yet altered. It will be deplorable for the Sind Congress to change in any manner the course of conduct laid down by me. Inform Mr. R. K. Sidhwa."

We do not raise here the question of the wisdom or value of the advice which is a matter for the Sind Congress. But what concerns the public is the propriety of it. The Maulana Saheb obviously exercises a measure of liberty in his Naini Jail which makes jail-going a farce. That the President of an organisation which has made itself responsible for a campaign of courting imprisonment in assertion of the right of pacifist propaganda, should work from behind prison bars to retain a provincial premier on the National Defence Committee; is something which seems beyond the realm of the possible. We know that the Maulana Saheb has suffered rough handling from Mr. Jinnah but in politics there is no room for personal grievances. The complaint has often been made that the British Government plays one party off against the other. The Maulana has converted the Congress to a pawn in this game. His conduct is ludicrous and unworthy of one who occupies the high position he has today. What is the Maulana's idea of "the Congress programme in toto?" We do not know whether the Maulana in jail

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Some sort of restriction must also be put on testamentary powers of the person as is done under the Muhamedan Law. Otherwise, the father will sometimes will away his entire property—both ancestral and self-acquired. And then, other members of the family as those mentioned in the rule would not get anything as they are entitled to a share only when a man dies intestate.

It is good that the distinction of provided for and unprovided for amongst the daughters which is in the present law, is done away with. Further, it is not known on what principle the distinction is made between married and unmarried daughter. This distinction also should be done away with. It is also a matter for serious consideration whether a daughter should be given a share exactly equal to that of the son.

The Stridhan is very competently dealt with. Therein also, it is submitted, that there should be one uniform rule of Succession to all kinds of Stridhan and not two sets of rules—one for Stridhan

#### VIJAYANAGAR.

(BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

Time was when Indian Universities were mere examining bodies on the model of the old London University. Thanks to the newer emphasis on the side of teaching and research, some of the Indian Universities have forged ahead in the cultivation, development and dissemination of knowledge. Rightly has it come to be recognised that teachers are more important than brick and mortar, knowledge more than degrees, publications more than routine class teaching. It was under Sir Asutosh Mukherjee that the Calcutta University had a second birth; and his example has been followed by other universities. Of talent there is enough in the land; only opportunities are rare. Though Madras took up the new task late, it has already done splendid work; and one of the vigorous departments of research in the Madras University is that of Indian History and Archaeology. This book on Vijayanagar\* is the work of a research student, Mr. Mahalingam, under the guidance of its distinguished Professor Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

The history of Vijayanagar marks an important phase in the evolution of Modern India. It records the struggle of South India for national existence against the onslaught of Muslim invaders during more than three centuries (14th to 17th centuries A. D.). In this struggle for political and religious freedom, it fought and fell, but only to induce in its turn a similar struggle in the seventeenth century in Maharashtra. Above all, the period of the Vijayanagar struggle marks the culmination of the achievements, political and cultural, of the people of South India when they remained unsubdued by the foreign aggressor. How useful is such an investigation to Modern India!

In 1900 Robert Sewell startled the world of scholars by his epoch-making publication "A Forgotten Empire;" and during the course of these forty years there has gone on much accumulation of material—foreign notices, copper-plates, stone inscriptions and literary materials of the highest value to the historian; and surely, history has been "lengthening, deepening and widening." But, as Curzon remarked, "much of ancient history even in an age of great discoveries, still remains mere guess-work. But the clues are lying everywhere at our hand, in buried cities, in undeciphered inscriptions, in casual coins, in crumbling pillars, and pencilled slabs of stone. They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past and recall to

life the morality, the literature, the politics, the arts of a perished age." There is a view that Vijayanagar history has been overdone. With the help of his collaborator, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar brought out a source-book of Vijayanagar history. Apart from the work of the officers of the Archaeological Department, valuable contributions have been made by Heras, Saletore and N. Venkataramanayya—to mention only a few of the prominent scholars who laboured in this field. How rich is yet the field of untapped historical materials will be clear from the announcement of a "very considerable collection of further sources of Vijayanagar" by the Reader and the Professor of the Madras University. To interpret them aright and to weave them into the fabric of history is a task that will engage the attention of many scholars for a long time to come. At this stage, the work of Mr. Mahalingam is a very welcome addition to this growing volume of historical works bearing on South India.

In part (1), the author examines the administrative system of the Vijayanagar empire. The King was the most important organ in the body politic. He was not an autocrat unrestrained by any form of check. His powers were limited by certain codes and institutions based on custom and public opinion on the one side and on laws derived from the Vedas, Smritis and Dharmasastras on the other. The anointed King who is equal to God and who is created by God, should relieve the sufferings of the people. Not only did most of the Vijayanagar Kings perform efficiently the elementary duties of a ruler—that of protection of life and property and the maintenance of peace and order; but they also strove to enforce *Svadharm*a on the respective castes and communities.

In addition to the Council of Ministers—with the Pradhani at the head—which advised the King on all matters of state, there was a larger imperial council which met on ceremonial occasions. It was with the expert guidance of his ministers that the king carried on his administration. Even an able strong ruler like Krishna Deva Raya is said to have remarked, "I am sitting on the throne; but the world is ruled by the ministers. Who listens to my words?" Though exaggerated, this explains in a way the influence of the council of ministers on the king. About Saluva Timma, the minister of Krishna Deva Raya, Paes says, "He commands the whole household and to him all the greatest lords act as to the king."

The revenue administration is described in great detail. The chief sources of revenue were the land tax, property tax, commercial taxes, profession tax, tax on industries, military contributions, judicial fines, etc. Generally payment was made both in cash and in kind. As regards collection four methods were adopted. The Government appointed its own servants to collect the revenue. It farmed out its revenues to bidders. It made a village or a group of villages responsible for the collection. Lastly grants of land were made to Nayakas in return for military service and a fixed tribute.

Modern canons of public finance are different from those of the past. A good part of the income was spent on the purchase and maintenance of elephants, horses; and in the maintaining of a large standing army kept against the constant wars in a life-and-death struggle between Vijayanagar and the Sultans of the Deccan. While the treasury hoarded a good bit against the rainy season, and spent on irrigation and public works, extravagant expenditure on the luxurious court accounted for the rest of the collections.

Village, S'irmai, Paru, Nadu, Kottam, Rajyam, Mandalam represented the general hierarchy in the organization from the village to the province.

\* "Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar"—by T. V. Mahalingam. Madras University Historical Series No. 15. General Editor: Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.



Members of the royal family or eminent military officers were generally appointed Provincial Governors; and these sometimes removed the puppet rulers at the centre and established themselves on the throne. The Saluva and Tuluva usurpers were creations of this nature. An important feature of the Vijayanagar provincial organisation was the Nayankara system according to which the ruler established military fiefs in the distant parts of the empire. The head of the settlement was obliged to pay a fixed annual tribute—generally half of the revenue of the settlement—and to maintain an army with which to serve his lord when required.

Local bodies like the *Ur*, the *Sabha* and the *Nagarani* (guilds)—the legacy of earlier times—functioned well during Vijayanagar days. It was the strength of the virile local bodies that maintained the even tenor of life of the people and mitigated, to some extent, the tyranny of the central government, if and when it was in evidence to excess.

Under the section *Social Life*, the author has presented a good deal of interesting details of the life of the people, as it was then lived. Marriage was considered a sacrament. The *Kanyadhana* form of marriage was widespread and popular. The practice of bride-price was prevalent, and at one time the brahmins of the Padaividu Rajya felt this evil to such an extent that they resolved thenceforward to conclude a marriage only by *kanyadhana* and to punish by ex-communication those who broke the rule. Early marriage and Sati were in vogue.

Foreign travellers say that the Vijayanagara kings had wives in hundreds—nay, thousands. In the capital lived also a large number of courtesans. Abdur Razak was very much struck by "the beauty of the heart-ravishers, their blandishments and ogles." Some of them were very rich and, if they died issueless, the king became the heir to their property. It is said that, after the death of one of them issueless, the king got as much as 70,000 *pardaos*.

The king lived in great pomp and splendour. The court-life, the food and dress, the games and amusements of the kings and the nobility are described with suitable extracts from descriptions of foreign visitors. The gymnasium in which duels and wrestling were conducted, was a favourite institution in Vijayanagar days; and even endowments were occasionally made for its maintenance.

Though supporters of Hinduism, Vijayanagar kings patronised Jainism, Christianity and Islam, even in spite of the fact that the Deccan Sultans were their traditional enemies. For instance, it is said that Deva Raya II gave encouragement to the Muslims to settle in his kingdom; and the same policy was followed by later kings.

The peace and prosperity of the Vijayanagar empire was reflected in literary output of a high order and of an extensive nature. Among the celebrities of the Vijayanagar age should be mentioned Vedanta Desikar, Madhava Charya, Sayana, Gangadevi (a woman), Appaya Dikshitar, Allasani Peddanna and Marajinasambandar. Our author concludes with a chapter on the architecture, sculpture and painting of the Vijayanagar age. Though dealt with in sufficient detail, they deserve a fuller treatment by a more systematic field investigation of most of the monuments of age.

The author of the book under review has the technical equipment to handle the original materials, and he has displayed high ability in interpreting and presenting them in an attractive manner. We wish that universities give greater facilities to such publications.

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property in the life-time of his father. This point must be made very clear by making a separate rule. And, it is submitted that in this respect the rule of the Dayabhag School should be enforced, and a son's right to the property by birth be taken away. The root-cause of the whole evil in the joint family law is the right by birth in the ancestral property given by Mitakshara (see page 19 of the Note on the Hindu Joint Family under Mitakshara Law, by R. B. Govindbhai H. Desai of Baroda Government; and the Principle of Survivorship from "Legal Aspects of Social Reform" by Paul Appaswami). To take a concrete instance, suppose a family consists of the father, the son, the unmarried daughter and the widow of the predeceased son. If the Mitakshara law is kept as it is, then the son would demand a partition in the life-time of the father. Naturally, his share would be half, and the share of his father would be half. The other persons like the daughter and the widow of the predeceased son would not get anything at the time of this partition as it is stated that they would get a share only after the death of the father. Naturally after the death of the father all these other persons would be entitled to a share only in the half share fallen to the father at the time of the partition between the father and the son. And, the fortunate son has already got a half share. This is certainly harsh and would, it is submitted, entirely defeat the object for which the rule is made and by which the widow of the deceased and the daughter get a share along with the son. Further, this will give an encouragement to the son to demand a partition of his share always in the life-time of his father. It is, therefore, humbly submitted that a specific rule must be embodied in the Code itself that the son does not get a right to the ancestral property by birth. In this respect, the Dayabhag Law is to be preferred.

It is good that no distinction is made between the ancestral and separate property. The rules are made in respect of the whole heritable property. The widow, the unmarried daughter and the widow of the predeceased son are all given shares equal to that of the son. These shares must, in equity, be saddled with the liability. They must be made responsible for paying off the debts of the father along with the son. This fact must be made clear.

If the theory of joint ownership of the wife with the husband enunciated by Jaimini is to be fully recognised, then she must have some right to the property of her husband in his own life-time. Some provision must, therefore, be made in the Code itself if the husband does not waste away the whole of his property.

Some sort of restriction must also be put on testamentary powers of the person as is done under the Muhamedan Law. Otherwise, the father will sometimes will away his entire property—both ancestral and self-acquired. And then, other members of the family as those mentioned in the rule would not get anything as they are entitled to a share only when a man dies intestate.

It is good that the distinction of provided for and unprovided for amongst the daughters which is in the present law, is done away with. Further, it is not known on what principle the distinction is made between married and unmarried daughter. This distinction also should be done away with. It is also a matter for serious consideration whether a daughter should be given a share exactly equal to that of the son.

The Stridhan is very competently dealt with. Therein also, it is submitted, that there should be one uniform rule of Succession to all kinds of Stridhan and not two sets of rules—one for Stridhan inherited by male and another inherited by female. This process would be cumbersome and there would be two sets of heirs to the property of the deceased. To take an illustration, an unmarried daughter gets a share in the property of her father. After her marriage she takes the property along with her in the house of her husband. Now after her death that property will devolve upon the heirs of her father while the property inherited by her as a widow of her husband will devolve upon her own Stridhan heirs. This distinction should be done away with and there should be one uniform set of rules for all kinds of Stridhan. Further, it is a matter of very serious consideration also whether there should be at all a different set of rules for the heirs of Stridhan. When a woman gets a share and when her estate is considered as an absolute estate and when it is embodied in the Memorandum that there should be no distinction due to sex, it is not known why there should be a different set of rules for the Stridhan of the woman and the property of the male. In fact, Stridhan heirs should be practically the same as the heirs of the male and there should be one set of heirs for both the male and female.

The rules regarding the Succession between Gotrajas or Agnates and Bandhus or Cognates are quite simple and effective. Really, the Committee deserve gratitude for that. Even the layman, it is hoped, unfamiliar with technicalities of law, would be able to find out where he is by applying these rules. Best efforts are made to clarify the meaning of these rules by giving the appropriate and clear illustrations.

#### NUTRITION AND ECONOMICS.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

As regards the note in *The Reformer* of August 23 regarding nutrition survey in Gujarat, it is usual to conduct the economic and nutrition survey of families together, as many valuable deductions can be made from the data obtained. In a similar survey in Bihar, it was found that with increase in family income there was a natural tendency for the diet to approximate to the well-balanced diet as there was increased consumption of milk and other "protective" foods. Except in the methods of preparation, the Gujarati diet approximates to the Marathi one, (in which rice and wheat together form the staple food) and perhaps that it is why no survey of Gujarati diet was considered necessary.

August 23, 1941.

Yours etc.,  
"DOCTOR."

whole of Hindudom and as such it is trusted that the Crown Representative is giving it his due consideration.

The right to adopt was really a vested right of the late ruler of Kolhapur and the late Maharaja having failed to do that, it is now, no doubt, according to the Hindu Law, the right of the Senior Maharani. Nobody will think of denying her that right since Hindu rulers are Hindus first and Rajas and Maharajas afterwards. Therefore, the Senior Maharani should be helped to exercise her vested rights in a judicial spirit and in accordance with Hindu Law, custom and tradition. For arriving at such a judicial finding a scholar of Hindu Law and Sanskrit, eminent lawyer and judge should be approached. In India today there is no one more competent to undertake this arduous job than the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar. He will have to examine the rights of the various claimants to the gadi including that of the Senior Maharani herself, her minor daughter, agnate kinsmen and cognate relations of the Kolhapur royal family. There are very difficult points of Law involved in this case. According to some of the claimants, Hindu Law, custom and usages obtaining in Ruling Mahratta families women or those connected by marriage are precluded from succeeding to the gadi and they quote the instance of Satara and Kolhapur houses. Then there is the question of deciding as to who is the nearest agnatic kinsman of the Kolhapur ruling family.

In my humble opinion, therefore, the Political Department should not take over the heavy responsibility of deciding who is the rightful person to be adopted. Otherwise what is being said in the press that the Paramount Power has not yet abandoned the notorious old policy of Lord Dalhousie will be irresistably concluded to be a fact.

Delhi,  
August 27, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
GANPAT RAI.

#### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

The Editor,  
*The Indian Social Reformer.*  
Sir,

In an editorial note appearing in your issue of last week, you rightly suggest to all people in order to promote good feelings towards communities other than one's own, to take a solemn pledge to regard all persons as fellowmen irrespective of caste and creed. In this connection I beg to say that, to promote communal harmony (and virtuous living) among students of various communities professing Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, broad principles of religion common to all religions, free from sectarian strife and theological contention, should be taught in schools to the great advantage of the individual as well as the nation as was suggested by Chintamani in his Presidential address at the Mysore University Convocation in 1935. Gandhiji says: "Fundamental principles of ethics are common to all religions. These should certainly be taught to the children in schools....."

It is to be hoped that Government will take early steps to give in schools religious education in the broad principles of religion common to all religions, to students of all communities simultaneously two half hours weekly to promote virtuous living and communal peace and harmony and in order that our youth of all communities may be upright, righteous, sober, unselfish in daily dealing with fellow-men.

Bombay,  
August 25, 1941. }

Yours etc.,  
ZOROASTRIAN.

### THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, has issued the following appeal:—

The Benares Hindu University which has been built and maintained by the magnificent grants, recurring and non-recurring, of the Princes and People of India and the Government of the country, will celebrate its Silver Jubilee in January 1942.

It is a matter for rejoicing that its chief architect, to whose selfless devotion and unbounded faith, the University owes its present position—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji—is happily with us inspiring us with his own optimism.

Though the spirit of Hindu religion interpreted in its broadest sense inspire all its activities, it has specialised also in scientific and technological studies, realising that the future of our country depends largely on applied science. Its Engineering College, with its Mechanical and Electrical branches, is well known throughout the country, and the departments of Mining and Metallurgy, Industrial Chemistry, Agricultural Research, Ceramics, Pharmaceutical Chemistry and Glass Technology are the special features of the University, which are not to be found elsewhere. Its different colleges of Arts and Science, Theology and Oriental Learning, Ayurveda and Engineering Law and Technology are run on the most economical lines and with utmost possible efficiency in the present financial condition.

The University which has served the nation so nobly these last twenty-five years hopes to carry on its work and traditions. It is, however, burdened

with a debt of nearly twenty lakhs of rupees and stands in urgent need of more hostel accommodation, Research Chairs for men of achievement, and Fellowships for promising young persons. We take this opportunity of appealing to the Princes and People of India to help this national institution in a generous manner on this auspicious occasion of its Silver Jubilee. All donations, large or small, will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Vice-Chancellor.

### CEYLON AND INDIA.

Cordial sentiments towards India were expressed by Sir Baron Jayatilaka, Home Minister and Leader of the State Council, proposing the toast of India at a Colombo dinner given in honour of the Indian Mayors, one of the many social functions being held in honour of the visitors. He said if Ceylon had achieved any political progress it was due to the inspiration they had derived from India. He believed that the day was dawning when India would take her rightful place among free nations. "When that day dawns, Lanka, we hope, would stand by her side and gain for herself a full measure of freedom. Lanka would stand by the side of Mother India and contribute her share in the great work India would do for the peace, progress and happiness of mankind."

Mr. Gazdar, Mayor of Karachi, in reply declared that India and Ceylon would always remain one.

Mr. Saravanamuttu, Mayor of Colombo, said the day would come when a statue would be erected in Ceylon to the Indian labourer to commemorate his contribution to Ceylon's prosperity.

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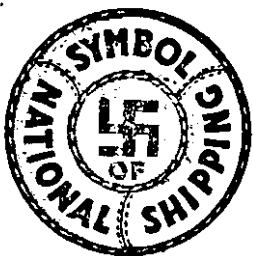
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