

INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDEA, BOMBAY, 20.

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Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 13, 1941. No. 2.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Tagore Meeting in London.
Australians and the Indian Army.
India and the Dominions, Fifth Column.
Lord Linlithgow's Successor.
Sir Sultan Ahmed.
Indian, European and Christian.
Irani Girl Case.
India and Britain.

Mr. Churchill Explains.
The Brahma Samaj: Progress or Drift?
The Dnieper-Dunai Canal.
Indians in Burma.
Provincial Autonomy Since the War.
"Religion, Nationalism and Names."
The War and Christian Civilization.

NOTES.

Tagore Meeting in London:—The fullest report of the meeting held in London to do honour to the memory of Rabindranath Tagore, that we have seen, is from the London correspondent of the *Hindu*. The Conway Hall was filled to overflowing. Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, J. B. Priestley and Aldous Huxley, who were expected to speak, contented themselves with sending messages more or less of appreciation. The principal speakers were M. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador in London, the Chinese Ambassador, and Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury. M. Maisky quoting a Russian Proverb that the stars shine brightest when the night is darkest, said that Tagore as the apostle of freedom appeared to the greatest advantage against the background of Nazi repression. The Chinese Ambassador referred to the great impression made by the Poet on the Chinese people when he visited that country. The speech of the Dean of Canterbury was the most noteworthy contribution to the proceedings. Dr. Hewlett Johnson ranked Tagore with Homer, Tolstoi and Shakespeare as one who spoke across the frontiers and the ages. To the same group belong Goethe and Mazzini and Victor Hugo. Emerson in the *New World* takes rank in the class of men who thought and wrought for humanity. If mankind is ever to realise its oneness, it will do so through the men who think in terms of humanity and nations can help only to the extent that they sit at the feet of their prophets.

Australians and the Indian Army:—The Simla correspondent of the *Hindu* offers what evidently is the official answer to the criticism that Australians are drafted as officers in the Indian Army while Indians are debarred from settling in Australia. This is nothing new, we are told. Even before the war, Dominions men were eligible for admission into the Indian Army after training at Woolwich and Sandhurst. But the war itself is a new problem and Indians are

exhorted and expected to feel that their responsibility is greater than that of any other part of the Empire to bring it to a victorious close. The least that the Government here and in Britain should have done, before training and commissioning Australians as officers of the Indian Army in Singapore, was to persuade the Australians to remove the ban on the entry of Indians into their country. This would probably have been refused and so Indians who have no rights, only obligations, must accept Dominions men in their services. As a matter of fact, the admission of Australians after training in Singapore, is an innovation and a further encroachment on Indian susceptibilities. Woolwich and Sandhurst are institutions to which Indians are eligible for admission though not many might have been admitted. Here the Australians are specially selected for training. The explanation that England and India are incapable of meeting the large demand for officers, is ludicrous. Britain can not provide enough personnel because her youth are already in the Army. But against Australia's some ten millions, India has a population of four hundred millions. Forty times more young men should be available for training, if there was the will to train them as officers, from India than from Australia. This, we are told, is a drop in the ocean but the point involves a principle. The importance of the infinitesimal is not less in politics than in other vital human concerns.

India and the Dominions:—It has been suggested at various times by optimistic or idle London correspondents that the Dominions are to mediate on the differences that exist between India and Britain. How fitted they are to mediate, is shown in the Australian Dominion's connivance at a policy which even the exigencies of war cannot condone. Glimpses of the new order that come to us, from policies followed in India are far from reassuring. It is only fair to remark that in this as in other instances we are paying dearly for the political folly of thinking that the remedy can only come with independence. If the policy of indifference to such conditions is intended to stress and advance the national interest, nothing could be farther from the reality.

Fifth Column:—His Excellency the Viceroy in his broadcast on September 3 exhorted the Indian people "not to let this insidious fifth

column eat like dry rot into the fabric of their determination." He explained in the preceding sentences what he meant by "this fifth column." There were those among Indians, he said, who would like to reap the harvest of victory without having put their hands to the plough. Others there were, he went on, who for one reason or another were not ashamed though the nation stood in grave peril, to seek to divide the people, to weaken the war effort, to destroy confidence. The *Illustrated Weekly of India* four days later published an illustrated article on "fifth columnists" and how to deal with them. The fifth columnist is described by the composer of this article, as a person carrying concealed about him a number of deadly weapons of which pictures were given. The fifth columnist is bracketed with the parachutist for the purpose of treatment. When a Home Guard suspects a person to be either, he should throw a stone in his direction without making himself visible to the man. If the latter shows signs of being startled, the Home Guard should knock him on the back of his head with the butt of his gun. Shooting is to be avoided for two reasons. One is that, if the man has accomplices lurking in the vicinity, the sound of gunshot would bring them to his rescue. The second is that information can be coaxed or coerced from the captive regarding the enemy. Dead men tell no tales. If the Home Guard is able to knock the fifth columnist or parachutist flat on his back, he should kneel on his belly with his knees pressing down as heavily as his weight allows. This also is shown in a picture. The general advice is given: "Every Home Guard, when confronted with a job of this sort must get out of his mind all the inbred ideas of fair play." It would be idiotic to assume that the composer of the *Illustrated Weekly* article intended it as a practical demonstration in continuation of the Viceroy's exhortation. It is obvious that the Viceroy and he did not mean the same type when referring to the fifth column. But the average reader who heard the Viceroy's broadcast and perused the *Illustrated Weekly's* pictures, is not likely to perceive the distinction between the Viceroy's idea of the fifth columnist and the idea of the propagandist in the illustrated paper. When one next reads or hears of an innocent citizen being knocked senseless in the streets, he should not jump to the conclusion that communal riots have restarted in the city. The article is a direct, though unintended, step likely to force Indian politics back into the channel of revolutionary, anarchic violence from which with infinite labour and at considerable risk, Indian leaders, notably Gandhiji, have just succeeded in diverting it. It is strange that the arrant folly of publishing such a composition at this time in a country where to the unsophisticated mass-mind every white man is as a parachutist dropped from the sky, did not strike those responsible for the production of the *Illustrated Weekly*.

Lord Linlithgow's Successor:—Some months back it was announced, officially or semi-officially, that Lord Linlithgow's tenure of the office of Viceroy of India was extended until after the end of the war. During the last few days, however, London correspondents have been transmitting various names as being canvassed in the British Press for the Viceregal succession. Lord Halifax, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Stafford Cripps and Viscount Samuel, have been mentioned. Lord Halifax has been a failure as British Ambassador in the United States. His return to India would be no more a success than the return of Lord Curzon for a second term was. Sir Samuel Hoare is not the most appropriate man to overhaul completely the Government of Act which he no doubt continues to regard as the outstanding achievement of his Parliamentary career, and to overhaul it, it has been conceded, will be the first step in framing a new constitution. The Duke of Devonshire's first and only attempt to outline a scheme of Indian reform, was incontinently thrown overboard although the Duke expressly declared that he spoke with the authority of the British Government in which he is an Under-Secretary. It may be recalled that it was the absent-mindedness of his uncle when Secretary of State for India that led to the agitation on the Ilbert Bill. The Marquis of Hartington put the despatch from the Government of India in his pocket and forgot all about it. The Marquis was also distinguished as the only politician the who yawned when he was making his maiden speech in the House of Commons. Sir Stafford Cripps is recommended as one who can conciliate Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, because, we suppose, both had leanings towards Soviet Russia. But what about Mr. V. D. Savarkar and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, not to mention Dr. B. R. Ambedkar? Viscount Samuel was a conspicuous success as first High Commissioner in Palestine. But the policy which he followed there, that of promoting a sense of fellow-citizenship among Arabs and Jews, can not be applied to Indian problems so long as Lord Minto's mistake of basing the franchise on religious beliefs, holds the field. On the whole, a change of Viceroyalty in itself is a matter of minor importance. Lord Linlithgow, however, requires a change badly. His broadcast on the second anniversary of the war showed signs of unmistakable weariness.

Sir Sultan Ahmed:—Sir Sultan Ahmed of Patna has assumed charge of the Law Membership of the Government of India in succession to Sir Mahomed Zaffrullah Khan who has been nominated a Judge of the Federal Court in the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Shah Sulaiman. Sir Sultan was one of those against whom disciplinary action was contemplated by the Working Committee of the Muslim League of which he was a member. At its last meeting in Bombay, the Committee authorised its President, Mr. Jinnah, to take such

action as he thought fit, if within ten days Sir Sultan Ahmed did not withdraw his acceptance of the Law Membership. The ten days have elapsed and Sir Sultan has assumed office. In a statement, he explains that the Law Membership stands quite apart from the scheme of expansion of the Executive Council. His acceptance of the office, therefore, stands on a totally different footing from the acceptance of any other of the seven new memberships of the Viceroy's Council or membership of the National Advisory Council which has been newly created. By implication, Sir Sultan approves of the expulsion of Muslim League members who have accepted nominations in the newly created categories. Mr. Jinnah, however, maintains that there is no difference between the old and new members of the Executive Council and this is also the view expressed by Mr. Amery in his speech upholding the Viceroy's contention that the three Muslim Premiers were nominated to the Advisory Council as Premiers of their respective provinces and not as representatives of the Muslim community. Disagreeing with this view, the Premier of the Punjab has, with the unanimous approval of his party and his followers in the Punjab Assembly, resigned his seat on the Advisory Council. The Bengal Premier, Mr. Fazlul Huq, has resigned his membership of the League and has requested the Viceroy to permit him to resign the membership of the National Advisory Council. He denounces Mr. Jinnah for acting as an autocrat. Mr. Huq does not evidently agree with the opinion that democracy paves the way to dictatorship. Begum Shah Nawaz, another member of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, who had accepted a membership on the Advisory Council and had been called upon to resign it within ten days, has declined to comply with the mandate pleading that she was nominated to the Advisory Council as sole representative of women, and not as a Muslim League member or as a Muslim.

Indian, European and Christian :—Mr. John Barnabas' article on names of Christians which appeared in *The Reformer* of August 30 and the letter from Mr. Caiero which we print this week, are curious products of over-sensitive minds. So far as a large number of educated Indians is concerned, we do not think anyone worries very much today about names. There might be cases of young men being given or refused jobs on the strength of being Christians but except in Government and semi-official institutions this is extremely uncommon. And so far as officialdom is concerned, profession of Christianity has been rather an asset than a liability. But we have seen from time to time Indian Christian young men coming out with pronouncements on clothing, names and other accidents of life, which seem woefully out of place in the midst of more serious problems. In so far as these are symptoms of a greater desire to identify themselves with the other communities in India, as Indian in origin and

Indian in interests, they are probably to be welcomed but they tend to morbidity. Anyone who sits by himself and broods over the communal problem, is bound to find all sorts of grievances. No Christian actually need feel uncomfortable in the presence of his non-Christian friends because of his name and we can think of very few who are worried about it.

Polish Jew Refugees :—The *Bombay Sentinel* published last week a complaint that the Polish Consul-General in Bombay, Dr. Banasinski, was showing unfair discrimination against refugees from his country belonging to the Hebrew race, in the distribution of relief. The treatment of Jews in Poland was notoriously oppressive, but it might have been hoped that fellowship in misfortune would lead to the extinction of race prejudice. In any case, the Jews have always been honourably treated in India since the days of the Dispersion when a branch of the race sought asylum in this country. If there is any measure of truth in the complaint of discrimination against Jewish refugees, the Polish Consul-General may be reminded that India expects that her traditional policy of religious toleration will be respected by all who enjoy her hospitality either in an official or private capacity.

Irani Girl Case :—After a trial which lasted several days before Mr. Justice N. J. Wadia and a Common Jury, the accused, Kohli and his wife, were found guilty of having brought a girl from Iran, made her lead a life of prostitution and lived on her earnings. They were sentenced to imprisonment for three years under the Indian Penal Code and the Prevention of Prostitution Act. The facts disclosed in the case show that the grossest and most brutal type of Western brothels, has been reproduced in this city. The girl deposed that she had not less than four visitors every day and more on some days. The main line of defence was that the accused, Kohli, was a well-to-do man and had no need to resort to this nefarious traffic to maintain himself. It is notorious, however, that the international trade in prostitution is a highly organised one with plenty of finance behind it. Like the trade in drink with which it is closely allied, it is also a highly profitable one. The sentences cannot be regarded as excessive. From the public point of view, the case has raised the question whether it was a solitary one. Counsel for the defence made a point when he asked why the Vigilance Agencies in Bombay had not taken action during the two years that the Kohlis were keeping the girl in Bombay. The other question more particularly concerns the Parsis. The status of some of the persons whose names were mentioned in the case, makes one wonder that action was not taken sooner to release the victim from her degrading servitude. The case also brings into prominence the need for special procedure which will obviate subjecting victims of a tender age and of little education to the ordeal of a long and distressing public examination.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 13, 1941.

INDIA AND BRITAIN.

Of all reasons for India giving her support to Britain in warding off the great danger which threatens her existence, the poorest and the least likely to quicken the Indian conscience is that, if Britain lost the war, India will have to endure the horrors of the Nazi regime. Men live and suffer in the present and not in the future. The present is real, the future, even the next minute, is an idea. The average man is not likely to reconcile himself to a toothache by the thought that he might have to suffer later from cancer of the stomach.

Who can hold a fire in his hand

By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?

To use the alternative of Nazi oppression as a plea for Indian support, is to put the case on the lowest and most uninspiring basis. Surely, there are more substantial reasons on which Britain is entitled to India's help in her hour of need. Unfortunately in this commercial age, these reasons do not command the weight that they should in any thoughtful estimate of human values. And the irony is that Englishmen will be the first to deride them. Congress nationalists have denounced the British connection, wholesale as having ruined the moral, spiritual, economic and industrial life of the country. But there are still some who continue to cherish the values which the British connection, not always consciously, infused into Indian life. To these, the Areopagitica which it brought us, is alone worth a hundred flourishing factories. And, indeed, it is the spirit of the Areopagitica which made us aware of our deficiencies in factories and the need to correct them. The idea of civic freedom was alien to both Hindu and Muslim polity. It came to us with the British connection. That the dry bones of the valley had become instinct with life under the touch of English education, was one of the slogans oftenest heard from Congress platforms in the first twenty-five years of its existence. The religious and social reform movements which preceded by over fifty years and provided a solid basis for the political reform movement, came into existence under the impact of the British connection. The women's movement which is the most conspicuous feature of Indian national life today, sprang under the same impetus. Thirty years ago girls could be got to be sent to school only with much difficulty. Today schools can not be started sufficiently rapidly for their swelling numbers and they are overflowing into boys' institutions. These are achievements during the British period which should have a prominent place in a just estimate of the British connection. The British period has been a period of spiritual and social emancipation and must inevitably fulfil itself in

political emancipation also. Not the assurances of British statesmen but the momentum of British Indian history, makes this an inescapable certainty. Among British statesmen whose names will remain landmarks in Indian history, none stands higher than Edmund Burke. If British statesmen had all along dealt with India in the spirit of Burke, no propaganda, no pressure would be necessary to make India feel at one with Britain in weal and woe. The men, some of them Governors of provinces, who hold up the terrors of Nazi tyranny as the main if not the sole reason for demanding India's full measure of support, tacitly accept the Gandhian estimate of the results of British rule. Swami Vivekananda again and again acknowledged that, while India had nothing to learn from the West in the sphere of religion, Britain was the great master of the world in the science of politics.

Edmund Burke was and still is the most illustrious of political philosophers. An American Committee of eminent scholars belonging to the original thirteen American Colonies, is bringing out a memorial edition of the complete works—speeches and writings—of Edmund Burke. Professor Hopson Owen Murfee of Virginia University, Secretary of the Edmund Burke American Memorial Committee, contributes the biographical volume which he took in hand many years ago with the counsel of his friend, Woodrow Wilson. Six other volumes are included in the edition and one of them, the fifth, is specially reserved for India. In a personal letter inviting our estimate of Burke's influence on Indian political thought, and asking for a list of published works in India on Edmund Burke, Professor Murfee says, "Even above America, Edmund Burke regarded his services to India as the supreme work of his illustrious life." We are unable at the moment to think of any published work on Burke by Indians. We should be obliged if any of our readers who know of such, will kindly communicate with us or write direct to Professor Murfee, Pratsville, Alabama, U. S. A. There is sure to be some study of Burke's literary and political writings by Indian scholars, which might have escaped our notice. But, speaking generally, our impression is that Burke's influence as a writer and political thinker was a part of Indian political consciousness and had not become a matter of objective study. It is no exaggeration to say that Burke's efforts to bring to book Warren Hastings—who, by the way, was deeply interested in the culture and religion of India—for his maladministration, and the speeches which he delivered as leader of the Commons delegation which conducted the impeachment before the House of Lords, formed for two score years the main source from which the Indian intelligentsia drew its political inspiration. Burke's works were the foundation on which Indian nationalism shaped itself in communion with the British connection. Burke's sympathy for India was not merely political or

sentimental. He had a reverent feeling for ancient things and the historical continuity of Indian religion and culture through the ages, strongly appealed to him. When the emissaries of the Peishwa, Baji Rao, perhaps the first Indians who visited England, were stranded and shivering in the streets of London, Burke took them to his own home, and made arrangements for their board, lodging and strict observance of the religious practices in accordance with their customs. The feeling of regret expressed by several American scholars in letters to the Memorial Committee that there is no adequate biography of this greatest of political philosophers, is shared by many Indian students of Political Science. They will welcome, as we do, the prospect of this long-felt want being satisfactorily met by the devotion of American scholars.

Mr. Churchill Explains :—When we commented on the Roosevelt-Churchill Manifesto in *The Reformer* of August 23, we observed that the only promising feature about it was the declaration of Mr. Attlee, the Deputy Premier, a few days later at a West Indies luncheon, that the manifesto applied to Asiatics and Africans as well. It was, we said, a distinct advance on previous pronouncements which restricted all progress to Europe. "That," it was pointed out, "is about the only thing in it to be complacent about, at least for Asiatics and Africans." Even that is now taken away. Mr. Churchill in his speech in the House of Commons on Tuesday warned his public not to fit the eight points to the "manifold problems with which we shall be faced after the war" and he went on to show by example how he proposes to interpret and apply the principles involved. As Indian opinion is generally considered negligible, the example he chose for candid disillusionment was India. Nothing, he said, was meant by the Manifesto beyond what had been already offered in the August 1940 declaration which Indian opinion had rejected. Mr. Churchill's statement should serve as a warning to others, beside Indians, who have pinned their faith on high sounding wartime declarations whether they are countersigned by President Roosevelt or by British Labour. What has begun with India, will surely not end with her. It is fairly obvious that Mr. Roosevelt, the other party to the Manifesto, must have acquiesced in Mr. Churchill's procrustean ingenuity in applying the principles to India. As for Mr. Attlee, he has apparently subordinated his own principles to the need of having Mr. Churchill as premier. This is in the tradition of British Labour's Indian policy. So far as the internal politics of Britain go, an American observer's comment comes to hand appropriately:

Churchill has proved himself an over-rated statesman but unhappily there are few to replace him, and if he goes out, it will be Beaverbrook, not a Labourite, who will replace him, since Labour's power is less than Americans think.

Mr. Churchill has proved himself a good nationalist but a petty-minded imperialist. It was his vision that gripped the imagination of the British by putting the worst before them and calling for the utmost sacrifice. It saved Britain from the fate of France and other less powerful nations. He is unable, however, to bring the same largeness of mind to the problems of Empire. His reference to the "manifold problems" is, in effect, an assurance that, whoever is called on to make sacrifices after the war, it will not be the ruling race of the British Empire. This surely is not the way to hold a great Empire together. Mr. Churchill's reservations on India shake the eight-point edifice from the foundations. All that is left is the declaration against territorial gains, for the freedom of the seas and for the destruction of Nazi tyranny. None of these required a manifesto.

THE BRAHMO SAMAJ: PROGRESS OR DRIFT?

I

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA).

The tradition, prestige and progress of the Brahmo Samaj are dear to the followers of the social reform movement in India who are not Brahmos. For it is the Brahmo Samaj which, in its later developments especially, set the example and supplied the inspiration for reform in the heart of Hindu society in modern times—even where it failed to instil the mere social reformer with the same aversion to the Hindu name and the same holy horror for the sinfulness of Hindu "idolatry" and Hindu "superstitions" as was instilled into itself by early Christian propagandists whom it sought to checkmate by emulation.

The Brahmo Samaj has softened much of late towards Hinduism without giving up however its high religious principles, which Hindus in their turn have cordially recognised as emanating from their own "higher Hinduism." The Samaj has thus become more and more dear to Hindu social reformers who naturally look to it for high example of healthy progress in the social sphere.

Now, there is an inveterate Hindu sentiment which clings to the conviction that marriage is a sacrament which can be effected only by a priest with prescribed, ancient, religious ceremonies, and not a secular contract to be entered into by the signing of certain printed forms and the attestation of a few witnesses. Even in the West where registration either by the priest or by a marriage registrar is the unavoidable concomitant of every marriage, whether religious or secular, a mere "Registry marriage" without a Church ceremony gives little satisfaction and little confidence to the bridal pair and their relations, though it is perfectly valid and complete by itself and as binding on the parties as any marriage done by a priest. The existence of this undeniable sentiment in the British Isles is vouched for by the learned author of "How to be Happy though Married" in his book on marriage law and procedure.

The primitive mind of the Hindu is not favourable to registration at all for any purpose, least of all for a sacred function like marriage. It proudly expects and insists that every desirable legal consequence should automatically follow and wait subserviently upon the performance of a religious wedding. And, what is more to the point, the British Courts in India have fully acknowledged this claim.

The early rebels against Hindu orthodoxy who formed the Adī-Brahma Samaj under the spiritual ministry of Māharshi Dēvendranāth Tagore were imbued with the same mentality. They were as inveterately sentimental on this point as any orthodox Hindu, and fanatically stuck to religious ritual alone to effectuate their marriages. And this they did, notwithstanding the awkward fact that the ritual compiled and adopted by them had scrupulously eschewed as "idolatrous" or "superstitious" all the ceremonies prescribed by orthodox tradition as indispensable and also held by British Indian Courts to be absolutely essential to a valid marriage! Neither the Shastraic opinion of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar nor the up-to-date legal opinion of the learned Advocate-General of Bengal, could swerve them the least bit from their stubborn and high resolve. It must, indeed, be due to the unquenchable moral fervour and unbending spiritual rectitude imbibed from their venerable Guru, the Maharshi, and his saintly successors in the Tagore family, that no cases of desertion and repudiation of the marriage by either party as invalid or a breach by the bridegroom alone of the newly adopted Brahma principle of monogamy has ever come before the law courts.

But the Brahma Samaj did not stop its onward march at that stage. Whatever innovations the Maharshi may have made in the sacred marriage ritual, he at least respected the Hindu law prohibition against intercaste and intercommunal marriages. Not so, however, the more iconoclastic section of his followers who broke away from his leading strings and waged war with Hindu orthodoxy simultaneously on the social as well as the religious fronts under the daring leadership of Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen. But late in the day, an uneasy feeling dawned on their mind that all was not well and they awoke with a start to the disquieting truth that there was also a legal front to face if their hard-won victories on the other two fronts were not to land them ultimately in a ditch. The details of their historic struggle to obtain a suitable marriage legislation for themselves and of its various vicissitudes ending finally in the enactment of the Special Marriage Act of 1872, as an optional measure for all non-religionists, have been described and the practical problems arising out of it and its amendment of 1923 have also been discussed at some length in an article on "The Family Law of the Samajists" in *The Reformer* of 9th and 16th April 1938.

Suffice it here simply to recall that the Special Marriage Act is the sheet-anchor and only support of family life in the Brahma Samaj. Though few Brahmos seem to be aware of it nowadays, it was conceived as such by the successive official sponsors of the legislation and was also accepted as such from the beginning, in spite of its defects, by the progressive section of the Brahma Samaj headed by Keshub Chander Sen, who disavowed their Hindu affiliations for its sake. Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Law Member, who presented his first draft in the Viceroy's Legislative Council made it clear at the very start that registration of the marriage should take place first and only then any religious ceremony favoured by the parties may be performed next. The Sadharan Brahma Samaj and the *Naba-Bidhan* Brahma Church into which the Progressivists split themselves over the Cooch-Bihar marriage of their leader's daughter, have both thoughtfully and faithfully observed this sequence of procedure ever since the passing of the Act in 1872. They never allowed the analogy of documents being written and executed first before being

presented for registration before a Registrar of Conveyances and Contracts, or being left unregistered in some cases, to mislead them either into avoiding the Special Marriage Act altogether or postponing resort to it till after the consummation of a Brahma Marriage with the priest's blessing. They knew that what that Act provided for, and what a Brahma priest was powerless to effect, was not the "registration" of a marriage already completed in some other form, but the solemnization of a marital union between persons who had not been previously married to each other, and that, until this is done according to the procedure prescribed in the Act, no Brahma can claim to have been lawfully married to another.

Every marriage "solemnized" under the Act is solemnized in fact by the parties themselves but *in the presence* of an officer of Government called the Marriage Registrar, and of three witnesses of their own choice, by the utterance of any form of words which clearly express their willing acceptance of each other as husband and wife (Sec. 11). *Before* the marriage is "solemnized," certain forms of declaration about age, religion, etc., shall have been signed by the parties in the presence of the Marriage Registrar and the three witnesses (sec. 10). And *after* the marriage has been "solemnized," the Marriage-Registrar has to enter a certificate thereof in a book called the "Marriage Certificate Book under Act III of 1872," and such Certificate has to be signed by the parties and the three witnesses. But the word "Register" or "Registration" occurs nowhere in the Special Marriage Act. Marriages solemnized under the Act are no doubt registered subsequently, that is, noted in a permanent record or register kept by Government as events that have actually taken place. But that duty is done through a different officer and under a different and later enactment called the "Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act." The "Marriage Registrar" appointed to do duty under the Special Marriage Act is not to be confounded by any means with the "Registrar of Marriages" who functions under the latter Act, though this Act makes it a part of the duty of the "Marriage Registrar" of Act III of 1872 to send periodically to the "Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages" a true copy of all entries made by him in his "Marriage Certificate Book" (Sec. 13 A). But a wrong habit of speaking of getting one's marriage "registered under the Special Marriage Act" has come into vogue very widely and by false analogies and wrong association of ideas, a lamentable psychological change has come about which has robbed the Special Marriage Act of the place of honour which it once enjoyed in the estimation of Brahma families while it clothed them with a legal status which they did not otherwise possess.

THE DNIPEP-DUNIA CANAL.

The recently completed Dnieper Dunia canal, which opens a continuous water-way from the Black Sea port of Odessa to Riga, capital of the Baltic state of Latvia, now incorporated in the Soviet Union. The strategic value of this canal is great, for oil-barges can now be loaded at Batum, where the pipe-lines from the Baku fields end, and brought all the way to the Baltic, or to any point along the route, without reloading. For the Red Army, this waterway, which passes through Kiev, means a new possibility of supply without relying on the railways, and a freeing of rail transport for the movement of troops.

—No Frontier News

INDIANS IN BURMA.

[(BY MANILAL C. PAREKH, RAJKOT.)

I beg to say that I had an occasion to study the problem of Indo-Burmese relations when I went to Burma some four years back and stayed there for about four months. Even then I had come to the conclusion that our people's relations with the Burmans were deteriorating day by day, and that a catastrophe was in store for the Indians there. I had the audacity, if I may use that term, to say to our people that the cause for the growing resentment in the mind of Burmans lay with us, and that we had not done our duty by them during the last century or so that we were there. The remedy that I suggested for the evil, was a greater Indo-Burman cultural and even religious contact, and the lessening of economic exploitation. These things should have been done long ago, but our failure to do so and the rising tide of national consciousness in Burma resulted in matters getting worse than ever.

Our people and especially the Hindus have lost, at least for the time being, one of the greatest opportunities given to us to create fresh religious and cultural contacts with people who are allied to us both in their religion and culture for hundreds of years. Burma is a vital link, not merely geographically but culturally and even religiously, between Hindustan and such Mongolian countries, as China and Japan. Besides, Burma itself should have been to us a land pre-eminently of pilgrimage. It is the Buddha-land *par excellence*. In no country of the world, has the religion of Buddha so great a hold over the people as in Burma. This apart, there are few people in the world who are so deeply religious in the higher sense of the term as the Burmans. Their culture and civilization are unique, and we could have learnt many a lesson from them.

Unfortunately, we closed our eyes almost altogether to the good and great things in Burma. I shall give only one instance of how our people there have neglected their first duty towards the Burmans, which was to understand and appreciate their civilization, culture and religion. To do this was incumbent on them in every way apart from our past relation with them, for we go to a foreign country as guests. But it was still more so since the religions of Burma had come from India, and the people there worshipped one who has been one of the very greatest men that India has produced—I mean, Gautama Buddha. Because of him, Burma should have been to us a land of pilgrimage, and we should have entered and worked there in the spirit of pilgrims.

Instead of this, what do we find? I must have visited some scores of houses of our people, most of them well-to-do and of the middle classes, and belonging to all the communities of India, and, strange to say, in not one of them, did I find a picture of Gautama Buddha, much less a statue or a statuette. These things are sold everywhere, and, even from the point of view of art, we should have made room for them in our houses. The only reason for our failure to do this is that it never occurred to us. This is a fair sample of what has not occurred to us in Burma. We are there only for making money, and why should we give a thought to things that do not belong to that realm?

It has been said that the British people have exploited the country, and that we have not been so bad as they are. Not only is this no argument, but it is a matter of shame to us that we should say this. Two wrongs do not make one right. Apart from this, our sin is greater since we have suffered from exploitation and have known what an evil it is. Besides, we are neighbours of Burmans and as such

we should have shown greater sympathy and love for them. Our sin becomes still greater when we remember that we went to Burma as parasites of the British Empire and commerce. In view of all this, it is no wonder if the Burmans should resent our presence in their midst much more than that of the British. The latter they might accept as a necessary evil, but the former, they need not. It must also be said here that, while the British have exploited Burma as much as they could, a number of them have been deeply interested in the country—its marvellous beauty, its civilization and culture. Some of the best books on Burma have been written by them. This is all the more remarkable since the number of the British there has been almost insignificant as compared with that of our people.

All this constrains me to say that the Burmans have a good case against us. What we owe to them is reparation for our manifold sins of omission and commission, and a resolve now to behave better in the future. I know that a number of our people in Burma would look upon this as pure sentiment, which should have no place in practical life. Well, their way of life in Burma has resulted in this Agreement, and, if they persist in it, things are not going to stop there.

As regards the relations of the Moslems with the Burmans, the situation is far worse than in the case of the Hindus. This is due to their marriage-cum-conversion policy in relation to the people there. In this they are dealing a double blow to the Burmans, wounding their racial and religious consciousness at the same time. Whatever may be the weakness of the Burmans, they are religiously very self-conscious, even more so than the majority of the Hindus. The Christian Missions, which have been working there for over a century, have been able to make no impression on them whatsoever, and all their gains are among the hill-tribes, etc. The Burmese have a most highly organised religious system in the world, and the beauty of this system is that it is free from the evils that attend most organisations. There is one Buddhist monk to every hundred people, a ratio which will not be found any where in the world. Such a people can not but feel deeply wounded when their women are converted to an alien faith and that too for the purpose of marriage. The presence of the Zerbadi community among them makes matters worse. It is a perpetual eyesore and constant reminder of what a religion can do in the matter of disintegrating their social and religious life. The Burmans are, moreover, too near us not to know what Moham nedans can do by way of creating a national schism. It is no wonder if they do not wish to have a Pakistan problem in their country, and if they take all possible precautions to prevent it from coming. The marriage clause in the agreement is due solely to this fear of theirs, and the silence of most of us who criticise this Agreement in regard to this matter, is due to our feeling that the Burmans are justified in their contention. All that we can and should say is that the Agreement should make it clear that it is a problem largely of Burmese-Moslem relations. This is known to all, but it is better to make it explicit.

My own feeling is that we have no right to thrust ourselves on the Burmans. We should clearly tell them that we have done them wrong in the past, but that we are now determined to change our attitude towards them. There must be a genuine change of heart among us, and with that we should leave ourselves entirely to the generosity of the people of Burma. Let me add here that perhaps there are no people more generous than those of that fair land.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY SINCE THE WAR.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

From the statement in the Government communique that, once a Premier ceases to be a Premier, he ceases to be also a member of the National Defence Council you have drawn the conclusion that the converse is also true—viz., if the Premier ceases to be a member of the National Defence Council he should cease to be the Premier as well.

Your conclusion finds support from the constitutional position as it exists to-day. The Premiers are not today what they were before the Governor-General's Proclamation of Emergency made on the outbreak of the war. On that day provincial autonomy died, the Federal constitution was done away with and India reverted to the system of unitary government that existed before the inauguration of the Montford Constitution. That is a development which neither *The Reformer* nor those who agree with its views on the form of the Government suited to India, has any reason to deplore. "Strengthen the Centre and capture the Centre," should be our slogan, if any slogan be permitted at all.

The Premiers and Ministers today have not even the restricted independence which the ministers in the transferred field had under the Montford Constitution with its Devolution Rules. Today they exercise only the authority delegated to them by the Centre. Assuming that the National Defence Council has been created to meet a vital need connected with the Defence of the country, how can any one exercising the delegated governmental authority of the Centre refuse to be associated with it when called upon to do so? In such a case, participation in the Council becomes one of the paramount duties of any member of the subordinate branch of the government, and failure to do this duty should disentitle him to exercise any of the delegated governmental authority.

But logic is never the strong point of an Englishman and 'muddling through' he boasts to be one of his virtues. And it will cause no surprise if the obvious conclusion you have drawn from the Simla communique does not commend itself to those who control the affairs of a continent from the Olympian heights.

One word about the Governor's Acts which are being enacted in the provinces in which the Constitution has been suspended. We are told, that during the period of suspension, only the minimum amount of legislation to keep things going is being undertaken. Why should not such legislation be brought before the Central Legislature which is functioning and which is quite competent today to entertain them?

New Delhi,
September 3, 1941, }

Yours etc.,
B. BANERJI.

"RELIGION, NATIONALISM AND NAMES."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your issue of August 30, Mr. J. Barnabas of Lucknow writes a very interesting article under the caption, "Religion, Nationalism and Names."

The article seems to begin with a profundity of thought; but when one comes to the concluding portions of it and take a retrospective view of the whole essay one gets the unshakeable impression that its profundity is an illusion.

Mr. Barnabas divides name-changers into three classes; those who, on account of difficulties of

employment, under some rank communalists feel the purely material necessity of changing their names; second, those who feel their identity with the Hindus and are absolutely conscious of this identity; and third, those who change their names on the hybrid fashion—the Indo-Christian name fusion.

Now, between the people of this third class and those of the first class, there seems to be very little, if any, difference; the motives of both being equated. The one changes his Christian name into a Hindu name, because he wants a job in a Hindu firm; the other changes his name into a hybrid Christian name because he wants a job in some Government Department from the better prospects of which he is excluded, and excluded precisely on identical grounds as the person of the former class. These two classes are, therefore, capable of adjustment on purely material grounds. But I am much concerned with the class of persons who are conscious of their ancestral culture and are proud of that culture and profoundly feel their identity with their other brothers who are classed in a separate sense as Hindus.

In a preceding paragraph Mr. Barnabas divides names themselves into three classes; religious names, personality recognition names, and the virtue-wish names. The third class of names he tells us, being virtue names and as such common to all religions are translatable—example, Grace becomes Kripa, Charity becomes Shanti, etc. Accepted. This is complete merging. The so-called personality names he would have rejected. This also is accepted, although there appears no greater reason why this particular brand which is also benefactory, should be rejected than religious names. And it is indeed very difficult for a man who understands what is meant by culture and is proud of his ancestral heritage, Mr. Barnabas' recommendations are impossible of being merged in one's national consciousness. This will be seen from the attempts he makes to bring about changes in names.

The religious names he recommends are Mary, James and Paul but he would not have them as they are, but changed to Miriam, Yakub and Paulus. I do not see where really change comes in; for instead of taking the name James, he would have us take the name Yakub, and in this process he only gives up a European name for a Semetic one. Miriam is likewise a Semetic name. Paulus smells of Latinism. If we must go to that absurdity, our ancestors called the Greeks "Yavana." If we call ourselves Yavanas, what change is it?

Mr. Barnabas is involved in a serious difficulty. "For the Indian Christian," he writes, "will have to develop a religion rooted in the culture of the land in which he is born." This sentence, perhaps would pass muster, had it not been that, among other things, Mr. Barnabas goes to Abraham (for Abraham is one of the names recommended) for his Christianity. Why Mr. Barnabas accepts "Abraham" as a Christian name and rejects "Elizabeth" simply passes my understanding. Abraham is out and out a Jew; Elizabeth was the mother of John the Baptist is a familiar associate figure! Why, may I ask, is John's mother to be rejected? Mary is to be changed into Miriam, and Miriam, as I have said, is a Semetic name. In the same way, if we follow Mr. Barnabas, the name Jesus will have to be changed; for the name Jesus is a European translation of the name Yeschu. Where will Mr. Barnabas lead us?

If Mr. Barnabas is a student of the Bible, he will know that Abraham, Jacob, etc., are names of the people of Israel. That is to say the names of the Jewish ancestral heroes. Would Mr. Barnabas have us take the Jewish names in preference to our own?

How does he differentiate between the culture of the Jewish people and their religious thought? Mr. Barnabas, let us hope, will satisfy us on these points.

Mr. Barnabas' mistake, I suppose, is his attempt to differentiate or rather to show a contrast, presumptuously between culture and religion, and unless he gives us a satisfactory explanation of this differentiation we cannot arrive at any satisfactory result. Our fundamental mistake is our failure to realize that religion is nothing but the conscious growth of a people and that it is at the same time the history of this conscious growth.

In conclusion, I would suggest that we should recommend to our people virtue-wish names only, up till such time as they are made conscious of their rich heritage. In this the nationalist-minded Hindus may be able to help and if so, they must help as in duty bound.

Bombay, } Yours etc.,
September 8, 1941. } EDWARD CAEIRO.

THE WAR AND CHRISTIAN CIVILISATION.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

You made some pertinent comments some time back when Lord Halifax expressed his views about this war being in defence of Christian civilisation. After that several eminent gentlemen have reiterated, in one form or another, those views. Now comes no less a person than President Roosevelt who, in his

Labour Day address, said "the preservation of these rights is now vitally important not only to us who enjoy them but to the whole future of Christian civilisation." The question is, What is Christian civilisation? The civilisation which we know of in Europe and America and which evidently men like Lord Halifax and President Roosevelt have in mind, is a civilisation which happens to be the order of the day in the West, a civilisation which is based on all to which Christ was opposed. Christ would not have recognised the present-day so-called Christian civilisation as Christian civilisation at all. There is also another question as to whether this war is meant only for the so-called Christian civilisation, or for the civilisations of Asia also like the Islamic civilisation, Hindu civilisation, Buddhistic civilisation, etc. Evidently what President Roosevelt and others of his type of thinking have in mind is, that they are only concerned with safeguarding the civilisation of Europe and America. Perhaps, they consider that there is no such thing as Hindu, Islamic or Buddhistic civilisation and that, even if there is anything like that, it is not worth fighting for. The implication even goes further. Asiatic countries have sent hundreds of thousands of youngmen to fight for the Allies in the war. Is it meant that they also are only fighting for preserving the so-called Christian civilisation and not for the civilisation which they individually represent? The whole question needs to be clarified. Who will do it, however?

Bombay, } Yours etc.,
September 2, 1941. } J. K. M.

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Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDEA, BOMBAY, 22.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 20, 1941. No. 3.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Exit Reza Shah.	Quisling.
Mr. Hodson and Indian Reforms.	State Control against Private Management.
"The Bevin Boys".	Carl Sandburg on Halifax.
Missionary Zeal Rebuked.	The Muslim League Drama.
The "Leader" on Indian Army Officers.	A Ceylonese view of the Indian Question.
Officers and Army Indianization.	The Brahma Samaj: Progress or Drift?
First Indians in England.	Widow's Right of Succession to a Raj.
The Struggle for Population.	

NOTES.

Exit Reza Shah:—Although the ground was being prepared by Reuter for the deposition of Reza Shah Pehlavi of Iran, the news of his abdication on Tuesday must have come as a shock to most Indians. The newspapers announcing the abdication on Wednesday published a curious item from Reuter which ran:

It is known in London that the people in Teheran were surprised that the Allies did not themselves take a stronger line against the intriguers with the Germans from the beginning, but British policy has been rather to strengthen the people in the realisation of their aims of self-expression. In the circumstances, therefore, it will be surprising if Iranians accept the action of the Shah in nominating the Crown Prince as his successor. The Iranian Government has shown so far helpful appreciation of the realities of the situation.

A more mischievous report it would be difficult to circulate, and the confusion of language in which it is couched, shows that the writer was at pains to put about his ideas. There is a cleverness which often shades off into silliness. The blunt impression this message conveys is that the British are intriguing in Iran and that is about the last suggestion that the correspondent intends to convey. The abdication of Reza Shah is, like other similar abdications in the not very distant past, explainable in the simplest terms. He backed the wrong horse and he pays the penalty for doing so. So did Benes of Czechoslovakia in 1938, Prince Paul of Yugoslavia a few months ago and Syed Raschid Ali Gilani of Iraq. Mr. Churchill in his review last week was very realistic about the attack on Iran. He said:

I have no doubt the House will approve the somewhat drastic measures we thought it right to take to achieve those important objects. (Mr. Churchill earlier narrated the objects as being to secure the shortest route for help to the Soviet Republic, and the expulsion of German and Italian Legations.) The occupation of Persia enables us to join hands with the southern flank of the Russian army.

Although the British Premier, as was to be expected, denounced Germany's "usual tricks," he did so more as a matter of congratulation

to himself for out-tricking them. There was nothing at any rate to warrant any charge against Reza Shah for "intrigues with the enemy" which is unsurpassable as a piece of political audacity. After all, as head of a neutral State, Reza Shah was perfectly free to choose his company. The hint from Reuter's correspondent that the new Shah might prove unacceptable is in execrable taste. But what is one to make of the naive suggestion put forward by a leader in the *Bombay Chronicle* which, in repudiating the mischief of the Reuter message, actually lends support to it? The writer says:

If, like Kemal Attaturk, he had chosen to become the elected President of an Iranian Republic, probably today he would have continued to guide the destinies of his country and had, like Turkey, kept it free from the Nazi menace. A Republic would have satisfied the political aspirations of the people, and saved the people from the consequences of an ill-considered financial policy.

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no responsible person wishes to claim the credit for them, is as gratifying as it is startling. It is gratifying that the points are abandoned by everybody. It is startling to think that on a subject like India where there is so much difference between the British and American viewpoint, the work of presenting Britain's case should have been left to an unnamed petty official. The point was made that the talking points were only in operation for 15 days in February. The question is not whether they were in operation for ten days or fifteen but how many persons used them and whether, after being "withdrawn," they are still being "unofficially" used as the skeleton for speeches by British propagandists in America.

Reuter's Agency:—There has been a controversy in Britain and India regarding a recent change in the ownership of Reuter's Agency on which India depends almost wholly for its daily supply of foreign news. The new management has assured India that there would be no want of consideration for the requirements of the Indian public in its news service. It may or may not be due to the changed management but a distinct and wholesome change from the public point of view has been noticeable in Reuter's messages relating particularly to movements in the United States. Reuter's messages until a few weeks ago were solely and exclusively coloured by the views of the New York Press and political circles. There was not a word allowed to come over that might disclose the existence of opposition to the Roosevelt policy. Latterly there has been a breach in this cloud of silence, the latest being Lord Halifax's being pelted with rotten eggs by members of the League of Mothers who are strongly opposed to their country entering the war. In the absence of all information about the opposition to the Roosevelt policy, the President's frequent "fireside talks" appeared to be without purpose.

America and Her Neighbours:—We publish this week an article sent to us by the *No Frontier News Service* which deal with the problems confronting the United States in her relations with South American republics. Mr. Lewis Corey writing in the *Nation* of January 4 suggested immediate steps to consolidate the two Americas. His main indictment of past policies rested on the "economic imperialism" of the U. S. A. He defined imperialism in the economic sphere as the exploitation

of backward countries, making them disastrously dependent on the movements of world markets and depriving them of economic independence. It overdevelops their production of foodstuffs and minerals for export. As a result they find themselves with a lopsided economy which rests on one or two crops or minerals...Imperialism discourages industrialization in the countries it controls...It invests its capital primarily in the extractive industries and in transportation and public utilities that produce services not goods...A non-industrial country which produces raw materials and imports manufactures, cannot resist imperialist penetration. Strategic industries come under foreign control and are used to

promote imperialist profits, not local production and consumption.

Mr. R. Santoris approaches the problem from another angle. He asks for better understanding of the South American mind by the North Americans, the elimination of condescension. These are timely reminders of the fact that the U. S. A. is not altogether in a position to throw stones at other nations. It is more than probable that the two chief negotiators of the Atlantic Charter agreed to reserve certain areas as exempt from the operation of the high-sounding principles of that document. In that event the *quid pro quo* for India would be South America.

India and the Atlantic Charter:—In a statement issued under the aegis of the Sapru Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur laboriously argued for an application of the Atlantic Charter to India. We do not think any useful, or for that matter even ornamental, purpose would be served by Mr. Churchill now coming out with a statement extending the Atlantic Charter to India. As for the Charter itself, it cannot be held inapplicable to India without also excluding several other areas and many subjects promised to be considered in the post-war peace-making. A document which limits the beneficiaries to two, is bound to find the disinherited banded together in a fellowship of the snubbed. If the Atlantic Charter does not apply to India, so much the worse for the Charter.

Persecution and Caste Hindus:—A valued friend writes on the subject of the isolation of the Christian community, "It is the experience of other countries as well that pressure came from the Christian side rather than from the non-Christian to separate Christians from those of other faiths. Gibbon's pages on Christianity give ample evidence of this. So does the evidence of China in the days of the Christian drive in that country. There is, however, this difference: In the ancient Roman Empire the pagans were the controllers of the state; in China the non-Christians were supported by a Government, menaced no doubt by the more powerful "Christian Powers" behind the missionary, but nevertheless with a certain political power; whilst the missionary in India, after the first objections of the East India Company were removed, has been in alliance with the State. And to talk of persecution by the non-Christians in these circumstances is to pervert facts. No useful purpose is served by raking up the past but when our Christian countrymen following their missionary leaders trace their self-acquired isolation to caste Hindu intolerance, they should give some concrete instances of persecution with all the facts of the case instead of the present vague and general accusation. Gibbon asserting that exaggeration of martyrdom was not uncommon, says: 'Christians have inflicted in the course of their internal dissensions far greater severities on each other than they have experienced from the zeal of infidels.'"

INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office: - KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY. 20.

Editor: - S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 20, 1941. No. 3.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Exit Reza Shah.	Quisling.
Mr. Hodson and Indian Reforms.	State Control against Private Management.
"The Bevin Boys".	Carl Sandburg on Halifax.
Missionary Zeal Rebuked.	The Muslim League Drama.
The "Leader" on Indian Army Officers.	A Ceylonese view of the Indian Question.
Officers and Army Indianization.	The Brahma Samaj: Progress or Drift?
First Indians in England.	Widow's Right of Succession to a Raj.
The Struggle for Population.	

NOTES.

Exit Reza Shah:—Although the ground was being prepared by Reuter for the deposition of Reza Shah Pehlavi of Iran, the news of his abdication on Tuesday must have come as a shock to most Indians. The newspapers announcing the abdication on Wednesday published a curious item from Reuter which ran:

It is known in London that the people in Teheran were surprised that the Allies did not themselves take a stronger line against the intriguers with the Germans from the beginning, but British policy has been rather to strengthen the people in the realisation of their aims of self-expression. In the circumstances, therefore, it will be surprising if Iranians accept the action of the Shah in nominating the Crown Prince as his successor. The Iranian Government has shown so far helpful appreciation of the realities of the situation.

A more mischievous report it would be difficult to circulate, and the confusion of language in which it is couched, shows that the writer was at pains to put about his ideas. There is a cleverness which often shades off into silliness. The blunt impression this message conveys is that the British are intriguing in Iran and that is about the last suggestion that the correspondent intends to convey. The abdication of Reza Shah is, like other similar abdications in the not very distant past, explainable in the simplest terms. He backed the wrong horse and he pays the penalty for doing so. So did Benes of Czechoslovakia in 1938, Prince Paul of Yugoslavia a few months ago and Syed Raschid Ali Gilani of Iraq. Mr. Churchill in his review last week was very realistic about the attack on Iran. He said:

I have no doubt the House will approve the somewhat drastic measures we thought it right to take to achieve those important objects. (Mr. Churchill earlier narrated the objects as being to secure the shortest route for help to the Soviet Republic, and the expulsion of German and Italian Legations.) The occupation of Persia enables us to join hands with the southern flank of the Russian army.

Although the British Premier, as was to be expected, denounced Germany's "usual tricks," he did so more as a matter of congratulation

to himself for out-tricking them. There was nothing at any rate to warrant any charge against Reza Shah for "intrigues with the enemy" which is unsurpassable as a piece of political audacity. After all, as head of a neutral State, Reza Shah was perfectly free to choose his company. The hint from Reuter's correspondent that the new Shah might prove unacceptable is in execrable taste. But what is one to make of the naive suggestion put forward by a leader in the *Bombay Chronicle* which, in repudiating the mischief of the Reuter message, actually lends support to it? The writer says:

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subject of Indian reforms, after having declared Britain's intention to leave it to Indians, makes the position of the Reforms Commissioner very difficult—if not impossible. This is clearly proved by the suspicions aroused by Mr. Hodson's innocuous visit to Bombay. The fact that Mr. Hodson is not attempting to put through any scheme based on the Amery suggestions, makes his work in India and its progress all the more intriguing. If the British Government has suddenly veered round to a rejection of the 1935 Reforms, we may be sure it is more because those reforms have been found unsatisfactory from Britain's view than because all sections of Indian thought condemned it. The attitude of the two parties which consolidated their power and thrived under the Reforms, on the outbreak of war, was not likely to endear them to the Government in India or at Whitehall. Naturally the new constitution will be one which, whatever experience might show, will in theory at least be less favourable to the Congress and the Muslim League. Mr. Amery has said this in so many words to the Congress and the actions of the Government of India and its subsidiary administrations in the provinces in regard to Mr. Jinnah make the rest clear for the League. This might not be altogether disadvantageous to the country as both organizations have proved bankrupt of ideas. What we are concerned about is that the outmanoeuvring should lead to better conditions. But even in regard to the mere mechanical change which would satisfy the British, the question is how this is to be achieved without bringing in the two Amery suggestions about the executive and the legislature. The Reforms Commissioner has surely not been sent out to imbibe the views of Indian political leaders and to report to Mr. Amery.

"The Bevin Boys":—When the scheme for training Indian young men in the manufacture of war-craft in Britain was first mooted, *The Reformer* expressed its misgivings about its outcome. We are glad that the misgivings are proving to be ill-founded. Mr. J. L. Hodson in the *Spectator* of May 30 gives his impressions of a visit to the centre where the Indian young men are trained. The impression he formed was so favourable that he felt that the British might, perhaps, have been earlier and more ambitious. He was impressed by the Indians' good looks, their high intelligence and their courtesy. "Had I been told they were all students of our universities, I should not have been surprised." This we fully expected. What we were anxious about was the social consequences of the contact of Indians with the British working-man. These too seem to have been quite happy. Mr. Hodson writes :

This small town has made them warmly welcome; the word lionised has been used to me. But that may be exaggeration. At all events, a number of people have entertained groups of them in English homes and have been, I am told, delighted with them. I can well believe it.

The Englishman, when he is not thinking of himself as carrying "the white man's burden,"

is a kindly judge of his fellowmen and there is much in common between the British and Indian ways of thought, which should make good understanding between them not too difficult. Mr. Hodson was also impressed by the aptitude shown by the Indians in different operations. A Reuter's message last week reported a visit paid by the originator of the scheme, Mr. Bevin, to the training centre accompanied by the American Ambassador, Mr. Winant. In his remarks, Mr. Bevin reiterated his intention that the scheme should inculcate in the Indians the principles and methods of British Labour organization, with a view to their being adopted in India for the raising of the standards of work and life. Mr. Winant said a few words which might not have been meant as a comment on Mr. Winston Churchill's declaration that India was not included in the eight points of the Roosevelt-Churchill manifesto, but are significant as coming so soon after it. Mr. Winant expressed the hope that the Indians would be able to visit America "and he assured them that they had many friends in that country."

Missionary Zeal Rebuked:—Years of famine have brought a great harvest of converts to Christian Missions in India. The excuse was that the Missions only wanted to feed the starving but the latter insisted on being taken into the fold and they could not be refused. Somewhat in the same spirit a Society was recently formed called the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America. In inviting the co-operation of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, the Secretary spoke of carrying the message of Jesus Christ to New York's millions of Jews at a time when they are ripe and ready to receive it. Dr. Holmes in a trenchant reply declining to join this "grievous and tragically mistaken" undertaking, makes three points. In the first place, the Jews are not without a religion which, indeed, was the source of Christianity. The second is that the present time when the Jews are grievously persecuted everywhere is hardly the time to ask them to change their faith. On this point Dr. Holmes writes in a spirit of indignant remonstrance. "I should think," he writes, "that at such a time as this, Christians would rush to the succour of Jews in their own homes and synagogues, to confirm them anew in their faith and to comfort them in their great sorrow." Lastly he observes: "I am wondering what you find in Christianity today to commend to the Jews, or any other non-Christians anywhere. What is Christianity doing in the awful chaos of the civilization which it has created, to justify its faith or prove its worth? This hour strikes me as the supreme hour of Christianity's humiliation and shame." These observations are not without application to proselytising missions in India.

The "Leader" on Indian Army Officers:—We turned with interest to an editorial in the *Leader* of Allahabad entitled "Conditions of Service in Army," especially as that newspaper has a reputation in Indian journalism of having made the cause of army Indianization its own.

The editorial begins with a reference to a note in *The Reformer* on discrimination in the Army. The *Leader* restricts itself to the narrower question of Indianization, *i. e.*, of the status of Indian officers who, of course, are not the whole army. The expert is always in danger of assuming that even the knowledge which he has in common with the rest of humanity, is exclusively his own. The *Leader* gives rather a blatant example of this. "We are," it writes somewhat pompously, "in a position to supply some of the information desired;" and what it proceeds to tell its readers is something which any interested person can get out of publications like either the *Pioneer's* recent Indian War-Effort Supplement or more authoritatively the older *Indian Information* India's War-Effort Special Number (December 1940). The *Leader* concludes that there is discrimination :

While they (the Indian commissioned officers) have to maintain the same standard of living as the King's commissioned officers, they are paid less than the latter. Relations between the Indian officers and the British officers, we understand, are very cordial.

For all the *Leader's* rejoicings over the abolition of the selected units scheme, it is obvious that, though the exigencies of war compelled Government to throw all units in the Indian Army open to Indian officers, the logical corollary to this of establishing equal pay for officers in the army, irrespective of race, was not conceded. Yet the Indianization Committee which met before the war, had a few members who opposed a change in the selected units scheme without a corresponding increase in the Indian officers' pay as, with such a change, these officers would have to maintain a higher standard of living than the one in the Indianized units. The *Leader* regards it as a sign of progress that the earlier pre-war policy of eliminating Viceroy's commissioned officers and replacing them by Indian commissioned officers has been given up because of the need of more officers during the war. But, after all, the class from which the V. C. O.'s are drawn, has to be given a place in the army according to Section 239 of the Government of India Act 1935 which, we presume, is not inoperative. The section reads :

In the appointment of officers to His Majesty's army the same provision as heretofore, or equal provision, shall be made for the appointment of sons of persons who have served in India in the military or civil service of the Crown.

In other words, a sub-caste has been formed to distinguish the sons of servants of the Crown from the rank and file below them.

Officers and Army Indianization :—What has now taken place is that instead of Indian commissioned officers being set on a level with the V. C. O.'s as was the practice when peace made officers' jobs in the Army scarce, now the V. C. O. is recognized as below the I. C. O. This is clear from *Indian Information* (December 15, 1940) from which we take the following paragraph:

A further measure was the reintroduction of Viceroy's commissioned officers as Platoon Commanders in Indianized units; such Viceroy's commissioned officers, if under the age of 35, were also eligible for training as

Indian commissioned officers. It has also been decided that selected Viceroy's commissioned officers, up to a maximum of two per Indian Cavalry Regiment and Indian Infantry Battalion, should be granted emergency commissions in the Indian Land Forces.

This not only fixes the V. C. O. on a lower grade than the I. C. O. but it also re-introduces by a back-door the distinction between "Indianized units" and other units in the army. The *Pioneer's* Supplement mentions that from December 1, 1940 the pay and allowances of officer-cadets were increased; emergency allowances and messing allowances were granted to the junior Indian commissioned officers which, to quote, had the effect of "increasing the pay" of an Indian Second Lieutenant by Rs. 107 a month; and improvements were initiated also in the conditions of service of the V. C. O.'s. The basic principle, however, has not been touched. The army has not proved quite the leveller it has claimed to be, in India. It would seem that, far from being inspired by progressive ideas, the changes in the army are, like the expansion of the Viceroy's Council, mainly for "administrative convenience." Officers from the Dominions, we suppose, automatically go into the highest caste. This is an unfair distinction between Indian officers and alien officers. As the Dominions will not agree to their men being taken on the same basis as Indian commissioned officers, the obvious remedy is to raise the I. C. O.'s to the higher level. The *Leader's* assurance that the relations between Indian and British officers are "very cordial" is irrelevant and inane. Of course, the relations are cordial. What is objected to is the system prevailing. Both Indian and British officers are equally victims to it.

First Indians in England :—In the leading article last week, the two Indians who were the first to visit England, were described as emissaries of the Peishwa Baji Rao. This was an error. Raghunath Rao was the Peishwa, not Baji Rao. The incident is recounted at some length in Kursondas Mulji's account of his travels in England. Raghunath Rao's two emissaries were a Brahmin, Hanumanta Rao, and a Parsi by name Maniar. "They were found by Mr. Burke," Kursondas quotes from the *Life of Burke* by Prior, "under very unpleasant circumstances, occasioned by their peculiar modes of life, and the obligations of their religion. With the attention to strangers for which Mr. Burke was so remarkable, he took them down to Beaconsfield, and it being summer, gave them up a large greenhouse for their separate use where they prepared their food according to the rules of their caste, performed their ablutions and discharged such other duties as the rites of their religion and their customs required, and as circumstances permitted." Kursondas reprints the letter which Burke wrote to the Peishwa who had evidently written acknowledging the attentions paid to his men. Burke in this letter plainly told the Peishwa that he could not expect help from the British. The date of the incident is 1781.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 20, 1941.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POPULATION.

The relative trends of population in Europe are treated with much detail in "Population. Policies and Movements in Europe" (Oxford University Press) by D. V. Glass, from the historical as well as the demographic standpoint. Glass begins with an account of how Malthus' essay on Population led to the search for substitutes for the positive checks of famine, epidemics and war on the tendency of population to outstrip the means of subsistence. Late marriages had been recommended by Malthus himself. But this was regarded as insufficient and contraceptives came into the field. Soon the original purpose of restricting the growth of population fell into the background and birth control came to be advocated, "laying more emphasis on individual liberty and needs, and upon the desirability of spacing births." Women demanded that the decision to bear children belonged as of right to them and that it was for them also to decide when and how many children they would give birth to. Clinics were established to spread a knowledge of the technique of birth control. The old Malthusian League ceased to function and became a purely advisory body to the new movement. After the last war, practically all countries made laws restricting immigration, the United States' being the most stringent. In this connection, Glass mentions the interesting fact that emigrants from Ireland who used to go to the United States went to Britain instead. The use of contraceptives became popular and in addition abortion cases also increased. Owing to these and other causes, prominent amongst which is the rise of the standard of living in Europe, the capacity of women to bear children, that is, their natural fertility decreased. As amongst the several countries, the poorer showed more births and greater female fertility than the richer countries. The two richest countries of Europe, Great Britain and France, were at the bottom of the scale. Among the causes which contributed to the collapse of France, Marshal Petain in his message to the French people on the morrow of the disaster, mentioned "too few babies." This was not his discovery after the fall of France. For some years before the catastrophe, French reformers had realised that the declining population was the vital defect in French defence against foreign aggression. Glass observes :

Appeals to patriotism followed the last war, and the Munich Agreement of 1938 was succeeded by statements that, without an increase in fertility, France would be useless as an ally, and would therefore lose the friendship of the countries which were still anxious to oppose German domination in Europe, but no longer capable of doing so.

Pro-Natalist propaganda, observes the author, is now a basic element in the social pattern of France. But the value of mere propaganda in such matters is very little. The women of France who for nearly a century have been brought up in the social pattern of family limitation, cannot by propaganda be converted to a passion for bearing children. For this and nothing less can bring up France to an equality with her prolific neighbour. The case of Russia presents a completely contrary picture. At the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution Lenin, no doubt in pursuance of his policy of relieving home-life of the drudgery it involved for women, adopted several measures to promote restriction of births. Birth control clinics were established.

The law against artificial abortion was repealed and official establishments for facilitating abortion by experts were instituted. In spite of these and propaganda in favour of birth control, the Russian birth-rate showed no sign of diminution. The Russian people were too fond of children to do without them even when encouraged to do so by the all-powerful authority of the Bolshevik State in the first flush of a triumphant revolution. Stalin has reversed the Lenin policy in this and other respects. Even without the stimulus of family allowances from the State, the Russian birth-rate will never fall behind the Nazi birth-rate. The Nazis want more children to serve as food for powder. The Russians want them for their own sake. Glass is perhaps a bit prejudiced in his estimate of the motives of the totalitarian States for more population. He writes :

Italy and Germany have been concerned largely with the desire to justify their statements on the question of 'livings-space.' In both Germany and Italy it is possible that, were there a smaller population, the standard of living would be higher, but that is not the point at issue.....In the present state of the world, it is certain that differential rates of growth of population of the Great Powers give a genuine basis for anxiety. But here, again, it would be probably much cheaper, as well as more satisfactory, to solve the problem by thorough international control of migration and settlement than if each nation were to rush headlong into a demographic armament race.

That Germany and Italy are bent on increasing their population merely with the object of providing an excuse for their territorial expansion, is hardly plausible. To whom should they justify their claims? How is the growth of the Japanese population to be explained?

International control nowadays is the panacea for every problem. The difficulties in the way of international control are many times greater for controlling emigration than for almost every other problem. Small countries like Burma and Ceylon insist on their right to determine the composition of their population. The validity of this right, assumed to be axiomatic, must be examined anew and we notice that the American leader, Norman Thomas, in a letter in the *New Republic* (July 28, 1941) replying to Sir Norman Angell has challenged its validity;

British Dominions and the motherland in the eyes of many of the disadvantaged peoples of the world, have no moral right to fence in so large a part of the earth's surface. Think, for instance, what the Australian immigration policy means to a crowded world in which seven million Australians, occupying a territory the size of the United States, will find so little room for any sort of immigrant.

Glass himself recognises that the immigration laws of the Dominions and other countries interpose artificial difficulties in the way of a rational direction to population trends. In any serious attempt to grapple with the problem of population trends, the right now arrogated to prevent nationals of overcrowded countries to settle in countries with sparse populations, must be rejected in favour of a more rational and equitable policy.

QUISLING.

We referred last week to the phrase "fifth column," which has come to fulfil the same purpose as the word 'heretic' in the Middle Ages. Another word which the war has thrown up and which is even more offensive and meaningless is "Quisling." Quisling was the Norwegian statesman who, realizing that opposition to the Nazi invader was bound to fail and shrinking from the bloodshed and devastation which it must entail without in the least affecting the result, preferred to surrender and to agree to carry on the administration in compliance with the wishes of the invader. Quisling was not the only man who acted in this way. Marshal Petain and more recently the Shah of Persia did the same. But the word, Quisling, caught the common ear more easily than Petain or Pehlavi. Besides the French Marshal and the Persian King had a record of meritorious service behind them which could not be ignored. Quisling was an unknown man, so far at least as the outside world was concerned. His name was, therefore, more effective for the purpose of concentrated obloquy than those of the Frenchman and the Persian whose names awakened associations detrimental to that purpose. That is the history and psychology of the term. But it has become detached from its origins and is now used as a generic term of hatred. Dr. M. R. Jayakar has suggested that Indians were regarded as Quislings perhaps because of the belief "that Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience movement is a pin-prick to the British Government in their present hour of trial." But the Norwegian's action was more than a pin-prick, otherwise his name would not have become the byword which it has become. Even in its more generalised sense, it means something more than and something different from the attitude of people who are or feel that they are perfectly helpless to check the extravagances of Government in the name of war. Nobody has called Gandhiji a Quisling. On the contrary, Gandhiji's friends and followers apply that opprobrious epithet to those who do not accept his doctrines. *The Reformer* has been called Quisling by an infuriated Congressman.

Members of the Muslim League who in defiance of party discipline accepted the invitation of the Viceroy to join the Executive Council and the National Advisory Council, were extolled by Mr. Amery for their patriotism. From the party point of view, their conduct would justify the epithet Quisling. It is the part of wisdom to avoid the use of words of unacknowledged origin and indefinite sense, such as "fifth column" and Quisling, which only hurt without convincing and are, therefore, merely terms of abuse. The following message from a Nagpur correspondent was published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, 16th September:

Mr. A. G. F. Farquhar, Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur, apologised for having called Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru a Quisling in Wednesday's War Support Meeting at Itwari, where brooms, shoes and stones were hurled at him, for having uttered the said expression. The Deputy Commissioner says: "When I saw the statement in cold print extracted from its context to the effect that I had called Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a Quisling, I was horrified at implications that would naturally be put on it. Therefore I come forward as quickly as possible to apologise absolutely sincerely for having said in the heat of a rowdy meeting a thing that could be so interpreted."

State Control against Private Management:—

The *Political Science Quarterly* has been publishing extracts from Professor Seligman's letters. In the second of the series published in the current (June) number, the Professor neatly disposes of the question about the relative merits of State and private management of industries. In the course of a letter to his friend, Henry Carter Adams, described as one of the creative figures in American Economics, Seligman writes:

I wish you would tell me frankly what chance, in your opinion, there is, under present industrial conditions, for a man who desires to make provision for his old age and for his family to obtain investments which are safe and in which he feels some degree of proprietorship. I find myself impelled, against my will, to the extreme theory of state control, for it seems to me that the time has come when the American people are obliged to choose between responsible control by means of relatively poor government administration, and better administration in the hands of private corporations which recognise in no sense any responsibility to the public.

The letter is dated June 1901.

Carl Sandburg on Halifax:—Under this heading Carl Sandburg, author of the latest biography of Abraham Lincoln in six volumes, slates Lord Halifax in the *Nation* of the 26th April, for going fox-hunting while American working men were working all night to manufacture armaments for despatch to Britain to help her fight the Nazi. Lord Lothian his predecessor, Sandburg is sure, would not have done it. In India Lord Irwin, as he then was, was respected by some and suspected by a larger number as a religious man. Fox-hunting parsons were common in England in the middle of the last century but they are rare now, which shows that even in that country fox-hunting is no longer regarded as in keeping with religious profession.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE DRAMA.

The human interest of the developments in the Muslim League, to my mind, far transcends their political interest. Mr. Jinnah easily stands head and shoulders above the other actors in this drama. The Viceroy evokes sincere sympathy. Intending to conciliate the President of the Muslim League, by communicating to him in advance and in confidence a detailed account of the course which His Excellency was adopting with the approval of his Majesty's Government, Lord Linlithgow finds himself confronting the wrath of a leader infuriated by the overtures made successfully to some of his leading colleagues over his head and behind his back. Incidentally, I was surprised to read in the *Free Press Journal* an attempt to shift the responsibility for the contretemps from the Viceroy by attributing the reference to the representation of the great Moslem community in the National Advisory Council to Sir Roger Lumley. My first impression on reading Sir Roger's letter, which has been confirmed by subsequent perusal, was that Sir Roger was not overpleased with the mission entrusted to him. Almost in every other sentence, the letter makes it plain that it is almost a word for word reproduction of the Viceroy's message. The sentence referring to the representation of Muslims opens with a special and definite reference to the Viceroy. "The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on that Council by persons of the highest prominence and capacity." Sir Roger Lumley is ordinarily clear and simple. The only intriguing sentence in his letter was that in which he said that, though he was then (20th July) in a position to do so, he was not quite fit to receive Mr. Jinnah. Referring to Government House news at that date, it is found that the Governor of Bombay attended on the 19th the annual meeting of the District Grand Chapter and afterwards dined with the members of the Lodge. It does not appear that there was anything seriously the matter with His Excellency and, if he was at all anxious, he could have received Mr. Jinnah at Ganeshkhind in the course of the next few days.

Between these two major personages the other characters in this drama play their parts. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, like the soldier that he is, surrenders at discretion the moment he is shown the Lumley letter. The Premier of Assam does the same by telephone. The Bengal Premier, Mr. Fazlul Huq, resigns both the Muslim League and the Defence Council but keeps the Premiership though, according to the Secretary of State, membership of the Advisory Council was a constitutional corollary to the Premiership. Sir Sultan Ahmed holding that the Law Membership of the Viceroy's Council stands apart from membership on the Expanded Council, assumes charge of it and is dismissed from the League with the condition that he will be ineligible for readmission to it for the next five years, that is, during his term of office. Begum Shah Nawaz's plea for not resigning the Defence Council is highly interesting. She maintains that she was nominated to the Committee not as a Muslim but as a woman and that for her to resign would be to betray the cause of the womanhood of India and, perhaps, the whole world. She quotes the telegram of the Viceroy intimating his intention to confer upon her this representative character by nominating her to the Defence Council. The Begum would probably have accepted a membership of the Executive Council too if the Viceroy had thought of the claims of women in selecting members for the Expanded Council. The portfolio of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai might have been further subdivided

into Education, Health and Lands for Women and the new portfolio handed to the Begum. I said that in this drama Mr. Jinnah stands out as the most conspicuous figure. If he had said 'yes' to the Viceroy or even merely remained silent, he could have got almost anything he asked for. By his refusal to do so, he has taken a heavy responsibility on himself, including the risk of disruption of his Party. He has exhibited a high type of character which in the last analysis is the power to say 'No' to temptations from within and allurements from without.

Those who rejoice over the 'split' in the Muslim League are extremely short-sighted. "Splits" like this are the best means of consolidating the strength of a movement as one of principle. Examples are only too many of leaders starting with drums beating and banners flying to establish a great principle but being lured by the prospect of a cheap bargain on a minor issue on the wayside. Mr. Jinnah's refusal to be sidetracked is altogether to his credit and to the credit of Indians of whom he is one, notwithstanding his bombast about Pakistan.

K. N.

A CEYLONESE VIEW OF THE INDIAN QUESTION.

(By O. B. D. S. VIJEMANI.)

The steady deterioration of Indo-Ceylonese relations is in great measure due to misunderstanding and in some small measure to misrepresentation. In the best informed circles in India there is little knowledge of the very extensive economic dominion Indians have established in Ceylon. It is scarcely realised that in every branch of economic activity outside banking, the learned professions, and agriculture, Indians have entrenched themselves to the exclusion of almost every one else.

The entire importation of foodstuffs, whether of rice from Burma, or of pulses and currystuffs from Gujerat, is in the hands of Borah, Memon and Chetty merchants. Of fifty-one firms handling this trade, one alone is Sinhalese. The little wayside boutiques that sell provisions or food to the poorer classes, are almost a monopoly of Indian Coast Moors or of Moplabs. The hawkers of cloth and provisions, and the manufacturers of gur from sweet toddy are exclusively Nadars; Chinese pedlars alone offer them competition. Every tree that is tapped for fermented toddy is tapped by a Thiya from Malabar. Every bungalow-servant comes from the same territory, while every rickshawalla come from Tinnevely. Every barber, every sweeper, every cooly, every scavenger and conservancy cooly comes from the corresponding class in South India. Only the very fashionable barbers are Sinhalese. Only skilled labour too, in factories and in Government employ, is Sinhalese. The rough, unskilled work whether in the harbours of Colombo, Galle or Trincomalie, or on the numerous well-kept roads of the country, is exclusively Tamil. Every shop in the principal towns, but for a score of European and Ceylonese establishments, is in the hands of Sindhi, Memon or Bharathar merchants. Every market gardener and almost every dairymen is a Madrassee Tamil, while every butcher is a Coast Moor (South Indian Muslim). And every money-lender, except for a few Sinhalese pawn-brokers, is a Natukotai Chetty. The Ceylon Moors, the only merchant community in Ceylon, have been steadily squeezed out of their shops by the fearsome interest rates of the Chetties.

The three biggest property owners in Colombo are Borahs; while fifty-thousand acres of Sinhalese-owned coconut plantations have passed, since the last

depression, into the hands of Chetties. The vast bulk of the remaining million odd acres have a load of roughly Rs. 250 millions of debt on them carrying interest at 15% to 18% to Chetties. A smaller amount of agricultural debt, of about Rs. 25 millions, is owing to European lenders at 5% to 6%. Unfortunately, European lending has stopped with the levying of Income-tax in Ceylon, thus adding one more to the many Ceylonese discontents.

The economic position of the Ceylonese is thus one of fairly complete subjugation to Indian traders and money-lenders, who in their turn are dependent on the British Banks. The only class that stands outside and apart from this subjugation, consists of owners of tea and rubber plantations, and members of the Public Service. That Service has acquired a glamour it never had before, for in it alone can steady and attractive employment be found today. To the multitudes of Sinhalese unemployed, the Service, which before the war they disdained to enter, has become the promise of every contentment, the sure hope and prospect of economic security. The sight of thousands of Malayalis in actual enjoyment of that contentment and security, while thousands of Ceylonese waste away in hunger and anxiety, has provided the dynamo to action by the Minister of Works and Communication. The entire Government of Ceylon is agreed that its Service must be the prerogative of the Ceylonese. And, as a Ceylon Tamil asked, Does a different principle prevail in India regarding the right of the indigenous population to service under their own Government?

The present discontents have largely arisen out of the temperamental defects of the Sinhalese as well as of the Tamils in Ceylon. The Sinhalese are a forthright, proud, and quick-tempered people; the Tamils, canny and cool, but academic word-spinners. Neither race is inclined to trade. Neither race is willing to do the hardy and the dirty work that every community has to face. The Indian has only filled the economic vacuum that existed in Ceylon. But hardship and poverty have made even dirty work acceptable, and it is the demand for any work at all, by Ceylonese, that is at the bottom of the present trouble.

There are nearly eight lakhs of Indians in Ceylon, of whom about seven and a half are of the labouring class, either indentured for work on tea or rubber estates, or in free private employment. The former are Tamils, the latter mostly Malayalis. There has never been thought of interference with Tamil labour, but with Malayali labour, there has been considerable friction, because of the competition it offers to Sinhalese labour in skilled occupations. Malayali associations finance their members, from the bribe to the Sinhalese foreman that is the "open sesame" to employment in every factory, down to unemployment relief when they lose their jobs. Their cohesion and loyalty to their associations, has enabled the Malayalis to oust thousands of Ceylonese from employment.

There are thirty thousand odd Indian merchants, traders, carriers, caterers, and contractors successfully operating their businesses in Ceylon. There has never been talk of segregation or discrimination against them. On the other hand, where freedom from social inhibition has permitted Indians to mix with Ceylonese, who are very partial to European manners and modes of living, firm friendships have been built up; Parsis, Sindhis and Bengalis, more especially, moving on terms of easy camaraderie with the impressionable and outspoken Sinhalese. During the troubled days of Indian non-co-operation, Ceylonese ladies discarded high-heeled shoes and

silk sarees for Indian jutas and Khaddar sarees, while the men in their hurry began to affect costumes that, to use a very mixed metaphor, were neither Bengali fish nor Punjabi fowl. It was then that Pandit Nehru caught the imagination of the Sinhalese, for he more than any other Indian seemed to embody the forthright qualities they most admire. But the enthusiasms of the last decade have died down considerably. Epidemics, bad trade, and financial depression have led to closer and more critical examination of national problems, and the economic factor in each has begun to acquire greater prominence in the national awareness.

The greatest decline in the profit of the coconut industry has been traced to oppressive freights, high insurance rates, and prohibitive tariffs imposed by the Indian Government. Freight rates to Indian and European ports from Colombo were found to be as high as rates from Singapore and even from far-away Java. The tariffs imposed on coconut products had established a permanent gap of about Rs. 13 between Cochin and Colombo prices for copra. The lower price for copra fixed by Borah buyers at the Colombo Auction Rooms became operative for European shipments too, though there were no prohibitive tariffs to meet at the European end. Thus the coconut industry not merely lost its profits to the Indian Government in the way of tariffs, but lost its profit in the European market as well as a result of those tariffs. And when it was realised that the tariffs were the result of a Malabar allegation that Ceylon was dumping her copra on India, resentment against Malabar began to flame up.

"Dumping" has a definite content of meaning. It implies selling unwanted goods at reduced prices. But copra is sold at an open auction, and Borah buyers go all the way to Colombo to buy at these auctions, because India needs Ceylon copra. On the other hand, no Ceylonese merchant has sold copra in India. The English word "dumping" has acquired a new content in Malabar, bewildering to those who know only the English meaning of it.

The absurd charge of dumping is all the more to be regretted in that India buys only Rs. 9 millions worth of Ceylon produce (mostly copra) against Ceylon's purchases of Rs. 51 millions of Indian commodities. And this margin represents a great reduction of the gap of the decades preceding. Any threat, therefore, of a strike by Indian labour on tea estates, would be met by prohibitive duties on Bombay cotton and foodstuffs from Gujerat. Paralysis of trade can creep both ways.

Finally, there is the village vote denied to Indian labour. It must be realised that the tea estate is a separate jurisdictional unit from the village. No Indian resident of an estate can be brought before a village tribunal. For estate labourers there is compulsory protection under the Medical Wants Ordinance, which compels estates to maintain their own dispensaries and sometimes their own hospitals. No villager gets similar provision in his village. He may die in a ditch for all that one may care. Nor is he so well off as the Indian in the matter of education, for estates maintain their own schools. The option was, therefore, placed before Indian labour of either these privileges or a share in the uncertain destinies of the Sinhalese village. Preference was expressed for the privileges instead of the votes. Only agitators who thrive on political ferment, have been trying to give Indian labour an empty vote instead of the substantial physical privileges it enjoys.

Fortunately for both India and Ceylon, there is still considerable sympathy in Ceylon with Indian industrial expansion. Industrially Ceylon is still

virgin soil. There is still no production of cement, sugar, paper, hydrogenated fats, hydro-electricity, glass, or any of the modern products that form the needs of a modern community. Under the leadership of Indian finance, however, Ceylon's material and financial resources could be mobilised for the productions of all these. Statemanship points towards such co-operation. Nor is the hope lost that the good sense of both countries will slowly overcome the disruptive agitations that are threatening to keep two kindred peoples apart.

[* This article was written two years ago.—Editor.]

THE BRAHMO SAMAJ: PROGRESS OR DRIFT?

II.

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

In 1938 the Hindu public of Ganjam in South Orissa heard to their amazement a local Secretary of the Brahmo Samaj declare that registration under the Special Marriage Act was not absolutely necessary to a Brahmo marriage and was not invariably practised in Brahmo families nowadays. And, true to his declared convictions, he proceeded directly to administer the Brahmo ritual of marriage to a newly converted couple of different communal origins without the least attempt to get the marriage registered, though some importunate friends succeeded in persuading him with difficulty later on to advise the newly married bridegroom to give a formal notice to the Marriage Registrar under the Act stating that a marriage between him and his bride was "intended to be had" under the Act within the three months from that date! The scant respect shown to the Act in this instance struck the public mind then as due to the Secretary's ignorance of Brahmo rules and tradition coupled with his own self-assertive arrogance. But recurring events since then have proved beyond cavil that the good old "arrogant" Secretary was really a wise man and prophet of the new Brahmo Samaj that is quietly in the making before our very eyes.

The priest is obviously coming into his own even in the Brahmo Samaj and he is trying to snap his fingers at the Law, heedless of the vicious bite which that faithful servant is capable of giving in return for the outrage. The inveterate Hindu sentiment which in the case of Hindu marriages justifiably exalts its religious ritual into a self-sufficient legal instrument to effect a valid union, is evidently overpowering and tempting the Brahmo Samaj too of Keshub Chander Sen and Pandit Shivanath Sastri to do likewise with its own improvised modern ritual, but without the same justification. The stalwart men of old who rebelled against the Hinduism of their day and rejected Hindu customs and rituals as effete, offensive or obstructive to their spiritual and social advance, were yet realistic enough to take good care to provide themselves with a statute law to safeguard their family interests. The neo-crusaders of the present generation, however, are indolently, if not deliberately, giving the go-by to the legal safeguard so thoughtfully prescribed by the early Fathers of and making their new ritual the sole arbiter of their Church's future destiny though it confers no wifehood on the bride nor legitimacy on her children.

The President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta, no doubt, took prompt notice of the dangerous innovations made in this and other respects by the mofussil Secretary in 1938. He directed an investigation by a specially appointed Brahmo Commissioner and issued an authoritative endorsement of his report, condemning the Secretary's action as wrong through the *Indian Messenger* of 8th May and

The Indian Social Reformer of 14th May of that year. But it must, nevertheless, be sadly confessed and loudly proclaimed from the house-tops that the practice of neglecting the Special Marriage Act at Brahmo marriages has definitely come to stay—at least in the mofussil. When earnest and talented Brahmo gentlemen who are regular missionaries of the Brahmo Samaj ignore without a qualm, and as a minor matter of individual choice or convenience, the claims of the Special Marriage Act when performing a marriage in their own family or in the family of a fellow-missionary, it is, of course, no wonder if distinguished laymembers of the Samaj noted for their piety readily proceed with the ritual without bothering for the law when they are respectfully invited to officiate at a friend's marriage function as unordained priests. But all these tragic lapses make a confounding example to the unfortunate Hindu social reformers who are striving in their own humble way to persuade their orthodox kinsmen to patronise the Special Marriage Act for their Hindu marriages for the sake of the protection of monogamy which it gives to the bride. They can only stand aghast now, rub their eyes and ask themselves: "Stand our exemplar where he did? If the salt loseth its savour, with what shall it be salted?"

It behoves the Brahmo Samaj, therefore, to come to the rescue of the Hindu social reformers and save them from this cruel dilemma. Every earnest Brahmo has only to ask himself a simple question and answer it frankly to himself. Does a consummated Brahmo marriage without previous solemnization under the Act create an honourable relationship of husband and wife recognisable as legitimate by a court of law, or does it only amount to an unmarried family relationship which carries a more opprobrious name in legal parlance? If the latter, is he prepared to court the legal opprobrium and risk the future of the couple and their progeny, in the hope that nothing untoward may really happen in his life-time or in this particular case? If it is found in practice too expensive and too troublesome to reach or get an ex-officio or non-official Marriage Registrar because he is usually stationed in a District town, far away perhaps from the residence of the parties concerned, why not agitate and compel the appointment of at least one Marriage Registrar for each Revenue Taluk or Firka? If, on the other hand, it is against the system of so-called Registration or religious negation embodied in the Act that Brahmo religious sentiment has begun to revolt, why not agitate and compel the legislature to pass a Brahmo Marriage Validation Act, as the Arya Samaj has done, but with monogamy prescribed in express terms? Unless the one thing or the other is done, the present undeclared and surreptitious war against Brahmo tradition by its own members is bound to lead to a shameful disruption of the Brahmo Samaj as a social community. The present repeated neglect of marriage registration by prominent Brahmos in the mofussil with self-deluding excuses and pious intentions is deceiving nobody. It can certainly never hoodwink a law court when, perhaps tomorrow or forty years hence, the validity of the marriage is questioned by a polygamously inclined bridegroom or by his rapacious collaterals clamouring to inherit his property to the exclusion of his wife and children. Let us all beware betimes and do the needful.

WIDOW'S RIGHT OF SUCCESSION TO A RAJ.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Since the death of His Highness the Maharaja Rajaram Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, much literature has appeared in regard to the right of the widow in an impartible estate to adopt a son to her husband, and the relative importance of the consent of the Ruling power. Arguments for and against the free choice of a boy by Her Highness the Maharani Tarabaisaheb have been set up, and the right of the Baby Princess to succeed to her father has also been sponsored by one view.

But what strikes one is the absolute absence of any recognition of the right of Her Highness the Maharani to succeed to her husband as *the widow*. The wonder is the greater that neither the Women's Associations nor those who sponsor their rights have yet made any suggestion as to this right of the Maharani to take the place of her husband directly as the next eligible heir in the absence of the male issue.

The Cannon of Inheritance stated by Yajnavalkya is well known, and has been universally followed in principle throughout the India. At any rate they

textually govern India and the rules as to impartible estate do not strike any exception.

It would appear, therefore, that this is just the time when Her Highness the Maharani Tarabaisaheb should assert her right the direct succession as a widow.

Precedents are not wanting where women's right to succeed to the Gadi has been tacitly accepted. The well-known instance of Ahilyabai of Indore, where not the widow of the last holder but the widowed daughter-in-law held sway. In the very house of Kolhapur the well-known namesake of the present Maharani also held sway as the widow-mother after the death of her son.

The suggestion that a Ruling State must be governed either by a male or a female has been recently answered by Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal by successfully arranging the devolution of the right upon a male, and there is no reason why, with this instance of the subordination of the sex distinction, the same should not also prevail in the converse case of a woman succeeding a male.

This is, therefore, just the time for Her Highness the Maharani to assert her right and one is surprised that such an opportunity is being lost by the Women's Organization.

Yours truly,
LEX.

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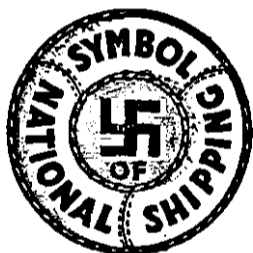
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VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

(FOUNDED IN 1890.)

Subscription Rates.

Inland Rs. 7-8 (Post Free).

Foreign Rs. 10 (Post Free).

Single copies of the current month, if available can be had at 2 annas, current year 4 annas and copies more than a year old 8 annas each, exclusive of postage.

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 27, 1941. No. 4.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

The Indian Paradox.
Lord Linlithgow's Extension.
The Public Services Commission.
Russia and the Atlantic Charter.
National Democratic Union.
Bread and Habit.
Civilisation at Cross-purposes.

The Pope and Renter.
Brahmin on the Brain.
Constitutional Origins.
Tamils and Sinhalese in Ceylon.
Some Thoughts on Communal Disharmony.
Joad's War Aims.
The Indian Constitution—I.
The Brahma Samaj.

NOTES.

The Indian Paradox:—Mr. Amery and his supporters in Parliament stress the fact that recruitment to the army, production of armaments and collection of funds, have not been impeded by the political deadlock. They do not acknowledge that this is due chiefly to the major political parties deliberately and expressly refraining from embarrassing the war effort of Government. They, no doubt, believe that the political parties are making a virtue of necessity and, if they refrain from embarrassing the war effort, it is because they cannot embarrass them if they wished to. In this they are completely mistaken. If the Indian leaders did not follow a policy of self-restraint, it will not be difficult for them to throw the administration appreciably out of gear. It is proclaimed that the great contributions of India in aid of the war, are due to Indians' lively apprehension of the difference between the British Indian system and the Nazi system. Mr. Amery and Mr. Winston Churchill are entitled to make the most of war efforts in India, as proving that the political deadlock is due solely to the machinations of politicians for their personal aggrandisement and that it does not represent the attitude of the Indian people towards British rule and the war. But there is another side to the picture. The *New Statesman* in a recent leading article from which we quoted a passage (*The Reformer*, August 18, 1941) summarised this aspect. Indian recruitment to the Army is explicable on the same grounds as Indian emigration to Burma and Ceylon at wages which the Burmese and Ceylonese regard to be unattractive. Professor Gulshan Rai in the *Tribune* showed that the poorest districts in the Punjab sent the largest number of recruits to the Army (*Reformer*, December 14, 1940). The explanation of the paradox is simple. The body of India, her material resources, are controlled by Mr. Amery. But the soul of India stands apart and brooding. This is a position which in the nature of things can not last.

Some way of co-ordination between the body and the soul should be found or the soul which is immortal will find another body.

Lord Linlithgow's Extension:—The news that Lord Linlithgow's term as Viceroy has been extended till 1943, has been received without enthusiasm and without depression. The question of a successor to him has been certainly considered. The speculation about his successor during the last few months, was not all idle gossip. The only conclusion possible is that affairs in this country have been allowed to get into such a tangle that no capable man was willing to undertake the task of unravelling it without an amplitude of powers, which Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill were unwilling to accord. Lord Linlithgow's next two years will make no difference to India's destiny which is now safely beyond the reach of politicians, British and Indian. If Lord Linlithgow can but get his mind clear of the deep-rooted belief—illustrated in his message to Mr. Jinnah—that Indians are incapable of having convictions of their own and sticking to them, and if he will deal with them as he would, we think, with a fellow-Scotsman, His Excellency's regime may yet be not barren of benefit to Britain and India. This is very hard for a man who has a fixed idea and has found it work for the last six or seven years without much difficulty to himself, but not impossible.

The Public Services Commission:—It was announced early this week that appointments during war-time which have something to do with the war effort, will not be submitted to the Public Services Commission. Selection by the Public Services Commission was itself so surrounded by quotas based on race and religion that it was deprived of some of the merit which would in normal conditions attach to it. The total exclusion of the Commission in war-time appointments must be taken to be a part of the war effort to enlist public support by every means possible in its prosecution. That this is about the first order issued under the expanded Council—not fully expanded yet—is unfortunate for its power of inspiring confidence in the public mind. A very little insight into human psychology will show that the new order will have exactly the opposite effect to that which was intended. The man who secures a war-time job, will naturally incline to prove his nationalism, in ways which can readily occur, to every one who knows how sensitive the

Indian or any average man in his own country, is to the opinion of his friends and neighbours. It is, perhaps, intended to fill all or most of the war-time posts with Australians, which would in no wise improve matters.

Russia and the Atlantic Charter:—At an Inter-Allied Conference held in London on September 24, a resolution was adopted supporting the Atlantic Charter. The most, and perhaps only important member of the Conference was the Soviet representative whose support went to embarrassing lengths. Mr. Maisky said :

The Soviet Union defends the right of every nation to its independence and territorial integrity and its right to choose such form of Government as is deemed opportune and necessary for the better promotion of its economic prosperity. The Soviet Union has consistently condemned all violation of sovereign rights of peoples by aggression and aggressors and any attempts of aggressive States to impose their will upon other peoples. The Soviet Government proclaims its acceptance of the fundamental principles of the declaration... The consistent application of these principles will secure most energetic support on the part of the Government and people of the Soviet Union.

Here is a third powerful adherent to the Atlantic Charter and apparently one who takes it seriously. As earnest of this comes a message reported on the same day that, with the consent of the Soviet Government, Britain has warned Finland to desist from invading "purely Russian territory" and that there was a chance of peace for Finland if Finland remained within her pre-1939 borders. In Poland also it was said that Russia was prepared to consider a settlement renouncing the gains which her association with Germany had brought her. Mr. Maisky's recent speeches aim at gaining Russia respectability in the eyes of the democratic nations. He has said, for example, that Russia respected religious beliefs scrupulously. What is surprising is that those who have in the past carried on propaganda about the anti-God movement in Russia, are now silent. Nevertheless, Russia has much headway to make in winning the goodwill of her allies of today. Mr. Hoover has been rather inauspiciously crying out against too close involvement with Russian Bolshevism.

National Democratic Union:—A party meeting of the National Democratic Union, it is reported, will take place at an early date. We have had with us for some time past a statement of the objects of this Union by its President, Sir H. M. Mehta, in the form of a speech at a Press luncheon meeting in the Governor's Pavilion in the Cricket Club of India held in July. It is unusual for a political party, and one which styles itself democratic, to be inaugurated at a luncheon meeting in the Governor's Pavilion in the Cricket Club. On the back page of the tract the three slogans of this Party are emblazoned as follows. "Democratization, Industrialization and Militarization." These are further elaborated in the presidential address thus: "Progressive Democratization, intensive industrialization and rapid militarization." Democratization is to be progressive,

but industrialization is to be intensive and militarization to be rapid. Intensive industrialization and rapid militarization are the means by which Italy, Germany and Japan developed their present political systems; and it is doubtful if in India they will have the effect of helping democratization even in a progressive, that is at an un-intensive, non-rapid pace. Sir H. M. Mehta is a business magnate and he is not expected to understand the interaction of policies in the industrial, political and military spheres. But the Vice-President, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, is a seasoned politician, and is also a Labour Leader, and he ought to have realised that the last two slogans of the National Democratic Union are incompatible with the first and the central one, Democratization. Militarization will, as in other countries, be the Aaron's rod swallowing up the other two. Both industrialization and democratization will have to take a back seat, while militarization moves at a rapid pace.

Bread and habit:—In the early days of the village industries movement, workers who tried to popularise hand-pounded rice and wheat throughout the country, often remarked that villagers appeared to have acquired a taste for polished rice and would not be persuaded to take to the healthier article. Even in the cities the demand was a stimulated artificial one. The London correspondent of the *Times of India* describes the kindred adventures in Britain of the "national loaf" which, he writes, is a "cross between the old brown bread which is rather gritty, and the anaemic white bread." Long years of stay in India have instilled into him an interest in diet reform and he finds it "far more palatable and more satisfying." But, he writes,

Will the public eat it? Not on your life.....It is hard to get. I have it in the country because my baker supplies it as a special favour. In London my house-keeper tried every shop between Piccadilly Circus and Knightsbridge, without success. This week she tells me that not a loaf is available, for the bakers said if they made it they could not sell it. Lord Woolton is to have a publicity campaign to encourage its use; but he should be more heavy-handed; he should say, "The national loaf or none."

This is an original suggestion and ill-advised in the extreme. In his study, "The Politics of Food" (a recent Labour Book Service publication), Mr. George Darling who makes many radical proposals, wisely warns against disregarding the consumer in matters of public taste. After all, how much vitamin does one hope to get out of the Woolton loaf which, granted that supplies of other foodstuffs are not lacking, cannot be obtained elsewhere? Lord Woolton apparently has been trying so far to popularise something that does not exist. But it is no solution to rush to the other extreme of compelling people to take something they have never seen before. If the insistence is due to food shortage (which is officially denied), is it not time that the Government in Britain took a more comprehensive view of the food problem than the rather limited question of popularising the Woolton loaf? Man does not live by bread alone.

Civilisation at Cross-purposes :—All India Radio announced almost simultaneously the isolation of the influenza bacillus by scientists in South Africa and the manufacture of incendiary bombs in India as achievements equally deserving of applause. We wish that India had the credit of discovering the bacillus rather than of manufacturing incendiary bombs. The two events represent the double and contrary ends of civilisation. In one direction, it is seeking means of protecting human life ; in the next it is engaged in devising and perfecting means of destroying it. These opposite ends of civilisation are the direct cause of the confusion in which the world is plunged.

The Pope and Reuter :—In a sermon in June last His Holiness the Pope, replying to the question why God permits evil to dominate the world, quoted Isaiah's saying that God's ways are not as man's. Reuter in summarising the Pope's observation made His Holiness attribute the saying to Jesus. We pointed out the mistake but the *Examiner* has ventured to admit this only when the full text of the Pope's sermon was available to it this month. Reuter has once again, we are sure, badly let down the Pope. Summarising the Pope's reply to a letter from President Roosevelt appealing to His Holiness to declare himself on the side of the Allies in the present War, Reuter says that for doctrinal reasons the Pope is unable to regard any war as just and has, therefore, not responded to the President's invitation. This would imply that the Pope himself is not satisfied with the doctrinal reasons but that he is obliged to desist from expressing an opinion on the war which he would have done if he were not the Pope. This is hardly fair to His Holiness. The *Examiner* also doubts the correctness of Reuter's message but on the ground that Catholic doctrine approves of a just war and the Pope could not have expressed a different opinion. The *Examiner* is, perhaps, right. The Pope blessed the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, though the League of Nations condemned it as wanton aggression. The proximity of the Duce is evidently a factor in the interpretation of religious doctrine.

Brahmin on the Brain :—"The Menace of Hindu Imperialism" is the sensational title of a book by Swami Dharma Thirthaji Maharaj B. A. L. L., B.) published by the Hindu Missionary Society of Lahore. The central theme is that Hinduism is a great religion which has been corrupted and its social system wickedly despoiled by Brahmins for their selfish ends. This thesis is sought to be established by historical and philosophical proofs. The Swami's history as well as his philosophy are shaped for propaganda use. The propaganda, however, is too evident to deceive any one who does not share the Swami's preconceived notions. Take the instance of Shivaji's Empire. It is common knowledge

that Shivaji's patriotism was inspired by the Brahmin Saint, Ramdas. Swami Thirthaji makes the charge that the Brahmin Peishwas deprived Shivaji's family of the sovereignty of Maharashtra. This is a canard prompted by caste hatred. The Bengali historical writer, Major B. D. Basu who has no reason to condone the faults of the Peishwas, begins his important work, "The Story of Satara," by a categorical refutation of this calumny. He writes :

The Peishwas have been accused of depriving the descendants of Shivaji of the power and dignity which legitimately belonged to them and of reducing them to mere puppets and keeping them captives. A little investigation into the matter will show how baseless these accusations are, and, if anything, the Peishwas deserve the best thanks of all for maintaining the fabric of Shivaji's Empire entire for at least a century and preventing it from crumbling into pieces, which it surely would have done but for their support.....The Peishwas, taking the administration of the empire into their hands, prevented the wreckage of the empire and hence should be looked upon as saviours of Shivaji's kingdom.

Coming to later times, the services of Brahmins to the country have been great. The founder of the Brahmo Samaj and the father of modern India was the Brahmin, Rammohun Roy. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, his successor in the headship of the Samaj, was also a Brahmin. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was a Brahmin. Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, was a Brahmin. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the social reform pioneer, was a Brahmin. So were Ranade, Raghunathrao, Veeresalingam, Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Narayan Chandavarkar. In the political field, Bonnerjee and Banerjee from Bengal, Tilak and Gokhale in Maharashtra, Subrahmanya and Krishnaswami Aiyar in Madras, were Brahmins. The Poet Tagore was a Brahmin. The scientist Raman is a Brahmin. Asutosh Mukherjee, acknowledgedly, the greatest of Indian educationists was a Brahmin. So is Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor in Oxford. The list can be indefinitely prolonged. For a community numbering scarcely 3 per cent of the population the Brahmins have played a great part in Indian history. The Brahmin has rendered distinguished service to the country and to all classes of the people and it is sheer perversity to hold him up as the evil genius of the Hindu race. We are no apologists for Brahmins and no one is more keenly aware and has more severely denounced the defects and weaknesses of Brahmins. But, when all is said, Brahmins have through the centuries upheld the ancient tradition of plain living and high thinking though, it must be confessed, there have been many grievous defections among them. The Swami complains that the Muslim and British regimes have only been media for extending Brahmanical influence. The obvious deduction is that that influence was found on the whole to be best for the public good. But the Swami perversely twists it into evidence of the cunning and devious ways and intrigues of the Brahmins!

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, September 27, 1941.

CONSTITUTIONAL ORIGINS.

The suspicion that the Reforms Commissioner specially sent out from London has been busy canvassing support for a constitutional arrangement based on an irremovable Executive and a Legislature elected on functional representation, has given rise to protests in the Indian Press and from public men. Mr. H. V. Hodson has emphatically disclaimed this activity imputed to him. It is worthwhile, nevertheless, to examine the origin of these two principles. Mr. K. M. Munshi has taken upon himself the responsibility for the statement that Mr. Winston Churchill offered to support the Indian delegation at the Round Table Conference on condition that the delegation agreed to have an irremovable Executive with functional representation for the Legislature. The statement is on the face of it preposterous. Mr. Churchill's objection to the Indian demand was based, as he said in his evidence, upon his belief, gathered during his experience of India in the short period of a few months when he was a subaltern here, that Indians were not capable of working democratic institutions in their proper spirit. The idea of irremovable Executive and functional representation is a much later growth. At the Round Table Conference, it was a question of introducing the English democratic system in cautious doses into the Indian constitution. No question of departure from that system had arisen at that date. The first British statesman to conceive of it was the present Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery has more than once publicly stated that an irremovable Executive might perhaps suit Indian conditions better than the British principle that a Ministry is dismissed from office by a vote of no-confidence in the House of Commons. He has done so apparently under the impression that the irremovable Executive is the corner-stone of the United States system. As a fact, however, it is not a feature of the American system except in a very superficial sense. The President is the head of the American Executive and he appoints and dismisses his Secretaries. He is elected and holds office for four years. During his term he can, it is true, do many things which a British king can not. No President has used his powers on such a scale and to such a point as Mr. Franklin Roosevelt. But no one knows better that he has to be circumspect in order to keep the Senate in step with him and in order not to have his measures swept aside by a judgment of the Supreme Federal Court.

The real source of Mr. Amery's inspiration as regards the irremovable Executive, though he does not seem to know it or for obvious reasons does not find it expedient to acknowledge just at present, is the German system under the Kaiser's regime. With an irremovable Executive, the

Viceroy will be the German Chancellor, and the British Cabinet will be the Kaiser using Mr. Amery as its mouthpiece. The irremovable Executive was removable by the Kaiser, who dismissed Bismark at practically a moment's notice. Every member of the Government Service in this country including the Viceroy, as Lord Morley told Lord Minto, is bound to obey the orders of, and is removable from office by, the Cabinet for the time being acting through the Secretary of State for India. The strongest Viceroy can not challenge the authority of the Secretary of State as Lord Curzon found to his intense discomfiture. The Secretary of State will be no less free to dismiss the "irremovable" Executive. The Kaiser was a hereditary monarch while the British Government derives its authority from a Parliament elected once in five years. But as this Parliament is elected exclusively by British electors and India has no representation in it, so far as India is concerned the Cabinet and the Secretary of State for the time being, stand in the same position as the late Kaiser in relation to the Chancellor. Lord Morley, indeed, liked to fancy himself as the successor of the Great Moghul. British political thought has been much influenced by German, since the last quarter of the last century. "The Rhine has flown into the Thames," exclaims Hobhouse in his "Democracy and Reaction."

The second idea with which Mr. Amery has been playing, is borrowed from Fascist Italy. Functional representation is a specially Fascist product. Hyderabad has in its recent reforms adopted it and Mr. Amery spoke as if Indian (Hyderabad) statesmen had invented it. As a matter of fact, however, it was avowedly borrowed by Hyderabad and borrowed as a way of escape from communal representation. The Chairman of the Hyderabad Reforms Committee expressly dissociated himself from the arguments of his colleagues against territorial electorates, and made it clear that the only consideration which weighed with him in agreeing to functional representation, was that it would dispense with communal representation. But this hope was frustrated. Both communal and functional representation were kept and territorial representation also remained. We are not now examining the merits of different kinds of representation. We are only indicating the sources to which the British Government, as represented by Mr. Amery, are looking for help in dealing with the Indian problem. A constitution based on an irremovable Executive and on functional representation will be a Kaiser-Fascist solution for what is called the Indian deadlock. Functional representation, or representation by interests, is a highly elastic political contrivance to keep the Legislature subservient to the Executive. Territory and, to a less extent, religious profession, are readily ascertainable and cannot be easily manipulated. Not so "functions" or "interests" which are amenable to any number

of permutations and combinations. The main object of functional representation in the Fascist system and in the systems which have borrowed it, is to eliminate the politician who is in many cases also a lawyer. It may be observed in passing that every political system, with the possible exception of military autocracy, has its politicians, and it depends entirely on the men who work the system, what type its politicians are. If politicians are treated as pariahs, they will tend to the lowest type. If they are treated as honest and honourable men, they will steadily tend to be honest and honourable men. The same is true of the administrator who is a politician receiving a salary from the State to keep the unsalaried politician in check. As was pointed out in a recent article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, (*Reformer*, February 1, 1941) the lawyer is the natural representator of all classes and, if he is not allowed to come into the constitution by the door, he will climb in through the window. The speeches of the representatives of interests will be drafted by the politician, lawyer or journalist, who will exercise from behind an irresponsible influence if he is denied open and responsible participation in the work of the legislature. Herman Finer's observation about the Fascist system embodies the result of an elaborate and detailed examination of the electoral arrangements in modern countries. He writes :

In some European countries already economic and social interests have shown their implacability, with resultant friction and instability surely to be avoided; and in Italy it is doubtful whether the Corporative State could peacefully function were it not for the framework of values into which it is forced by the personality of Mussolini and the latent threat of coercion by the integrating element, the Fascist Party. Without these the corporations would not march together. (*The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol-II, page 907.)

Strange that in seeking for models for an Indian constitution a British Minister should turn to the sources which Britain is out completely to destroy! Has Britain lost her political originality which was her greatest claim to the homage of the world?

TAMILS AND SINHALESE IN CEYLON.

"Scrutator" writes in the *Morning Star* of Jaffna:—
"Jaffnese are very conservative as regards inter-race marriages. While the Sinhalese have been readier to mix with other races matrimonially, the Tamils have strenuously opposed it. The chief reason why Jaffna, which was once the chief centre of Portuguese and Dutch people, has now scarcely any of those people left here, is that the Tamils, except the dregs, refused to mix with other races. The result has been that they have been able to maintain their cultural traditions, and especially their language. I remember the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastry calling Jaffna the land of pure Tamil. But there are signs that inter-marriages among Tamils and Sinhalese are on the increase. The Registrar-General's Report showed that there were 139 marriages between Sinhalese and Tamils during last year. There is, however, a good side to this mixture. The best way of solving the problem of political unity in Ceylon is to have racial unity."

SOME THOUGHTS ON COMMUNAL DISHARMONY.

(By T. N. JAGADISAN, MADRAS.)

"Unhappy India! Divided India! Doomed India!" we often say in tragic tones. More often, perhaps, we say in moods of chaos, impotence and despair: "Nothing gets done. Nothing can be done. Such is our wretched country." "This wretched country" is an expression that comes readily to our lips—I fear all too easily, almost glibly. The tragically-earnest, the despairing-pessimistic, the bitter-misanthropic, the selfish-cynical, the cheerful-irresponsible—all of us say it. A thousand platforms, a million tongues bewail the absence of Indian unity and proclaim the great need of it. But all the time almost all of us are indulging in separatist thought and action.

The diversity of social and religious phenomena in the country is often cited as a barrier to unity. In impatience, the extreme suggestion is even made that, unless India throws up a Hitler who would in twenty-four hours abolish caste, create religious uniformity in the country and hold up before the peoples a single political, religious and social ideal, there can never be unity in India. This impatience is born of weakness, not of strength or sagacity. It betrays an ignorance of the historical roots of the complicated structure of our society. It ignores the continuity and homogeneity of Indian culture. A little more knowledge, a little less impatience should make us catch a revealing glimpse of the underlying unity of Indian life. We should then look upon the diversity of castes and creeds as a discipline whereby to evolve stronger unity than that which comes easily to nations with a less complicated social structure; an inspiring idea that the great leader of a recent past, Justice Kanade, derived from history and tradition and expounded to his generation with faith and fervour. We shall then see, as the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said, that "the civilisation of India has stood the inexorable test of time and has received in the course of its long history many elements of strength and variety. The Rajput has given it his stern chivalry, the Mussalman his keen, almost jealous, sense of honour, the Mahratta his endurance and hardiness, the Parsi his wide-awake enterprise and adaptiveness, and the Brahman his subtle and pervasive intellect."

Unbiased historians and clear-sighted patriots have always recognised that there is an underlying unity behind the life and culture of India. Eminent European scholars could be quoted in support of the statement, but I prefer to cite the authority of two of our compatriots, both Mussalmans of the highest type, one a contemporary scholar of repute, the other an illustrious figure of the recent past, the founder of the Aligarh University.

Mr. Abdulla Yusuf-Ali in his "Life and Labour of the People of India," pages 305-310, says:

The diversity of social phenomena in India is a fact visible on the surface. But the ground-work on which that diversity is traced—the underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—is often lost sight of. The unity of Indian life, however, is not confined to those points which it shares in common with the rest of the world. All its infinite variety hangs on a common thread of a somewhat distinctive Indian colour. It is the failure to grasp this elementary fact that leads to so much heart-burning, jealousy, and antagonism among the different sections of the Indian population. Where they do co-operate, they find that there is much in their ideas that is harmonious, if not identical. But the power of labels and shibboleths is strong in eastern countries and can only be removed by a careful study of the ideas that lie, in substance, behind differing names and institutions. Nor has the point escaped

those Europeans who (like Mr. Vincent Smith) have an intimate practical acquaintance with life and thought in Modern India.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan said the following memorable words which may well be worn as a frontlet on every Indian brow :

We, Hindus and Mohamedans, should try to become one heart and soul and act in unison. If united, we can support each other; if not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both. In old historical books and traditions you will have read and heard, and we see it even now, that all the people inhabiting one country are designated by the term one *nation*. The different tribes of Afghanistan are termed one nation and so are the miscellaneous hordes peopling Iran, abounding in variety of thoughts and religions, known as one nation. People of other countries also do come and settle with them, but being mixed together they are called members of one and the same nation. So that from the oldest times the word nation is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Mahomedan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burned and buried on the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mahomedan are only meant for religious distinction; otherwise all persons whether Hindu or Mahomedan or Christian, all in this particular respect belong to one and the same nation. All these sects can only be described as one nation; they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all.

Knowledge does not merely explain. It consoles and destroys impatience. To know the facts about our castes and the structure of our society is to know that in the ancient past "the concept of organic unity and interdependence ran through the whole system (of caste)," and that "the system conduced to the solidarity of castes as distinct units of the social organisation, it promoted effective association not only of the different members of each group but also of group and group. Clashes of interests, such as they were, did not hamper neighbourliness and co-operation among the different Hindu castes."* It is undeniable, of course, that the caste system with its "elaborate code of pollution, penance, and purification" is antagonistic to the modern spirit and has been to a large extent responsible for the decay of national spirit in the country. Narrow sectarian prejudices, jealousies, hostilities and tyrannies are continually driving out patriotic feeling and public spirit. Caste must go. Untouchability, the greatest blot on Hinduism, must go. But impatience and mere hate will not avail. An organisation of society which has survived the test of centuries, cannot be abolished in a day even by the violence of Hitler. The change must come about by adjustments arising out of the internal consciousness of the peoples. We should neither acquiesce in the situation as it is nor impatiently attempt to shatter the whole structure. The slow and silent pressure of enlightened propaganda assisted by the necessities of the times should bring about the needed change of outlook. The railway, the school, the hotel, the cinema-house, these are perhaps doing more to abolish untouchability (and unsee-ability) than the most influential propaganda, even as economic pressure does more to postpone the age of marriage for our girls than does the Sarda Act. Caste will be too long a-dying and we of the country cannot say: "As long as caste remains, we cannot come together." That my friend cannot now enter my kitchen is no reason

why he and I cannot work together for a public cause.

The truth of our communal rivalries is not that they are the inherent and inevitable issue of the caste system but that they are the rivalries organised by skilful and ambitious politicians on the basis of caste and race feeling. The ambitious politician is an opportunist and he is ever ready to sacrifice the interests of his country to the prospects of leadership. He knows that, while honesty, courage, vision, unwearied labour are needed to stir up the loyalty of people, their reasoned devotion to a worthy cause, it is easy to stir up the emotions of people on the basis of prejudice and hatred. It is easiest to stir up a following and organise rivalries on the basis of a grouping that already exists and has a firm hold on the people. You have only to say—and the response is ready: "Are we not Hindus? We must fight together." "Are we not Mussalmans? We must fight together." "Are we not Brahmans? We must fight together." "Are we not Non-brahmans? We must fight together." So it goes on until the cry degenerates into the aggressive group consciousness of petty local sects.

Communal rivalries, as we know them, came with the vote and the competition for power and place. Hence the deepest differences of communalism arise mainly amongst the educated classes and spread from them to the others. The educated classes sin against their light and in subtle and seductive ways ingrain into the young the general habit of looking at everything through communal spectacles. This ruinous spirit of communalism is seen to enter into the portals of educational institutions which are in all countries rightly regarded as beneficent instruments for bringing together human beings into a bond of brotherhood. The spirit of the communal Government order overflows into every department of life. The citizens of tomorrow are told that they own their allegiance to a mere community and not to the whole collectivity of the nation. A student of the non-brahmin community was observed to say, on being asked whether he was a brahmin, that, if he had been born a brahmin, he should have long ago committed suicide rather than belong to that community. And I do not forget that this is the violent counterpart of the brahmin boy's displeasure at being mistaken for a non-brahmin. This is a measure of the ruinous operation of the communal spirit. The disaster for the future of our nation lies precisely in the stirring up of this hatred. For all hatred destroys. Love alone can build and sustain. Those that are eaten up with hatred are to be pitied.

Hatred can never be the basis of constructive action. Even where hatred is based on solid grievance, it is a principle of destruction. A man may hate a system, which keeps a numerous and useful class of our society in the bonds of untouchability but unless he has much more in his mind than hate he will do nothing towards the eradication of the social evil. When a speaker arouses hatred in his audience nothing can come out of it except a row. Hatred is stupid and wasteful. We organise meetings, blow off hate, sing songs, shout slogans, carry banners and feel that great things have been done. In reality we only obscure our judgment and stifle our action. The way of the true worker is different. It is the unobtrusive, single-minded, loving labour of silent workers like Thakkar Bapa.

* R. P. Masani, "Caste and The Structure of Society" in "The Legacy of India."

JOAD'S WAR AIMS.

(B. NATARAJAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

Since the war began, there had been an insistent demand that the British Government should make a clear statement of its war and peace aims. To a question in Parliament, Mr. Attlee replied that they would be elaborated at the appropriate time. Pressed to define the "appropriate" time, he added, "An appropriate time is a time which is appropriate." The propitious hour came at last. Churchill and Roosevelt met at sea and drew up a declaration—the memorable Atlantic Charter!

The purpose of Joad's book* is to suggest an answer to the question what Britain is fighting for. Professor Joad is well-known as a pacifist. His prolific writings have emphatically denounced war, however righteous. He has often insisted that war is fratricidal and has been 'debunked'. But, under the stress of the times, he has abandoned a pacifism which has served him as a political stand-by for a quarter of a century and has made common cause with those engaged in winning the war. Let Joad himself explain this amazing conversion:

Despite our hatred of war, despite our realization that the goods for the sake of which wars are fought are endangered in the process of fighting for them, this war must be fought and won. We are not fighting for increase of empire, for the continuance of our rule of India, for the multiplication of markets, for the dismemberment of Germany or the humiliation of Germans, but for the preservation of those political values which are the necessary conditions of civilized existence.

Joad's thesis in this book is that to turn this war into a war of ideas is the best, perhaps the only, way to win it. He would put it that Britain is fighting for the establishment of a European order which embodies the principles of the liberal tradition. This great tradition is to-day in peril; and the victory of the Nazis in the war would mean its complete destruction.

Mr. H. G. Wells once complained that the Government would not say what was to come after Hitlerism had been destroyed. Pinning his faith on the liberal tradition, Joad suggests a declaration covering two points: first, it must define the status, rights and duties of individuals of our times and their relation to the new society which will follow this war; secondly, it must define the relation among the states. 'The charter for Twentieth century Man' which Joad has drafted, includes his basic rights and lays down the conditions for a tolerable existence. Man has certain needs—peace, security, work, leisure. He has certain rights—equality of opportunity in education, for work and for leisure; self-expression in speech and writing; access to true information and protection against misleading official propaganda, freedom from illegal arrest and imprisonment without trial; freedom to change his government by peaceful means. It is the function of the State to fulfil these needs and safeguard these rights. In its turn, the State has certain duties to the individual. It is under an obligation to plan for peace by surrender of sovereign powers to a federal government; to plan for prosperity and the common welfare, to protect the citizen against violence, to guarantee suitable occupation, reasonable leisure and such education as will exercise his talents to the utmost, to ensure a free press, a truthful radio news service. The citizen, too, must serve his community, participate in the choice of its government and the conduct of its affairs. He must be well-informed to participate effectively and choose wisely.

* "What is at stake and why not say so?" By C. E. M. Joad: Gollanon Victory Books.

Having restated the principles of the liberal tradition to meet the changed circumstances of the age, Joad seeks out the indispensable conditions for the continuance of that tradition. He associates with these principles the principle of federation—the union of free peoples under a common government—as the pre-requisite of their realization. In his scheme, foreign and economic policies are to be vested in the hands of the common government. Colonies and dependencies may enter the federation in their own right as responsible self-governing units. Matters of domestic concern are to be controlled by the various national governments. The supreme merit of federation is that it preserves the whole without destroying its parts; and it strengthens its parts without jeopardizing the whole.

At the present time the existence of sovereign national states is the chief obstacle to federation. No doubt, during the last three centuries, the nation-state served the liberal tradition best. It is no longer the guardian of our cherished rights; to-day the nation-state has become an anachronism. For whatever good the liberal tradition aimed at, the modern state has thwarted. Some even maintain that nationalism is a myth. But it is an exceedingly potent myth. So long as each state pursues an unbridled economic nationalism and puts its own cherished ideas of absolute sovereignty above the common good and adopts war as the instrument of policy, federation will remain an unattainable ideal.

The type of federation Joad advocates is singularly defective. He has in mind only the federation of Europe. Such a continental or regional arrangement is bound to fail; for, in their hectic efforts to make their separate defences impregnable, each of these federal units will be obliged still to maintain colossal armies, navies, and thus condemn our kind to the horrors of endless war.

The Atlantic Charter raised great expectations. Mr. Attlee announced, perhaps on his own initiative, that it applied to all—not only to Europe, but also to Africa and Asia. But Mr. Churchill has allayed our doubts. He has now explained that, when they were planning for future peace, the two statesmen had in mind only the nations of Europe now under Nazi yoke. Being narrow and sectional, the Charter stands self-condemned.

A more comprehensive plan to enlarge the bases of organised society by establishing a government for the community of nations, in order to preserve civilization and enable mankind to live in peace and be free, is embodied in a joint resolution providing for a Declaration of the Federation of the world passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate of North Carolina, U. S. A. Rightly it declares, "At this hour two elemental forces are struggling to organise the international community—totalitarianism and democracy. This world cannot remain half-slave, half-free, half-totalitarian half-democratic." Only if democracy triumphs in this decisive struggle, the nations of the earth will be united in a commonwealth of free peoples, and individuals, wherever found, will be the sovereign units of the new world order. The need of the times is an international sovereignty of reason, social justice and peace and the abolition of diverse national sovereignties bent upon their own dissolution by mutual conquest. The principle of federation can unite all free peoples of the world, inhabiting extensive territories under one government without impairing their local autonomy. Such a world organisation vitalizes all nations by endowing them with security and freedom to develop their respective cultures without the menace of foreign domination. It looks upon the entire human race as an indivisible family;

it reduces to the ultimate minimum the possibility of war.

Aristide Briand once wrote "There cannot be one peace for America, one peace for Europe, and another for Asia, but one peace for the entire world." His words convey a great lesson. The federation of the world may seem a veritable chimera; but our hopes for the future lie in a steadfast pursuit of the ideal.

If the Atlantic Charter is an exclusive privilege, what active interest will the present conflict evoke in coloured peoples who, for centuries, have groaned under political and economic disabilities? Can India, consistent with her own honour and stature, throw herself whole-heartedly in the struggle on the side of Britain if she denies India what she values most? The times call for bold statesmanship. Shortsightedness and reaction will only spell disaster. There is yet time to avert it. The National Peace Council of Britain have ventured to suggest that the British must set their own house in order, if their cause is to prevail. Will the powers that be heed the warning before it is too late?

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION—I.

(BY K. CHANDY, KOTTAYAM.)

Readers of *The Indian Social Reformer* probably know that I have been writing about a constitution for India from the year 1928. I anticipated the need for a Round Table Conference including the Princes, long before it was announced. A collection of some of my articles and the rough outlines of a constitution were sent to over a hundred persons in India and England, many of whom became members of the Conference long after. The Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of the Simon Commission were among that number.

In the report leading to the Act of 1935 there are quite a dozen suggestions similar to the points made in those articles; but it is the suggestions which no one took up, which have become important. What was attempted was a realistic approach to the problem of granting India Dominion Status, which necessarily included Defence and Foreign Affairs and the States. By means of an order in Council, Paramountcy was to be exercised in India by the Crown representative with the help of certain Indian Princes. The present Defence Council was anticipated twelve years ago, Defence and Foreign Affairs being entrusted to a Council consisting of Prime Ministers and representatives of the States. It is well known that after a war, treaties could be revised. It was suggested that after Gandhiji's "peaceful war", the Princes could be asked to enter an all-India Federation, making needful changes in internal autonomy without necessarily introducing responsible government on the British model.

The most important suggestion of mine, which no one advocated at the Conference, was that majority government was quite unsuited in a communally minded country with no genuine political parties' cutting across communal attachments, and hence that it was essential to introduce a form of no party government, which was called Panchayet Government.

These suggestions were not amateurish. They had the full approval of two eminent experts in Political Science. As my name is unknown in England, and in most parts of India, the following words of a great English publicist, the late Mr. C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* were quoted:

The whole traditional idea of a government which governs, and than opposition must be abandoned and

there must be a pooling of resources. As far as possible, party distinctions should be abandoned and policy judged not from the point of view of its bearings upon the interests of this party or of that but from the point of view of all parties—that is of the nation.

All this was in the year 1929. The arguments used by Mr. Amery in England showing why the British model did not succeed, were identically those urged by me. Although it might be that no one in his office had read my little pamphlet when it was stated in the House of Commons that no alternative scheme had been suggested, it is still pertinent to enquire why it is that English statesmen did not anticipate these evils at the time. So far as Indian leaders at the Conference are concerned, subsequent events as also a perusal of almost any article dealing with the matter shows that barring experts in Political Science, there are few Indians who have sufficiently grasped the truth that a political party majority which at the subsequent election might become a minority, is very different from a communal majority, and that, as I wrote twelve years ago, there is nothing in Political Science or in Ethics to justify granting to a communal majority the rights claimed in England by a political majority.

The utterances of Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonje and Mr. Jinnah are only striking instances of a general subconscious feeling which all or most Hindus and Mahomedans seem to share—namely, that racial or religious numbers have the same political weight in democracy as had Tory or Whig, and liberal or conservative votes in England supporting great political leaders. Even the *Hindu* of Madras has been showing in article after article a seeming ignorance or overlooking of the fact that democracy need not be equated with Party majority government. The general will could be expressed in other ways. Even the dharma which Indian sovereigns have been expected to uphold is a form of the general will. When minorities have the suspicion that voting might take a communal turn, it is simple fantasy, the result of non-clarified thinking, to imagine 51 votes out of a hundred as expressing the general will, when opposed to 49. This danger had been pointed out in several articles but the unconscious bias mentioned above prevented its being grasped; and it is not perceived even now that Jinnah and Pakistan are not simple perversities but a result of the above fear complex. The increasing communal tension is also its result. Parties in India could never be like parties in England during the heyday of Party Government. The introduction of that system has done immense injury already. Hence the pressing need for a different type of government for India.

The above statements do not imply that it is essential to adopt the functional form of government, which has led to so many evils. Although it would be necessary to represent functions also, such as Labour, it is quite feasible to establish government for the people, of the people, by the people, without having Party Government. Any expert, like Prof. P. J. Thomas, Mr. Shiraz, Dr. C. K. Reddy, etc., if asked, could formulate the outlines of such a scheme. It should be essential in any such scheme to make it a rule that members of the Legislature, after election, should cease to owe allegiance to any party during the term of their membership because it is no longer the Party but the All-Indian State that they serve.

So far as I know, nowhere else in the world has the head of a communal party, not elected by the people, set himself up as a Dictator over Prime Ministers, and he has only followed the example of another Dictator who, although spiritually the highest

person in India, is not an elected Dictator. Pakistan is the direct result of majority government and the present political place in India of Gandhiji and of Jinnah and their Executives manifestly and obviously establishes the unsuitability of the system established in 1935.

THE BRAHMO SAMAJ. A CORRECTION.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Sir,

A marriage solemnized before a Marriage Registrar under Act III of 1872 (The Special Marriage Act) can at the worst be called a "marriage by registration" or "registration marriage." It may also be called a "Civil Marriage," but never as "registration of marriage." The Registrar of Marriage, like the Registrar of Births and Deaths, simply takes note of the events after they happen by whatever process and by whomsoever they may have been brought about. But unlike a Marriage Registrar, the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages is not instrumental in any way in bringing about any of the events which they record.

To emphasize this difference and point out how the wrong vogue of the expression "registration of marriage" to denote a marriage under Act III of 1872 has undermined its primary importance at Brahmo marriages, misleading, at least, some Brahmos into neglecting it altogether or till long after the consummation of their marriages, contrary to

their best traditions and their own legal necessity, and to plead for the strict observance of the Act until such time as the Brahmos may obtain from the legislature a new marriage law suited to their present day sentiments, was the object of my article on the Brahmo Samaj commenced in *The Reformer* of 13th September.

I regret, however, that a grave mistake which was inadvertently made in my original copy has found its way into print, although I corrected it in good time. In the penultimate paragraph, the third sentence reads as though Sir Henry Sumner Maine said in Council that under his Bill "registration of marriage" should take place first, which cuts at the root of my whole argument.

I corrected this into "marriage under the proposed Act should take place first." But the correction seems to have escaped notice.

The actual words used by Sir Henry in introducing his Bill, as reported in a supplement to the "Gazette of India" dated 19th September 1868, were as follows:—

"It would be in substance a Civil Marriage Bill.....With religious ceremonial it would not be concerned. The Brahmos could add to the requirements of the law whatever ritual they preferred, and the result would be that, as in several European countries, there would be a civil and afterwards a religious marriage."

Aska
17-9-1941.

Yours etc.,
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Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, SANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY OCTOBER 4, 1941. No. 8.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

The Lesson of Russia.	Mr. Amery and American Critics.
Mr. Jog on the War.	More Thoughts on Communal Disharmony.
Hyderabad Reforms.	Diploma in Military Studies.
Dr. Jayakar on the Present Situation.	The Indian Constitution—II.
Sir Sikandar's Advice to British Statesman.	Indians in Kenya.
Mr. Aney and Dr. Rao.	Christian Civilisation.
Lord Linlithgow's Mystery.	Farquhar and Quisling.

NOTES.

The Lesson of Russia:—It was a frequent comment after the collapse of Austria that the only effective resistance to Nazi-Fascist aggression would come from a Socialist State. The fall of Poland, the collapse of Holland, Belgium and France and the breakdown of the Scandinavian countries seemed to show negatively the truth of this observation even though the political prophets were discredited on a thousand other events. The resistance put up by Britain where the anti-Socialist Churchill rallied all parties under him, was accounted for on the ground that Socialism, as it was known on the Continent, never existed in Britain. British Socialism had always collapsed under stress, and patriotism had won an easy victory. The Communists, it is true, had latterly shown a tendency to strike out an "international" path but too many of them defence of shifting Soviet policies had taken the place of any definite outlook on international affairs. Because British Communists and their American prototypes, with Russia neutral, denounced the Anglo-German war as an imperialist war and urged non-participation, it was readily assumed that Soviet Russia would not fight, however much provoked, and that, in the improbability of her doing so, her resistance would prove uninspired by any general national emotion. M. Stalin, however, on the outbreak of hostilities appealed to his people in the name of nationalism. Even in Soviet appeals to the outside world there is little use made of the fact that the Soviet Union is a workers' State, though foreign admirers of the Soviet Republic have stressed that aspect of the question. We were surprised, for example, to read in the *New Statesman* that the fortuitous entry of Russia into the war must create a greater enthusiasm on the part of workers in Britain. Why? Russia is not fighting for the workers' world. In every one of their statements, Russian spokesmen have emphasized the approximation of their system to that of the democracies. If they ar

wooning any section of opinion abroad, it is not that opinion which has been with them in the past. But it is rather those men who yesterday were antagonistic to everything that Soviet Russia stood for. In the circumstances, Russian representatives must find the support of pro-Russian enthusiasts more than a trifle embarrassing to them. In her resistance to German aggression, Russia has shown that her people, believed hitherto to have turned their backs on nationalism, are more staunch in their love of country than the bourgeoisie. This is largely because the Russian worker, like the British worker, has a stake to lose. The event has an obvious lesson.

Mr. Jog on the War:—Mr. N. G. Jog's "Will War Come to India?" (Messrs. The New Book Co., Bombay, Rs. 3/-) is a collection of articles on the war published week by week in the *Sunday Chronicle*. There have been very few newspapers in India which make a weekly feature of the war and certainly very few nationalist newspapers. Mr. Jog's articles, many of them, were excellently written and often gave one a desire to see them collected in book form. But now that they have been put together, one feels that the material read much better as weekly articles. The events of the past two years have been startling enough to make any book on them interesting, even if it be but a mere recording of facts; and Mr. Jog's book is certainly no bare record of incidents. Mr. Jog has a lively pen and he has read widely in the anti-Nazi literature of Britain and the U. S. A. But if such a book had to be written, we would much rather it had not been written by an Indian. After all, there are certain things which are in character as coming from a member of the ruling political classes of the world which do not fit in with those of us who are underdogs. Besides, there is some excuse for a man who curses under intense suffering; there is none for the onlooker who imitates his language. The one justification for an Indian writing on such a subject is the greater measure of detachment he can bring to it. Mr. Jog, it is clear, sees the war, and has always seen it, as one between Fascism and Democracy. Even so, India is neither the one nor the other. Mr. Churchill on the Atlantic Charter has made this quite clear. Mr. Jog might feel that the war came to India two years ago, but it has come in a very effective disguise and not as it came

to so many other countries. Mr. Jog repeats the oft-repeated Anglo-Saxon reproach against Ribbentrop that he was a champagne seller, against Hitler that he was named Schicklgruber. Does it really matter who Ribbentrop was before he took to politics? Whatever reason there was for the change from Schicklgruber to Hitler, it took place just a hundred years ago and it is no part of the German campaign. So far as India is concerned, there is very little in the book except the answer to the title question at the end. That too rests on Lord Linlithgow's declaration of war, on behalf of India. Mr. Jog has done himself a disservice. What is a week-by-week survey of the war is related by a twist of the title to a political question. As Dr. M. R. Jayakar remarks in his Foreword to the book, the chief merit of this book lies in its being the first book of its type written by an Indian for the benefit of Indians.

Hyderabad Reforms:—The Information Bureau of the Nizam's Dominions has issued a lengthy communique on the work that has been done and which yet remains to do in respect of the Reforms sanctioned by His Exalted Highness two years ago. The work that has been done is the enactment of about five out of the many laws which are required to give statutory form to the proposals. Some eight others have to be further scrutinised and the Legal Remembrancer has been relieved of his normal duties for the purpose. But much the more difficult and essential part of the work has yet to be taken in hand. The special difficulties which beset the Hyderabad Secretariat are three. The Reforms cover the whole ground of administration and involve new regulations and legislation from top to bottom. The basing of the franchise on "interests" has created a novel and unprecedented sphere in which there are no clues to guide the Hyderabad compilers. Then all the regulations framed in the official language have to be translated into English and the three Hyderabad languages, Marathi, Telugu and Kanarese. There is a tone of querulousness due to enactments being passed without being accompanied by the rules for which they provide. But this has necessarily to be done. To draw up rules before an Act to which they pertain is passed, is possible only under a system where the lawgiver is also the executor of laws. In a system of legislation by debate, it is impossible to foresee what amendments may be introduced in a Bill during its passage through the Legislature. It is possible, of course, to prepare beforehand a tentative set of rules but when once the principles are accepted by the law-making body, it should not be difficult for a competent drafting establishment to frame the necessary rules. The making of a register of voters on the basis of interests as well as communities is, indeed, a difficult task and we should not be surprised if the Hyderabad scheme has to be revised in this respect. Otherwise, the voters' lists will have to be a Census of the occupational castes for a large part of the

population. The work, as it is described in the communique, seems prodigious but it all boils down to a few central features. Undue delay in bringing the reforms into force will deprive them of the sustaining influence of popular enthusiasm and, indeed, the scheme may become out of date.

Dr. Jayakar on the Present Situation:—Dr. M. R. Jayakar delights in stirring up the placid waters of Rotary Club functions. We referred some months ago to the observations he made at the function arranged in honour of the Thailand Goodwill Mission in Bombay. Speaking on October 1 at a dinner at the Madras Rotary Club, Dr. Jayakar summed up the present political situation in the country as a conflict between the instinct of self-defence and the sense of self-respect. The war, he said, was coming nearer and nearer and the frontiers of India were extending as far as Iran, Iraq and perhaps Russia; but, strange as it may seem, the discontent, apathy and sense of frustration of the Indian people are simultaneously increasing. Dr. Jayakar continued his searching analysis of the Indian position with references to the recent editorial of the *London Times* and the even more recent speech broadcast to America by Mr. Amery. Whilst the *Times* asked for India's spiritual support, the authorities in India, Dr. Jayakar complained, were more concerned with material assistance. Perhaps it is because of the efficient work of Indian authorities that British spokesman are able to occupy their time with considering the spiritual side. Dr. Jayakar appealed for the acceptance of the Sapru Conference demand for an all Indian personnel on the Executive Committee but he omitted to mention how this would improve the spiritual position, without a radical change in the ideas that inspire the Government of the country. Dr. Jayakar himself supported his suggestion by urging that an Indian Defence Member can create a sentiment of war as no European could. His advice to the Congress was strangely worded, according to the press report. Dr. Jayakar suggested to the Congress either to stiffen the present movement or to go back to Parliamentary activities. It is true that the Congress, by openly declaring its intention to refrain from mass activities, robbed the present movement of much of its sting and gave the administration a sense of general security. The threat of an imminent mass movement is often more effective than an actual campaign. Even if the present campaign is stiffened we cannot expect any great success for it. As for its returning to Parliamentary activities, Dr. Jayakar himself realised that there will be considerable modification in the conditions which prevailed before the ministerial resignations.

Sir Sikandar's Advice to British Statesmen:—Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, has come out with a criticism of Mr. Churchill's repudiation of the Atlantic Charter in regard to India—his first public utterance since his unfor-

fortunate part in the Jinnah-Linlithgow controversy. Sir Sikandar does not believe in the value of any declaration or statement or assurance—because he believes that the status of India is being won by the sacrifices of Indians in the various theatres of war. And as an encouraging example, he cites the 1922 Reforms as the fruits of the 1914-18 sufferings. It would be hard to think of any other instance of much suffering with little gain. It is a dangerous game for Sir Sikandar to play, to try to rouse false hopes in the people and it would be the part of wisdom to accept British declarations that India has little to hope for from the war beyond freedom from a possible Nazi regime, and interminable wrangling over the future political structure, with Britain holding the ring. This is what is meant by telling Indians that the future constitution has to be devised by agreement among Indians. This has not been suggested to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Greece, Yugoslavia, France and Abyssinia. It is time Indian politicians realised that Britain has cut out her path in India and intends to follow it. Most of them we believe, do see this. The Churchill watering down of the Atlantic Charter has upset or surprised no one except the Anglo-Indian press which remarks that Mr. Churchill should not have *said* what he did, and Sir Sikandar who, after proclaiming his disbelief in the need for a declaration, asks for a clear and unambiguous statement on India's future so that he may down his political opponents. Sir Sikandar in fact asks for Mr. Churchill's help in putting down his opponents. He wants an assurance that those who have not helped in the war, will not "enjoy the fruits of victory" to quote Lord Linlithgow. There is so close a connection between Lord Linlithgow's trend of thought on the occasion when he spoke on the second year of war, and Sir Sikandar's observations now that it would be not surprising if his advice is taken. The Jinnah-Linlithgow controversy which arose out of Sir Sikandar's own doubtful position, temporarily separated the Viceroy and the Punjab Premier; but it has now brought them together—probably under a sense of common suffering at Mr. Jinnah's hands. If Sir Sikandar's efforts to divide the country on the war issue succeed, he may find that he has little support when he and his British friends are fighting over the spoils of war.

Mr. Aney and Dr. Rao:—The Central Provinces has been exceedingly lucky in the distribution of memberships in the expanded Governor-General's Executive Council. Two out of the seven new additions are from that province, Mr. M. S. Aney and Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao. Mr. Aney was once a Congress leader. Then he followed Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in forming the Congress Democratic Party which had one foot in the Congress and the other in the Legislative Assembly whereas Congressmen without a suffix abstained from attending the Legislature except for a

single day in order to prevent their seats being declared vacant. The Congress Democratic permission to attend the Legislature, however, did not evidently include permission to accept office and, when Mr. Aney was mentioned as a nominee to the expanded Council, the Pandit declared that he could accept office only in his personal capacity. Mr. Aney was not deterred by this pronouncement from carrying out his intention. But he has to wait until Sir Girjashankar Bajpai cleared the table of the Indo-Burma and Indo-Ceylonese agreements, in order to assume his duties as Overseas Member of Government. Sir Girja is back in Simla, and Mr. Aney is expected to take charge of the Overseas part of Sir Girja's functions in the course of the next fortnight. Prior to departing from his province to Simla, Mr. Aney had an interview with Gandhiji at Sevagram. His last minute attempt to convert Gandhiji to the Tilak opportunist creed, "Take what is given and ask for more," was apparently infructuous. For immediately afterwards he made a speech at a public meeting at Wardha criticising the Congress for giving up office and power and advised his audience—from a worker he has already become an advisor—to accept positions in the Army and become war-minded. Dr. Raghavendra Rao who has just relinquished his position as Advisor to the Secretary of State, on the eve of his taking over the Membership for Civil Defence—does it include the Police?—advised his countrymen almost in the words of Mr. Amery—perhaps Mr. Amery himself was repeating his Indian Advisor's words—to forget their internal differences and present a united front. Dr. Rao stressed agreement especially between the Congress and the Muslim League. The country has now the satisfaction of hearing from the lips of Indians what it has hitherto heard from those of Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow.

Lord Linlithgow's Mystery:—The *Times* (London) in an eulogy on Lord Linlithgow on the occasion of the extension of his tenure in this country, referred to some service of his which will be known and appreciated only after the war. Whatever this might be, there is one which surely entitles him to the *Times'* compliment. When the last war broke out, the dull-witted Englishman who was Prime Minister was moved to tears when announcing India's participation in a quarrel which was not hers. The Viceroy, also an Englishman, acted in the same spirit. At the opening of the present war the quick-witted Scotch Viceroy, hastened to make out that this was India's war, and since his pronouncements—the last broadcast for instance and his measures have tended to emphasise India as being more concerned in the prosecution of the war than Britain herself. It will not be surprising if at the victorious close, it is made out that India owes a greater debt to Britain than Britain to India.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 4, 1941.

MR. AMERY AND AMERICAN CRITICS.

The radio has often been mentioned as an aid to education. But it has a defect which is fatal for this purpose. The essential factor in education is that the pupil must be able to stop the teacher when he feels a doubt and ask him to clear it up. In the radio you are at the mercy of the man at the microphone. There is no means yet discovered—one may be discovered hereafter, we hope—to stop him where he is deliberately vague or clearly mistaken and ask him to clarify his meaning or to correct his error. The British Broadcasting Corporation is exploiting this defect of the radio for propaganda purposes in respect of American criticism of British Indian administration. A few questions are selected and answers to them framed which are often grossly fallacious or even palpably false; but the listener has no instant means of exposing the fallacy and the falsity. A good instance is the recent broadcast of a colloquy between various American questioners and Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India. The first question was one by Judge Austin Griffiths, of Seattle, Washington, and it was: "What taxes, direct or indirect, does India pay towards the British Government?" The question is framed, it is clear, to suit the answerer. Mr. Amery's tone to the American is in marked contrast to his usual tone to his Indian critics. But it is not Mr. Amery alone among British statesmen who speak in two voices—cringing to the American, insolent to the Indian. Mr. Amery prefaces his reply by expressing his delight at Judge Griffiths' question. The Judge was evidently thinking of the question of American taxation by Britain, which resulted in the war of Independence. Whether he was doing so or not, Mr. Amery certainly was and his answer was clearly intended to assure the judge that Britain is not in the case of India making the mistake which she made in the case of the New England States. "Neither India nor any other part of the British Empire," is Mr. Amery's reply, "pays any taxes, direct or indirect, to the British Government. All her revenues are used for the benefit of the people of India. In fact the British Government makes a contribution of many millions of dollars a year to the military defence of India." What the judge thought of this reply the British Broadcasting Corporation does not inform its listeners. If the judge was slightly acquainted with the conditions of British rule in this country, he would not have framed his question in the way he did. He would have asked Mr. Amery if it was true that five shillings in the pound of the British national income is derived from India; if it was true that £50 millions is derived from India in the shape of Home Charges every year; if Indian industrial development has been made subservient to British industrial interests;

if it is true that though India has several thousands of miles of railways, she still imports locomotive engines chiefly from Scotland; if it is true that the Indian Army is maintained not exclusively with a view to India's defence but also and largely with a view to British interests as is shown by their despatch at the present time to distant lands; if it is true that the British official and soldier in India, notwithstanding that they form part of the garrison, receive many times more pay and allowances than corresponding Indian employees. Even if he was totally ignorant of Indian conditions, the Judge would surely have asked, if the Broadcasting Corporation had not cut him short, for figures of the British contribution to India's military Defence and India's contribution to British national income. Educated Americans are better informed as to actual conditions in India and the Colonies and Mr. Amery's quibbles will be estimated at their true worth by informed American opinion of which we get but rare glimpses in India nowadays. The reply of Mr. Norman Thomas to Sir Norman Angell in the *New Republic* of July 28 to which we have referred once before, is a fairer sample of American opinion than Judge Griffiths' unintelligent question.

Mr. Amery's answer to the second question by Mr. E. W. Jeffry of East Cleveland, Ohio, made one gasp as one read it. The question was:—"Is it true that the Viceroy of India declared war against Germany without reference to the people of India? Is that democratic?" Mr. Amery begins his reply by asserting that the Viceroy never declared war and could not have declared war. The latter half of the answer is true. But the former is blatantly wide off the truth. The Viceroy did declare that India was at war. The declaration was criticised in Parliament and the British Press as unfortunate and that the Viceroy should have convened the Legislature and made the declaration on its authority. Now, two years after the incident, Mr. Amery comes forward to say that the Viceroy never declared war. The constitutional position which made India automatically a party in the war was explained in *The Reformer*. And it was suggested that Lord Linlithgow's object in making the declaration was perhaps to stake out a place in the post-war Commonwealth for India as an independent unit. Mr. Amery's analogy between Ohio in relation to the United States and India in relation to the British Government, is grossly misleading. Ohio is a constituent part of the States, with representation in Congress and enjoying absolutely equal rights with the citizens of every other State. India has none of these attributes. A citizen of Ohio can be President of the United States. He can be Commander-in-Chief of the American Army. He can represent his country in foreign countries. Indians have none of these rights. All that they possess are obligations. This is no doubt the actual state of things, but it is hardly entitled to claim to be democratic. It might

have been the legal constitutional position, as Mr. Amery claimed it was, but certainly it was not democratic in any sense of the term.

"India was from the first, and is today," said Mr. Amery, "behind the British Government in its struggle against Nazi tyranny and aggression." To equate hatred of Nazi tyranny with support of "the British Government in its present struggle" has struck us all along as an unfortunate fallacy which has led to many mistakes of policy. To begin with, India does not think enough of the Nazi might to pay it the compliment of hating it. Her attitude to it is just the same as her attitude to the earthquake which shook Quetta several times this week and which apparently must be taken as a chronic menace to that fair city, which should be provided against but which it is impossible to forecast and prevent. Then, those who have followed the events which preceded and led up to the war, feel Nazi tyranny had not extended to Britain or any part of the British Empire when the war began, and in all probability it would not have extended to her in any future of which reasonable men need take account. Of course, tyranny anywhere and in every form is an evil but not the most powerful nation in the world has undertaken to fight tyranny as such wherever it exists and in whatever form. Even the United States whose President has been straining every nerve to convince his fellow citizens that Nazism is an immediate menace to their own freedom, has not yet proceeded beyond selling munitions and materials to Britain. Perhaps, Indians are wanting in altruistic imagination but, speaking for ourselves, we do not feel that, in the economic and political conditions of India, she is under a moral obligation to help Poland and the other European countries to regain their independence which they can not preserve for any length of time against a future Hitler who, so long as humanity does not cease from greed for power and possessions, is sure to arise when this present one is destroyed. As a subject country, India has no option but to obey the bidding of the British overlord, and this she is already doing, according to her bond. To the Gonerills and Regans who make flamboyant professions, may be put the question which Cordelia posed to her sisters:

Why have my sisters husbands, if they say,
They love my father all?

We have in mind especially the Princes who would not yield an inch to advance Indian Federation and "big business" which clamours for "orders" in the same breath in which it professes its enthusiasm for the war.

MORE THOUGHTS ON COMMUNAL DISHARMONY.

(By T. N. JAGADISAN, MADRAS).

It gladdened my heart to read in *The Indian Social Reformer* of August 23, 1941, that "any new approach to the problem (of co-operative spirit among communities) 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." I take it the editor means "the question ought to be one of social psychology."

The politician cannot be expected to help towards communal harmony. It is not to his interest to do so. By politician, I do not mean Mahatma Gandhi or the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. I mean the politician for whom politics is a career, a ladder of personal ambition and power. The politician of this variety is not at all anxious for the establishment of the good society. "Those who want to keep power are all archaisers. They all want to stop the future. They take the ancient forms of scarcity—conditioned history, nations with boundaries, secular or religious hierarchies, lies and violence; they are prepared to use all means to keep power. They hate the vision of the good life because that would mean the loss of power. They hate the implications of morality, freedom and equality and acceptance and general good will. Against these basic concepts they will use all means. They are doing so now."*

The politician then only aggravates disharmony. We should not look to him for remedy. Rather we must work against his influence.

What about the educationist, the vast army of teachers and professors? They can help, they must help, but I fear they do not. There are notable exceptions of teachers who shed a moral and intellectual illumination by their learning and righteousness, but generally I have noted with dismay that the educationist is content to be the pale shadow of the politician. He too loves 'power' and, as Bertrand Russell has said, the teacher who loves power is more harmful to society than the politician who loves power. He is a worshipper of power too. "If the Congress is in power, applaud it. If it is out of power, decry it," is the attitude of some learned men. With amazing flexibility they change loyalties and work revolutions in their faith. Some of them are chameleon-like and can be all things to all men. "To the Communist be communist, to the communalist a communalist, to the congressman a congressman, etc., etc.," is their motto. Doubtless there are very many good and silent scholars but their influence pales before the fascination of the fussy politician-professor. The result is that the students are not helped towards the building up of character. "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

What about the religious fellowships? They can help and do help, but only to a limited extent. The International Fellowship, for instance, arranges for meetings of influential members of differing groups and sects. Views are exchanged, religious differences discussed, meeting-points explored. But those talks can do no more than touch the fringe of the problem. For they are based on the assumption that differences of creed and custom really account for the great tension of communal feeling. It is not the fact that the Hindu worships at a temple, the Moslem at a mosque that prevents them from working together for a

* Naomi Mitchison: *The Moral Basis of Politics* (Constable.)

public cause. It is the fact that they are both ambitious of power and preferment and regard each other as rivals. A friend once expressed the view that if people knew that there were marked similarities of thought, ceremonial custom, etc., between the religions of the land, then there should be greater unity among the people. "Do you know," he asked, "Jehangir and Jagadisaan mean one and the same thing? How can the Muslim and the Hindu fight?" This is an interesting piece of information but I fear this sort of knowledge may not help us much towards communal harmony.

What about the social worker? He can help, he does help but only where he is of the unobtrusive and genuine type. The note in *The Indian Social Reformer* already referred to rightly lays stress on 'personal conduct'. "Personal conduct is of the first importance and those who wish to bring about this result (of communal harmony) should themselves show the way by precept and example." People are judged by their lives, not by their opinions. If men and women can begin, even in a small way, among their immediate friends and relations to live in good relationships, then they are helping forward the good of the society. We must also remember that we should be grievously wrong to separate, in our conception of virtue, private and public life. The moral life is difficult. Few people can live it continuously, for it is a life dominated by the 'not-self.' It is, to use the language of our great rishis, a life of *ahimsa* (love) towards the rest of the world, an attitude of *satya* (truth, i.e. an acceptance of facts, an illumination that does not exclude any aspect of knowledge or being) and the practice of *brahmacharya* or self-restraint and self-conquest, the conquest of interests and appetites. So stated the ideal throws us into awe by its dizzy heights and makes us despair of ever reaching it. But ideals alone shape a people. From time to time we shall fall off our standards, but the true devotee of truth sees the vision even from his depths. With every fall he strives better. Whatever happens he does not lose the gleam of the ideal he is striving after. This incessant striving alone can keep us away from sinking into the position of: "Oh! that's the ideal! As an ideal it is good. The practice cannot come up to it." In general it is perhaps safe to say to ourselves: "Blame yourself when you fall below your ideal. Be charitable to another when he falls below his."

Sometimes one feels that there is only one solution for communal disharmony—the throwing up by society of peaceful men who will befriend people of other castes and creeds and develop into intimate human relationships with them. It is in such friendship that we get below labels and shibboleths and discover that men are not so wicked as we are apt to imagine. Unfortunately almost all of us are pugnacious and have too much ardour for the fray. Where hate is the rule, how shall society produce peaceful men? Where fear and suspicion abound, how shall we generate wholesome feelings? It is true that our venerated national leader, Mahatma Gandhi, is full of love and courage but the nation is not able to emulate him. We have only to fall back on hope. Peaceful men cannot be made to order but we may expect an ancient culture rooted in ideals of *ahimsa* and *truth* to give us in the immediate future a rich harvest of men and women who work for the good society. In the meanwhile, let us rejoice in every friendship between members of differing communities and try to emulate such friendship. Unfortunately this is not always easy in the suspicious atmosphere of communal antipathy. I have a good non-brahmin friend of Congress persuasion, a man of my own age, one who has been my school

and college mate. I may call myself a 'young liberal' and am a brahmin. Between us perfect friendship prevails. But I have been often warned by some brahmins that my friend is a staunch non-brahmin and that I was wrong to befriend him. With the closest observation, I have not been able to see any caste 'hatred' in him and I am sorry and surprised that even his reputation as an ardent Congressman has not saved him from the suspicion that he is cherishing an antipathy to the brahmin. Perhaps many of my friend's non-brahmin friends are not able to sympathise actively with his friendship for me. Still we understand and respect each other. Our love increases. Our friendship is a blessing of our lives and we would fain have the blessing of knowing others blest. For such good as this propagates itself into time and space.

I have reserved to the end a pet idea of mine. It seems to me that one effective way of progressing towards communal harmony is to create anew a great 'national mythology', a splendid vision of our culture and history which will drive out the notion of a wretched land doomed for ever to division. By 'mythology', I do not mean anything fictitious. But a vision founded on fact and invested with poetic intensity, a vision that will act upon the imagination of the young, the imagination that is the only instrument of morality. This mythology should not be deliberately invented for a certain kind of propaganda merely, but should be derived from the facts of history and founded on the deepest traditions of the land. It must be the product of the culture pattern peculiar to our country. This mythology should hold up before the children of the land the synthetic nationalism of which Ranade always spoke in accents of deep earnestness. The conviction must be instilled into all minds, young and old, that we have a great past and a greater future. The blossoms of today derive their strength from the roots of a thousand years ago. We are heirs to a rich inheritance and we can look forward to a brighter progeny capable of greater things. The society to which we belong has shown wonderful elasticity in the past and may be expected to do so in the future. Let us say with Ranade:

This country of ours is the true land of promise. This race of ours is the chosen race. It was not for nothing that God has showered his choicest blessings on this ancient land of Aryavarta. We can see His hand in history. Above all other countries we inherit a civilization and a religious and social polity which have been allowed to work their own free development on the big theatre of time. There has been no revolution, and yet the old condition of things has been tending to reform itself by the slow process of assimilation. The great religions of the world took their birth here, and now they meet again as brothers prepared to welcome a higher dispensation, which will unite all, and vivify all. India, alone among all the countries of the world, has been so favoured, and we may derive much strength of inward hope from such a contemplation.

Let us say with Ananda Mohan Bose of an earlier generation, when faith ran clear and the vision of a United India was not as yet impaired:

Do you, do we, brother-delegates, love that land, the land that gave us birth; the land beloved of the gods, they say, in ages gone by, when the world was young and darkness lay over many of its peoples, the land where knowledge lighted her earliest torch, the arts of life and civilisation found their home and philosophy pondered over the deepest problems of life; where Rishis sang their hymns to the Father in the shining Sky, the earliest of the Aryan world, which still live and throb in our hearts, and the eyes of the Seer saw visions of things not of this world; that land where

after ages the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in the present day? That land deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer for her misfortunes of the past, of the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone. After centuries of darkness, the dawn of a better day has now opened for her, and the golden light has already begun to stream over her fair face. It depends on us, fellow-citizens of this land, it depends on us, on our sense of duty, on our spirit of loving sacrifice and earnest effort, whether the streaks of that light shall broaden and grow unto the lovely day. At length has India awakened from the stupor of ages, the fire of her intellect, of her heroism, of her piety dimmed but yet not wholly extinguished, and waiting but the breeze of manly effort and kindly help to burn once again in the time to come, let us hope, with splendour and lustre as of old.

Our hope lies in the young and there seems to be only one effective way of making them shake off the narrow influences of those who would have them think on communal lines—the stirring up of a glowing vision of a great India, great in the past, greater in the future. We must all engage actively in this task and we must live this faith in our own lives—publicists, patriots, educationists, social workers, every one of us. With faith and courage all things are possible. For every one man that today has faith and courage, we shall have a hundred tomorrow. A wise, old man, a man of great experience, writes to me: "The good sense of people will triumph in the end. Let the present generation go. Even hatred has a limited life."

In the meanwhile we want people, a handful though they may be, who will cherish hope and faith and live that faith and hope in their own lives. What is the goal to which this selected band of undying faith should work? Let Ranade speak:

The end is to renovate, to purify, and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect, elevating his standard of duty, and perfecting all his powers. Till so renovated, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were—the chosen people, to whom great tasks were allotted and by whom great deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself, and in what particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly to all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and lastly with a love that overleaps all bounds, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world, and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached; this is the promised land. Happy are they who see it in distant vision, happier those who are permitted to work and clear the way on to it, happiest they who live to see it with their eyes and tread upon that holy soil once more. Famine and pestilence, oppression and sorrow, will then be myths of the past, and the gods will then again descend to the earth and associate with men as they did in times which we now call mythical.

Diploma in Military Studies:—In connection with the recent decision to use Australian officers in the Indian Army to supply an existing deficiency, it is interesting to note that, at the instance of Dr. B. G. Vad, the Bombay University has been considering the question of instituting a diploma in Military Studies since 1934 which, as in the case of similar studies in British Universities, was intended to train up a class from which officers could be chosen. On the outbreak of war, the University had a complete syllabus ready and in August 1940 the Senate adopted it. The scheme was held up and is still apparently held up because His Excellency the Governor of Bombay whose

sanction is necessary as Chancellor of the University, feared that those receiving the Diploma might not find employment!

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION—II

(By K. CHANDY, KOTTAYAM.)

What follows amounts to a criticism of lack of imagination in British statesmanship. It is, therefore, necessary to state here that no one appreciates more than I do the Englishman's capacity to govern, and his general sense of fairness in dealing with subject nations. In the terrible fight against Hitlerism, I doubt whether any other family in India has contributed more units than mine. I am criticising as a friend and a well-wisher.

With more imagination, British statesmen could have anticipated the evils which have actually happened. Mr. Amery's speeches in the House of Commons exhibit an earnest and a sincere mind. It is lack of imagination which prevents him from perceiving that Gandhiji and Jinnah do not speak the same language, and are not likely to come to terms. Jinnah does not admit the claim of the Congress to represent all India; and his claim that there is a Mahomedan nation which appears to be gaining support, no Hindu is likely to concede. These are not political parties in the sense in which that word is understood in England, and by Mr. Amery. The one is national, and the other communal. There is no Mahomedan in India—Mr. Jinnah inclusive—who does not wish to live in a united India rather than in a divided, provided Mahomedan culture and interests are adequately represented and safeguarded. The No-party or Panchayet scheme of government which I have been advocating, provides for important minority communities, and particularly Mahomedans, safeguarding their culture and legitimate interests themselves instead of their being safeguarded by a majority party or community. No reasonable Mahomedan could object to such a scheme. When persuasion and convincing, and the supreme interests of the nation are the foreground and the background instead of the rule of bare majorities, when separate culture is permitted to look after its own, and where Hindus and Moslems work together as a team, separatist tendencies will tend to disappear. Details had been worked out in my articles. Any of the gentlemen mentioned last week, and many others could formulate them.

What is thus required is not agreement between parties—because there are no genuine political parties—but agreement between Hindus and Moslems; and if a scheme on the above lines is put up, Hindu and Moslem leaders could meet round a table, discuss the details and arrive at agreement.

The general outlines of a no-party or Panchayet form of government is thus what is required and not agreement between the Congress and the Moslem League. Even should both these bodies stand outside such collaboration, the rest of India which is very considerable, will be able to come to terms; and within a few months or years, these two great organizations would realize that there is no need or justification in any kind of democratic organisation for their executives to function as super-governments and they will still have a great place in India as culturally and politically inspiring entities. It is power politics which is running the world. There is a higher form of politics which such bodies could fill most usefully and beneficently; their members though under no kind of disciplinary control, during their parliamentary membership would bring to the body politic, what wisdom and guidance they had obtained from such organisations.

It is only the Secretary of State and no one else who could advocate and initiate this line of progress successfully. By establishing majority government on the British model, his predecessors have unconsciously led India up the garden-path; this was through want of imagination; and it seems to me that there is a great moral responsibility laid on him to bring her back.

The question of the Princes has become more difficult because they are no longer under the Government of India in the manner that existed before 1935. Even granting that Gandhiji and Jinnah would get the vision to come to terms because the enemy is knocking at our gates, I do not know why or how Mr. Amery expects British Indian leaders to come to agreement with autocratic Princes. This appears to be the primary duty of the Paramount Power. To ask democrats to come to terms with autocrats is asking too much.

If the India Office experts could put up a scheme of federation or confederation between Provinces and State and if that is given publicity as a very tentative scheme, discussions would follow and with some persuasion our Princes, who are as patriotic as any British Indian democrat, and who, I have found from experience, are less communally minded, are likely to put the interests of India in the first rank. In this matter also, I do not perceive how there could be progress without help and some guidance from the Secretary of State himself.

What has resulted from England's long connection with India seems to me to be comparatively a matter of less difficulty. If and when the Hindu-Moslem (not the Congress-Moslem League) question and the question of the Princes, are solved so as to give general satisfaction, it would not be difficult to satisfy the legitimate claims of the British civilians and of British trade in India.

Very many years and vast sums of money have already been spent in talk and legal advice. If, at the present day, mutual trust could be created by a word of sympathy, the result of imagination, an expert or two would be able to mark out for India the steps that have now to be taken.

If the Secretary of State should be unable to take the initiative, it is open to him to ask the expanded Executive Council to do so. It has some of the ablest men in India among its members. With the help of a few experts in India, and one from England they could put up a scheme providing for Paramountcy, Defence and Foreign Affairs, federation or confederation with the Princes and for no-party governments in the provinces. So long as there is the increasing cry of two nations, a Constituent Assembly, providing for safeguard for minorities, would end only in further waste of time and more confusion. What is required is a complete scheme, or outlines of such a scheme providing for all the above facts, which leaders could discuss and agree about and which most certainly a sufficient number of competent Indians would be willing to work.

This article would have achieved its purpose if it is driven home into the minds of thinking men and men of good will in India and in England, that asking parties to agree is a wrong approach because there do not exist two parties (or combination) either of which could govern by turns, and hence the correct way is agreement between Hindus and Moslems on the lines suggested above, or on any other lines.

INDIANS IN KENYA.

A reader sends as the following from Nairobi, Kenya:—

"Things are moving fast, and the local Government have appointed an Indian Land Settlement

Committee to inquire into available land for Indian settlement and to submit plans, etc., for implementation.

"I am opposed to this move because the fairest measure would be to eliminate the racial division as far as land is concerned. There is a European Land Settlement Committee which will deal with land in the reserved Highlands and also with many others which are not in those sacrosanct areas. Indian acceptance of this provision means that we have acquiesced in the Land Commission Report and its implementation, and three of the five Indian Legislative Councillors are members of that Committee. How soon we have fallen from the false pedestals we created for ourselves in this Colony, and out of the three accepting members two were in India in 1938 to agitate against the Land Commission Report and its effects. But they won the 1938 Kenya elections on that trip!"

CHRISTIAN CIVILISATION.

The Editor

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It may seem presumptuous for me to try to say what President Roosevelt had in mind when he spoke of "Christian civilisation." But possibly the following may be of some slight help to J. K. M. whose letter appears on p. 21 of your issue for September 13, 1941.

J. K. M. quotes the President as saying in his Labour Day Address: "The preservation of these rights is now vitally important not only to us who enjoy them but to the whole future of Christian civilisation." Then he adds: "The question is, What is Christian civilisation?"

It is fairly certain that when most people use the expression in such a connection they are not concerned to institute a contrast with "Islamic civilisation, Hindu civilisation, Buddhist civilisation, etc." They are using the adjective in the less restricted sense of a civilisation that recognises God and the higher values and man's duty to God and his neighbour. The contrast is, therefore, with that which is materialistic, deprived or brutal in human institutions.

A certain man, not a Christian, when asked why he had done a very commendable thing, answered: "It was my Christian duty." He was speaking to Christians and wished to be understood, as was and did President Roosevelt. But probably one would be as fully justified in assuming that this man sought to cast aspersions on his own religion by speaking of his moral duty as "Christian" as one would be in assuming that the President was casting reflections on Islam, Hinduism or other religions in his remark. Indeed, in spite of the fact that President Roosevelt's immediate task is felt to be to arouse the American people to the danger that confronts them, it is abundantly clear from his speeches that he is concerned for more than American and European civilisation.

Many of us are painfully aware that this "American and European civilisation" comes far from being truly Christian at all too many points. This does not, however, make us less anxious to save what is Christian, however partial that may be. I hope that J. K. M. will note that here I too use "Christian" not in the sense of "anti-Muslim" or "anti-Hindu" as he interpreted it but in the sense of "the best I know." He and others of us would often save much indignation and considerable anguish if we would not insist on inferring distinctions that probably were never intended.

Garhwal,
September 16, 1941,

} Yours etc.,
H. A. HANSON.

FARQUHAR AND QUISLING.

The danger of indulging in shibboleths was illustrated by a painful incident which happened to Mr. V. Farquhar, Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur, and presumably a highly educated man, at a war effort meeting which he addressed. Provoked by a question as to why Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was kept a prisoner, Mr. Farquhar could not think of any answer, and blurted out something about the Pandit being a Quisling; that brought a hail of brooms, stones and shoes from the audience and acrid comments in the Nagpur Press. Mr. Farquhar went home and on reflection sent the following letter to Mr. P. M. Naidu who had requested a clarification of the Commissioner's language. We print the letter here as a unique specimen of official afterthought:—

I admit that extracted from its context the allegation that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a Quisling sounds most objectionable and I am willing to admit that it should have never been said but when taken with the context it is not so bad. I had just finished explaining the meaning of the word "Quisling" to the crowd, having told them the story of the general knowledge examination for the Railway in which 66 candidates were asked the meaning of the word Quisling and not one of them was able to make

any answer except the one that Quisling was the noise made by running water.

A Quisling in the definition I had just given to the crowd most of whom had never heard the word before, included not simply the traitor but also the man who through a wrong sense of values acted in such a way as to hinder the struggle against Hitler. Therefore, when someone flung the question at me why Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was imprisoned, I replied "because he was a Quisling" because I honestly believed that his sense of values in the matter was wrong without considering the possible interpretations that might be put on that sentence apart from the definition just given. In this question of the allocation of values lies the difference between those in the country who help the war effort and those who demand that some other matter be settled first, before they help.

I believe that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is just as sincere in his allocation of values as I am myself and would be extremely sorry for anyone to consider that I regarded him as worthy of all the dyslogistic implications of the word traitor. I expressed my belief that his sense of values was wrong, but this is only my belief and certainly contains no moral condemnation. We may both be wrong, but we cannot both be right.

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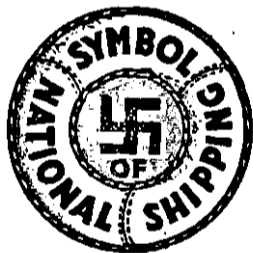
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Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY OCTOBER 11, 1941. No. 6.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Gujarat Renaissance.
Australian Politics.
Constitutional Reforms in
Gwalior.
B. B. O. and India.
"Mercy Ships" and the War.
Sir Sikandar's Ultimatum.
Soviet Russia and World
Opinion.
The National Defence Council.
Russia and War Aims.

"The Menace of Hindu
Imperialism."
Hindu Women's Right to
Property Act.
The Deadlock: A Suggested
Solution.
History Studies in Bombay
University.
The U. S. A. and the Post-War
World.

NOTES.

Gujarat Renaissance:—One of the striking features of the last thirty years is the Gujarathi Renaissance. The inspiration of Gandhiji is its immediate cause. Though superficially Gandhiji's influence seemed to make for a barren simplicity, it really impressed the mind of India and of Gujarat more particularly with the importance of emancipating the spirit of man from the domination of the world of things, as the first step towards the rousing of the creative spirit in him. The renaissance in Gujarat comprises a wide field. Literature, art, industry and commerce are all within its range. The President of the Literary Conference held last week, a Parsi Poet, Mr. Ardeshir Khabardar, seemed to imply that Commerce and Culture were somewhat mutually antagonistic. True commerce, as Ruskin defined it, the distribution of the world's goods according to the needs of humanity at the proper time and place, is not only not antagonistic to culture but is itself an important avenue of culture. In the past when Finance had not caught Commerce in its "rude finger and thumb," Commerce was always the carrier of culture from one country to another. Merchants were also philosophers because they were the people who had travelled in far-off lands and studied the ways of thought and life of many nations. Nathan in Lessing's great play is a merchant prince with whom Saladin discussed weighty matters of state as well as religious and philosophical questions. The introduction of rapid mechanical means of travel has robbed commerce of its opportunities of observation and meditation. More than these, Finance has reduced Commerce to the position which it has come to occupy. But there is no danger of any Indian community succumbing utterly to this low kind of financial commerce as the framework of Indian life emphasises at every point that Commerce and all other material activities are the second not the first:

A higher hand must make her mild,
If all be not in vain; and guide
Her footsteps, moving side by side
With wisdom, like the younger child.

Literature, Art, even Religion are efflorescences of the spirit and have their origin in the spiritual life. Mr. Khabardar lamented the decay of the religious motive in modern writers. On the contrary, we feel that modern literature, emancipated from formal religion, is permeated by the insight into the truth of Spirit as the sole Reality. One comes across this recognition in unexpected places and with startling suddenness. Anything in the nature of censorship whether by Government or enforced by popular opinion, is intolerable to the creative spirit.

Australian Politics:—The Indian public is not very well equipped with knowledge of happenings in Australia. This has not been felt to be a deprivation so long as the Pacific Ocean remained in fact as in name the most peaceful quarter of the globe. Events are rapidly bringing about a change in this respect and the Far East of which Australia is a continuation, is becoming the scene of what threatens to be a terrific storm. India, moreover, is being turned into the chief basis of British strategy in Asia and Australia. We can not, therefore, continue to be indifferent to the political currents in the life of the Commonwealth. The immediate cause of the resignation of Mr. Menzies of the Premiership was stated by himself to be his unpopularity with a large section of the Australian Press. He had a majority of but one in the House of Representatives but as the Opposition was pledged to support his Government in the prosecution of the war, which is a matter of life and death to the Commonwealth more than to any other part of the British Empire, he could have remained indefinitely at the head of the Government but for his reduction of statesmanship to the art of management of members of Parliament. The Australian M. P. draws a liberal salary of £ 1,000 a year. Mr. Menzies created numerous committees and conferences to one or more of which he nominated over 80 per cent of the M. P's. with liberal allowances in various shapes. As this method is not peculiar to Mr. Menzies, the sequel to it is of interest to all countries which maintain the form without the spirit of parliamentary government. For

a time the plan seemed to work well. Parliament became subservient and to the Press was left the task of restoring independence to public life. One of the most favoured members of Mr. Menzies' own party raised the standard of revolt. Mr. Menzies attempted to stave off the crisis by the familiar device of a coalition government in which the Opposition was offered an equal share with the Government party. But the Labour leaders stood firm. Mr. Menzies ceased to be Premier and accepted the position of Foreign Minister under Mr. Fadden who was his second in command. This was a makeshift. On the first occasion, on the reassembling of Parliament for the Budget session, the Fadden Cabinet was defeated by two votes cast by Independent members. It is often said that a politician without a party cannot influence public policy. Here is a striking instance of the important role which Independent men can play in the shaping of public policy.

Constitutional Reforms in Gwalior :—His Highness the Maharaja Scindia issued recently a proclamation on constitutional reforms in Gwalior which have some interesting features. A press message reports that the unofficial element in the Praja Sabha or Lower House will have a majority of just over 20 per cent. The Upper House or Raj Sabha will have an official majority. The 55 constituencies are to be: territorial 50 and special interests 5—Jagirdars two, Labour one, Commerce one and Industry one. In view of the fact that the Raj Sabha will have identical powers with the Lower House, and that the range of their functions will be co-extensive, there seems to be little need for providing for any special interests in the Praja Sabha except Labour. Commerce, Industry and the Landholding community will have fair representation in the Raj Sabha—if the Upper House in Gwalior conforms to the conception of Upper Houses elsewhere. What might in time develop into a Cabinet is apparently found in the curious Committee called the Standing Statutory Advisory Committee which will be a small body of councillors to advise the Government on matters relating to emergency legislation. The most important feature of the Reforms, however, is the representation provided for Muslims, Bhils, Backward Classes and women, and the manner in which it is to be worked. If any of these groups fail in the elections from territorial constituencies to get the proportion allotted to them, then the deficiency will be made good by nominating from defeated candidates from these sections of the community. This is similar to what Lord Minto's Government had recommended except that, instead of nomination to make up the deficiency, it contemplated fresh elections. But Lord Morley, under pressure in London, introduced the present system, and, when Lord Minto protested, Lord Morley refused to continue the discussion. Gwalior Muslims are to be given seven per cent but it is not mentioned how many are apportioned to the other protected

categories. It would have been logical to follow the precedent of the Indian Constitution Act of 1935 and pursue the thread of women's representation through all electoral divisions. The Gwalior system, however, is the most acceptable of the methods of providing communal representation and it is up to the electorates to prove its value. The success of the system will lie in the disuse of the powers of special nomination, reserved to the Durbar.

B. B. C. and India :—The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* in a message last week forecast a change in the directorship of the Overseas, and particularly, the Indian Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation. There have been criticisms of it in the British Press. The Indian Press has not been more appreciative of the efforts of the B. B. C. In the leading article last week, *The Reformer* had to comment on the manner in which Indian affairs are misrepresented by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The *Chronicle* correspondent conveys the news of the replacement of Sir Stephen Tallents, the present Controller of Overseas Broadcasting, by Mr. Rushbrook Williams for many years the writer of the annual review published by the Government of India on Indian affairs. The correspondent adds that the Indian organiser, Mr. Z. A. Bokhari, will also be replaced by another Indian expert. We do not think that the new arrangement will give more satisfaction in this country than the present one. The B. B. C. has to serve such a wide and varied area and population that it is impossible for it to meet the requirements of India except to a limited extent. The best expert—What is an expert?—when transplanted in London, especially under present conditions, cannot but take the colour of his surroundings. What is really needed to do India justice, is to develop the All India Radio on broader lines. At present there is very little of Indian news, except what is contained in official communiques, put on the radio. Official communiques, the sole pabulum purveyed by the All-India Radio, have no great depth and even these are reported without their right background and often with a background provided by official exigencies. Apart from this grave defect, All India Radio must afford India the means of promptly correcting such perversions of Indian conditions as those of Mr. Amery in his reply to certain American critics. India must be free and able to tell America and the world that the Secretary of State for India was not telling the whole truth and nothing but the truth about the economic relations between Britain and India. We do not know if the All India Radio broadcasts Indian news to the outside world. There is no mention of it in the "Indian Listener" which few people nowadays consult because it contains nothing. There is talk of the All India Radio being transferred to the Information Ministry. The first thing that the Minister should do is to call a conference not of technicians but of a fair sample of intelligent listeners

and ascertain their candid views of the present state of things and of necessary reforms.

"Mercy Ships" and the War :—The news that Germany and Britain had arrived at an arrangement by which there would be an exchange of disabled prisoners of war, was surprising. The propaganda against Nazis and Nazism had led one to believe that the Churchill Government would not in any circumstances have any dealings with the Nazis. If the British could deal with the Nazis in a matter like exchange of prisoners, people wondered, could it not be possible to negotiate a peace? On the other hand, the repeated assertions from Moscow of ill-treatment and even destruction of the physically-disabled by Germans to avoid having to feed useless mouths, made one ask whether it was really humanitarian to return those prisoners who were no longer able to fight or to help in the war, to certain death. Apparently, however, the Governments responsible for war propaganda were themselves without belief in their own propaganda. On Tuesday the local newspapers had glowing accounts of negotiations carried on through wireless messages relating to the exchange of prisoners. The report seemed to indicate that the discussions started one fine day all of a sudden. Next day came the message that the arrangement had broken down because the Nazis wanted to go back on the basis of previous diplomatic negotiations and insisted on an equal number of prisoners being exchanged. The British, on the other hand, held that under international law it is laid down that regardless of rank and number disabled prisoners should be sent back to their own country by belligerents after they had been rendered fit to undertake the journey. However, there are apparently certain facts missing in the printed account. The plight of the prisoners whose hopes were raised for twenty-four hours only to be dashed down, is indeed pitiable.

Sir Sikandar's Ultimatum :—In an interview to the press at Lahore, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, referred to Mr. Churchill's exclusion of India from the Atlantic Charter as the "biggest rebuff India has ever received." He added that, if Britain did not make an unambiguous declaration on India's equality with every other unit in the Empire as he had suggested, then India should present a united front and that, if Britain did not respond within the next two or three weeks, he would himself have no hesitation in making an appeal to Indian political parties to present a united front. "Present a united front" against whom? Sir Sikandar had been appealing to everybody first to unite in the war effort and all else shall be added unto us. No declaration, no assurance, no pledge was necessary so long as India helped Britain in the war. A few days back he was advising the British people to leave out those who were not giving support to Britain and to join forces with those who were helping. Now he is threatening collaboration with the other

side. There must be much more behind this change than Mr. Churchill's repudiation. Sir Sikandar has never shown the usual caution of political leaders though he has been more restrained than Mr. Fazlul Huq. Nevertheless, the unconscious admission in this interview that it lies in his power to bring about Indian political unity but that he has done nothing about it so far, is naive in the extreme. The end of the month should put his professions to the test. For it is very unlikely that Mr. Churchill will say to please Sir Sikandar something which the immediate and ultimate interest of Britain as he sees it, prevented him from saying before. Putting the most charitable construction on his words, we should say that the British Premier wishes to avoid the mistake of the last war, at least so far as India is concerned, of giving occasion for any charge of breach of faith later on. In the circumstances no amount of words, be they ever so unambiguous, coming now from Mr. Churchill can carry conviction unless it is accompanied by irrevocable action. Sir Sikandar might as well produce his formula for Indian unity at once instead of holding back on the Indian public.

Soviet Russia and World Opinion :—The accident of Hitler attacking Russia and the events preceding the attack led to a great deal of confused thinking. It was obviously a war into which Russia was dragged rather than an ideological conflict with the Soviet Republic, championing a world cause. Moreover, those in whose company Hitler's aggression had thrown Russia, were less than a year ago condemning her for her alliance with Nazi Germany and her attack on Finland. As propaganda exceeds rational limits, much had to be undone. Most Indian publicists, however, without troubling overmuch about Russia's attitude in Finland, have had a sense of sympathy for the Soviet State which has built up a sentimental reputation as champion of the underdog, even though of late it has been only of the Russian underdog. An old reader of *The Reformer* writes from London commenting with some bitterness on this aspect of the question :

An episode which should be taken particular notice of by those who were so offended, because Britain at a time when instantaneous action had to be taken in a matter which concerned the whole Empire equally, took for granted that her action would have the consent of the whole, and did not wait to ask separately the Dominions and India. It will be noticed that the Prime Minister had to take instantaneous action in offering help to Russia, he did so, feeling sure he would be backed up by the whole Empire as he was, and this time, because it was Russia, and not Britain to be helped, political India will have nothing but encomiums for his prompt action.

The explanation is to us a very simple one. In the case of Britain there was compulsion but no choice. What is inconsistent is that denying India the right to choose, British publicists should lament the failure of spontaneity in India's support. Moreover, Britain herself has proved no different. She is prepared to promise independence, and presumably to honour the bond later, to every people except Indians.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 11, 1941.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL.

The first meeting of what is called the National Defence Council, was held under the presidentship of the Viceroy at Simla on Monday. The Board consists of twenty-five non-official members from the Provinces of British India and nine from the States. In order to give all the States the opportunity of being associated with the Council, a system of rotation has been adopted. The principle of rotation for the representation of the States does not seem to be well-conceived. The main work of the Council is to be conducted in secret sessions. The first batch of States delegates who attend the secret sessions of the present session, will presumably be replaced by another batch at the next session. No means has been indicated whereby the secrets of the first batch will be imparted to the next batch. Even if some means be devised, there can not be perfect continuity in the representation of the States under the present arrangement. There may be members in the second and later batches who may have different points of view not always reconcilable with one another's. The permanent membership accorded to the Jam Saheb, the present Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, will not of itself suffice to ensure co-ordination of States representation. The next Chancellor of the Chamber may be a man of independent temper like the predecessor of the Jam Saheb, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, who was sharply called to order by Lord Willingdon while addressing the Chamber of Princes and did not long survive the experience. Both on principle and on grounds of expediency as well as for the efficient working of the Council, it will be better if the Princes do not personally attend the Council but depute the task to their Ministers who can move on an equal footing with the representatives from British India. Indian ruling Princes are not trained in the art of discussing intricate questions of policy with equals. Their susceptibilities may be hurt quite unintentionally by the plain-speaking of some of the British Indian representatives. Lord Linlithgow has a way of trying to forestall differences of opinion by asseverating the obviousness of his own point of view. In his address to the Council, His Excellency gave full play to this talent. It is nevertheless inconceivable that in a gathering of some thirty persons including one woman, there will not be some few at least, who, in the light of their study of the origin and circumstances of the war, would have formed opinions which it may go against their grain to suppress at a council where they are invited to help by their advice. The Princes are technically and by their own cherished desire sovereigns of independent States and their methods in dealing with the Government of India must necessarily partake more of a diplomatic

than a political character which is the proper one for British Indian representatives.

The Prime Minister sent a message to the Council but Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's demand that Mr. Winston Churchill should retract his statement excluding India from the benefits of the Atlantic Charter was completely ignored. This cavalier treatment by the Prime Minister has not deterred the National Defence Council from sending a fulsome acknowledgment of the colourless message which he sent to it. As for Lord Linlithgow's address, His Excellency ignores the fact that India for ages has solemnly and expressly renounced the ambition for military glory and the conquest she has set her mind on is conquest in the realm of the spirit. There are many eminent Indians who regard the militarization of the Indian people as an immediate necessity but, as Mr. Jayakar observed in one of his recent thoughtful pronouncements in Madras, the moral assistance of an entire country which for centuries had been pledged to non-violence, is a far greater asset to a fighting belligerent than merely so many tons of munitions and so many legions of fighting men. There is not a single word in His Excellency's address to indicate that India has a spiritual and moral personality and is not a mere reservoir of men and money, weapons and raw materials useful in war. Lord Linlithgow took this opportunity of reiterating his oft-repeated opinion that this war is India's war as much as that of Britain. His Excellency did not care to explain how. The position of Britain in relation to the war is entirely different from that of India. Britain started the war and she can stop it at any moment that she chooses. Mr. Amery pointed out the other day that the Viceroy of India had no power to declare war. He has neither the power to stop it. Peace is the age-long quest of India. India's service to humanity to be in consonance with her immemorial quest would be that of Peace-maker. Although her political condition may oblige her to engage in military operations, her soul will always revolt against them. It is wrong to speak of a war which India did not start and cannot stop, and the benefits to be derived from which, the Prime Minister has declared, are not meant for her, as India's war. By virtue of her political domination, Britain has the power to appropriate Indian men, money and material for whatever purpose she likes. India has to acquiesce. That is the real, actual situation and nothing is to be gained by camouflaging it. But the soul of India is her own and no good will result to her or to the world at large by its being forced into the military, economic, mould which has wrought so much disaster.

The term "National" here is clearly misplaced. The Prime Ministers of all the eleven provinces of India with the exception of Sind have either abstained or resigned from the Council. The Sind Prime Minister is there

only by the special dispensation of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued from Naini Jail. The lady and gentlemen who are in the Council are many of them worthy people and if the British Parliament by statute had not prescribed that representation should be by election by duly constituted electorates, they might have been taken to be fairly representative of the men and women of India or as representative as any other set of persons nominated by a Viceroy whose knowledge about men and things Indian are necessarily limited to what he can gather through official channels. But having laid down that representatives of the Indian people should be selected only in a prescribed way, Government is clearly precluded from opening up a sidepath when representatives decline to enter by the open road. A fortuitous collection of individuals which is all that the Council is, cannot claim to be national. Neither is it right to speak of the Council as one for the defence of India. A national as well as rational defence of India would be to conserve her power in men, money and material resources in the country and to strengthen her natural frontiers against aggressors. If war comes it will be purely defensive war for India. Such defence would be both economic and effective. Our forces are now scattered over half the Eastern hemisphere and the defence of the country is thereby weakened. The expense of conveying our troops and their requirements to distant parts and of maintaining them there in comfort, would be spared and the men themselves will feel more at home in the home front where the thought of their hearths and homes will be constantly and closely in their hearts, if our plan of defence was within our borders. Some part of the expenditure may be borne by Britain but all the same it is a diminution of the common stock available to repel invasion.

Russia and War Aims:—In a letter to the *New Statesman*, Mr. George Bernard Shaw expresses what is the feeling of a large number of people and the fear of many others. Mr. Bernard Shaw remarks :

And now, what next? Well, Stalin, for a wonder, did not abuse his victory over Finland as America abused the victory of the North over the South, and as Clemenceau and Poincare and British Democracy abused the victory of 1918. Suppose Stalin objects to our abusing the next victory when he has beaten Hitler for us!

At the moment this seems a rather optimistic view and Mr. Shaw who has admitted the inaccuracy of several of his prophesies, may have to add to the number. One thing seems certain that the Churchill section of opinion which is now dominant, is anxious not to allow Russia a very great voice in the peace reconstruction. The procedure adopted in putting through the Atlantic Declaration itself was significant and M. Stalin who has earned a reputation for alertness as a politician, will not have missed it.

"THE MENACE OF HINDU IMPERIALISM."

In an editorial Note in *The Reformer* (September 27) a brief reference was made to the anti-Brahmin virus which pervades and poisons this book by Swami Dharma Theerthajee Maharaj (B.A. LL.B.). It is dedicated to the United States of America, "Liberator of Slaves and Defender of Democracy." The intention evidently is to prejudice the American public against Brahmins. Miss Katherine Mayo had the same purpose in writing her "Mother India"—only she did not distinguish between Brahmins and other Hindus. Nor does Swami Theerthajee. By Hindu Imperialism he means Brahmin Imperialism. We remember the Swami as a lay disciple of Sri Narayan Gurudev, the famous Ezhava Reformer, and a worker in the cause of the mission which he founded to raise his castemen in the social scale. Sri Narayan had no animus against other Hindus and in fact that was the most remarkable feature of his mission which attracted the admiration and sympathy of all classes. The Dewan of Travancore presided some months ago at the annual celebrations of Sri Narayan's birthday and paid a glowing tribute to his work and worth. It seems from the preface by the Secretary of the Hindu Missionary Society with whose imprimatur the "Menace of Hindu Imperialism" is published, that the Swami found the service of the Sri Narayan Mission too small for his personality and made his way to Lahore where he founded the Hindu Missionary Society. He found a congenial spirit in the ex-Secretary of the Jat Pat Torak Mandal Society which has been working for the destruction of the caste system for several years. The most recent effort of the Mandal was to get caste distinctions excluded from the Census returns. We have ourselves been in favour of omitting the column for religion from the Census schedules as is done in Britain and the United States. Public feeling, however, has not yet been converted to the idea of making the Census a purely demographic record. Political sentiment enforced by communal aspiration has rather stiffened the feeling in favour of continuing the practice of registering the religions professed by various sections of the population. The ex-Secretary of Jat Pat Torak Mandal says that at the end of the Mandal's activities in respect of the Census, he felt that without a new light and a new guide no further progress could be made. In this psychological crisis in his life, Swami Dharma Theerthajee Maharaj arrived at Lahore and in the Maharaj he found the wanted light and guide. Regarding the Swami's method, the Secretary writes:

Selfless workers are the first requisite of all movements. Swamiji did not like the idea of establishing an Ashram or Mutt as Sadhus generally do. He wants to bring together Sannyasins and other dedicated souls to serve India as the missionaries of a new life of true social freedom and brotherhood. Instead of an Ashram Swamiji has started the Hindu Missionary Society along the lines of the Servants of India Society, with the object of working for Hindu freedom, Hindu-Muslim Unity and Human brotherhood.

The Secretary adds that Swamiji wants to present the Hindu public a textbook or "rather a scripture of Hindu religion which will offer a complete philosophy of life and conduct to every Hindu who wants to save himself from caste and priestcraft, and who is prepared to put his faith in the Supreme God and his own spiritual nature." The Swami thinks that the Bhagavad Gita, properly interpreted, will serve the purpose and has written a short interpretation of the essential religion of the Gita with the title, "Yoga for all." The Secretary promises that "Yoga for all" will be a profound revelation to students of the

spiritual life "just as much as the present volume will be to lovers of freedom."

Hinduism is an Empire and not a kingdom. The nearest analogue to it is the British Commonwealth in the political sphere. In the words of Sir Edward Gait,

It (Hinduism) shelters within its portals monotheists, polytheists, and pantheists; worshippers of the great gods Shiva and Vishnu, of their female counterparts, as well as worshippers of the divine mothers, of the spirits of trees, rocks and streams, and of the tutelary village deities; persons who propitiate their deity by all manner of bloody sacrifices, and persons who will not only not kill any living creature, but who must not even use the word "cut": those whose ritual consists mainly of prayers and hymns, and those who indulge in unspeakable orgies in the name of religion.

This as a picture of Hinduism as it appears to outsiders is sufficiently correct. Only it leaves out the important fact that this position of Hinduism is not static. Constantly and without intermission, the less developed forms are being attracted and assimilated to the more developed forms. The decennial Census records show that customs are being discarded and higher ones adopted by tribes and castes even in the short period of a decade.

Hinduism is thus a true Empire, and, therefore, it is not inappropriate to speak of a Hindu Imperialism. But it is not an imperialism of the rule of one nation over another. Therefore, Hindu Imperialism can not be a menace to anybody. Most of the social defects—hereditary castes, the subordinate position of women, mass illiteracy are the chief—have been for over a century the object of ameliorative efforts by Indian leaders. And their efforts have not been fruitless. Hindu Society today is not what it was thirty years ago. Many of the reforms which were bitterly opposed by conservative Hindus are today accepted as of course. Most striking of all is the progress made with reforms for the emancipation and education of women. Caste and communal reforms have lagged behind just because Hindus had not the support of women to them. Now that they have it in rapidly growing measure, these reforms too will gain increasing acceptance from the conservative majority. The one thing needed is patience and perseverance. As we showed three weeks ago, the Brahmins have taken a leading part in promoting the reforms now incorporated as a part of Hindu conservatism.

HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHT TO PROPERTY ACT.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Federal Court has now held that this Act is *ultra vires* in so far as it related to agricultural land in Governor's Provinces. The result is now that in the Governor's Provinces the Act is valid only in so far as it relates to non-agricultural lands. With regard to agricultural lands the Act is inoperative.

The exposition of the Federal Court has caused considerable disappointment and dissatisfaction. Numerous transactions must have already taken place regarding agricultural lands in the Governor's Provinces on the basis of the validity of the Act. The present position is bound to cause widespread dislocation. The passing of the Act was an important step towards the improvement of the position of the Hindu Widows and it is unfortunate that that decision should have been proclaimed invalid so far as agricultural lands are concerned. Most of the lands in villages can be said to be agricultural lands and if the Act

is not to apply to these lands, practically it will be unable to afford any relief to those for whose benefit it is intended. We draw the attention of the Provincial Governments to this important matter and hope that they would take up this question with the promptness which it deserves. The Hindu Law Committee has already prepared a draft of a Bill for Governor's Provinces which must be enacted soon. This is necessary, (a) in order to give widows the full measure of the benefit which the framers of the Act contemplated; (b) to avoid a multiplicity of rules of succession; and most of all (c) to protect transactions already entered into on the faith of the Act.

Satara City,

Yours etc.

October 8, 1941.

K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.

[The Government of Bombay has issued instructions to Revenue Officers to record Hindu Widows' rights in agricultural land, with a view, no doubt, to legislation as suggested by the Rau Committee—Editor.]

THE DEADLOCK: A SUGGESTED SOLUTION.

(By B. BANERJI, DELHI.)

There is deep dissatisfaction all round with things as they are. The whole world is astir with feverish activity of one sort or the other. The peoples in other lands see visions of either world-empires to dominate over or of the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World. But India is inactive, sullen, dejected. Her future is dark and uncertain; and all that is visible in that darkness is chaos and civil strife. In the constitutional field there is deadlock. The Congress Governments resigned at the beginning of the war and democratic Government in a large majority of the provinces came to an end. It was followed by a milk-and-water satyagraha campaign in which not so much moral conviction but party discipline and personal loyalty drove thousands of men and women into the jails. Communal tension increased to a point where an agreement between the communities became impossible. And when such agreement was made the condition precedent for any constitutional advance, all ways to a peaceful solution appeared to have been effectively blocked.

Thinking men can detect the accumulation of explosive matter under the layer of this sullen silence. The feeling of angry frustration, to which the London *Times* referred, cannot be pent up for ever and there is a great possibility of its finding relief in ways that may spell ruin for generations to come to hopes of a peaceful realisation of the country's future destiny. There is, therefore, here and there, groping for the light. In the Congress, the Constituent Assembly holds the field. Nobody seems to consider that no constituent assembly can function without there being constituent powers. The Muslim League sticks fast to Pakistan. It is vague and indefinite—it is "the Shape, if shape it may be called, that shape hath none distinguishable in member, joint or limb." The Premiers of Bengal and Punjab, with a greater grip on practical realities, proposed a conference of Premiers and ex-Premiers to thrash out an Indian Constitution. The non-party Conference, impelled to do something to ease the tense situation, has entrusted constitution-making to its President, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Under the scheme proposed by Sir B. L. Mitter, the fundamental rights of the subject would embrace the right to food, shelter, raiment and education to be enforced by the Federal Court. This, he thinks, would eliminate communalism from the sphere of government. A new Reforms Commissioner has recently been appointed who is presumably busy dealing with questions relating to India's constitutional future.

We seem to have been cut adrift from our moorings. We live in an unreal world of theories, slogans and shibboleths. We have lost our foothold on terra firma. If we are not to be the helpless victims of the tumultuous waves of circumstance, we must get back to our bearings. We must have a clear vision of the present and the future. We must place responsibility where it should lie and be vigilant to watch how that responsibility is carried out.

In the babel of voices, in the welter of our unreal constitution-making, we forget that it is the British Government which holds the power, that the British Parliament at Westminster is yet the arbiter of our destiny. We are flattered when we are told that the Indian Constitution is primarily the concern of the Indians themselves. We are so demoralised by this compliment that we have not got the heart to retort: "Have we got that free, untrammelled power without which there can be no constitution-making? So long as you exercise that power, it is for you to make the constitution and submit it to the bar of public opinion not only of India but of the world."

The first solid fact we have to grasp is that the responsibility for constitution-making is one primarily of the British Government. 'The elements of Indian national life' may put forward their views, their claims, their demands and their schemes but the final responsibility for adjudication and decision must rest where it should rest, openly unequivocally, for all the world to see. There should be no camouflage about it. If, for example, a decision on the communal question is to be given, it should come simply, plainly as a decision of the British Government and not under the camouflage of an Award.

Take another example, the famous reservation of the August declaration, the sheet-anchor of British policy in India to-day—"the fulfilment of the obligations arising from England's long connection with India and her responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests." Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru says this may mean anything or nothing. It does mean everything, and I cannot imagine that the veteran Non-Party Leader is not conscious of this fact. Why should we undertake constitution-making with this terrible handicap of a reservation? Why should we not ask England to produce a constitution herself, giving concrete shape to the means of the fulfilment of those obligations and responsibilities, and submit that constitution to the judgment of India and the world?

I suggest that the British Government should be held to its responsibility for framing a constitution for India which can bear exposure to the world's gaze. The country is drifting, nobody knows whither. It is as much the duty of the Government to arrest this drift as it is to defend the country against its external enemies. It cannot go on enjoying the fruits of power without at the same time carrying out the obligations attached to the exercise of that power. The pose of self-righteousness, that with all the best will in the world to see India free it is helpless to do anything to that end in the absence of a League-Congress agreement, must go.

There was once a Congress-League Pact. The British Government replaced that pact by its own decision, misnamed the Communal Award. This was done in utter violation of the recommendation of their own Royal Commission which said that the Pact could be replaced only by another Pact arrived at by the parties themselves. After having done this, what face has the Government to ask for another agreement? Mr. Churchill has asserted that

the principle underlying declarations of British policy towards India is the same as that of the Atlantic Charter. Mere assertion is not enough; we want concrete proof of it in the shape of a constitutional scheme.

The machinery that will give practical shape to the declarations will be of the Government choosing. No more paradise of Round Table Conferences and Constituent Assemblies with their endless talks which serve only to put off decisions on vital matters. The pretence of the consent of the political parties must be given up. The Government of India Act 1935 was not based on consent; nor was the Communal Decision; nor again are the Governments in seven of the provinces as carried on to-day. The recent expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council—was it the outcome of consent? But as a step, however halting, in the right direction, it has received the general approval of large sections of opinion in the country. The Government, as in duty bound, must act, act soon and act boldly and rightly; if it does so it shall not be lacking in public support.

Boldly and rightly—yes, those are the words. "Great Empires and little minds go ill together," said an English philosopher. An English statesman wrote the most illuminating commentary on that statement when he admitted as a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations the enemy country that Britain had been fighting the moment before. Englishmen of this generation are reaping the benefits of that bold and right action when the General of the then enemy forces is not only a Field Marshal of the British Army to-day but the most trusted of the advisers of the British Government outside England.

Unfortunately this 'little mind' has been the predominant characteristic of England's dealings with India. The powers handed over to Indian hands by the Government of India Act 1935 were real and substantial; but they were all but invisible because of the safeguards that hedged them on all sides. Mahatmaji raised his non-violent cudgel to beat the "special powers" to death even before he had given a careful reading to the Act itself. In this, as always, he faithfully reflected the prevailing public sentiment. The special powers died but not as a result of the Mahatmic hammering of love. They died as well in the non-Congress Provinces as in the Congress Provinces and from the same cause, namely, the working of the constitution. It was clear to all shrewd observers that if the Constitution worked, the safeguards were dead letters; but if the Constitution failed they were less than worthless. The positive value of the safeguards was nil; the extent of mischief that they worked by irritating the sensibilities of a subject people was beyond computation. The "little minded" in England that insisted on the incorporation of the safeguards in the Indian constitution, achieved nothing but the widening of the breach between England and India.

The recent expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council suffers from the same lack of the saving grace. The Council will have an overwhelming Indian majority and will act on the principle of collective responsibility. Its decisions will be the decisions of the Government of India unless overruled by the Governor-General under his statutory powers. If the Council asserts itself, an individual member will be left little scope to take decisions, in the name of the Government of India, with regard to major questions even in his own department. The result will be either the rule of the Indian Government (I do not advisedly use the word

"National Government") or, if the Indian members are habitually overruled, the autocratic rule of the Governor-General. Under the circumstances what is the justification for irritating public opinion by having a few Englishmen holding some important portfolios? Is it the hope that Indian Members may not always pull together, and that the dissentients combined with the Englishmen may form the majority which can be trusted to take unpopular decisions without bringing into play the Governor-General's autocratic powers? If that is the hope then it betrays the 'little mind' that has been the ruin of great Empires and may yet be the ruin of the British Empire in India. If that is the hope there should have been no expansion of the Council at all.

I go further and say that, if that is the hope, it will never be realised. An Englishman, whatever be his faults, has got a weakness for constitutional principles. It is safe to predict that no Governor-General would lightly ignore the considered views of any substantial section of his Indian constitutional advisers, and thus be a party to precipitating a political crisis. The public memory may be short, but those whose business it is to deal with political questions have not forgotten to what lengths Lord Linlithgow went to prevent crises in the Congress Provinces even over issues which had nothing to do with the Provinces. If the Viceroy acts in the same spirit in his relationship with the expanded Council, then a Government of India composed predominantly of Indians will be a reality. And when such a government has to face a legislature with a predominant elected majority it will tend more and more to become a national government. All this is bound to happen in the normal course of things. Then why be apologetic about the reform of the Executive Council and describe it as designed merely for administrative convenience? Why retain a few Englishmen on the Council to remind the country to its subjection to England?

Where the political parties are devoid of constructive ideas, as *The Reformer* very rightly said, it is the duty of the Government to take the initiative and give a lead to the country. And such lead, if it be bold and in the right direction, will evoke considerable response from the better mind of the country. The Government can not sit supinely on the plea of want of co-operation of political parties, but must go ahead with its plans of constitutional advance.

If the Government wants expert examination of the various constitutional ideas and schemes that are there, it can have a body of men to deliberate on them, not politicians or 'representative' men, and certainly not hardened bureaucrats who have passed their impressionable years in the vicious atmosphere of an enslaved country and whose backs are bent under the weight of the White Man's burden. They should be men with deep knowledge, broad sympathies and judicial outlook. Let men like Sir Maurice Gwyer, Sir B. N. Rau and others of that calibre find out the greatest common factors among the several schemes, (not the least among them will be the Government's scheme to carry out its obligations and responsibilities) test them on the touchstone of England's declarations and recommend to the British Government the constitutional scheme they evolve. They will hear such parties, including the Government, as desire to be heard; they will invite co-operation from all parties, interests and communities, 'great' and small; but, if there is non-co-operation from any quarter, they will go ahead with their work in spite of such non-co-operation.

The country would be gratified to know from eminent men, unconnected with political parties,

either in India or in England, but endowed with judicial temperament as to how far the reservations whittle down the declarations, what is the principle underlying those declarations and what is their interpretation. Is not the preservation of the country's unity and the development of its incipient nationalism one of the responsibilities consequent on England's long connection with India? Does responsible Government as envisaged by the 1917 Declaration, which still is a part of our fundamental law, comprise irresponsible and irremovable executive and functional representation in the legislatures? Authoritative and impartial answers to questions like these can not but be of immense interest to the country.

I am conscious that what I am proposing is in some respects an inversion of judicial functions. That is my reason for scrupulously avoiding the word 'judges.' The men who will be undertaking the task will be acting as judges when they examine the schemes before them in the light of Declarations but they will be acting as statesmen when they evolve a constitution of their own making with such help as they can get from the materials before them. The task will evidently be of extraordinary difficulty calling forth the highest faculties human beings are capable of, but I believe not impossible of achievement by men of the right type.

But no solution can be of any avail unless there is sincerity on the part of the British Government to advance India on the road to self-government. If there are mental reservations in addition to the reservations in the Declarations, then God help India—and England.

HISTORY STUDIES IN BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

If what is reported is true, the claims of women to be represented are being pushed to inordinate limits and this is sure to bring about a strong reaction. At a recent election in the Bombay University for a Committee to advise on historical studies, the Rev. Father Heras has been ousted to make room for Miss Kapila T. Khandvala, the lady who was recently elected to the Secretaryship of the Municipal Schools Committee by the Corporation. The Secretaryship of the Committee is a full-time job entailing the supervision of several hundreds of schools and the supervision of the work of some thousands of teachers. Notwithstanding her American training, Miss Khandvala will find this job more than enough to engage her time and attention if she means to apply herself seriously to its duties. Father Heras is a Professor of History, has been engaged for years in research work in the finds at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. His conclusions are not universally accepted but in research mistakes are as valuable as successes. It is only after knocking at many wrong doors that you can happen on the right one. The main thing is the method. This is identical for men and women. Even the most fervent advocate of women's rights will not be prepared to accept the view that historical studies in the university should be sacrificed to have a woman on the council of teachers. Miss Khandvala has perhaps been engaged in historical work in which case she should not have accepted the Secretaryship of the Municipal Schools Committee. No good cause is advanced by its adherents trying to "capture" everything. It is good as a political device but it does not conduce to the growth of personality.

THE U. S. A. AND THE POST-WAR WORLD.

(BY FELIX MORLEY, PRESIDENT OF HAVERFORD COLLEGE, U. S. A.)

Of course it is not foolish but eminently rational to plan *now* for the sort of world order in which the United States would be willing to participate. If we do not do this planning we shall have a repetition of the withdrawal from world collaboration which we in America witnessed in 1919. To fail to plan is to say in effect that we regard participation in the war as an end in itself, which is a confession of mental bankruptcy, if not actual insanity.

The main essential of the new order towards which we should work is, in my opinion, some permanent international organization for the continuous study and arbitral solution of international problems as they arise. I think this organization must have behind it some form of police power to prevent, or at least to discourage, resistance to settlements unanimously recommended by an arbitral body which excludes participants to a dispute.

I think, however, that this international body would have to have a regional basis, as

opposed to the strictly national basis of the League of Nations. Of course this regional organization may be implicit rather than explicit. I mean that Cuba, as a satellite of the United States, or Hungary, as a satellite of Germany, might be separately represented in the central organization while actually acting as part of a great power bloc.

There is nothing particularly novel or distinctive in this and it wholly omits the financial and economic arrangements which are likely to bank larger than the strictly political in the post-war world.

A point that might be worth bringing out is the difference in the present technique of the United States and that which was followed under Woodrow Wilson. The latter planned for a post-war world and then asked for retroactive power to implement his planning. President Roosevelt, through the Lend-Lease Bill, asked for the power before he did the planning. It is a dangerous technique, but it may work out more satisfactorily than expected by many opponents of this legislation. (*No frontier News Service.*)

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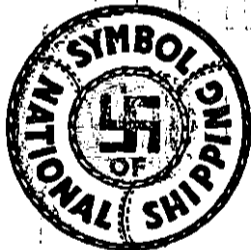
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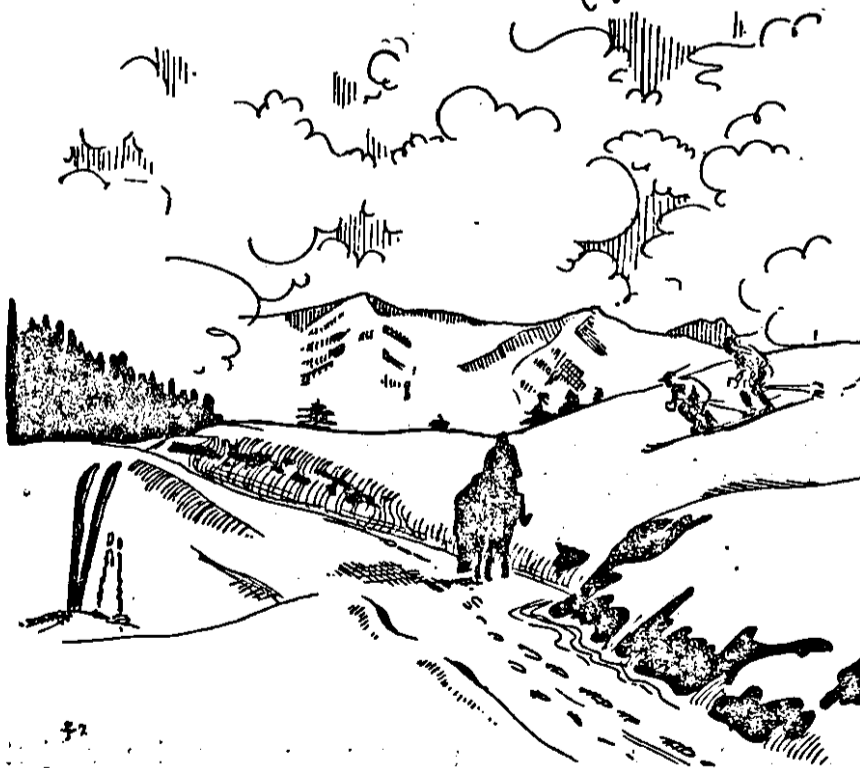
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Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY OCTOBER 18, 1941 No. 7.

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hesitate, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Russia and India.
Indian Census.
Indian Officials Abroad.
Indians in South Africa.
India and the War.
Diwali Restrictions.
Mr. Jaiprakash Narain and the
Depress Socialists.
The Times of India's Advice.

Population and Poverty in
India.
The Economist and Post-War
Reconstruction.
"Christians in the Indian
Environment"—I.
The Missionary Kristagrahit
in America.

NOTES.

Russia and India:—The invasion of Russia by Germany shocked Indian opinion more than any other aggression of the Nazis. Only two years back the Nazi Government had sworn lasting friendship with the Soviet Government. Readers of "Mein Kampf" distrusted the sincerity of this pact. Herr Hitler has in his book spoken of the Bolsheviks in terms of contempt and hatred. As a rule his prejudices and pre-possessions recorded in "Mein Kampf" have been permanent influences in shaping policy. Perhaps M. Stalin too was equally surprised. But he seems to have believed in the sincerity of Herr Hitler as the Nazi army was able to make considerable inroads in Russian territory before the Soviet Government realised the situation. Indian sympathy for Russia has also deeper causes. Sympathy for Communism is not one of them. Everybody knows that Russia is not fighting today for the Bolshevik Revolution and that she is fighting to protect her territory from being overrun by a foreign Power which covets her wheat and oil. India's feeling for Russia springs from a certain community of thought in fundamentals. The Slavonic village community had a close resemblance to the Indian village community. The village community is not a creation of any ruler. It is the spontaneous growth from the depths of a people's consciousness. Likewise the trend of Russian philosophic thought has been, as in India, towards Monism. The great Russian writers, notably Leo Tolstoi, have profoundly influenced Indian thinkers as bearing a close affinity to their own. The subjection of the Russians to the Tsarist regime for many centuries, evoked a fellow-feeling in Indians themselves long under subjection. Germans are more efficient in handling machines and men reduced to machines, but the Russians possess creative genius of a much higher order. India received with no little satisfaction the news of Britain's alliance with Russia and she shares the apprehension which is being felt by many in Britain that adequate help

is not being sent to hard-pressed Russia and that the Germans may overwhelm Russian resistance before Russia's allies are able to send her assistance.

Indian Census:—The *Times of India* published on Tuesday from its Special Correspondent in New Delhi the results of the final computation made by the Census Commissioner for India of the enumeration made during the 1941 operations. There will be no Census Report this time as on previous occasions, he reports. It has been decided to curtail the Census operations. No conclusions would be drawn from the statistics collected. There will be only the tables which in former Censuses were given in a volume by themselves. This, the correspondent hints, is not due to considerations of economy. The full-fledged Census would cost much less than what India is spending on the war in a single day. The correspondent does not say to what other considerations the decision to give only the statistics is due. We think we can guess. When it was announced some months ago that the Census Commissioner of India, Mr. M. W. W. Yeats, was to be placed on special duty in connection with Sir Shanmukham Chetty's Stores Purchase Mission in the United States, (*Reformer*, July 19, 1941) we pointed out that the removal of the officer who was specially chosen for the work two years ago and was responsible for the planning of the operations and their supervision, was likely to make the task of formulating the conclusions a difficult one for his successor. The Government has cut the Gordian knot by deciding to have no report and by not appointing a successor. The tables to be published will give ordinary details of the population by towns, districts, and communities. The correspondent interpolates "villages and tahsils" after districts but as these are smaller units than districts and as details for villages were not published in any previous Census, the correspondent is evidently mistaken. We hope the age, literacy and civil condition statistics will not be omitted as also these of occupation and infirmities. The statistics of communities, that is, of religions, will be published. These might be advantageously omitted. The conclusions to be drawn from them were the cause of much agitation by certain sections and the real reason for omitting all conclusions is obviously to avoid further controversy. This is rather

a pity. There has been quite a large volume of literature on population questions in the last few years and Mr. Yeats might have been able to indicate the trends of the movement of Indian population in the light of recent contributions to the science of population. In the absence of guidance from one who has made a special study of the subject, few persons outside the circle of specialists will have the time or access to the voluminous literature on the subject in many languages, necessary to formulate conclusions on a purely scientific basis.

Indian Officials Abroad:—Somehow one can not fail to be impressed by the fact that the Government of India, in entrusting him with delicate negotiations with other governments, carefully withdraw economic and trade questions from Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai's sphere of operations. In Burma and in Ceylon, trade with India was kept for separate consideration. Nevertheless, it is premature to claim that any measure of success attended Sir Girja's efforts to negotiate a settlement with either country in the sphere allotted to him. Sir Girja left this week for the United States of America where he will be Agent-General for India for the period of the war. Even there, however, the Government of India have separated economic and trade problems from the duties of the Agent-General and put them in the hands of Sir Shanmukham Chetty and Mr. Mullick. We should have thought that the work of the Agent-General called for more initiative than the duties of the leader of a trade mission and that, therefore, a non-official would have been more in place in the Agentship. Apart from this consideration, Sir Shanmukham, as one who has built up a position in the country for himself, is bound to overshadow Sir Girja Bajpai who has been an official all his life. The European officials who have been chosen to accompany Sir Girja, do not encourage the hope that Sir Girja will overcome this initial disadvantage. None of these is specially qualified by any personal experience of the United States and their being attached to Sir Girja Shankar can in the circumstances only imply that they are meant as brakes on the High Commissioner. Sir Girja is not particularly known as an impetuous man who needs these restraints. It would have been far better if he had picked his advisers in America, leaving the work of checking up on him to the British embassy to which he will be attached. Apparently the Government wish to "educate" American opinion on India and they are anxious to do so through an Indian. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya who has returned from an extensive tour of the United States, confirmed from personal experience the reports that English speakers in the U. S. A. failed to carry conviction to their audience when they spoke on India. The value of having a non-official Indian representing India in the U. S. A. cannot be over-estimated though, of course, the Government of India will have

to allow him greater freedom of expression. The appointment of Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan to the post of High Commissioner in South Africa is a welcome departure from the usual. Sir Shafaat is better known as a scholar than a politician in India.

Indians in South Africa:—The Commission appointed to enquire into the complaints of penetration by Indians in South Africa into European residential areas, with Mr. Broome as Chairman, has made its report of which a cabled summary was published in Monday's morning-papers. Only a tentative opinion can be formed in the absence of the full report, especially as some of the remarks attributed to the Commission as regards the causes of such penetration as there has been, are unexpectedly liberal. The gist of these remarks is that no objection can be taken now or in the future to Indians establishing themselves in areas inhabited by Whites in the natural course of social and business expansion without any sinister intention to oust the latter. The Commission point out that trade cannot be restricted to the community of the trader and that the Cape Town Agreement by insisting on Indians' adopting Western standards has contributed to the break-up of joint families and necessitated housing accommodation in areas where western standards are generally observed. This line of reasoning is so uncommon and so just and is so interesting in itself, that it should be studied in its full context in the Report before its implications can be correctly understood. The Report disposes of the alarmist impressions on which a section of the Whites pressed for segregation by legislation and shows that there is no emergency calling for immediate action. But the principle of segregation itself is conceded where segregation is resisted only on the ground that there has been no penetration worth the name. It implies that, if there were penetration now or in the future, the question may have to be reopened. A large section of Indians in South Africa themselves opposed segregation by legislation on the ground that there had been no penetration. But another section had taken the line that compulsory segregation was repugnant to them on principle and that was the line which India too had consistently taken. It is probable that the anti-Indian sentiments prevailing in South Africa may be softened by the pressure of world events. Sir B. Rama Rao who recently retired from the High Commissionership, has expressed the view that a tendency in this direction is already perceptible.

India and the War:—In his address to the National Defence Council last week, His Excellency the Viceroy defined intensification of the war effort and the prosecution of the war as the sole object of the Council. And he invited suggestions and advice towards this end. As the business of the Council is conducted in secret session, the public do not know what suggestions and advice were contributed by the members. There are a few salient considera-

tions, however, which should be taken into account in order to carry out the objects set forth by the Viceroy. Although Lord Linlithgow's opinion that this war is as much India's war as the war of Great Britain, is not supported by any arguments which His Excellency advanced, the fact remains that India as a part of the British Empire is liable to be attacked by the enemy. In that event it is the plain duty of the Indian people to resist aggression with all their strength and with every resource available to them. A people fighting against invasion is not restricted to the methods commonly accepted as proper in wars for markets and colonies. The duty of repelling invasion devolves on a people just because they are human beings and not worms or gods. If this view is accepted, intensification of war effort becomes simple. Intensification is effected by concentration and not by diffusion. As a first step towards intensification, concentration of Indian men and resources within the territorial limits of India, is obviously essential. *The Reformer* has from the first objected to the despatch of Indian troops to foreign lands some of which, notably Egypt, have disassociated themselves, with the approval of the British Government, from the war although on their own soil as a war between two European races in which they have no interest. The Viceroy said that India has become the base of operations for great campaigns and great strategic movements, and implied that this is a great achievement—a place which India has won for herself. It is perfectly intelligible that Lord Linlithgow should regard it in this light but His Excellency can easily understand why an Indian may not think of it in the same light. There is no particular merit in a country becoming the scene of great strategy in the struggle between other nations for power and possessions. If the National Defence Council failed to advise His Excellency to this effect, it will have omitted to do a national duty.

Diwali Restrictions:—The restrictions promulgated by the local authorities on the customary illuminations and fireworks on Diwali day, are not well-advised. In the conditions prevailing at present, there is not much chance of the enemy benefitting by Bombay citizens celebrating this great festival of their calendar in the traditional way. Italy which might have dropped bombs from the East African coast, is now for all practical purposes out of the field. Germany, even if she succeeds in occupying Moscow, will have more than enough heavy work on her hands to think of starting a campaign in India. Japan has not made up her mind as to what she should do and it is quite possible that she may decide to quit the Axis unless American intransigence forces her to cling to it. The Dewali celebrates the destruction of a pre-historic Hitler and, with a little imagination, it may be turned good account for the purpose of enlisting Indian enthusiasm against his present-day counterpart. A huge effigy burnt at the gates of Government House with His Excellency leading the function with a suitable speech linking up the old legend

with current history, would have had a tremendous effect in creating the much-needed war enthusiasm. The ban on the celebration, on the other hand, is not unlikely to have the opposite effect. Without linking up current history with the past history of a country and without offering a country the prospect of participation in the gains which success in the war may bring, it is vain to attempt to create enthusiasm for any cause. The British Government wants to create Indian enthusiasm for the war without creating enthusiasm for the independence which it aims at restoring to certain nations which have either voluntarily surrendered it or have been forcibly deprived of it. Instead of taking every opportunity of associating themselves with the people in their celebrations, the authorities emphasise by their measures their complete isolation from them, and at the same time expect the people to feel enthusiastic about not only the war effort but also in relief effort to Poles, to Greeks and even to present Queen Wilhelmina of Holland with a warship in place of one which, it seems, was sunk by the Germans when they took over Holland.

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain and the Congress Socialists—On Friday morning the press published a Government communique purporting to give a letter written by Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, an ex-Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, now in Deoli Detention Camp, in which Mr. Jaiprakash gave a programme and policy for members of his party. The letter or rather letters as there seem to be two which were to be smuggled out,—one to his wife and the other to his successor in the Congress Socialist Secretaryship—read like a page from some school-boy's emulation of Monte Cristo and it is difficult to believe that an adult who has had opportunities of close association with leading political personalities in the country, would have indulged in such a naive effort to work an "underground" movement. Mr. Jaiprakash Narain's side of the case, however, will not be heard for some time and there may be in the letters themselves—for the communique admittedly gives only extracts—some explanation of his apparently strange conduct. The very fact that the letters have been made public and that too, before any action had been taken against the possible collaborators mentioned by Mr. Jaiprakash, shows that the Government do not regard it as a very serious effort at creating disaffection and disturbing public tranquility.

The "Times of India's" Advice:—The *Times of India* in a sudden outburst of altruism advises Indian aid, full and unrestrained, to Russia. Perhaps this is a reflection of British press comments on aid to the Soviets. But, to quote the words of high authority used in another context, the advice is addressed to the wrong quarter. What India does will be decided for the present in London. What the Government of India can do is to represent the anomaly of keeping Communists and pseudo-Communists in prison while allied with Russia in this war. The Indian mind cannot comprehend these subtle distinctions.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, October 18, 1941.

POPULATION AND POVERTY IN INDIA.

The final computation of the statistics of the Indian Census, 1941, shows that the population of India increased by 50 millions during the last decade. The total population including Indian States is under 390 millions. The rate of increase during the previous decade was 10.5 per cent. During the last decade it was about 15 per cent. Part of this increase is not real. It is due to the voluntary abstention of a proportion of the population from enumeration at the 1931 Census for political reasons. This proportion it is difficult to estimate. The Congress is said to have three million primary or four anna members but the number of persons who act in consonance with Congress mandates though themselves not enrolled as Congressmen, is perhaps twice as many as the registered members. It will not be extravagant to take 10 or 15 millions as the number of non-co-operators at the 1931 Census. The Census enumeration in Indian States is not more accurate than in British India and the Congress has perhaps a greater proportion of sympathisers in the States than in British India. The proportion of the population of British India to that of the States is as three to one, and the same may be taken to be that of abstainers at the last Census. Thus we get over 20 millions as the probable figure by which the recorded population in 1931 fell short of the actual population. Allowing for this number, the 50 million increase shown at the present Census is reduced to 30 millions, the 15 per cent increase to 10 per cent. This is less than one per cent a year which, as Mr. Carr-Saunders observes in his "World Population," is less than half that shown by Japan. He adds that the Japanese rate of increase has been itself low compared with that of European countries overseas. Mr. Carr-Saunders goes on to observe :

The variations in the (Indian) rate of increase from decade to decade are even more remarkable. Decades with low rate of increase alternate with decades having a moderate rate. This is the first time that we have met with a country the population history of which shows this peculiar feature.

Seeking for an explanation, Mr. Carr-Saunders concludes that this must be due to agricultural and epidemic conditions. He concludes with this trenchant comment on the condition of the Indian people after a century and a half of government by a progressive Western Power. He says :—

The position in India is in sharp contrast to that which we have found to prevail in the countries studied so far, including Japan. In these countries the population has been raised above the immediate impact of natural forces, and the vital statistics, even in those cases where there is evidence of congestion of population, are not affected by the vagaries of climate and the yield of harvests (World Population, p. 275.). Mr. Carr-Saunders thinks that the prospect of

opening up new areas for cultivation through irrigation is not great. He is not up-to-date in his estimate of the prospects of industrial development, although these cannot be rated very high when every country wants to be self-sufficient industrially. The outlet of emigration for surplus population is practically closed to India : completely in the British Dominions and almost completely even in neighbouring British possessions like Burma, Ceylon and Malaya. Mr. Carr Saunders draws a tragic picture of India so situated and points out that necessary social reforms such as raising of the marriage age of girls, remarriage of widows, and the reduction of the high rate of mortality among women at the reproductive ages, must be regarded by their effect in increasing the birth-rate. "There could scarcely be a more tragic situation," he concludes; "three of the most urgent social reforms would only magnify another pressing evil."

In these circumstances, he thinks that family limitation is the only way of escape. Like other British writers, he ignores the patent reason which makes the position of India unamenable to the ordinary rules of national and population trends. It is that, unlike European countries until a few months ago and Japan, India is not a self-governing country. The wealth which she produces, has not only to serve the needs of her own population but, and primarily, those of a considerable section of the people of the British Isles. According to one estimate, this will be a fourth of the latter. Obviously here is a way of escape which should be tried before India is made to resort to birth control. Herr Hitler in his "Mein Kampf" observes : "Any policy which aims at securing the existence of a nation by restricting the birth-rate, robs the nation of its future." This view is confirmed by Mr. D. V. Glass who observes :

Once a small family pattern has been established it is very difficult for the average person, if he wishes to keep his standard of living on the same level as that of his friends, to break away from the common pattern. If the large family today is often regarded with a mixture of pity and contempt, that may be unfortunate but is scarcely surprising in a society in which self-interest is best served by having few or no children. It may be extremely difficult to raise the average family to the level required for the permanent maintenance of the population, even though it would mean a fertility only about half as high as that shown in the eighteen seventies. (Population Policies, Page 372.)

Mr. Carr Saunders realised this as regards Europeans but not for Indians. Mr. Glass describes the efforts to increase the birth-rate, legislative and other, made in France, Belgium, Italy and Germany, and shows that, except in Germany, they have all proved unsuccessful; Mr. Carr-Saunders also is of the same view. In Germany the birth-rate which had fallen below the death-rate began to rise almost as soon as the Nazis came to power. Mr. Glass says he is unable to explain this most striking phenomenon of recent years which German writers generally ascribe to a "spiritual regeneration." In the circum-

stances of India, birth control as a means of regulating population in accordance with the needs of national stability, may prove to be a remedy worse than the disease. We are glad that during the last two or three years there is a noticeable pause in the propaganda for birth control as a measure of limiting population though it is recognised generally as a means of relieving individual hardship.

THE ECONOMIST AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.

(By V. G. RAMAKRISHNA IYER, CHIDAMBARAM.)

The Government of India have recently addressed a number of Indian economists, to meet at a consultative conference to be held at Delhi, sometime this month. This is the first time when the Government have thought it desirable to convene a conference of professional economists with a view to take their advice on matters of administration. It is not quite clear what this conference of Indian economists is expected to discuss. Presumably they will be called upon to offer their views on post-war economic reconstruction in India.

Contemporary opinion about modern economists is sharply divided. Some say that economists are out of touch with the practical problems of wealth and welfare. Others claim that academic economists can contribute much to the understanding and control of questions of livelihood. The economic problem is as old as human society itself, for all communities at all times have been compelled to try to make the most of their available resources to satisfy their wants and needs. In recent years we have witnessed a radical alteration in the way in which economic affairs are directed in practice. The Great War, the Great Depression, Rearmament and the present war have resulted in the progressive assumption of power to control and supervise the economic system by Governments. Nationalist ideas have led to the Governments' accepting responsibility both for the prosperity of industries and for the welfare of citizens. To-day a large part of the national income is taken and spent by the governments. Everywhere reasons of State tend to oust calculations of profit and loss or considerations of technical and commercial efficiency in the determination of the way in which a country's capital and labour shall be used. It is economics rather than economies that have been changed. At the very time when economic issues have become more significant than ever before, the economist himself has seemed to lose caste. Public administration today is in large measure economic management. Attempts like Economic Advisory Councils to harness the advice of economic experts to political decisions have mostly failed. Economics has been elevated to first political rank, but the professional economists have been left behind and their place in general esteem is not very high. They are said to be unpractical and quarrelsome. They are blamed for failing to solve pressing problems such as unemployment, depression, etc. When the economists retort with concrete advice, their prescriptions do not accord with one another.

The main reason is that economic conditions have changed and economic policy has also got to change. *Laissez faire*, Free Trade, etc, have now become lost causes. Further the role of the economist has been much misunderstood. The tendencies which the economists describe in their analysis of the working of the economic system, are general probabilities, not quantitative forecasts. The

public who call upon economists to cast horoscopes and read the future, misunderstand the nature of economic theory which, no more than ethical or psychological theory, can foretell what a man endowed with freewill will do in a given situation. This is not to say that economic theory is useless. The economist who contends that government should seek to secure freer and freer world trade by international agreement and co-operation, is still speaking the soundest commonsense. Similarly, the general maxims of economists about the relations between Demand and Supply and between prices and production still offer the signposts to businessmen or statesmen devising their policies. The economic problem always remains the same. It is the conditions under which the problem has to be solved that change and that is why the economists can offer no specific solution that will always be valid. The economists can only supply the most useful general advice.

What the economist can do at the present time is largely historical and statistical. He can record the movement of prices, production, wages, etc. He can examine the statistical evidence which goes to prove the succession of booms or slumps. He can examine and measure the present socially unsatisfactory location of industry with a view to testing plans to set it right. He can prove nothing by ascertained facts alone. The publication of statistics by governments, by institutions and by such bodies as the International Labour Office and Economic Intelligence service of the League of Nations, have made possible drastic changes in the methods of economic research. Indices of business activity, production, prices, real wages and purchasing power are outstanding in economic discussion today. Most economists today are hard at work on problems at least as germane to the most pressing practical issues, as the compilation of chain indices of profits etc. Economists have to work their way to theory *via* their empirical studies. None of the conclusions drawn from the collection of masses of figures is applicable to individual cases. For example, the expectations of life worked out by actuaries for different classes of people at different ages do not mean that every individual of a specified age will die at a specified date hence. What they do mean is that in general people will tend to do so, and the financial record of insurance companies is sufficient evidence of the practical validity of establishing general probabilities of this kind. Thus economists can give good advice about the shape of things to come.

It is a false view to regard the war which is now being waged in academic quarters about the nature and function of interest rates, saving, investment, and hoarding as barren and unreal. No system of general probabilities relating to trade-cycle problems can be devised until these questions have been settled. The economic theorists and the statisticians are moving forward to investigate the consequences of large-scale changes in economic conditions. The chief long-term problems of today are changes in population, in productive technique and agricultural productivity. For example, the repercussions of a declining population upon demand, productivity, employment, and public finance are being studied, not to produce particular prophecies but rather to find out the facts and to fashion likely logical generalisations.

In fact despite certain recriminations, economists are now doing their job pretty well. In politics a new view of society has materialised in which it is the task of the State to tackle economic problems. Here the criterion of economic policy is not the economist's criterion. The economist's test of policy is broadly

one of efficiency. The State's criterion is different. The aim of Governments now is to make their country self-sufficient which is probably far from the most efficient use of its resources. Times have changed and the economists have learned not to cry too loudly for the moon. But they have not lost sight of the moon. They are consciously making the best of a bad job and they have preserved their right to criticise less economical substitutes and to sponsor the least wasteful of the alternative policies proposed. That is the role of economists; not to choose policies which is the politician's part, but to sponsor the most economical and efficient means to the ends the politician chooses, to criticise uneconomic peoples and inefficient institutions. Their job is not to obstruct political planning but to assert by criticism; not to indict preparations for war, but to aid it expertly. In the long run, it is the economist's criterion of efficiency which will decide whether the policies of a government succeed or fail.

Unfortunately the professional economists have been identified in the public mind, too much, with the jargon of high theory. The economist has conducted his dialectical disputations in public. He has not always let his theoretical righthand know what his statistical lefthand was doing. The chief need now is co-operation between theoretical and empirical studies, and even more important, perhaps, is co-operation, discussion and constant friendly contact between academic economists and economic technicians, the business men, the bankers, the industrial leaders, the financiers and technical journalists. If the economist is not to go on being misjudged, he must become part and parcel of the world; his work primarily touches and he must set up an exchange and mart of economic ideas in the city in business houses and factories. Given proper co-operation of this kind, the dichotomy between abstract theory and realistic researches should disappear and the economist will find that like Browning's painter he can "make his flesh liker and his soul more like, each in their orders" to his own and the nation's profit.

"CHRISTIANS IN THE INDIAN ENVIRONMENT"—I.

(BY JOHN BARNABAS, LUCKNOW.)

What the Christian will be tomorrow can be prophesied to some extent if we know what he is today. What he is today is largely due to what he was yesterday. Therefore, if we want to understand the Indian Christian of today with intelligent sympathy, we must get a glimpse at the past of the Christian. I am interested in the past, present and possible future of the Indian Christians. But in studying this group of Christians we have to understand thoroughly the part the non-Indian Christians group has played, is playing and will play, if allowed to do it, in the make-up of the Indian Christian community. And in tracing the nature of this bond between these two sections of Christians, I may have to say things which may not be palatable to every one. But honesty of purpose, and the facts of the case bid me to adhere to truth.

Except for the Syrian Christians, Indian Christians in India are the creation of Western missionaries. The story of the Indian Christian community is the history of the organization and development of the Mission work. When religion had not yet become quite wedded to commerce, men of merit and spirit came to India and spread the gospel at the cost of health, personal convenience and in the face of manifold difficulties. They brought a message

which they offered to the high caste Hindu and Muslim. Thus the earliest converts in the U. P. as in the rest of India, were from among the caste Hindus. Those Indians who succumbed to the good news at that stage, were people who recognised Christ as a better guide in life's journey than their own religion could offer. They were not men who were seeking social prestige and economic prosperity. They had education, culture, social prestige and economic security.

As if Providence willed to break the healthy pursuits of the early missionaries, India had a particularly unfortunate number of famines, and out of sheer goodwill the missionaries rescued orphan children and destitute families from material want and provided for them food and shelter. Having given them the material needs, they overdid their charity by offering spiritual food also; and the sign of such spiritual satisfaction was conversion.

In the case of caste converts material aid did follow, but it was forced upon them by the foolish intolerance and unworthy persecution of the converts by the Hindus and Muslims. In the case of the famine-and-flood Christians material aid preceded conversion. In both cases, I unhesitatingly recognize, the motive was quite pure—they just administered to a given need. They made no conscious use of their economic strength to get converts.

Unfortunately, however, the unconscious use of self to help the converts remain Christians led them to use it consciously to get converts. They for once realized that there could be an unholy alliance between God and Mammon, when both were left in the hand of mortal man. Is it not a fact that while an Indian can afford to be a Hindu or a Muslim, he needs foreign help to be a Christian?

The third group of recruits are the result of a change in the policy of missions. They turned from the caste Hindu, who was socially and economically well-placed, but was spiritually hungry, to the economically and socially disinherited members of the Hindu society, the untouchables. They found many advantages in this approach. They need not labour as hard with them as with the educated Hindu. With less effort they got more results. Quality of conversion gave way to quantity of conversion. While bidding the caste Hindu embrace Christianity they had to show and practice a better Christianity than when they appeal to the less critical. Thus we have the mass movement Christians—converts who for the most part came into the Christian fold to escape from the social oppression and economic exploitation they suffered at the hands of the caste Hindus. Thus the missionary rejected the narrow path and entered the wider and easier path to spread the Gospel.

There is some evidence of the missionary approach to the depressed classes before 1881, and may be said to be about 1858. But work among the depressed classes is very pronounced after 1881. The rate of increase of Christian population in the U. P. from 1881 to 1931 is as follows:—

Year.	Population.
1881	47,673
1891	58,578
1901	1,02,955
1911	1,79,694
1921	2,03,179
1931	2,07,879

In passing I would like to make this observation. Will I be charged with reading too much into the statistics if I hazard a guess that there seems to be a relation between the rate of increase and the

tempo of the national movement? With the gradual rise of the national movement in India there is a steady fall in the percentage of increase of Christians and between 1921 and 1931 the increase is only 2.4%. A second, or may be a corollary, interpretation is also understandable. The longer the missions worked and the more India understood them, the less the love for their cause. Can it be a case of familiarity breeding contempt?

Unfortunately for Christ, India saw that what the Christian missionary preached and what the Christian Government practiced were not the same. Unconsciously Hindu India saw a close affinity between the Government they hated and the new community that was being built up, the Indian Christian community. Nationalist India watched with hopes the stand the Christian missionary and his shadow, the Indian Christian community, would take in the growing struggle for national self-respect. For they had heard of a Jesus who came to establish an unqualified brotherhood of men. They had heard them tell of a Jesus who had come "to preach the good news to the poor," "to proclaim release to the captives" and "to set at liberty them that are bruised." But when heathen India rose to demand release of the captives, liberty for the bruised and good news for the poor—made poor by the exploitation of the Christian Government—the self-appointed emissaries of the Master stood apart and looked on with apparent unconcern; nay, they saw them even join the ranks of those whose actions their Master had condemned, would condemn, in no uncertain terms. The missionaries that came to draw heathen India to the feet of the crucified, bleeding Christ, crucified Him with calculated humour, when they deserted the cause of Nationalist India. And the Indian Christian community tied its destinies to the apron-strings of foreign missions.

Thus we see that, by a combination of avoidable and unavoidable circumstances, the Indian Christian community came to be composed of (1) the caste Christians; (2) the famine-and-flood Christians; and (3) the mass-movement or rice Christians.

Let us go back again and see the economic history of the community. When high caste Hindus became converts to Christianity, they lost their economic stability owing to the ill-conceived intolerance of the Hindus. The mission was forced to provide them with what they lost by such conversion. In order to meet the economic need of the growing community, they started printing presses, carpet weaving, manufacture of tents and various other industrial plants. But from the latter part of the 19th century the policy of giving industrial training to the Indian Christians was changed. Schools were started and the output of these schools were put to teaching and presenting the gospel. This policy was partly caused by Macaulay's minute on education. And since the Government needed clerks to run the administration, the missionaries saw a good opportunity for Indian Christians being employed. Thus there grew the inevitable economic alliance between Government and the Mission.

The two main employers of the Indian Christian were, thus, the mission and the Government. The community became economically dependant upon two foreign bodies. I consider this to be the greatest tragedy for the Indian Christians.

Another result of early Hindu intolerance is the social uprooting of the Indian Christians. To face the persecution by the Hindus the Indian Christians were taken and put together for social milieu and religious worship. There you find the beginnings of the mission compound. The vicious circle

started. The more the converts were persecuted, the more did the new community move further and further away from their social economic moorings. The further they went from national life, the more did the non-Christians hate the Christian convert. That same vicious circle is not yet broken and the Indian Christian community still suffers from the same malady.

What was the effect of all this on the growing Christian community? We started identifying ourselves more and more with our foreign co-religionists, both the missionary and the rulers. Our social life, our economic security, our religious growth was with a group that had nothing in common with us except the Master whom we chose to follow. Environment has a tremendous effect on the social progress of a given individual or community. Hence unconsciously and consciously we became more and more westernized not only in our social life but in our very thought pattern. Associating all that the missionary had with the religion we chose, we fell into the fatal error of identifying Christianity with western civilization. And our logic was that, if Christianity is worthy of embrace, Western civilization must be worthy of emulation.

What then is the present environment of the Indian Christian community? What is our social, economic, religious and political existence?

In the U. P. we numbered 2,07,879 in 1931. Of them 75% were rural Christians. In Lucknow alone we were 4,572 on the 1st of January 1941 as against 3,826 in 1931—an increase of 18%. Our numbers are not increasing as fast and in as great a proportion as in the past. In the years 1931-41 the increase in the population of Lucknow Christians was 48 by Baptism and 136 by Births. But, if we divide the Christian community into different economic levels, we find that the higher the economic level the less the birth-rate. Our educated women do not like to have children. The lower the economic level the higher the birth-rate. That is, less and less are being born into an environment fit for healthy growth, and more and more are being born into circumstances that spell sure misfortune economically and socially. In other words the quality of our increase is unsatisfactory.

If Lucknow is any mirror to conditions in the U.P. we can safely say that there is great disparity in the sexes in the age-group 16 to 45. In Lucknow there are 925 men and 1031 women. That is for every 1,000 women there are 115 (sic) in Lucknow who go without the possibility of getting husbands. Similarly there are more young women than men in Bihar, Bengal and Madras,—not enough men to go round for all the girls. Add to that the tendency among our educated girls to seek husbands from a group which is economically of a higher strata than their own. From the Isabella Thoburn college in the last ten years 67 girls married non-Christians and 45 of these girls belonged to families of an economic group having an average income of over Rs. 90/- a year. In the matter of health men seem to keep the pace with non-Christians of similar age. In the case of women, girls upto 15 have a heavier average weight when compared to the non-Christians. But between 15 and 20 the weight of the Christian girls fall down considerably and that of the non-Christians increases. Can that be attributed to the desire to slim?

Only 15 % of the Christians in U. P. are literate. A close study of our educational make-up shows that we have neglected technical education and emphasized literary education to the point of economic ruin. There again our women have done better than men.

Mission and Government still remain the main avenues of our employment. In Lucknow 40% of the wage-earners are employed in Missions. A fairly good number are in Government service. The number in independent trades is very small. This is more true of the urban population than rural. For, the rural Christians are engaged in work which their co-villagers in different geographic areas are engaged in. There are land-less agriculturists, domestic servants, sweepers and Chamars by profession. Talking of the Christian community in general it may be safely estimated that at least 40 to 50% of them are engaged in Mission service or are under the direct influence of the Missionaries. A good proportion of the remaining depend upon Government for their livelihood.

It is well for us to remember at this stage that these two avenues of employment are being closed to our community. Due to various reasons the missions are not getting as much money as they got till now. With the increase in the strength of the national movement, with more vigorous application of the communal award, with the decreasing of missionary influence in Government circles, chances of employment in Government are becoming less and less.

Those who belong to the group earning more than Rs. 900/- per annum, who are in the minority, are keeping pace with the rest of Indians of their level and in fact are doing better. But those of the poorer sections—earning less than Rs. 900/- per annum—are going down very badly.

In the field of social and cultural life the Indian Christian may well be described as a fit case for the social pathologist. We are drawn from every imaginable religious group and from every social and economic strata in India. We are a heterogeneous group. We are not only horizontally divided but also vertically differentiated.

We are a young community, like the Parsis, Sikhs and Anglo-Indians. But owing to reasons already dealt with, the early converts not only took on a new religion, but unlike the wise Sikhs got themselves rooted out of the social structure of India. We fell on the ways of the unwise Anglo-Indian in aping modes of living and thinking which could not come to us naturally. In this process, we became socially disorganized.

Our co-Indians started looking upon us as aliens and the Indian Christian even today imagines that he and the rulers with a common religion are on the same side of the fence. Instead of realizing the shamefulness of our double slavery, double foreign domination, we are basking securely under the pleasant thought of being the rulers of the country—quite superior creatures. The sting of slavery under which the non-Christian Indian smarted, left us cool and unresponsive.

We are suffering from the psychology of a suppressed people. We exhibit traits of superiority complex in the sphere of religion and social culture. A sub-conscious sense of inferiority expresses itself in attitudes of superiority complex.

In the political sphere our past leaders like K. T. Paul have left a happy tradition for us. But being a community which recognizes no leader, we have fallen into disrepute, and justifiably too, as regards our national integrity. The great majority of our community have no concern with the national destiny. Most of us fondly believe that the might of the foreign Christian Government is too great to succumb to the force of the national demand.

The Missionary who is regarded as the leader of the community, shuns politics as unchristian and

seeks shelter under the so-called neutrality pledge. But it has been more than proved already by various writers that he is neutral against India. Under his influence and control the Indian Christian has not only not fought on the side of national India, but has actually conspired against it. When thousands of Indians suffered lathi blows and imprisonment, my rich Christian brothers attended garden parties at Government Houses and my poor brothers acted as black legs, filling up vacated places or breaking the strength of civil disobedience. But when the Congress won the battle and entered the Secretariat, many in my community demanded a share in the reward in the form of jobs. When they did not get what they expected they raised the cry of the minority being in danger of unjust treatment under a National Government. All I ask of my community is, "What have you done to deserve the fruits of national independence? Is it Christian to want to eat without labouring and sacrificing for the harvest?" What is our position in relation to the rest of the Nation?"

Christians are suspect everywhere. Our fellow countrymen do not trust us. The impression we have given is that all we are concerned with in life is to get more converts. That in fact is all our Missionary friends are interested in and their sins are visited upon us, their followers. Whether we take to Educational Work, Social work, Village re-construction, Medical work or Industry we are said to aim at nothing but conversion.

Every addition to the number of Christians is one vote less for national aspirations. Every convert is a potential danger to the national culture, for he weakens the long standing social bonds that has made India a Nation.

THE MISSIONARY KRISTAGRAHIS IN AMERICA.

Mr. Ralph T. Templin gives news of the Kristagrahi Missionaries, Paul K. Keene, J. Holmes-Smith, himself and Mrs. Templin, in a letter from which we give extracts below:

When we landed in the U. S. A. we were met by the Keenes and stopped at their Madison, N. J., home where Paul K. Keene was Professor of Mathematics of Brothers College, Drew University. They took us from the boat when we arrived in this country on October 22, 1940 and we stayed with them until we started to our own folks who live in the midwest. It was during this time that the Keenes took us with them on a visit to meet the Borsodi's and to see the School of Living. That was a fateful visit for us, so it proved. The Borsodi's called us for another visit and the outcome was that we left for the west after promising to begin at the School of Living the first of the new year, after visiting with all our folks. They wanted us as students, on a work basis, earning our living. We wanted to study the movement in a place of such advantage. You can well understand why we were attracted. But I think no one of us dreamed how it would very quickly bring us right into the centre of the movement and into a place of significant leadership in this country.

Of course I do not mean that the movement is so far widespread. I call it the tiny trickle of a movement which may become a river of healing to the nation. But it is definitely gathering up to itself movements from diverging points of view. From the Churches are coming groups of special actionists who were once enamoured of the Russian way out but are now disillusioned. From Peace groups, especially from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, are coming those who, no longer satisfied

with the passive tendency in the prevailing pacifism of this country, want something positive within which both individuals and groups can take hold now and resist the evil of "violence" within the structure which they oppose. I am having conversations and long correspondence with Muste and I must say that his leadership of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is very good, indeed, for the whole movement for peace in this country. But the Fellowship of Reconciliation Secretary, Don Smacker, in Chicago is in addition a very ardent decentralist and was mainly responsible recently for setting up the Congress on Decentralization in the Lasalle Hotel in that city.

We buy very little in the way of food even including all the guests who come here to study and see the place, etc. If we had only our own "family," we would easily achieve self-sustenance on our four acres. I milk one cow, feed the other animals, tend garden, etc. We all share in these duties. We process nearly all our food including all our own cheese-making and can up into the thousands of quarts of every fruit and vegetable. For all such labour, wherever possible, we have the latest and best electrical device to eliminate the drudgery, and our craft department is being used by the rural electrification means for applying power to home production. Companies send such equipment to us free, to test out and make reports.

In the beginning of June, the Keenes left their Brothers College where he was permanent Mathematics Professor to come here and join us for good. This we expect to be the beginning of a new basis

of sacrificial, equality fellowship in the staff of this institution, along the same lines, but further developed, as we were able to work out in our home and institution in Muttra. The four of us, with some student help which will vary, and the regular office stenographic force, will carry on the work of the school and centre of the movement. We have two power presses for our own printing and are expecting to increase the amount of pamphleteering for the cause. Visitors greatly picked up at once, many pacifist groups coming to see what we were doing. There began an interest among pacifists in decentralization (distributism in England) as the positive side of non-violence and the alternative to war and a way out of crisis after war. We were in the midst of the summer school before we knew it. We are now just seven days from its close. It has been an interesting time with about ten students in the average, some coming and some going after shorter periods, coming from all over the country.

The latest development is that the Board in their meeting expressed themselves as very happy at what we had shown, particularly regarding the evidence of new usefulness for the school. They decided to continue the school, made me the permanent Director and elected Paul Keene to a new office called General Manager.

Dr. J. Holmes Smith, by the way, is conducting an "Ashram" in Harlem, N. Y., in which, for one thing race segregation is broken down. It is a centre of the peace movement for N. Y. city. He is part-time on the Fellowship of Reconciliation staff and has a little church outside the city.

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Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY OCTOBER 25, 1941. No. 8.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

<p>The Russian Situation. Bliven's Indictment. "Standard Cloth." "Window Dressing." The Expanded Councillors. Afghanistan. Diwall Restrictions. The Black-Out. The Indo-British Tangle.</p>	<p>Alternative to Mr. Amery's Scheme. The Jaiprakash Letters. Kamaladevi's American Impressions. The Indian Situation. Christians in the Indian Environment—II.</p>
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NOTES.

The Russian Situation:—The situation in Russia is one of exceeding gravity. The Soviet Government with the foreign Embassies has removed to Kujhyashev some 340 miles east of Moscow and has declared Moscow to be in a state of siege, that is to say, the civil government has ceased to function and the Army Commander is in supreme authority. On the north the position has improved in favour of the Russians. The Russians are fighting with desperate courage and, if that alone can ensure victory, they have earned it many times over. But in modern war their mechanical equipment counts for more than the valour of soldiers. Russia has a virtually inexhaustible supply of manpower and, thanks to the equal rights and duties for men and women in the Soviet regime, the women are sharing the hardships and dangers of war in the same degree as men. Russia's great need at the moment is a large and reliable supply of modern engines of war, and there is some reason to fear that this may not be forthcoming. In Britain, the Labour Party showed its dissatisfaction with the slow rate of assistance to Russia and asked the Prime Minister for a day to debate the question in Parliament. He refused their request point-blank. Neither in public nor in secret session would he agree to the question being raised. The door of Parliament being thus banged and bolted, the public discontent is finding outlets in the Press and public meetings. But Britain herself depends to a large extent on the United States for maintaining an adequate and continuous supply of the necessaries of modern war, and the reports regarding American production are far from encouraging. H. N. Brailsford writing (from Washington,) in the *New Statesman and Nation* of August 9, and Bruce Bliven in the *New Republic* of September 1, comment in acid terms on the apathy of Americans in the face of the Nazi danger. The focus of the picture

of American life today, says Brailsford, is every man his motor car. "By it the average American lives, one might even say he dies for it." Mr. Brailsford says that defence, including all America is making for Britain, China and Russia as well as for herself, accounts only for 15 per cent of her total volume of production. "When the nation decides to dispense with new cars," he concludes, "we may count with some confidence on victory." Mr Brailsford is an Englishman and, though he is one of the best-liked Englishman outside his own country, he writes necessarily with some reserve about Americans.

Bliven's Indictment:—Bruce Bliven being an American himself lashes his own people with bitter invective for their lack of morale as compared with the Russians who are holding back the powerful German military machine with magnificent courage and endurance. His article is headed "Russian Morale—and Ours." He contrasts the peacetime condition of Russia and America, the former oppressed by Tsars and, according to anti-Soviet reports, crushed under the Stalin steam-roller, conscripted for military service by both; while all the time Americans have been enjoying freedom and prosperity. He infers that the spirit of the Russians in peace-time was a great deal better than that of Americans at the present moment, and that all the reports about Russia put out to the American public were false. America is in the position of the young man of much possessions in the Biblical narrative. The other lesson to which the American situation points has also a Biblical precedent: 'For lack of vision the people perish,' says the Prophet. Says Bliven,

You can't fill a vacuum with nothing; before we can indoctrinate properly, we must ourselves know what the ultimate values are. What are the things for which Americans are ready to die? Unless there are such things, we are doomed and might as well give up soon as late.....The Russian people, in spite of everything, have found in their miserable and backward land, so lacking in pink and blue tile bathrooms, something for which they are willing to fight to the end. It is hard to believe that our people who have so much more to defend, will not at least be equally vigorous in defending it.

What Mr. Bliven demands is a spiritual revolution which can come only by following the advice given to the young man "Sell all and follow me." America is ready to sell munitions to Britain and China and whoever else is able to pay for them. But renunciation is not in her blood.

If it was, most of the immigrants who came to swell her population after the Pilgrim Fathers, would have preferred to suffer hunger and oppression in their own lands, never relinquishing the hope that by their efforts they would redeem themselves from bondage.

"Standard Cloth":—Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, suggested at the recent conference on price control that, to avert scarcity of cloth owing to the war demands on textile mills, two standard kinds of cloth only should be manufactured for use by the poorer classes. This like most other measures adopted to meet the war emergency in blind imitation of what is done in Britain, ignores the Indian psychological factor. It may be unfortunate for a certain type of administrator that the Indian is not merely hands and feet with a stomach thrown in to serve as a lever to set the limbs moving. He has a mind which is often full of wrong notions to which all the same he clings tenaciously. Sir Ramaswami knows as well as any one else that a peculiarity of his countrymen is that they are as proud as they are poor, and that the poor do not like to display their poverty on their backs. There is a saying in Southern India that a family which can not afford to have ghee with its meals, will yet find some to smear on the plantain leaf on which meals are served, so as to impress neighbours when it is cast off on the street. A business friend laughed when he was told of the standard cloth idea. The poor man will never wear the standard cloth which proclaims his poverty, he said. It is the rich profiteer who will parade it on his body as a war effort. He added that members of Government and officials generally may also use it in order to support their demand for war allowances. As khaddar has become the livery of the Congressman, standard cloth may become the hall-mark of the Government man. To the poor standard cloth will bring no relief. In Britain every man from the highest to the lowest wears clothes made on the same general pattern. Here every caste and community has its own special headdress and a poor man will rather go naked than without his ancestral turban and his customary caste-mark on his head and forehead. The sari patterns, too, differ for several castes. Rationing of clothes will not create here a hundredth of the discontent it has in Britain but its standardisation would be keenly resented.

"Window Dressing":—The *New Statesman and Nation* has of late been devoting more attention than any other English journal to the Indian question. It has grasped the truth that a solution of the Indian problem is a vital need to the success of Great Britain in the struggle against Hitlerism and that without it the prospects of victory must remain associated with the mystic V. When an individual does wrong to another or fails in his duty to another who has been under his control, the process of atonement is the readiest way for him to acquire

fresh strength for his subsequent career. Death-bed repentance will not do. In the full vigour of strength and consciousness he must deliberately undo the wrong that he has done and resolve firmly not to do it again. This rule applies as much to nations as to individuals. Thinking men all over the world have realised this. But Cabinets are not thinkers. They live from hand to mouth without any consistent policy. The *New Statesman* is one of the most effective exponents of the principle which religion and prudence alike dictate. In an editorial in its issue of August 9, it criticises the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council as "window dressing." It describes the gentlemen appointed to these bodies as "distinguished, worthy and Indian, nevertheless irrelevant." No worthy and distinguished Indian is irrelevant and this word which it uses more than once, is itself irrelevant.

The Expanded Councillors:—Mr. Lionel Fielden who recently retired from the Controllership of the All India Radio, takes up the theme in a signed article in the same journal and complains that these gentlemen are neither young nor even middle-aged but ripe, old men. Mr. Winston Churchill is not a young man nor a middle-aged man. Marshal Petain who occupies today the most difficult position ever occupied by a statesman, is past eighty. As Bacon says, old men are best for council while young men make the best executive agents. The men selected for the new bodies though verging on the Psalmist's three score years and ten are by no means extinct volcanos. They were many of them erupting in important places when they were called to lend their hand in the governance of the country. The difficulty in their case will rather be to cease from erupting in the new sphere to which they have been suddenly transferred. Mr. Lionel Fielden has met some of them and his description of them is more piquant than true. Mr. Aney whom he describes as a dark horse, for instance, was until last month an active member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, a leader of the Indian States Peoples' movement and a leader of the Hindu Mahasabha. The fate of the expansion will depend wholly on the ability and willingness of the several and, in some cases, incongruous, elements being able to discard their personal and communal prejudices and prepossessions and work together for a common end. This, again, will largely depend on the Viceroy who holds the key position in the new arrangement—more so than in the old one where the members of his Executive Council were statutorily competent to carry a proposal against the Governor-General who was required, if he overruled them, to record his reasons in writing. It must be remembered that the services were at the back of the official members and could make things unpleasant for the Viceroy, as they did to Lord Ripon, if he overruled their representatives in the council.

Afghanistan :—The Afghan Government decided, it was reported on Monday, that, in pursuance of its neutrality policy, it was necessary to send out of the country a number of Germans and Italians who were in Afghanistan presumably since the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and Germany. A message from London indicated that this action was taken on friendly representations from the British and Soviet Governments. It will be remembered that similar representations had been made to the Iranian Government and that it met with a response that was regarded as inadequate, unsatisfactory and half-hearted. Afghanistan has profited by Iran's experience. The acceptance by the Afghan Government of the joint Anglo-Russian demand avoids another demonstration of the nature of independence enjoyed by small powers just as the presence of Germans and Italians in sufficient numbers to provoke a representation, reveals again the indifference of the Muslim States to the ideological conflict now raging in Europe. There is another aspect that strikes the observer. Afghanistan has historically been alternating between British and Russian influences in her policies. That she should have arranged with Britain to provide safe transit to Germans and Italians through India, Iraq and Turkey to their respective countries, implies that Russia has dropped or had to drop her South Asian ambitions. This is further accentuated by the route chosen by the British in preference to the straight journey from Kabul across Iran to Turkey which would have had the added advantage of demonstrating practically to the Iranians the benefits attendant on an unhesitating compliance with Allied diplomatic requests. What weighed against these considerations was probably not so much the fact that Iran has been recently subdued and so conditions might not yet be settled there—the reports on Teheran in fact show that Iranian acceptance of the new regime is both complete and unreserved—as that a part of it is under Russian influence. It is possible that the decision was influenced by the wishes of the Germans and Italians most concerned as the Anglo-German war is not regarded in the Axis States as as clear-cut a war of ideas as is the German-Russian war. Afghanistan's decision, from India's point of view, is to be welcomed not so much because it retains her in the same sphere of influence in foreign politics as India herself. There is a more important reason. The brunt of lending "sanctions" to the friendly representations of the British and Russians would have fallen on Britain as the responsibility for transporting the Germans and Italians has come on them now. Obviously the nearest unit of the Empire being India, the burden would have been mainly or solely India's. It is fortunate that circumstances have spared us the necessity of being pitched against, and incurring the odium of, our North-West neighbour.

Diwali Restrictions :—Last week we deprecated the promulgation of restrictions on the celebration

of Diwali in the customary way by illuminations and firing of crackers and other explosives. We are glad to note that the restrictions which were drastic on paper, were much less so in their actual application. Although the Madras Government alone, so far as we have seen, issued a communique to the effect that the illumination of temples and mosques during the Diwali and Ramzan festivities were exempted, the authorities in Bombay and elsewhere wisely exercised a liberal discretion in interpreting the order. Illuminations in Bombay city were practically given up in the great business centres, which usually were one of the sights of Diwali. In private residences too, they were subdued. But the firing of crackers and other noisy explosives was up to the usual standard. Indeed, in the locality where this is written, it seemed to be more vigorous than in previous years. This part of Diwali celebration is the province of children and children are not afraid of Hitler or even a Quetta earthquake. Four days after the last fearful earthquake, a baby was unearthed smiling and unharmed from the debris. It was reported that during one of the fiercest air-raids in London a child slept peacefully in one of the shelters amidst a crowd of excited adults. The imperviousness of children to loud noises and their enjoyment of them, are mysteries which experts in child psychology are yet to elucidate. The authorities would have been hard put to intern the urchins if they had seriously attempted to enforce their orders.

The Black-Out :—Regarding the utility of the black-out which is now accepted as part of the technique of modern defence in European countries and in India after them, Mr. A. F. Dickerson in the *New Republic* of September 1, expresses scepticism for the following among other reasons, related by Royal Air Force pilots themselves:

The black-out cannot hide the breaking surf on the coastline of the British Isles for example, and this surf can easily guide enemy airmen. Rivers and mountains are accentuated by the black-out particularly on moonlight nights. Enemy pilots can easily pierce the black-out and reveal important targets merely by dropping parachute fires. Cities stand out in the black-out because they have a different reflection from the surrounding countryside, while moonlight and starlight reflection from slate-roofs and rivers help to guide the enemy pilot. The black-out aids espionage signaling and cannot prevent radio beams from guiding enemy pilots to important cities and known military objectives.

Thus, while being ineffective for its main object, the black-out is a great danger to traffic and it imposes a terrific handicap on air raid precaution and rescue workers, and on fire-fighters. No town has escaped air raids by means of black-outs. Mr. Dickerson suggests as a more effective protection "the creation of a glaring canopy of light over principal cities to blind enemy pilots, to obscure and hide important targets, and to aid protecting aircraft pilots in shooting down the enemy."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, October 25, 1941.

THE INDO-BRITISH TANGLE.

British statesmen have all along contemplated the possibility of Britain having to quit India some day. Elphinstone, Macaulay and others foresaw this contingency. The day was, of course, distant—so distant that it was to be beyond the vision of the most farsighted. But it was bound to come and all that British statesmanship can attempt is to put it off as far as possible. Since the beginning of this century, broadly speaking, the possibility has begun to be conceived as a probability. Gokhale formulated Colonial Self-Government as the model for India in his Presidential address to the Indian National Congress held at Benares thirty-five years ago. He said that he set no limits to his country's political destiny but as an immediate step, and as a means of weaning away Indian youth from revolutionary violence, he set the attainment of self-government on the British colonial model as their immediate political objective. Dominion status was unknown at the time. The last war wrought important changes in the constitution of the British Commonwealth. Dominion status of the Westminster Statute type bloomed into the political atmosphere. The full implications of Dominion Status became clear only after the outbreak of the present war. It was established, chiefly at the instance of Eire, that a Dominion was free to enter or remain neutral in a war in which Great Britain was engaged. The Dominion Parliament had to decide whether a Dominion should join the war and should declare war formally if it decides to join, against the country with which Britain has declared war. Another point which has emerged, is that, if a Dominion decides to join the mother country, it does not follow that Dominion troops can be used at any theatre of war at the discretion of the mother-country. South African troops cannot be taken out of Africa, according to the decision of the Smuts Cabinet. One reason for the downfall of the Menzies Cabinet in Australia was that Australian troops were sent to Greece without the sanction of the Australian Parliament and that Mr. Menzies who was in England at the time, approved and defended their despatch to Greece. In some theatres of war since then we read of the presence of British, Canadian, New Zealand and, of course, Indian troops but not of Australians. There was some doubt whether the declaration of neutrality by a Dominion would protect her from attacks from the country at war with the mother country. Germany has abstained from infringing the declared neutrality of Eire and Great Britain has acquiesced in the presence of Nazi diplomats in Dublin. There is still a point in doubt. The present war was declared by

Great Britain but if a future war were to be declared on Great Britain will the aggressor refrain from attacking Eire or any other Dominion which wishes to be neutral? However that may be, Indian Liberals who do not contemplate separation from Britain even as a distant possibility as did Macaulay and Elphinstone, have fixed upon Dominion Status as the goal of their aspiration. Some Liberals like the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastry want Dominion Status with all the attributes attaching to it in the case of the existing Dominions including Eire. Others would apparently be content with Dominion Status as it was before the last war, that is without the rights which have accrued under the Westminster Status and under the stress of circumstances since the outbreak of the present war.

The Indian National Congress from which the Liberals seceded when it declared its goal to be Purna Swaraj or complete Independence, has not gone beyond making an annual proclamation stating its goal to be Independence and the grounds on which its demand for it is based. Gandhiji first watered it down to "the substance of independence" and in his latest pronouncement he has defined Swaraj as the provision of "a balanced diet" and decent housing for the masses. The Government which ensures these is true swaraj. As no country in the world has as yet achieved the goal—President Franklin Roosevelt in his last inaugural address called attention to the malnutrition prevailing amongst a large section of the population—no country can be said to have Swaraj at present in the Gandhian sense. But the important point is that the stress is no longer on the form of Government or the nationality of its personnel but on the nutritional value of the food which the "masses" are able to secure under it. In other words, "good government" and not self-government is the desideratum. Self-government, that is government by nationals, is not swaraj unless it gives "balanced diet"; and a foreign government which provides "balanced diet" will be swaraj. If the British Indian Government secures "balanced diet", Independence will cease to have any meaning. If India gets Independence and does not get "balanced diet" for the masses, it will not be swaraj. Of course, it will be argued that a balanced diet or even a sufficiency of unbalanced diet cannot be secured for the masses under the present British Government or any other form of it offered to India. As the condition of the people of Netherlands Indies—Collin Clarke brackets them with the people of British India (as people with the lowest incomes in the world—is about the same economically as that of British India) the best system of foreign rule, it may be inferred, is unable to secure a equitable food for the masses. But, as we said, no country in the world has as yet achieved the goal of balanced diet for the masses or even the classes. Representative institutions and responsible

Government have not bestowed a balanced diet on Britain where 50 per cent of the population is estimated to be suffering from the effects of malnutrition. Gandhiji's latest definition of Swaraj, therefore, implies a radical shift in the basic principles of Congress politics.

British statesmen, as we have said, never contemplated creating in India a British colony. The attitude to a country of a man who intends to make his home there, is necessarily different from that of a man who intends to go back to the land of his origin after he has secured a sufficient amount of wealth in a country. British Indian policy has throughout partaken of the character of the latter. Within the last few years, the prospect of having to leave India to govern herself which loomed distantly to the older British statesmen, is acknowledged to be a near possibility by Mr. Amery, provided some conditions are fulfilled. Mr. Amery's successor will find that these conditions should be either given up or materially reduced and in the final event they may disappear altogether. With this approach on the part of British statesmen, Gandhiji's definition of the goal of balanced diet implies an acceptance of Swaraj within the British Commonwealth. The prospect, therefore, seems to us less gloomy than it does to a large number of our countrymen as well as to British friends of India. One of these writing two months ago—the letter actually came last week—expresses concern at the growing estrangement between the Indian and the British peoples. In our opinion this estrangement itself is a good sign. People who are completely indifferent to each other have no occasion to get estranged from each other. The estrangement between Indians and Englishmen at least shows that we are not indifferent to each other. As a matter of fact, the apparent estrangement hides a growing rapprochement. The Indian people fully share the admiration felt for the British for their fortitude, courage and patriotism in facing the German menace. Their grievance is that they have no opportunities of showing the same qualities in the preservation of the culture and freedom of their own country. They want to realise for themselves "the fearful joys" of freedom instead of vicariously for Belgians, Dutch, Greeks and Poles and Turks and Egyptians—for everybody, in fact, but themselves. This feeling is growing and it is only a question of time when it will evolve from the state of emotion into that of an impelling and constraining motive.

ALTERNATIVE TO MR. AMERY'S SCHEME.

In all British discussions on Indian constitutional reform, a point is always reached where Indians are asked to produce an alternative scheme to the official one holding the field. And there is a double standard in judging constitutional proposals: If it is from the Government, then it is the most practical when it is not acceptable to anyone; and it is the most acceptable—in spite of all opposition which is dismissed as just oriental bargaining—when it is denounced as out of line with traditional policy. On

the other hand, Indian suggestions are rejected out of hand as likely to offend important interests or as quite unworkable in practice. Consequently Indians are urged to give each instalment of reforms a "fair trial" and not to condemn it out of hand; whilst Indian schemes or suggestions, even though, like the British Indian memorandum to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, they have general support, are dismissed as on their face impracticable and British experts point out how it runs against everything they have known. In the circumstances, constitution-making has for some time been confined to British writers and criticism has come from Indian minds. After all, this is but just since Indians cannot say with how little they will be satisfied unless they know how much Britain is prepared to give. It is often said that Mr. Amery has given Mr. Jinnah the power of veto over any Indian constitutional scheme. It would be more correct to say that he has kept it assiduously in British hands. The first step towards a new constitution for India, therefore, is to convince the Indian people that Britain is prepared to part with power. The difficulties are increasing every day. Mr. K. Chandy's recent articles show that even a man like him who has more members of his family in the defence forces than anyone else and who has throughout his life been a devoted supporter of the State, is growing suspicious of ever getting anything done by Britain.

There are two recent books, one by an Englishman—*The Lion and the Unicorn*, by George Orwell (Secker and Warburg, 2s.)—and the other by an American—*The Battle for Asia*, by Edgar Snow (Random House)—which refer in discussing other questions to India's future. Mr. Orwell is concerned with Britain winning the war without losing her national characteristics in the process. Mr. Edgar Snow is a distinguished student of the Far East and he regards India against the perspective of the Sino-Japanese War and the European War which he sees as one ideological conflict. Both books present as an immediate necessity a policy of offering India freedom. It is not without interest to follow the arguments of the two. Mr. Orwell favours the declaration of immediate Dominion Status for India, with power to secede when the war is over. Mr. Orwell's thesis is very similar to that of British journalists who urged in 1935-38 that Britain should declare herself ready to fight the aggressor because the aggressor would not take up the challenge. There were all sorts of arguments urged to support that view and it was even said by men who claimed authority as eye-witnesses that in the Nazi march into Vienna Hitler's tanks broke down on the way. Mr. Orwell similarly argues that India will not wish to be independent once the option is given her, because she cannot defend herself against Japan or some other enemy; that all our experts ("engineers, forest officers, railwaymen, soldiers, doctors") are predominantly English and could not be replaced for the next "five or ten years"; and that nearly the whole of the Indian intelligentsia is deeply anglicised. The implication of the first assumption is that Britain which has fought and is fighting today for Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, Greece and her old fear, Soviet Russia, will not help India unless India is part of the Empire; that her intervention in Iraq and Syria, Iran and Egypt does not guarantee that she will feel called upon to assist another country even though it has been associated with her for almost two centuries in an association which was highly profitable to her. This, we believe, is an unjust slur on Britain. The second assump-

tion does not appreciate the fact that here are experts in other countries as well as in Britain and that the persecution policy of certain European countries and the war in China have released a number of experts from work. Even war-torn China has found no difficulty in getting foreign experts on her own terms. How much easier would it be for India to get the men she wants if she cannot find them in her own nationals. We have no doubt that the very men who are now working and whose interests Mr. Amery is anxious to safeguard, would cheerfully continue to give their services to a free India in which healthier relations prevailed between the Indians and the British experts. Mr. Orwell sets great store by these experts. He thinks that their presence acts as a link between the people of India and the Government of India, and he refers to "indispensable go-betweens such as the Eurasians." Mr. Orwell should come to India and he would see that all the links that exist between Government and the people here, could equally operate under any other foreign-controlled system. It must be a bitter thought for many British publicists to stomach but there are several officials in authority who would find less difficulty in serving another European master than in working with an Indian colleague. If there is to be resistance to any fresh foreign conquest, it is not going to be found in the handful of "go-betweens" in whom Mr. Orwell places his trust. It is well to remember that the British Indian bureaucrat has been trained in a system which can easily be transformed into a fascist or nazi system, where public opinion and popular sentiment carry no value at all.

For all the illusions on which Mr. Orwell builds his case, the solution he suggests is the only possible one. But it must be entered on with the realisation that the question whether India will elect to remain in the Empire will depend largely on how far the British experts of the intervening Dominion Status period are able to change over from wielders of power to advisers. To those who think that Mr. Orwell's suggestions are too vague, Mr. Snow offers a concrete proposal. He suggests that India and Burma should be promised complete independence after the war and that immediately as part of the mobilisation against Fascism, there should be the introduction of compulsory primary education. Both writers give an understanding account of conditions in India. But both tend to regard the British problem in India as one of changing over proteges. They want a shift from the reactionary elements to the progressive ones. This is an oversimplification of the problem. What is wanted is a vision of India as one. It is because this is coming earlier to the people than to the Government that the trouble today exists. To talk of the Gurkha and the Bengali as though their interests and their values conflicted, as Mr. Orwell does, or to follow Mr. Snow's division of reactionary and progressive India into the Princes and the Congress, is to miss the position entirely. Industrially Mr. Snow would have more in common with the rulers of some States than with the charka-ridden Congress. And Gurkha and Bengali can get together sooner than Britain can unite with either of them on a basis of equality. While Mr. Orwell shows how the British Labour Party has been turned into a vested interest by the Colonial Empire, Mr. Snow has a very terse and accurate account of India's economic, industrial and educational condition. He points out that, if India had been developed as she should have been, there would be no need today for Britain to look to American help in the Pacific. Nor for that matter even in Europe.

THE JAIPRAKASH LETTERS.

The release by the Government of India of two letters of Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, said to have been intercepted when an attempt was made to smuggle them out to his wife and to his successor in the General Secretaryship of the Congress Socialist Party, has produced such conflicting reactions that the impression left on one's mind is a very feeble one. Various morals have been drawn from it, ranging from the *Times of India's* instinctive call to tighten up conditions in jails to the *Hindustan Times'* equally characteristic pleading for a better response to non-violence. The decision of the *Hindu*, explained in an editorial, not to publish the letters or any summary of them as it was an unfair act to allow propaganda against one who was prevented by the accusing party from defending himself, sent a thrill through every journalist as a grand gesture of journalistic independence. But when the *Hindustan Times* which had also not used the letters, came out a day later with an explanation on similar lines, the question naturally rose in one's mind whether the same care was observed in dealing with all one-sided reports and whether it was the correct line for a newspaper to take. For instance, the same newspapers which carried the Jaiprakash letters also published the Gort despatches. The *Hindustan Times* printed the Reuter report and drew attention to it in an editorial in which it rather needlessly stated that Lord Gort's reading of the Dunkirk position which was intended as a purely personal report, was not complete without the French version, the Belgian account and the German report of the episode. More striking as illustrations were the charges levelled by Congress ministers after their resignation, of want of loyalty against the Civil Service which as a class is barred from replying to such allegations. A daily newspaper—we have ample evidence of it every day of our lives—has not the time, even if it had the inclination, to see whether every report made available to it is one on which all sides have the freedom to express their points of view. Nevertheless, it has to place its news before the reader, making it clear, when the editor is sure of that fact, that there are doubts about its authenticity. If the principle of non-publication of messages in which the other side of the case was obviously lacking and could not be available for some time, were established, then all war reports would have to be published some twenty years after the war is over. We hold no brief for the Government of India which obviously displayed a journalistic enthusiasm for purveying a sensational bit of news, which was thoroughly misplaced. Nevertheless, had the old method of giving the letters to the "friendly press" alone been followed, throwing the responsibility for sending it out on the special correspondents of these newspapers and of publishing it on their editors, there would have been no objection on this score though the Indian press would have justifiably protested against the procedure.

The letters themselves have failed to create the sensation which apparently they were expected to create, for four reasons: The first of these must be set down as a general lowering of the moral concepts of the people and particularly of their aversion to violence, consequent on the war and the war effort, in which nearly all sections of the country and almost all newspapers are involved. After all, it must not be forgotten that even the Congress was prepared at one stage to give up non-violence in defending the independence of the country from external aggression and internal disorder. And Mr. Jaiprakash himself was one of the Working Committee which voted for it. We would specially deprecate all the recent eulogistic reports of sabotage and

rebellion in German-occupied countries in Europe without sufficient thought on the effect it is bound to have on impressionable minds in this country. Gandhiji in his statement has overlooked this obvious influence and makes a somewhat incoherent reference to the British Diplomatic Service. Secondly, the utterances of British authorities on the Indian situation have been calculated to drive even veteran Liberal leaders to exasperation. When experienced men like the leaders of the Sapru Conference have been forced to condemn the present situation as one in which the rulers have isolated themselves by their policy of distrust and when a confirmed Liberal like the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has proclaimed his distrust of British professions, it is not surprising that lesser men turn to counsels of despair. The third reason is that Mr. Jaiprakash Narain's letters reveal an overwhelming anxiety to overtake the Communist Party in spite of the obvious advantage which Russia's entry into the war against the same enemy as Britain's, he feared, might have given it. This has withdrawn public interest from the attitude taken up in the letters because the hope of political India is in someone who will forget personal and party interest in the good of the country and inspire others to follow his example. It is because of the realisation that, among Indian leaders today, Gandhiji alone holds out any prospect of doing this, that the country still clings to him. Fourthly, the public naturally ask themselves why Government made generally known the details of plans for subversive activities which might be taken up and imitated by others. And the answer is commonly given that the Government did not regard them very seriously but hoped that it would horrify the country and the world.

Gandhiji's reaction to the publication has been most peculiar. He is prepared to condone everything apparently—except the fact that Mrs. Jaiprakash has been dragged into it, which he charges against the Government. Gandhiji assures the public that she is not in any way in sympathy with the views expressed by Mr. Jaiprakash and that she was in fact "completely upset" to think that he himself cherished such political ideals. This seems to us a red herring needlessly drawn across the path of the actual issues involved. Mrs. Jaiprakash figures only in the case because she was mentioned in the letters as the person from whom a signal was expected to indicate receipt of the communications. If, as Gandhiji says, she was an unconscious actor in the elaborately staged drama, then the blame should fall all the more on Mr. Jaiprakash who certainly ought not to have placed his wife in a position which, if things had gone according to plan, would have been a thousand times worse than it actually is. The more so since he must have known, as Gandhiji now assures us, that she would not in any form approve of the method now attributed to him. This part of Gandhiji's statement becomes all the weaker as nothing has happened, so far as the public knows, to Mrs. Jaiprakash. The letters did not reach her and the signals she was to give were consequently not given. The jail authorities who must have been in possession of the facts and the signals and whom it was intended to elude, must have during the interviews been conscious of this. Why Gandhiji should have centred public attention on this very inconsequential figure and followed up the reference with a mention of the ideal relations subsisting between Mr. and Mrs. Jaiprakash, it is difficult to appreciate. For though all manner of issues were raised by the publication of the Jaiprakash letters, this was one which was never even mentioned.

KAMALADEVI'S AMERICAN IMPRESSIONS.

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay who returned recently from an eighteen months' tour of the United States has been giving her impressions to the Press. First, as to the people, she thought the men were dull and the women vivacious. This dichotomy of the human race into men and women as if they were two distinct societies and had as little to do with each other as the elephant and the rhinoceros, is a popular fallacy which was not expected in a woman of Kamaladevi's experience and intelligence. If the men of America were as dull as they seemed to their fair visitor, whence and how did American women acquire their vivaciousness? American men and American women are chips of the same block and it is not difficult to find, if one looked for them, vivacious men and dull women. Allied to this topic is Kamaladevi's plea included in her American reminiscences, that women should "make up", that is to say, make themselves appear more good-looking than they actually are by availing themselves of the resources of what are called "beauty parlours." Serious-minded American women disdain these artifices, and there is more of such in the United States than in European countries. Here again much depends on what you look for and where. Jane Addams was a typical American woman and her influence on American womanhood has been very great. Hull House and its counterparts in New York and other cities, are where one should look to get at the right type of Americans, men and women.

Then, Kamaladevi advocated the organising of propaganda on behalf of India in the States. The word "propaganda" stinks in the nostrils of educated Americans and there are several institutions and publications which are devoting themselves to an analysis and exposure of propaganda. Some of the wisest Americans who have made great contributions to the interpretation of India to America, have earnestly deprecated the institution of any propaganda on behalf of India in the U. S. A. It will be exploited, one of them told this writer, here for our own partisan purposes. The few Indians who were making a show of propaganda in the States, have not advanced the cause of India. America is well posted in Indian affairs. The Northwestern University, to take an instance, has a complete set of Indian periodicals and publications which is being constantly added to and being kept up to-date. It is better that Americans who are earnest in their desire to know India, should come to India and see things in their natural setting, than that Indians should go to America to present what, in the nature of things, must be a truncated picture of our life and thought. We can illustrate this from Kamaladevi's own example.

Mr. Duff-Cooper, the late Minister of Information in Britain, happened to address a public meeting in America and Kamaladevi attended his meeting. Mr. Cooper enlarged on his "talking points" which created a sensation when published in this country. Kamaladevi who is not a mere decorative woman politician and has made a study of public questions in India and abroad, wanted to correct some of Mr. Duff-Cooper's points about India. The Chairman did not want to have a controversy and declared the meeting dissolved. The audience, however, wanted the Indian to have a hearing and they crowded round her. This infuriated Mr. Duff-Cooper and he burst out with, "What do you Asiatics know about democracy, having been slaves of tyranny all along?" He did not realise in his anger that for about two centuries his own country was the dominant power in India. Mr. Cooper could have

made a telling-point in favour of the British connection with India but for his complete ignorance of Indian history. He could have pointed to Kamaladevi herself as the outstanding proof of what British rule has done for India. One of the most emancipated woman of India, the like of her would have been an impossibility under Hindu or Muslim rule. The women's movement in India is, as we have often said, the outstanding achievement in the British period and for that many things can be forgiven to it. Kamaladevi complained of discourteous treatment when she touched British jurisdiction on her return journey. If the Government had an ounce of imagination, it would have appointed Kamaladevi its Press and Publicity Agent in America. She can do ten times as much for it by her mere presence there, as can Mr. Jocelyn Hennessy by all his "releases" during the next two years.

THE INDIAN SITUATION.

(By K. CHANDY, KOTTAYAM.)

The fearless or reckless courage and fair-mindedness which are exhibited in Sir Francis Younghusband's memorable words, "It may lose us India but we shall have gained our own soul," reminds me of a true Shikari story about him which also showed in that instance that he took the risk of losing his life for saving his 'sporting' soul. Colonel Younghusband, at that time probably a Lieutenant or Captain was camping in a travellers' bungalow for Shikari. The Forest Officer deputed for helping him—I heard the story from this officer—told him, when he went out for an evening walk that at that hour tigers sometimes came very near the bungalow. Sir Francis then asked his servant to bring his gun loaded with one bullet. Close to the bungalow they saw a tiger crossing the road slowly after a heavy feed. From where they stood it should have been easy to drop the tiger with a single shot. Sir Francis, however, took a stone and threw it at the tiger, in order that it might turn round and face him; and he fired only then and dropped the tiger with his single bullet. The forest officer told me that, when Sir Francis picked up the stone, he climbed up an avenue tree and got down only after Sir Francis, to show that the tiger was quite dead, got up on its body and told him it was quite dead. This forest officer was a very bold man himself, as I knew.

Sir Francis is a member of the governing class—those whom Mr. Priestley calls the right people. But he is a sage and a mystic besides, and so no longer represents that class. It is Sir Alfred Knox who criticises him, also Mr. Amery and Mr. Duff-Cooper (vide Sri Kamaladevi's encounter with the last-named in America) who correctly represent the right people. When Mr. Amery turned down the Punjab Premier's proposal, it seems to be certain that he would not look at mine published in the *Indian Social Reformer* even if it should be brought to his notice. India must, therefore, save herself without the guidance and leadership of the Secretary of State. The right people have plenty of courage—and I thank God for that quality of theirs by which we are so greatly benefiting—but they lack the reckless courage and willingness to give up the whole world for saving the soul, which comes only to those like Younghusband, who have undergone the discipline or endured the suffering necessary for seeing life and death and possessions and the Soul in a correct perspective. Wise men who see themselves in distorting mirrors, discover defects in their own persons previously undetected. The right people, if God gives them wisdom, should perceive in

the German Spirit the hugely exaggerated and distorted aspect of certain defects which all diehard imperialists possess. That spirit in the Germans has to be completely overcome if this world of ours is to have security; but the weaker nations of the earth would benefit by this victory only if England and the United States of America should apply the Atlantic Charter to all weak nations also.

This article, however, is intended to exhibit our defects and to indicate what we might do at once, leaving it to wise Englishmen like Mr. Priestley and wise Americans to advise their countrymen.

When I was in England several years ago, I was asked to speak at a meeting at which representatives of several nations were speaking. Coming from a country as large as India, and as a subject of His Majesty the King, I expected a fairly senior place. I was asked to speak last. This was probably because India is a subordinate country. When India is free, her representative will never be the last in such a meeting. From the utterances of leading thinkers like Shaw, Wells and Priestley, it is found that, whereas China is given a great place in the future reconstructed world, India is dismissed with a sentence or two although all realize that, large homogenous countries must count greatly in the future. This is also because India is not free.

India could be free only when the two great communities, Hindus and Moslems, think alike about her future; that is, only when the Hindu Mahasabha ideal of a Hindu Raj and the Moslem League ideal of Pakistan both cease to be important. What I feel about these endless disputes is what the youngest member of a Hindu Tarawad, who never expects to rule as Karnawan might feel when the Tarawad properties are being dissipated, and the Tarawad prestige is disappearing through litigation between the two most senior members.

The voice of an irresponsible 'youngster' might carry no weight. But the time of deliverance is daily shortening. Thinking Moslems are already feeling that the Moslem countries are no counter weight against Hitler; and that, as members of a free India with its vast population and resources, they would fare better. Will Hindus similarly feel that Hindu Raj and Caste are in this year 1941 the way of destruction; and that there is no hope for India unless Hindus and Moslems stand together?

There are many ways of *union now*, some of which are mentioned below.

The Indian members of the Viceroy's Council might work together as a team in all matters of policy. If it is known that they would resign in a body in the event of their joint views not being accepted, it is most unlikely that such a contingency would be allowed to happen. They might themselves call on any expert who believes in No-Party or all-Parties government, to put up such a scheme both for the Centre and the Provinces, and give such a scheme the widest publicity for discussion and consideration. The leaders of the various parties in the Central Assembly might decide to work and vote together in all matters affecting the future of India; and a common resolution might be passed calling on the Secretary of State to fix a time limit for making Indians masters in their own household. Mr. C. Rajagopalachary, who is one of the most clear-headed and selfless among politicians, might get into touch immediately with the Premiers of the Punjab and of Bengal for devising ways and means to exhibit a common front to the outside world. The Congress ministries might immediately resume office, but not as Congress ministries purely. In each Provinces, a few Mahomedan ministers

should also be appointed. This would be the best and the wisest way of undermining Pakistan.

The Moslem Provinces—what a travesty is that in the name of responsible Party Government—are likely to follow suit. In Madras it would be necessary to appoint a Justice also. The fire is spreading and might soon reach the shores of India. Would Indians be lacking again in political foresight, and leave the motherland to suffer the inevitable fate of any house which is divided against itself?

There is time yet, it seems to me, to save the Indian situation from collapse. May God grant political wisdom to all our Hindu and Mahomedan leaders. Apart from the benefit to India itself, if India gets a place equal to that of Russia and China at the Council Table after the war, the result would be great good for the whole world.

CHRISTIANS IN THE INDIAN ENVIRONMENT—II.

(BY JOHN BARNBAS LUCKNOW.)

We have seen that economically we are dislocated; socially we have cut ourselves adrift from the past and have not yet found a new one. Culturally we are neither of the East nor of the West and politically we are orphans.

What are the reasons for this state of affairs? *Firstly*: We are a prey to the Mission compound mentality. We were bodily lifted and placed in a communal island. We live in a world of our own protected from economic danger and social ostracism. We have developed the mental attitude of the frog in the well.

Second: While India suffers from political Imperialism, our community is a victim of Missionary Imperialism. Taught by the Western Missionary who told us what Christianity is, we have developed an attitude of mind which says that that which I believe, should be believed by every one else; my religion is superior to yours. Since my Master is the greatest of teachers, I become a superior being when compared with you. In a sense such an attitude is essentially theocratic. And the non-Christian is only too quick to detect the subtle fact that the basic assumption here is that the Christian individual is better than other men on account of the inherent superiority of Christianity. Such a believer does not realize that this attitude creates the worst kind of priest craft. Such a Christian says in effect, "Do as I say and not as I do." It would be well for him to remember Dean Inge when he says

The general features of a religion are determined by the state of culture reached by the peoples who hold it. A religion as believed and practised cannot be far in advance of its worshippers. If a Nation is progressing, its religion will become more enlightened and more ethical; if it is declining, its religion will lose its connection with conduct and will degenerate into formalism and superstition.

That brings me directly to the *third cause*. The Christian community in India is being fed on a theology which is hopelessly inadequate and positively mischievous. That is the inexcusable sin of the foreign missionary who taught us Christianity. We suffer from a partial interpretation of Christianity. It has been more convenient for our pulpits to preach an other-worldly doctrine. Week after week thousands of pulpits in this country take refuge in wordy phrases about Brotherhood or the need of converting the individual, without being ready to fight for the kind of world in which the converted individual can live. As Reekitt says in "Faith and Society":

It is not enough for religion to be an oxygen to help men breathe in an atmosphere they make, it attempt to purify.

But that is exactly what we are being told to do. For us, religion is compartmentalized. There is an attempt to make our mind a set of pigeon-holes and set politics in one, religion in another, economics in the third and life in quite another, only to be pulled out when safe and convenient. This compartmental mode of thought is Western and the Indian mind which recognizes the unity of life, rebels against such sacrilege. Jesus Himself ruthlessly attacked such priggish representatives of conventional piety—the Churchmen of his day and the rich and powerful ecclesiastics—in language none too mild. Above all He accused them of dividing theory from practice and gave as a basis of criticism "By their fruits shall ye know them."

The poor preacher tells the good Christian Churchman, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God" and forgets the promise that "all other things shall be added unto you." Unfortunately by strange antics of interpretation he is told of a Kingdom in a far-off Heaven and forgets the fact that Jesus spoke of a Kingdom on earth. We are advised to lay our treasures in Heaven and not to worry about mundane needs. The marks of a good Christian are to be not of the world. He is to shun politics for it is fit only for heathens. He is not to worry of economic exploitation for "look at the lilies of the field, the Lord that keeps them beautiful will keep you satisfied." "Think not of tomorrow for tomorrow shall take care of itself." Hence the good Indian Christian fearing to be dubbed materialistic by his missionary master, and forgetting the fact that the missionary master is well guaranteed for all his needs before he sets sail for India, cuts himself away from the national movement and economic struggle of the masses and gapes at the empty skies for Manna to fall down from Heaven. As Clifford M. Inshardt in "Christianity in a Changing India" (page 70) says:

A compensatory Heaven does hold attractions for a people who are denied even the most elementary satisfactions of life. But can this other-worldly doctrine hold and challenge the growing number of educated Christian youth?

Once we understand this basic defect in our religion we can understand why the Indian Christian is shy of participating in the National movement. He thinks it is just bad Christianity.

Fourth:—The attitude of the Missionary, and consequently that of the Indian Christian, to other Faiths has been one of competition and not that of co-operation. In a study of comparative religion the theological schools in India compare the best in Christianity with the worst in Hinduism and Islam. Hinduism is depicted as the born enemy of the good Christian and, therefore, the more you fight that Satanic religion the better Christian you are. And so marches out the average theological graduate from these Theological Schools into the midst of non-Christian India as a half-baked theologian of an ill-conceived theology.

Fifth:—There are two facts stated by various members of my community. Some say that our community does not follow a leader. Others say our leaders do not lead us. Both, I think, are facts. But when 45% of the community is under the thumb of foreign Missionaries and a good proportion of the rest are under Government influence one can understand the type of leadership available. When some rise above these two influences and see the light and try to guide the community, the majority of the community, with all their goodwill for these leaders, are incapacitated from following the lead due to the influence of the foreign missionary and the British Government.

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PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office: RAMASWAMI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 29.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 1, 1941. No. 9.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

<p>"Counter Propaganda." Economists' Committee/ Mr. Jinnah's Walk-out. Municipal Councils in Travancore. Indian in a Christian Environment. Gandhiji and the Release of Congress Prisoners.</p>	<p>The Prospect for Indian States. Aney and the Atlantic Charter. America Behind the Scenes. The Muslim League. Spiritual Starvation. Christians in the Indian Environment—III. China and India.</p>
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NOTES.

"Counter Propaganda"—Among the subjects to be dealt with by the newly created Information Department of the Government of India is mentioned "Counter Propaganda" for which there is to be a Director, Information Bureau, Film Broadcasting and the Chief Press Adviser are the other items in the schedule of the Department. The first two are themselves agencies of propaganda. The third in the name of advice is also an effective propagandist. What is counter-propaganda? Counter to whom and to what? We regard this as a serious menace to good feeling between Government and the public and between the several classes and creeds. It will be inevitably confused with the sort of propaganda of which we received a specimen this week, "Allies of Germans in India," is the title of a closely printed tract of eight pages. The name of the author or the organization at whose instance the tract is issued, is not given. The name of the Press where it was printed and the name of the publisher, both required by law, are omitted. The envelope bears the postmark "Bombay" and the V mark is rubber-stamped at the left-hand corner with the three dots and a dash. The tract from first to last is a scurrilous attack on the Congress and Brahmins and Banias in the style of "The Menace of Hindu Imperialism" recently noticed in these columns. The only difference is that, while the book made a pretence of being based on historical facts, the tract indulges in blatant assertions which are on the face of them absurd. For example, the writer mentions as evidence of the machiavellianism of these elements that the British administration in this country consists of a few Britons and all the rest of it is run by Indians. If the writer had the slightest knowledge of the conditions of British rule in India, he would have realised that this is the basic feature of British Indian administration. Seeley, in his "Expansion of England," points out that British rule in India cannot be maintained if Indians begin to feel, as Europeans

do and are expected to do, that it is humiliating to serve the foreigner. The mere attempt to rule as conquerors, he says, will ruin England financially. As four-fifths of the Indian people are Hindus, the majority of Government employees are necessarily Hindus. The Nazis would be pleased to know on the testimony of this anonymous pamphleteer that "there is comparatively a small minority of the people of India who are giving real help to the defenders of civilization and the great majority, under the plea of what they term political expediency, is supporting the Germans." This is a frigid and calculated lie as few in India sympathize with, much less support, German methods. There must be something rotten in a civilization if it can be destroyed by such methods. There is nothing new in this tract. The writer seems to have a kindly feeling for Indian Liberals as he remarks, "If any party can bring about a settlement between the Hindu, Mahomedan and other elements in India, my own view is that the leaders of the Liberal Party and other similar parties stand the best chance of doing this." But the Liberals themselves have been urging the Congress to return to office from many platforms! The danger of the counter-propaganda being included in the Information Department is that it will get identified with irresponsible, intemperate criticisms of this type, and this will reflect on the relations of the Government with the public. A Government worth its salt must stand upon its record, answering criticisms in open debate in the Legislature. Counter-propaganda by Government will paralyse the section of the public and the Press which strives to maintain a high standard of fairness and equity in its attitude to all parties and communities.

Economists' Committee:—The idea of instituting a Consultative Committee of economists to advise Government on problems of post-war reconstruction, is, as Sir Ramaswami Mudliar claimed in his address at the opening of the meeting of the Committee last week, unique in the annals of the Government of India. But that in itself does not prove that it is sound. A great part of Sir Ramaswami's address was devoted to impressing on the assembled economists the horizons beyond which they should not extend their vision:

The layman, the Commerce Member reminded the Committee, was not concerned with those refinement

of economic thought in which there was endless scope for difference of opinion but with practical suggestions, and the more agreement was achieved among economists on those suggestions, the greater was the chance of the layman and the administrator accepting them.

What Sir Ramaswami requires of this Committee of economists is not what is scientifically sound but what the layman and the administrator who is also assumed to be a layman, will accept. We cannot help thinking that the layman and the administrator can settle this among themselves without dragging in the economist whose proper function is to advise what according to his science would be the most appropriate thing to do. It is the business of Sir Ramaswami as an administrator with his staff of experts to formulate schemes. He cannot shove that duty on to the economists. The economists will subject his schemes to the tests of their science and advise, not him, but the public—the so-called layman—where the official scheme is faulty and should be mended. The Legislature is the proper body to pronounce final judgment in the light of the economists' criticisms. Instead of this natural process, Sir Ramaswami wants the economists to function as his personal and private advisers. If the administrator and his staff do not know what they want, it would obviously be the right thing to sack the lot and put in their place men who know something of their business. The functions which are assigned to the five Sub-Committees Sir Ramaswami proposes to set up, are illuminating. They carefully exclude the fundamental issues which are engaging the attention of economists today, namely, population and food. Sir Ramaswami, in fact, warned his economists against looking too far ahead of the task he set to them. What can the economists say about post-war demobilisation which is a function of the first Sub-Committee? Or about the disposal of contracts, a function of the second? Government purchases are a function of the third Sub-Committee, a matter of salesmanship and not for Economics. The fourth Sub-Committee is to advise on internal and international trade and agricultural development—vast subjects, each of which would require prolonged study by many minds. The last Committee is to co-ordinate the work of the four other Committees. A more topical description would be "mop up" the mess made by the four Committees. Under the expanded Council scheme, Members are obviously at a loss to find work for themselves. Much of their time is spent in travelling from one end to the other of the country, without any appreciable benefit to the country.

Mr. Jinnah's Walk-out:—After the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee in Delhi, Mr. Jinnah announced in the Legislative Assembly last Tuesday the decision of his party to abstain from participation in the deliberations of the present session. The statement which carried this decision, was couched in words which ought to have culminated in stronger

action. As it is, however, the line taken by the Muslim League merely extricates members of that party in the Legislature from an uncomfortable position, while it removes all obstacles in the path of the new Muslim members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. One of them, Sir Sultan Ahmed, had defied the mandate of the League; for, though he had declared that he was not one of the men chosen for the newly created posts on the Council but had been appointed to fill the place vacated by Sir Mahomed Zafrullah, his position had not been accepted by Mr. Jinnah. Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir Feroze Khan Noon are not members of the League and, therefore, according to the inexorable logic of the Muslim League's position today, not representative of Muslim opinion. It is to the credit of Mr. Jinnah that he will not accept from the Government a position inferior to the one on which he insists in his negotiations with the Congress. But when this is conceded, all has been said that can be in favour of the attitude he has taken up. Had the Muslim League Assembly Party continued attending the legislature, they would have had to oppose every action of the Muslim members of the Viceroy's Council. Mr. Jinnah has unconsciously avoided this necessity of creating a split in the community. We say unconsciously because had it been deliberate, he would surely have resisted the temptation of representing an essential attitude of compromise as one of unbending opposition to the Government. It is obvious from his statement that Mr. Jinnah refuses to recognise his coreligionists in office as representatives of his community. Consequently the initiative has passed out of his hands into those of his opponents who are today by his own action associated with the Government. There is a school of thought in the country today—reaching from Mr. M. N. Roy and his Democratic Union to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—which holds that power can create a following. It is hard to believe that the expanded Executive Council will not put it to the test. The release of Congress political prisoners which began this week in Madras and Bombay, might well be the first gesture in a complicated move. By placing the demands of the Muslim League on an impossible level—fifty per cent representation for the Muslim community at the centre and in the provinces—Mr. Jinnah has facilitated the task of bringing together all other parties in the country.

Municipal Councils in Travancore:—The administration report issued by the Travancore Government on the working of Municipal Councils in the State during 1940, covers seventeen councils. The report is of interest in view of the closing down of several municipalities in Bombay Province for ineffective work. Municipalities in India have not been markedly successful. Public interest has been lacking and the number of uncontested elections in several of the Travancore municipalities

bears witness to this. The Chief Secretary to the Government repeatedly warns the councils to speed up the work of collecting arrears of revenue which, in Travancore as elsewhere, have been mounting up. There are only two municipalities, Parur and Trivandrum, which show satisfactory work. Very few of the Municipalities undertake educational work though all of them engage in remunerative enterprises like the running of markets. The figures supplied in the reports on vital statistics are far too inadequate to allow of any deductions. Very frequently the deaths from what are classified as "other fevers," "other diseases" and "other causes" amount to over 60 per cent of the total deaths. The system of registration of deaths which is practically compulsory in most of the towns, cannot be called efficient in the face of this grave defect. In comparing the reports submitted by the Trivandrum Municipal Council with those from other towns, one is struck by the greater details shown against the capital of the State. Even Trivandrum, however, features its largest single cause of death as "other causes." Nor can one fail to be struck by the fact that in nearly all Travancore towns diarrhoea and dysentery take a heavier toll than any other disease. There is an obvious co-relation between this feature of city life and the drainage system; and it is to be regretted that drainage and water works have had to be held up owing to difficulties found in getting pipes in wartime. The administration report could with profit give an introductory general survey of the working of the Municipalities in the State. The Travancore Government makes a special feature of publishing every year reports on the working of each department. Besides the Municipal Councils report, there are reports on the Public Works Department, on Water Works and Drainage, on the Maramat and other Departments. The past year has been an eventful one in so far as it has seen the progress of many important works—notably the completion of the Sethu Parvatibai Water Works at Alleppey, and electrification of the Leper Colony at Noornad. The practice of publishing annual reports should be adopted by all States.

Indian in a Christian Environment:—We publish this week the third and concluding portion of Mr. Barnabas' study of Indian Christians which largely, almost exclusively in fact, relates to conditions in the United Provinces. Mr. Barnabas gives several interesting facts. His main object, however, is how to persuade Indian Christians to change over from an allegiance which was once fruitful but has now become oppressive, to another which promises to hold out good prospects in the future. Time is on the side of such an adjustment as however long it may take, political control must come into Indian hands and Christians in India as Christians elsewhere must live with their fellow-countrymen. In fact, Mr. Barnabas and others of his mind are not so much forces for change as signs of the times. We are surprised

to see in Mr. Barnabas' historical survey the charge of persecution levelled against caste Hindus of the pre-mutiny period. Mr. Barnabas forgets that politically the Hindu and Muslim were nowhere whilst the missionary had gained an influence with the Government which cast its protection on the convert. The old missionary—traces of him can be still seen now and then in the columns of the *Dnyanodaya*—revelled in abuse of the other religions which his proselytising brought him in conflict with and his convert sought favour in the eyes of his guardian by following his example. All this forms the background to Christian-Hindu relations. Mr. Barnabas says that the conversion of caste Hindus belonged to the pre-mutiny period. We would rather trust one who was a contemporary of pre-mutiny India and who himself played no mean part in the conversion of caste Hindus. The Abbe Dubois writes:

The Hindu who embraces Christianity; is not considered to belong to the same nation as themselves, because his new religion forces him to reject those customs and practices which they regard as the link binding them indissolubly together.

Mr. Barnabas might consider recent history where a Christian Mission was able to crush a progressive movement within its Church by expelling the non-Indian agitators and subduing their Indian fellow workers. Where is the Kristagrah movement today? He may get the answer in Lucknow. Mr. Barnabas glances superficially at the causes which might have led to the lack of appeal of Christianity as shown by the fall in conversion figures. But it is surprising that he neglects two of the most obvious causes: The first is, and this is true of the mass converts, that Christianity does not pay so well nowadays. Secondly, the Indian is beginning to apply to the religion of the missionary the tests applied to his religions by the missionary—"By their fruits you shall know them." And the fruits, whether in Europe or in Asia, are not very appealing, to say the least.

Gandhiji and the Release of Congress Prisoners:—The release of a few satyagrahi prisoners in Madras and of Mr. B. G. Kher and Mr. Morarji Desai in Bombay at the beginning of the week raised high hopes of a possible revision of Congress policy which Gandhiji's statement on Friday morning somewhat damped. As a matter of fact, Gandhiji holds out the hope that, if freedom to speak against this war and all war is allowed, then the Congress will cease all agitation. This is a point which Government might safely concede. If the arrest of popular leaders for shouting anti-war slogans has not impeded the war effort, then surely giving them liberty to do so will not worsen matters. Government, as a matter of fact, has failed in its declared policy towards satyagrahis. It has succeeded in the tentative, experimental feelers it has put forward in some provinces by allowing slogan-shouting satyagrahis latitude and by keeping arrests down. It should profit by its experience of the past two years.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 1, 1941.

THE PROSPECT FOR INDIAN STATES.

The fact that the principal allies of Britain in the war are the United States and the Soviet Union has a significance for the rulers of Indian States too obvious to be lost on the most self-complacent. Soviet Russia, although it has shed many of its Bolshevik features, retains its proletarian basis. In the absence of any other explanation, it is not unsafe to presume that it is this which has endowed the Russian army which, under the Tsarist regime, scattered like chaff before a gale, with the will and the strength to resist practically without help the terrific Nazi onslaught with a courage and determination which has extorted grudging acknowledgment from the Germans themselves. The influence of the Soviet Union will be cast entirely on the side of popular government in the Indian States as well as in British India when the time comes for a peace settlement. American sentiment is not much more favourable to the Princes. If anything it is aggravated by a rooted prejudice against them due to the follies of some of them when on a visit to the States. The propaganda of the States Peoples' Conferences and the experience of some American visitors to India have intensified in the American mind the prejudice which sometimes finds fantastic expression. Edgar Snow, one of the best known American journalists, author of "Red Star over China", has, in "The Battle for Asia," devoted a few pages to India, with casual references to the States. Here is his idea of the Princes and their position in Indian polity—

The Princes' territories.....constitute the social wastelands of the East, the regions of permanent decay. Purely parasitic, the princes contribute nothing to India's society but oppression for the people and glamour for the tourist, while they exact astounding tributes for their personal amusement and luxury.

More in this strain. This is a travesty of conditions in the well-administered States and even in the moderately progressive ones. It is a description applicable to a small minority of Princes who have abandoned the old lights without acquiring new ones. Unfortunately, however, the good States by their own action in associating themselves with and making common cause with the bad States in what is called the Princely Order, have assisted the confusion of the whole lot in the minds of foreigners. Against the combined influence of Soviet Russia and the United States, Great Britain, even if she be willing, will be unable to stand by the Princes if the latter do not bestir themselves betimes to get behind them the support of their own people.

The Princes are not without apologists, mostly retired British officers of the Indian Political Service who look back on the time they lorded it over Indian Durbars as the golden period of their lives destined to end, in the case of most of them, in the inglorious

obscurity of a London suburb. These people consider that the only Indians who possess some fraction of their own superb capacity for rulership, are the Princes and not the British Indian, especially Congress, politicians whom they hate and fear but profess to despise. This class whose influence on British opinion is in ordinary times very slight, advocates the distribution of British Indian Provinces among neighbouring Indian States under British suzerainty as the best and readiest solution for the Indian problem. The British Government will continue to exercise all its present power and more but will have no responsibility which will lie with the Princes. One of the ablest of them, Sir Walter Lawrence, in his book "The India We Served" published in 1928, advocated this step in preference to any other. Sir Walter saw much of the Indian States chiefly in Rajputana. His most important work was the Land Revenue Settlement of Kashmir. He next served as Private Secretary to Lord Curzon when he was Viceroy. He came back to India with the late King George as his Secretary when as Prince of Wales the latter visited India. Writing of the Morley-Minto reforms, he says that they were unsuitable to the country as they had no foundations in Indian life. The British Indian bureaucracy will not, he thought, work without British personnel. "I regard," he observes,

the average Indian State as better suited to the happiness and temperament of the Indian than the huge unwieldy administrations which are responsible for the vast provinces of the Indian continent. And, I believe that the average state ruled by the standard of the Rajas, which I have known, is better calculated to bring contentment and opportunities to the people than is the present system of British India, a bureaucracy of British mark, largely administered by Indians.

This scheme would have worked admirably had it been adopted a century ago but today it would require putting back the whole country into a moral and mental condition which has been outmoded in every department of life even in the most isolated corner of India. The Indian State and the village community, Sir Walter says, are the two indigenous institutions, which have survived. Both, however, ceased to retain their indigenous character when the British became rulers. The Indian State became a pale shadow of itself when it entered into treaties with the British Government. "One bad consequence of these subsidiary treaties is," wrote Colonel Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) of his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley's policy, "that they entirely annihilate the military power of the government with which we contract them. I would preserve the existence of the State and guide its action by the weight of British influence." This is exactly what Sir Walter Lawrence wants to do today after one hundred and thirty years since it was suggested by Colonel Wellesley. Sir Walter describes with just pride the transformation effected by his

revenue settlement in Kashmir in three short years. Yet he thinks that after nearly two hundred years of British administration the provinces will meekly acquiesce in their distribution among the neighbouring States. The same may be said of the village community. The village community today is not governed by the panchayat as Sir Walter Lawrence says, but by petty officials appointed by the provincial governments. Even during the thirteen years since his book was published, the relations between Princes and their subjects have radically changed. The States' People Conferences have been insisting fanatically on having full representative and responsible government.

Sir Walter Lawrence's scheme will not commend itself to politically-minded India. All the same in the stress of circumstances the British Government may find that it is the only way in which they can relieve themselves of their responsibility should the course of events necessitate it. Some of the Princes, at least, seem to contemplate such a possibility by the way in which they are reacting to the present situation. The Government of India too is acting on Sir Walter's advice to regard the Princes as the natural leaders of India. But their American and Russian Allies will have a say in the matter and unless they are convinced by reforms in the States, calculated to establish the confidence of the people in their rulers, it will not be easy to adopt the course recommended by Sir Walter. All those who wish the larger and well-governed States to exist and become a wholesome factor in shaping the future of India, will be pleased if the Princes move betimes in the direction of associating their people with themselves in the government.

Aney and the Atlantic Charter :—The opening of the autumn session of the Indian Legislative Assembly at once exposed the anomalous position of the Indian spokesman of the Government, Mr. M. S. Aney. To questions about the British Prime Minister's declaration that the Charter did not apply to India, Mr. Aney gave answers which would have come with less bad grace from his English colleagues. The only self-respecting answer which an Indian can give to such questions is that he regretted the Prime Minister's declaration and would do his best to get it altered. A more spirited reply would have been that the Atlantic Charter itself has no particular significance and Indians need not worry themselves and him about it. Mr. Aney did not adopt any of these alternatives. His reply did not differ in the least from what Sir Reginald Maxwell would have given in his place. The moral is obvious. Mr. Aney went in hoping to swallow the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy has swallowed him instead.

AMERICA BEHIND THE SCENES.

The United States are very much to the fore nowadays. Their help in the War is vital to Great Britain. The constitution of the States has fascinated Mr. Amery and is being put forward as the model for India in respect of one of its features, namely, irremovable executive. The personality of President Franklin Roosevelt overshadows every other as the architect of the world's destiny. On all the three subjects, light is thrown in "After Seven Years" by Professor Raymond Moley (Harpers: New York). Mr. Moley was one of the Brain Trust of President Franklin Roosevelt during his first term. Mr. Moley describes his first meeting with Mr. Roosevelt when he was Governor of New York. Mr. Roosevelt looked at Mr. Moley steadily and said: "Make no mistake about it. I don't know why anyone would want to be President, with things in the shape they are now." Mr. Roosevelt's candidature is being actively pushed forward, Mr. Moley knew. Answering the thought, the question behind the words, Moley replied that he would be delighted to help in any way he could. Mr. Roosevelt nodded approvingly. Moley leaves the impression on the reader of his book that this oblique way was the natural way of Mr. Roosevelt in indicating his intentions. No man, it has been said, is a hero to his valet. Private Secretaryship is mental valeting and few men are heroes to their Private Secretaries. Moley was not Private Secretary. He was Assistant Secretary to the Secretary of State officially but his functions were more those of a personal and Private Secretary than of a State official. A book of this kind would not be allowed publication in Great Britain. It deals with what in Britain would be treated as Cabinet secrets not to be published without the King's permission. In the United States censorship of any kind is prohibited by the Constitution and Mr. Moley makes free use of the freedom accorded by the constitution.

The first business of the President on his election is to choose his Cabinet. Mr. Moley gives an interesting, almost thrilling, account of how this business was managed. The most important office in the Cabinet is that of the Secretary of State. Cordell Hull had definite views on Tariff reform which differed fundamentally from those of the New Deal of which Moley was the leading exponent. There were other difficulties. Hull pointed out that the office of Secretary of State entailed social responsibilities and cost a lot of money. And since he was a man of modest means and hated entertaining, he was not sure he ought to accept. The President wanted Moley to be a sort of personal adviser with the office of Assistant Secretary of State. How would Hull accept this arrangement? "No Secretary of any department," Moley remarks, "was likely to be overjoyed at having an Assistant who saw the President more often than he, who knew the

President's mind better, and who was asked to handle matters of which the Secretary knew nothing." When Moley represented this to the President, the latter gave him in writing the functions which he expected him to perform. This is a common thing in Indian States and Mr. Roosevelt's methods, as described by Moley, approximated more to those of an Indian Prince than to those of the British Indian bureaucracy. Hull accepted the Secretary of Stateship with Moley as his nominal Assistant. But this led to frequent misunderstandings—the most crucial being at the London Economic Conference where Hull was head of the American Delegation and Moley followed as the President's personal representative. The happenings at this Conference are described in detail. The President had given a set of instructions to the Delegation. Through Moley he conveyed other instructions which did not tally with the first set and which led Hull to suspect that Moley was meant to supersede him. Explanations followed. The President sent later a third set of instructions which led to the adjournment of the Conference *sine die*.

In connection with the President's contradictory instructions, Moley gives an interesting account of a private conversation which he had with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and for which he was taken to task when he returned to the United States. Mr. Hull complained that the interview with the British Prime Minister without his knowledge, was an act of disloyalty. Mr. Moley has several pages on the attempt of the President to get power to reorganise the Supreme Federal Court when it turned down many of his New Deal measures as contravening the constitution. The opposition to the President's proposal was strong and Moley himself was one of the leaders of the opposition. Eventually the President abandoned his plan but got his object by appointments for vacancies which opportunely occurred. Incidentally Moley throws light on the ways of the British Government. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who was Premier, wanted personally to go to Washington to negotiate on the war debts. The permanent officials backed by influential conservative politicians were opposed to his going. But he insisted and, not being able to stop him, two secretaries were added to his staff who effectually prevented any talk on the subject of debts during Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's visit to Washington. He was guest of the President at White House and had delightful talks on many subjects but the debt problem was not touched and remained exactly where it was when he set out on his return voyage. Mr. Moley records among the President's idiosyncracies that he would absent-mindedly give the same piece of work to five different persons and would be flabbergasted when each of the men brought his elaborate report on the subject. Differences between the President and Moley multiplied and the latter decided to

quit office and start a weekly paper, "Today." Moley criticised some of the President's plans in his paper, to which the latter took objection on the curious ground that the new weekly owed its importance to the editor having been his Assistant Secretary of State. Moley replied that while, as Secretary, his duty was to carry out the President's instructions, as editor he had a different duty, to give his independent views on men and measures to his readers.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League was held at Delhi on October 25-26. There were three important questions before the session. The first was the position of the Islamic countries of Iran, Iraq and Syria; the second related to the attitude to be adopted to the coming session of the Legislative Assembly session; and, lastly, the case of Mr. Fazlul Haq. The League decided to abstain from attending the Assembly session and Mr. Jinnah made a statement in the Assembly on the second day announcing the decision. Negotiations between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Fazlul Haq were unsuccessful and, according to press reports, the League Working Committee did not pay very serious attention to the appeals and threats of the Bengal Premier. On both these issues the session was Mr. Jinnah's completely. What of the third? A peculiar mystery hangs over the resolutions of the Muslim League on questions relating to Islamic countries overseas. At the Bombay session, the press reports gave detailed accounts of the proceedings and the text of all but one resolution adopted by the League; but on the one there was a laconic reference—the "League adopted a resolution on Iran." Now comes Delhi. The press report gives an account of Sir Sikandar Hyat's speech on a resolution relating to Muslim countries. It also states that he was interrupted when he condemned the ex-Shah of Iran, and Mr. Jinnah had to intervene to secure him a hearing. Yet nobody seems to have opposed Sir Sikandar's presentation of the position. Sir Sikandar warned his hearers that they were expected to give a lead to Muslims in the country. A resolution, we are told, was adopted on Iran which, Mr. Jinnah said, was a substantive resolution. He explained the resolution in these words:

It had been the avowed and declared policy of the Allies to destroy aggression and protect and safeguard the sovereignty of small nations. That was their principal aim. Indian Mussalmans had no voice in the administration of their country. They did not know what the facts were. They were, therefore, apprehensive about the Muslim countries and it was up to the British Government to remove those fears and apprehensions of Indian Mussalmans by definite deeds. This was all that the resolution asked for.

But no newspaper has given the text of the resolution. The absence of the opposition speeches and the non-publication of the Bombay and Delhi resolutions on Iran, leave the public with no means of judging the feeling of the second largest party in the country. The sustained omission, according to the *Bombay Chronicle*, is the work of the Chief Press Adviser's office. If it is so, then it is a great disservice to the League, to the Government and to the people of this country as a whole. We would suggest that the Government rely more on the strength of their case and the essential justness of their policies

than on the rather primitive expedients of censorship and banning.

Sir Sikandar said that the strong language used by Muslim League speakers in favour of Muslim countries was probably the result of their weakness. "When we were rulers in this country," he said, "we were in a position to help our Muslim brethren in other Islamic countries. At that time we were not in the habit of covering up our weakness by fighting speeches. We could take effective action. But now we are slaves." What was the "effective action" taken by Muslim rulers in India to help Muslim countries? History, in fact, records that the obligation was on the other side. On the subject of Turkey and the Khilafat agitation the Punjab Premier who said that he was on the Khilafat Committee, seemed vague and hopelessly confused. In the first place, he confused the office of Sultan with that of Caliph. Sir Sikandar is reported to have said: "Who dethroned the Sultan of Turkey? Not the British; but the Turks." This was an unfortunate reference. Very few must have forgotten, particularly of those who postulate a unity between Muslim countries, that the last Sultan fled under British protection and that the last Caliph was removed and the office abolished because the Ataturk represented it to be a centre of foreign intrigue. Coming to the position in Iran, Sir Sikandar seemed to be in possession of facts which are not available to most others in India. Opinion in India is general that the action against Iran was a military necessity and the question of its rights as a nation—which are not in any way less than that of a "Muslim nation"—is subordinated to the necessity of winning the war. If there were really anything like an independent nation in the midst of a world at war, then Iran was free to choose its allies. Sir Sikandar's charge against Reza Shah that he was pro-Nazi shows that he judges Reza Shah as though he were the premier of an Indian province. His reference to the desecration of the Imam's tomb by Reza Shah being the divine cause of his present downfall, must have appealed to the religious and fanatical section of the Muslim League but not to the modernised leaders now in control, who admire the Turkish, Iranian and, to a less extent, Egyptian nations because the influence of the priest has been reduced if not completely removed.

The religious Leaguer seeks ties of common religion and finds difficulty in linking up with modern Turkey and modern Iran, both of which turn their back on appeals of Muslim solidarity. In a significant outburst the Raja of Mahmudabad deplored the lack of interest of Muslims abroad in Indian Muslims. Although, he said, Indian Muslims had sacrificed for the causes of Islamic countries, Muslims in these countries had never passed even one resolution about Indian Muslims. It was a similar consideration which led the Ataturk to turn his back on Pan-Islam, as he said it had caused the useless shedding of Turkish blood with no response from other Muslims. The secular regard the fall of Reza Shah as a calamity because of his modernising influence which, they fear, might be nullified, whilst to the religious it is a divine dispensation. In the struggle within the Muslim League, the forces of reaction, until Mr. Jinnah entered League politics, had been in power. The Muslim League, in fact, originally derived its strength from Government support and recognition. When it broke away, it came under the influence of the priests. When, again, it broke away from the priestly domination, it came under a secular control which was little accustomed to independent political thought. Most of the old leaders were men who owed their positions less to personal merit than to

official recognition. They saw the future of the League as a restoration of its semi-official state. Mr. Jinnah's leadership has been a struggle against these men and an attempt to build the League into a living organization of the Muslim community.

SPIRITUAL STARVATION.

Presiding over the second day's meeting of the Provincial Theistic Conference convened by the Prarthana Samaj, Mr. K. Natarajan said that he had a particular reason for accepting the invitation to take part in the Conference. Millions of people all over the world are starving for want of food. But more millions and many of them with more food than they can digest, are perishing of spiritual starvation. Religion has been progressively ousted from nearly every sphere of life. Business, education, art, politics, all claimed to lead a life uninfluenced by religion. The sphere left to religion has narrowed to occasional prayer-meetings in support of business enterprise, artistic success, educational prosperity and political and even armed conflicts. The result is the welter of violence in which the world is plunged. Therefore, the calling together men of faith to expound the basic principles of religion, is a public service for which we are indebted to the Prarthana Samaj. The tragedy is that religions which should be a harmonising influence have themselves become instruments of discord. The hand of every religion is against the throat of every other.

The Brahmo and the Prarthana Samajas offer the only platform on which men of different religions can meet and take counsel with each other in a friendly spirit. In point of numbers, no doubt, they are much behind the other religions. But great movements have often sprung from small beginnings. The little leaven leavens the lump. Mr. Natarajan went on to define what he meant by religion. Religion to him was a mental attitude and not dogmas and doctrines. It was the attitude of reverence towards all things. Some of the great religions of the world, notably Buddhism and Jainism, did not postulate the existence of God. The Sankhya, the most important system of Hindu philosophy next to the Vedanta, has no room for God, and yet in the Bhagavad Gita, Kapila, the founder of Sankhya, is mentioned as the highest of perfected ones—*Siddhanam Kapilo Munih*. The definition of religion must, therefore, be extended so as to include non-theists, also. The test of spirituality is the attitude of reverent and fearless approach to Truth wherever it may lead.

We can follow each one his own profession—the writer may write, the merchant may buy and sell, the politician may conduct his propaganda for power—all in a religious spirit if we always bear in mind that we are a small fraction of an infinite whole and that our activities must harmonise with the whole and not run counter to it. Religion in the speaker's view must pervade every sphere of life. In other words, it must be totalitarian or it is no religion. This attitude of mind is difficult and at the same time simple if we look at it from the right angle. The Universal and the particular are mingled in each one of us.

When two men at the first meeting are drawn to each other and remain friends all their lives, the explanation is that they have sensed the universal in each other past their external and acquired habits of mind and action, their outward personality. Similarly when a man and woman feel an affinity for each other which is not weakened by age or infirmity, it is due to the two having grasped the essence of each other, the universal which unites, beyond the particular which divides. The search for the universal, there-

fore, is what elevates and ennobles humanity and furnishes a sure foundation for the Peace and Goodwill among men which has been the quest of prophets through the ages. No lesson needs to be emphasised more at present than this which is the central message of the Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj as we call it in this part of the country.

CHRISTIANS IN THE INDIAN ENVIRONMENT—III.

(BY JOHN BARNABAS, LUCKNOW.)

It is well for us to realize that our community is hopelessly divided. It has been our misfortune that we have been too individualistic to accept any leadership. The strength of the Muslim League and also of the Rightist Congress lies in their whole-hearted allegiance to a leader. While individualism is healthy, it is dangerous when it takes the shape of anarchy. Every member of my community is a self-satisfied, complacent individual. We, however, forget that no community, no Nation can progress without unity and the will to follow a leader. It is a notorious fact that our community is full of petty jealousies. I am not advocating a lickspittle attitude to any one leader. I plead for the necessity of good team-work and necessary obedience to one's comrades. It is a peculiar fact that the Indian Christian Association has had Nationalist Presidents and very progressive national Executives. They have passed progressive resolutions, which if sent to be ratified by Provincial and Local Associations will never be accepted. That is the tragedy of our community. Is it not a shameful fact that when the great K. T. Paul fought against the Communal Award, Indian Christians cabled to London disclaiming him as their leader? Do you know what a highly placed political leader of the Liberal school said to an Indian Christian in private conversation. This is what he said: "I cannot understand the mentality of your community when I see that 11 candidates stand for the election to the U. P. Legislature against a man like Sir Maharaj Singh. If he was in the general constituency I would have raised both my hands for him." We need unity, we need to accept and follow some leader. That way lies our progress.

I appeal to you, young men and women, for heaven's sake, shake off the smug complacency into which you have been thrust by force of circumstances. Realize the fact that knowledge is unlimited and experience is rich. Pursue that knowledge, and drink from the wells of experience and will to beat a new path for the community.

Sixth:—Our religion is over-institutionalised. Not only that, our Church is not our own. It is a travesty of truth to term it "Indian Church" as some fondly do. What we need is a truly Indian Church. The Church of today is a mere replica of the Church in the West. It is not indigenous. We need to have our own architecture, our own forms of worship, our own music, our own mode of priesthood.

The second main trouble with the Church in India is that it is not free from the State. As long as the Church is wedded to the State it is running a sack race, at best a three-legged race. It is handicapped in its mission. What we need is a Church of the people, unbridled by the State, and unhampered by dogmatism and unnecessary ritualism. For want of time I shall not develop the theme.

What then shall we do? Jesus of Nazareth trusted Himself into the hands of His Western disciples. But in the eyes of India they were found wanting. He now beckons to Indian Christians to depict Him better. We have for too long clothed the Nazarene

in Western garb and interpreted Him in language that India does not understand. It is now up to us to re-interpret that same Jesus. We have to show that Jesus came to enrich personality, not only individual but national personality. We must show that His religion touches every aspect of life. We have for too long tried to save the individual soul and placed him in an unsaved environment. India still needs the social gospel of Jesus. She wants Christ. But she is sick of Christianity.

If we want to appropriate Jesus to ourselves and then present a new Christ to India untrammelled by old traditions of the West, we must free ourselves from the shackles that bind us hand and foot. As long as we live in the present environment surcharged by alien influence and domination, we cannot give Christ a chance to have his own way.

The two foreign influences I have till now traced are the British Government and the Foreign Missions. I am not blind to the good both of them have done to the Indian Christians. They have given us Schools, Colleges, Hospitals, employment and religion. We have everything we need but we are in danger of losing our soul. As Roland Allen has well pointed out, "The Missionary has desired to help the people to whom he was sent. He has been anxious to do something for them. And he has done much. In fact he has done everything. He has taught them, baptized them, shepherded them. He has managed their funds, ordered their services, built their Churches, provided their teachers. He has nursed them, fed them, doctored them. He has done everything *for* them, but very little *with* them. He has treated them as dear children, but not as brethren." Such a course of action may get results, but it is not the educational method. We learn by doing things for ourselves, and not by having others do things for us. Encouraging dependence is not the way to train for independence.

And so I say to the *organized missions* of the West in all humility and with no illwill. "We are indeed thankful to you for having led us in the journey till now. But now give us a chance to re-understand the message of the Gospel for ourselves. Let us present the gospel to India after our own indigenous fashion. Let us fashion our own forms of worship, our own modes of living, our own pattern of thinking. We will solve the problem of Church Union in our own way. Only give us a chance. You have commercialized religion. You have compromised with Imperialism. You have winked at exploitation and social injustice. Let us make amends for your un-intentioned mistakes." If the Indian Christians are to rise to their full stature, the organized missions must withdraw from India. Do not be alarmed and say that that will ring the death-knell of Christianity in India. No, my friends, Christ can work through Indian Christians also. Only give the oriental Christ a chance to work.

True it is that, if the missions withdraw, the Christian community will suffer immediately. There will be unemployment. But it will be well for the Christian community to be shaken up from its slumber and sense of security. It will be a testing time for many of us. Large numbers will go back to their original religions. Only the strong who have abiding faith in Christ will remain round Him. As Gandhiji said recently, "All that are born do not live. The elimination of the weak only leaves the strong in a stronger position." Out of this remnant a new group of followers will rise.

The community will then be thrown upon indigenous resources and will learn to stand firm on Indian soil, will get rooted in the Indian soil. From a competitive method we will move to the

more healthy co-operative method of living. We will learn to regard non-Christians too as fellow countrymen. We will sink or float with the Indian nation.

Some of you will say, "Look what happened to us during the 27 months of Congress regime." I have already answered that fear. Trust begets trust. Throw in your lot with the rest of India and you will cease to be regarded as an alien on your own soil.

After all, how long can you hold out? Even speaking from the point of view of expediency you have nothing to gain by being traitors to the national cause. With you or without you India will reach her goal. There are some who advocate Christian Colonies, Christian University, Christian Industries. He who imagines that economic problems can be solved on communal lines, sees not beyond his nose. Remember, my friends, that the lot of the Christian teacher is linked up with the lot of the non-Christian teacher, that of the preacher with the priest and mulla. The Christian labourer works under the same handicaps as the non-Christian. The Christian peasant basks under the same sun and tills the same land as the non-Christian kisan. In the last analysis the clash of interests will out-live the clash of religions.

It is the business of the State to provide you with employment, not that of the community. You will then demand food and shelter from the State not as a Christian but by virtue of your being a worthy citizen. The present policy of the Christian community under the influence of a foreign leadership is shortsighted. It is neither politically expedient nor morally justifiable.

The Indian Christian must seek avenues of employment in future in which he can work in co-operation with the non-Christian. He has still a vast field in national re-construction. He must enter every conceivable profession and vitalise it by his Christian zeal for honesty, efficiency and strength of purpose. But we must remember that we should cease to regard jobs as baits to catch converts. Social work for the sake of social work, healing for the sake of healing, teaching for the sake of teaching. The Christian has a place in politics. By his unselfishness and broadmindedness he can still help in solving the communal tangle. He has to refuse communal representation and trust himself to be represented by the best man. He has to think less of his rights and more of duties. He has to make amends for his past. He must prove that his interests are not trans-Indian. He must gain the confidence and trust of his non-Christian neighbour. We must cease to think of ourselves as a separate warring community. The development of the community idea is unworthy of Christian example. The social way and not the community way is the way of progress.

In this tremendous task, the Student Christian Movement has a great part to play. I know of no better organization than this to give a re-birth to the Christian community. For here you meet as students, and have no denominational qualms. You are the real community of the future. The future lies in your hands. But, sad to say, that this great organization is today wasting its energies in so-called spiritual exercises. You too are made victims by dividing the spiritual from the temporal. You are kept busy in singing songs, repeating empty prayers. Religion is certainly being used to lull you to sleep and keep you inactive. Remember again that this movement too has accepted every detail from the Western Student Christian Movement. You have borrowed their aims and objects, you have accepted their declaration of faith. You have never taken the trouble to develop an indigenous Student Christian Movement. Today it is

controlled by Christian colleges and they in their turn are controlled by foreign missions and missionaries. Your leaders believe in being Catholic in Rome and Turk in Turkey. You have the responsibility upon your shoulders of Indianising the S. C. M. in all its detail, of nationalising Christians, of orientalising Christianity, of giving birth to a new redeemed Christian community. Make up your minds to face risks, to brave opposition. As long as you desire to play safe you can achieve nothing in your life. Think calmly, study deeply and come to your own conclusions. Do not sit on the fence. Once you are convinced of a thing, dare to work for your faith and if you forge, ahead armed with sincerity of purpose, passion for service and purity of motive, you will get the strength to roll off mountains. Will you try it?

CHINA AND INDIA.*

Speaking before the public meeting of the citizens of Rangoon held at the City Hall at 6 p. m. on Thursday the 2nd October under the Presidentship of U. Thin Maung, M. H. B., the Lord Mayor of Rangoon, on the occasion of the 73rd Birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. William Tseng, Secretary General, Burma-China Cultural Association, said:

"It is really heartening to learn that innumerable meetings are being held in several parts of the world to celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's seventy-third birthday. The astounding obedience with which the Indians are following him, the high respect that is shown to him by the peoples of various countries, the implicit faith in his leadership entertained by the Indians are clear proofs of his popularity as the most outstanding leader of India.

"His name is so widely well-known in China that even a layman will not hesitate to acclaim him as the greatest leader of India. In him are to be found all the great human qualities—characteristics of a Saint and Philosopher,—simplicity, selflessness, fellow-feeling, an utter disregard for wealth and a national outlook which is not of a parochial nature but of a broad and highly universal kind. These are the qualities that make a leader loved by the people; yet these are the very essentials that we find so lacking in our present-day world.

"Ladies and Gentlemen! China and India are so closely related to each other that we are sister nations with the same trend of thought and civilization. Long before the present civilized countries had seen the dawn of civilization, the learned scholars of both the Nations had stepped into each other's lands, with a view to intermingling the cultures of the two great countries. Throughout the ages both these Nations have been looking with brotherly eyes at the progress and welfare of the other, and at times had even rendered material assistance. The Indian Medical Mission to China sent by the Indian National Congress has not only elevated the morale of the Chinese people but also broadcast to the entire world the cause for which China is fighting against the wanton aggression of the Japanese militarists.

"Friends! China and India are one in many respects. Both are peaceful Nations with no political aggrandising ambitions. Both are the inheritors of a great civilization which is second to none in this world. I believe, so do our Indian friends, that there will be growing co-operation between the two great countries, better and closer understanding and complete sympathy with each other's endeavours and aspirations.

"Once again, on behalf of China, I pray for Mahatma Gandhi's long life and wish him a happy and healthy future. Thank you."

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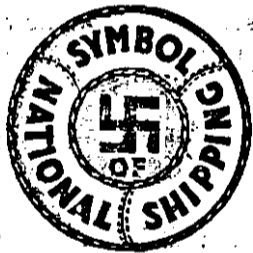
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Vol. LII, BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 8, 1941. No. 10.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Indo-Burma Agreement.
Government Neutrality.
Indians at Home and Abroad.
Air Raid Shelters and
Aeroplanes.
Talking-Points on India.
Reuter's Agency.
America and Her Neighbours.
India and the Atlantic Charter.

Persecution and Caste Hindus.
Democracy and War.
The Indo-Ceylon Agreement.
The Atlantic Charter and India.
Is it to be a War of Religions?
Satyagraha, Constructive Pro-
gramme and the Congress.
The Jaiprakash Letters.
America—North and South.

NOTES.

Indo-Burma Agreement:—The long-expected debate on the Indo-Burma Agreement in the Indian Legislative Assembly came off on Tuesday. On Monday the Burma Premier who is in London, told the United Press representative that the reputation of the Government of India would be very much damaged if the Agreement was to be modified in any way in view of the fact that it had been ratified already by the Indian Government and also by the Burma Government. He added that, if any alterations were made at the instance of the Indian Government, other alterations would have to be made at the instance of the Burma Government. The Hon. Mr. Aney, the new Member in charge of the Department of Indians Overseas, did not contest U Saw's claim that the Government of India had already ratified the Agreement. He tacitly admitted it when, as the Government spokesman, he announced that the official members will stand aside and let the resolution moved by Sir A. H. Guzhnavi be decided by the votes exclusively of non-official members. But Mr. G. S. Bozman who was associated with Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai as Adviser, told the Assembly that it was made clear by the Indian Delegation that the Government of India would not sign an Agreement in Rangoon, and that Sir Girja Shankar had said that he must consult the Standing Emigration Committee before Government came to a decision. After the consultation with the Standing Committee which raised no objections, the Government of India issued a notification prohibiting the emigration to Burma of Indian unskilled labour as stipulated in the Agreement. U Saw has, therefore, some justification for his view that the Government of India had ratified the Agreement and he was speaking with authority when he said that the Burma Government had ratified it. The resolution as adopted laid stress on the violation of the pledges given in Parliament of safeguarding

the rights of Indians in separated Burma and requested the Secretary of State for India who is also Secretary of State for Burma, not to implement the Agreement through an Order in Council until it was modified in the light of criticisms from the Indian side. U Saw has been pressing in London for the Order in Council to be immediately issued. U Saw knows as well as any one else that in a conflict with India, particularly at this juncture, Burma has little chance of having it all her own way.

Government Neutrality:—The Government of India's attitude in the Assembly was far from edifying. The official benches remained neutral which meant that the Government did not share the view that the pledges given in Parliament had been violated. Lord Linlithgow who took a leading part in the Joint Parliamentary Committee and in the House of Lords in the discussions on the Burma Act, surely knows that the pledges were given and that they were not observed in the Agreement. But did the pledges receive statutory ratification in the Burma Act? The Government of India's legal advisers were of opinion that they did not. Sir Girja Shankar was bound by that opinion and, when he told the Burma Indians so, they got into a panic and were insistent on having an agreement on any terms. The European group for almost the first time in the annals of the Indian Legislature was divided. Mr. Chapman Mortimer, the leader of the group, voted against the resolution in deference to a majority vote on the question the previous day, although he personally seems to have endorsed it on Sunday. Mr. Mortimer evidently regarded himself as the delegate of his group bound to vote as it directed, a narrow view of the responsibilities of a member of an Empire Legislature. Mr. Mortimer's assumption that any agreement was better than no agreement does not hold true even of Europe where agreements are made only to be broken. Sir Frederick James, on the larger view, supported the resolution on the ground that by opposing it he would be serving neither the interests of India nor those of his own community. Sir Frederick deserves a word of praise for his chivalrous defence of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai who is on his way to take up his duties as High Commissioner for India in

the U. S. A. Some of the references to him by Indian members in the Assembly were in the worst of taste and was utterly unjustified. The so-called *ad hoc* Committee of Indians in Rangoon were desperately anxious to have some settlement while the negotiations were going on. When they found the strength of the opposition in India they completely changed their tone and tried to make out that they had been misled by Sir Girja Shankar.

Indians at Home and Abroad:—The Hon. Mr. Aney in speaking for Government on the Indo-Burma resolution, said that, whatever their differences with political parties in other matters, both were agreed in championing and guarding the interests of Indians abroad. Why then did he—the Hon. Member instruct the Government members to remain neutral in the division? The question of Indians overseas is not a political question. It is a national issue and it is the duty of every Government to protect the interests of its nationals abroad so long as they have not been accorded full rights of citizenship in other countries and become nationals of those countries. When this has happened and not till then, can the Government of the country of origin relinquish its duty to protect its subjects in other lands. But the enfranchisement of Indians in other lands is closely bound up with their enfranchisement in their own country. Otherwise, the retort that Indians are demanding in other countries rights which they do not possess in their own, cannot be met. To take an instance. When the Government of India agreed to send indentured labourers to South Africa from India it was under the distinct pledge that the Indians after the expiry of their indentures will be accorded full citizenship. This pledge was made by the Imperial Government. But it was not kept. And it was not kept because Indians in their own country had not the full rights of citizenship as understood in the Dominions. Field Marshal Smuts' gibe that Indians in South Africa were happier than Indians in the home country, should not be forgotten. Protection of the status of Indians is an easy matter because Indians overseas have no status worth mentioning. The position of Indians overseas can never be higher than that in their own country. Differences with political parties in India have, therefore, a very vital bearing on the position of Indians abroad. This comes home at every step the day that one sets out on foreign travel. It is, therefore, vain to lay the flattering unction to our souls that political differences at home do not affect our political status abroad. Prime Minister U Saw, notwithstanding that Burma is as yet a dependency like India, speaks with more authority than Mr. Aney as member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. U Saw will take precedence of Mr. Aney in Great Britain and in every other part of the British Empire and in foreign countries.

Air Raid Shelters and Aeroplanes:—By a curious coincidence, the newspapers on Wednesday

morning reported a speech delivered by Sir Victor Sassoon on "The Principle of Preparedness" at the Bombay Rotary Club, and also Sir Gurunath Bewoor's announcement in the Central Assembly that India's air force which the Commander-in-Chief had announced in May was to be expanded from one squadron to four, was now to be increased to ten squadrons. Sir Victor denounced the failure of the Government to provide adequate shelters, etc., against a German attack or a Japanese one. It would seem that the main purpose of his speech was to suggest the removal of some of our industries to places of greater security, though he confined it tentatively to war industries. This has been in Sir Victor's mind for some years. When he left India for China, he gave an interview in which he stated that political agitation and labour strikes were ruining industry in Bombay. When the Japanese trouble broke out and China became not only bad for industry but unsafe, Sir Victor has come back to Bombay and has kindly undertaken to instruct home-staying Indians on their duty to their country. If "some at least of our war industries" are shifted, the rest can follow suit. Sir Victor's charge against Government of failure to prepare for attack, is something which has been said before but to no avail. Apparently Government is unconvinced of the utility of the measures adopted in other countries or is certain of there being no attack on India. We should believe it was the latter. Military experts whose opinions now rule in India, have pitched our frontiers in Singapore, Egypt, Iraq, Iran and the Caucasus. They have no time to think of preparing for defensive war in India itself. With an outsize in frontiers, one must naturally expect an increase in the air force and the ideal of ten squadrons must be regarded as a grudging concession to the exigencies of war. It is creditable that with an air force of less than four squadrons, India holds her frontiers several hundred miles from her own territories. What will she not do with ten? Sir Gurunath drew attention to a much more satisfactory feature of the air force when he said that it was entirely Indian with a few British instructors temporarily attached to it. If some of the funds collected for squadrons for Britain were earmarked for expansion in India, there would be no need to appear periodically before the Assembly with reports of inch-by-inch progress in army expansion. If the danger is nearing India as alarmists say, should not the public agitate for some money to spend in preparing this country? Australia, long before she was threatened, stopped all despatch of war collections outside the country. Sir Victor apparently does not seem to think it necessary to ask for more than an adequate supply of comfortable holes in the ground into which people might creep.

Talking-Points on India:—The disclosure in the Assembly that the notorious talking-points on India were the handiwork of a subordinate official in the British Ministry of Information and that

no responsible person wishes to claim the credit for them, is as gratifying as it is startling. It is gratifying that the points are abandoned by everybody. It is startling to think that on a subject like India where there is so much difference between the British and American viewpoint, the work of presenting Britain's case should have been left to an unnamed petty official. The point was made that the talking points were only in operation for 15 days in February. The question is not whether they were in operation for ten days or fifteen but how many persons used them and whether, after being "withdrawn," they are still being "unofficially" used as the skeleton for speeches by British propagandists in America.

Reuter's Agency:—There has been a controversy in Britain and India regarding a recent change in the ownership of Reuter's Agency on which India depends almost wholly for its daily supply of foreign news. The new management has assured India that there would be no want of consideration for the requirements of the Indian public in its news service. It may or may not be due to the changed management but a distinct and wholesome change from the public point of view has been noticeable in Reuter's messages relating particularly to movements in the United States. Reuter's messages until a few weeks ago were solely and exclusively coloured by the views of the New York Press and political circles. There was not a word allowed to come over that might disclose the existence of opposition to the Roosevelt policy. Latterly there has been a breach in this cloud of silence, the latest being Lord Halifax's being pelted with rotten eggs by members of the League of Mothers who are strongly opposed to their country entering the war. In the absence of all information about the opposition to the Roosevelt policy, the President's frequent "fireside talks" appeared to be without purpose.

America and Her Neighbours:—We publish this week an article sent to us by the *No Frontier News Service* which deal with the problems confronting the United States in her relations with South American republics. Mr. Lewis Corey writing in the *Nation* of January 4 suggested immediate steps to consolidate the two Americas. His main indictment of past policies rested on the "economic imperialism" of the U. S. A. He defined imperialism in the economic sphere as the exploitation

of backward countries, making them disastrously dependent on the movements of world markets and depriving them of economic independence. It overdevelops their production of foodstuffs and minerals for export. As a result they find themselves with a lopsided economy which rests on one or two crops or minerals...Imperialism discourages industrialisation in the countries it controls...It invests its capital primarily in the extractive industries and in transportation and public utilities that produce services not goods...A non-industrial country which produces raw materials and imports manufactures, cannot resist imperialist penetration. Strategic industries come under foreign control and are used to

promote imperialist profits, not local production and consumption.

Mr. R. Santoris approaches the problem from another angle. He asks for better understanding of the South American mind by the North Americans, the elimination of condescension. These are timely reminders of the fact that the U. S. A. is not altogether in a position to throw stones at other nations. It is more than probable that the two chief negotiators of the Atlantic Charter agreed to reserve certain areas as exempt from the operation of the high-sounding principles of that document. In that event the *quid pro quo* for India would be South America.

India and the Atlantic Charter:—In a statement issued under the aegis of the Sapru Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur laboriously argued for an application of the Atlantic Charter to India. We do not think any useful, or for that matter even ornamental, purpose would be served by Mr. Churchill now coming out with a statement extending the Atlantic Charter to India. As for the Charter itself, it cannot be held inapplicable to India without also excluding several other areas and many subjects promised to be considered in the post-war peace-making. A document which limits the beneficiaries to two, is bound to find the disinherited banded together in a fellowship of the snubbed. If the Atlantic Charter does not apply to India, so much the worse for the Charter.

Persecution and Caste Hindus:—A valued friend writes on the subject of the isolation of the Christian community, "It is the experience of other countries as well that pressure came from the Christian side rather than from the non-Christian to separate Christians from those of other faiths. Gibbon's pages on Christianity give ample evidence of this. So does the evidence of China in the days of the Christian drive in that country. There is, however, this difference: In the ancient Roman Empire the pagans were the controllers of the state; in China the non-Christians were supported by a Government, menaced no doubt by the more powerful "Christian Powers" behind the missionary, but nevertheless with a certain political power; whilst the missionary in India, after the first objections of the East India Company were removed, has been in alliance with the State. And to talk of persecution by the non-Christians in these circumstances is to pervert facts. No useful purpose is served by raking up the past but when our Christian countrymen following their missionary leaders trace their self-acquired isolation to caste Hindu intolerance, they should give some concrete instances of persecution with all the facts of the case instead of the present vague and general accusation. Gibbon asserting that exaggeration of martyrdom was not uncommon, says: 'Christians have inflicted in the course of their internal dissensions far greater severities on each other than they have experienced from the zeal of infidels.'"

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 8, 1941.

DEMOCRACY AND WAR.

In the *Political Science Quarterly* for September under the heading "The British Cabinet, the House of Commons and the War," Herman Finer, author of "The Theory and Practice of Modern Government" analyses the working of the Cabinet system and the House of Commons since the declaration of war on September 3, 1939 and their changes in organization and spirit under its impact. He concludes that Democracy has stood the test successfully. Here, he says,

is an exercise in democracy; and its result, I think, gives the lie to those who pretend to fear that war must defeat democracy because either it can not rise to the necessary discipline or, if it does, it falls beneath the fatal weight of its own machinery. The record, I think, shows that men of conviction and resolution to live free lives can always be masters of their political system, and that new forms of organization are merely the vehicles of a more ardent spirit of criticism, reason and political originality in Parliament, the Executive and their matrix, the people.

As the war is not yet over, as well as for other reasons, this judgment must be taken to be tentative. Its optimism is in sharp contrast to more recent estimates in the British Press. Finer testifies on the strength of some notable instances that the House of Commons has acted worthily in the midst of great difficulties. He mentions the supersession of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the repudiation of Mr. Duff-Cooper's advertisement to form Silent Columns of citizens to restrain the spread of alarm and despondency, by the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, and some other instances to show that the House of Commons has operated through its regular procedure of debate on adjournments, financial legislation, ordinary legislation and questions, to keep the Cabinet up to the mark. But his own account shows with what great difficulty and dilatoriness the parliamentary machine operates. For instance, discontent with the Baldwin Government was deep but it was impotent to affect Baldwin's policy and methods until he retired of his own choice leaving Mr. Neville Chamberlain to continue them. Mr. Neville Chamberlain himself was able to retain power though there was much dissatisfaction with his policy, until the failure of the Norwegian expedition made his position untenable. His successor, Mr. Winston Churchill, was at least as much responsible as Chief of the Admiralty for that failure as the Prime Minister. Today there is considerable dissatisfaction in Britain with Mr. Churchill's Indian policy and with the tardy and inadequate support given to the Soviet Government in the struggle against the overwhelming military might of the Nazis. Even the temporary collapse of Russia, if that happens as seems likely, may lead to the overthrow of the Churchill Cabinet, but irreparable

damage would have been done. Finer's own narrative shows that the House of Commons is at best a clumsy and creaky machine and it responds to emergencies too late for effective preventive action.

Recently Captain Ramsay, M. P. for Peebles, brought a suit for libel against the London correspondent of the *New York Times* in a London Court and was awarded a farthing's damages. The proceedings brought out the fact that the man was a complete fool who had managed to get elected by family influence for a constituency. He came of the right sort of family, comments the *Economist*; he married a daughter of the peerage and the widow of a very rich man; he went to the right school and joined the right regiment. But for these advantages the *Economist* is sure that no political association would have thought of supporting his candidature. The *Economist* observes that he is not an exception. It writes:

It is common knowledge that the intellectual level of the House of Commons has been, since 1931, deplorably low. These tenth-rate nonentities who have been jobbed into the House of Commons because they were men of the 'right type' provided just the background that the Front Bench required for the calamitous foreign policy and for its blindness to the danger in which the country stood. The historian will put high on the list of those responsible for the present troubles the wire-pullers who chose a House of Commons with infinitely less sense of duty than a selection committee would feel in choosing an English fifteen for Twickenham.

The *Economist* dates the deterioration of the calibre of the members of the House of Commons from 1931. The Government of India Act which India has been adjured to look upon as the quintessence of the wisdom of the Mother of Parliaments, was passed in 1935. Herman Finer who is so appreciative of the work of the House of Commons, expresses far from eulogistic opinions of the Cabinet Ministers who held office during the decennium. Of Lord Baldwin, he says, he was pacific owing to biological lethargy. Of Mr. Neville Chamberlain who succeeded him as Prime Minister, Finer writes "his political character was a compact of cosmic ignorance and provincial romanticism." Of the colleagues whom Lord Baldwin and Mr. Neville Chamberlain chose, here are some of Finer's estimates. Lord Baldwin's choice of Sir Thomas Inskip as Minister of Co-ordination of Defence, provoked a wag to comment that there had been no more surprising appointment since the Emperor Caligula had appointed his horse to be a consul. India has a special interest in two of the men who were Cabinet Ministers under Lord Baldwin and Mr. Neville Chamberlain. Finer describes Sir John Simon as a "very eminent lawyer" but "a man of unsuccessful political judgment, though a brilliant political advocate when the arguments are presented to him, whatever they are, and for whatever purpose." Sir Samuel Hoare had exhausted all his talents in producing the Government of India Act of 1935, hailed by his admirers in Britain

and India as a masterpiece, though it has collapsed like a pricked bubble within three years of its operation. Sir Samuel has consistently failed in all the offices to which he was subsequently called. Finer describes him as "cherubic" and adds that "he had failed in his waltz with Mussolini and Laval, and that it was freely said when he became Secretary for Air in the Chamberlain Cabinet that a much earlier tenure of the same office had been a failure." Democracies can not frame policies, it has been said, they can only choose the right men to formulate policies and guide the administration. By this test, the British democracy during the last ten years, according to the testimony of Finer himself, has been a failure. Finer is a great admirer of Mr. Winston Churchill and regards his dramatic rise to power from the wilderness into which he had been forced for several years, as a notable success for British democracy. The circumstances in which Mr. Churchill found himself at the head of a British Government, recalls Cobden's observations regarding Lord Palmerston when he became Prime Minister. After referring to the difference between the attitude of Party Chiefs and that of the mass of politicians to the continuation of the Crimean war, Cobden said :

I do not, of course, include Lord Palmerston among the number of leaders, for it is a notorious fact that he never possessed the confidence of a dozen members of the House, and was, therefore, the head of no party. It is only because all the Parliamentary chiefs shrank from the responsibility of continuing the war that he has been enabled to seize the reins. All men of the age of seventy-two, with unsatisfied ambitions are desperadoes...Had it not been for the war, the present ministry could never have been in power, and it will not last two months after the return of peace.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastry has expressed apprehensions regarding the place of India in the peace settlement in the belief that Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. L. Amery will be the British statesmen who will continue to guide the destinies of the Empire. It is almost an axiom in British political history that a war ministry seldom survives the war, Lloyd George's example is the latest illustration of its truth. Cobden's forecast of the Palmerston Ministry came true. Two years later Palmerston was defeated on a motion by Cobden. The saying that History repeats itself may not be generally true of other nations but it is seldom falsified in British politics which moves in a fixed orbit and is impervious to new ideas. Parliament is a game of politics based on the rules of the national British game of cricket. There must be two elevens in cricket—one throwing the ball, the other warding it off the wicket. In the same way, there must be two parties in Parliament the one opposing the other on the principle that it is the function of the Opposition to oppose. If the two teams in cricket coalesced except at the lunch interval, the game would collapse. So when the Government and Opposition coalesce as at present, British politics is bound to become what the *Economist* describes the House of

Commons to have become. Finer observes :

When the Labour and Liberal Parties joined the Government a real opposition ceased to exist. It is true that the Right Hon. H. H. Lees-Smith was made Leader of the Opposition—but so artificial was the status that the salary of the post was suspended..... He and his friends are really part of the Government.

THE INDO-CEYLON AGREEMENT.

The Indo-Burma Agreement was criticised even more for the composition and methods of the Indian delegation than for its contents. It was urged that the Indian delegation to Ceylon on a like errand should have non-officials associated with the official Leader. Government recognised the force of this suggestion and nominated Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry and, Sir Mirza Ismail—two better men could not have been selected—to the delegation, with the Hon. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, the Member in charge of the portfolio of Indians Overseas, now a separate Department in charge of Mr. M. S. Aney, as leader. After nearly three weeks negotiation with the Ceylon delegation during which it almost broke down owing to acute differences, the terms of a settlement were agreed to and they have been published. As the Delegation was intended to do only exploratory work, these terms are now under consideration by the two Governments. Strange as it may seem, Ceylon Indian criticisms of this agreement are even stronger than those of the Indo-Burma Agreement. The Indo-Ceylon agreement is even denounced by some Ceylon Indians as being worse than the Indo-Burma Agreement. If that be true, the addition of non-official Indians to the delegation has not had the effect expected of it. This, however, is hardly likely and for our part we are inclined to think that the critics have not taken into account or are ignoring some essential factors which were present to the minds of the Indian delegation and influenced their judgment. One of these might well have been the absence of the racial animus which dictated the interpolation of the odious marriage and "cohabitation" clause in the Indo-Burma Agreement. The agitation against that Agreement has been almost entirely conducted with reference to its effects on business and this clause if not entirely ignored has been accorded a minor and perfunctory place in the representations against it. The absence of such a clause in the Indo-Ceylon Agreement, shows that there is no racial animus in the approach to the problem of Indian immigration on the part of the Government and the people of Ceylon. On the contrary, there seems to be a sincere desire to encourage assimilation and to promote the evolution of a single Ceylonese nationality. While the Burma Agreement made marriages between Indians and Burmese null and void unless contracted with the approval of a Cabinet Minister, and made the Indian liable to be

deprived of his permit if he "cohabited" with a Burmese woman, the Ceylon Agreement accords the domicile of birth to children born of parents both or either of whom was born in Ceylon. This, in our opinion, is a distinction between the attitude of the Burma and Ceylon Governments which radically differentiates the background of the relations between India and her two neighbours. Racially and culturally as well as geographically, Ceylon stands closer to India than Burma which, as we have repeatedly observed, has just cause for distrusting Indians owing to the part the latter have played in depriving her of her independence.

In discussing Indo-Ceylonese relations, the opinion of the solid and prosperous Tamil population of Jaffna must be given special weight. The Jaffna Tamils have been established long before the Sinhalese settled in Ceylon and form a strong link between India and Ceylon. To this community belongs the credit of producing the only Ceylonese of international reputation, Ananda Coomaraswamy. The Jaffna Tamils have observed silence in regard to the Indo-Ceylon dispute hitherto. Now their organ, the *Hindu Organ*, has expressed what is no doubt the judgment of Jaffna Hindus on the terms of the present agreement. The point of view of the Jaffna Tamils is somewhat different from that of the Indians in Colombo. While the Jaffna people are indigenous, the latter largely look on India as their motherland. The *Hindu Organ* commenting on the Agreement, observes that the people of Ceylon without distinction of race desire to restrict immigration from India.

"The desire is perfectly natural and desirable," it continues. "In no country would the permanent population like to allow itself to be swamped by immigrants who are not permanent settlers. It is, therefore, satisfactory to note that the Indian delegates have accepted the principle of restriction in regard to immigration of Indians into Ceylon. The requirements of agriculture in backward areas are met, to a great extent, by the provisions in regard to re-entry into Ceylon of former Indian labourers."

The *Hindu Organ* expresses surprise that the Indian Delegation should have agreed to the recommendation about franchise. Indians resident in Ceylon prior to the date when the Immigration Ordinance comes into force, are entitled to registration as possessing a domicile of choice in Ceylon, "on production to the Registering officer of proof that the person to be registered has satisfied a Court that, after having had five years residence in Ceylon, he has acquired a domicile of choice in Ceylon according to the rules of English law regarding the acquisition of a domicile of choice." The *Hindu Organ* rightly remarks that the ignorant Indian labourers will find it almost impossible to take advantage of the permission given to satisfy a court as to their domicile of choice. The Jaffna journal does not notice that this practical impossibility vitiates its belief that the requirements of agriculture in backward areas are met by the right given to former Indian labourers of re-entry into Ceylon. Since Indians themselves

find it profitable to emigrate to Ceylon, adds the *Hindu Organ*, some compromise was called for and this is what the two delegations have tried to achieve. Emigration is always from a country from a lower to one with a higher economic standard of life. This is no special feature of Indian emigration to Ceylon. On the other hand, if the requirements of agriculture and industries are adequately met by the local population, the opportunities of immigrants will be few and immigration will automatically cease. The operation of this natural process is interfered with when employers import outside labour because it is cheaper than the local supply, and not because there is not enough supply of labour in the country itself. In such circumstances it is the obvious duty of Government to intervene in the interests of its subjects. But if there is not enough labour in a country, as is the case in Ceylon, Government intervention is detrimental to the interests of the country which imports as much as to those of the country which exports labour. If Indian labour is wanted in Ceylon, it must be treated on the same terms as the indigenous population and not as a servile class. It is the duty of the Government and people to India to protect the interests of their people who seek an honest livelihood in Ceylon by the sweat of their brows.

The Atlantic Charter and India:—The ebullient U Saw, Premier of Burma, has been quite a success in Britain. This is largely because U Saw does not raise a perpetual lament on broken pledges. If he is a skeleton in the Empire cupboard, he is a cheerful skeleton, playful at times and mischievous, but never doleful and clanking his chains. Indians have a lot to learn from the Burmese, particularly in the matter of managing our masters. Assuming that Britain has broken her pledge in the past to India innumerable times, naturally they do not like to be reminded of it in season and out of season—and the more guilty they feel the worse it would be to remind them. The secret of U Saw's success is that he takes nothing and nobody, least of all himself, seriously. Moreover, there is a natural ease into which Englishmen fall when they find that they have not to address an "outsider" as "mister". Mr. Amery apparently was reduced to innocuity by the Burmese Premier's skilful use of these initial advantages. At a function in honour of U. Saw, the Secretary of State for India and Burma spoke as we have never known him speak on any Indian subject. He was almost apologetic in his refusal to give Burma the assurances which were sought. He said that he did not want to give any pledges which it might not be possible to keep later on; that he wanted "our word to be at least as good as our bond;" and that this privilege of admission to the British Empire was one which Britain would not give lightly to "outside countries" without full consideration of their government. This is a very simple speech in words of almost one

syllable, apparently intended to reach the mind of U Saw. Mr. Amery must have grown to an even more than ordinary admiration of his own powers under the charm of the Burmese Premier. We believe that Indians should respect the timid and nervous honesty of the desire to give no pledges which cannot be kept. After all, this is a necessary condition in the war against Hitler whose chief offence is that he simply can not keep a pledge. But it is rather surprising that Mr. Amery should have spoken of his word as "at least as good as our bond." This seems a sign of general want of faith in the bond. There was an implied distinction between "word" and "bond" when Mr. Amery went on to add that he "hoped" to keep his word. Bonds rest on something more than hopes. The privilege of being in the Empire is rather over-rated by Mr. Amery who forgets that the now generally condemned Government of France was asked to join on terms of equality. Even after all this, U Saw who must have enjoyed the position, explained that he was leaving with no bitterness in his heart.

IS IT TO BE A WAR OF RELIGIONS ?

India has had the evil distinction of being a country addicted to religious strife. The idea of religious toleration was first proclaimed in this country twenty-five centuries ago and has been observed by all good rulers whatever their race or religion since. The communal conflicts of the present century in India are due to adventitious circumstances and will disappear naturally with them. Far more serious is the turn which the European War is taking. In its origin it was war to preserve the independence of small States and to make the world safe for democracy. It now threatens to be a religious war. Lord Halifax and the late Lord Lloyd were the first to describe this war as a crusade to preserve Christianity in a pamphlet issued jointly by them. This attitude was severely condemned by British writers like Mr. H. G. Wells, who pointed out that the largest part of the population of the British Empire were non-Christians and a crusade was not likely to evoke their enthusiasm. Lord Halifax seems to have indoctrinated the President of the United States with his idea of a religious war. President Franklin Roosevelt in a recent Fireside Talk—Professor Moley in his "After Seven Years" describes how these talks are composed—called the war one of the Cross against the Swastika. The *New Statesman and Nation*, which is opposed to the crusade idea, has interpreted a casual remark of U Saw, the Burmese Premier, in the course of a speech in London, to portend a war of a confederacy of Buddhist nations against Britain. U Saw tried to stimulate the interest of the British in his country by reminding them that the Japanese are clever. The *New Statesman* has read into this the menace of a Buddhist League against Britain and America. The *New Statesman*, it is clear, does not understand the profound difference between Buddhism and Christianity as religions. The central fact of Buddhism is a Great Renunciation. That of Christianity a Great Crime. The effect of this difference of origin can be traced throughout the history of the two religions. There has never been a holy war in the name of Buddhism. There have been several in the name of Christianity. Besides War, the history

of Christianity has been tainted by cruel religious and racial persecutions. There have been none such under the banner of Buddhism though there are more people professing Buddhism in the world than Christians. This does not mean that Buddhists have never engaged in war. Japan is now fighting China, both Buddhist countries of the same Mahayanist system. It means only that Buddhists have never brought their religion into a war. No Buddhist monk ever blessed the banners of an embattled host as Christian bishops have done and are doing. Christianity preaches peace and practices war. Buddhism preaches peace and practices it. Fielding in his "Soul of a People" observes in the Chapter on War :

We know what religion can do. We have seen how it can preach war and resistance and can organize that war and resistance. We know what ten thousand priests preaching in ten thousand hamlets can effect in making a people almost unconquerable, in directing their armies, in strengthening their determination. We remember la Vendee, we remember our Puritans and we have had recent experience in the Soudan. We know what Christianity has done again and again; what Judaism, what Mohammedanism, what many kinds of paganism have done.

Fielding goes on to say that though they had plenty of evidence to show that Buddhism was an abiding faith in the heart of the Burmese people, "for all the assistance it was to them in the war, the Burmese might have had no faith at all." He continues :

And the explanation is, that the teachings of the Buddha forbid war. All killing is wrong; all war is hateful. Nothing is more terrible than this destroying of your fellow man. There is absolutely no getting free of this commandment. The teaching of the Buddha is that you must strive to make your own soul perfect ...The whole spectacle of Burma in those days, with the country seething with strife and the monks going about their business calmly as ever, begging their bread from door to door, preaching of peace, not war, of kindness, not hatred, of pity, not revenge, was to most foreigners quite inexplicable. They could not understand.

Fielding who was with the Indian Army, describes how when the British first occupied Upper Burma there was hardly any opposition. "For a time the people were stupefied. They could not understand what had happened; they could not guess what was going to happen. They expected that the English would soon retire and that their own government would reorganise itself. Meanwhile they kept quiet." But when they realised that the British were determined to stay on, the whole country rose from Bhamo to Mindla from the Shan plateau to the Chin mountains.....There was no safety for an Englishman or a native of India. But Buddhism was unmoved. It went along as if nothing had happened, preaching its ancient message of peace and perfection.

There is not the least prospect of Buddhist nations joining together in a holy war as the *New Statesman* fears. U Saw, we are sure, never meant anything of the kind. China and Japan belong to the same great branch of Buddhism. Japan received Buddhism from China. Burmese Buddhism belongs to the Hinayana and came from Ceylon. The relation between the Hinayana and the Mahayana is like that of Calvinism to the Church of Rome. Whatever may happen there will be no Holy War in eastern Asia. There will be war and bitter war, and there is, but religion is too sacred to be brought into mundane strife and religion will always stand for Peace.

SATYAGRAHA; CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME AND THE CONGRESS.

In his statement, "Our Struggle," Gandhiji remarks that those who had their doubts about the utility of the Congress campaign, have had their doubts confirmed; whilst those who never had doubts, are stronger in their faith now. Such a statement is to the ordinary mind the greatest indictment of the policy pursued in the past two years by the Congress. Stripped of words, it means no less than the accentuation of dissensions in the Congress camp itself which no one, least of all of those responsible for the Congress policy, can take any pride in. The greater part of the statement deals with the integrity and moral qualities of the Congress in the two years of war; it is an obsession with the weapons to the exclusion of the task which Gandhiji had set himself when he launched on the present campaign. There is not one word in consideration of the amount of success achieved in winning freedom of speech and next to nothing about the political goal. On the vexed question of embarrassment to Government, there is a conflict between the assertion of a right withheld and the realisation of a duty not to embarrass Government. Incidentally, this is a new and unique conception in political thought that the individual must not embarrass the State. The logical conclusion should be that the Government should decide whether or not it is embarrassed. But Gandhiji retains the right to demarcate the limits of embarrassment in his own hands. This itself must naturally be a source of extreme harassment to Government. Gandhiji takes a very severe line with the "parliamentary activities" of the Congress, applying to them the word "farce" which Mr. Jaiprakash called the satyagraha movement itself. If by urging the complete abandonment of parliamentary work, Gandhiji means the giving up of the present dog-in-the-manger policy pursued in the Central Assembly of hanging on to their seats but refusing to function, we are in entire agreement with him. Gandhiji supports his satyagraha campaign by heavily leaning on his constructive programme. With more justice this could be urged for the resumption of parliamentary work. The Congress constructive programme has to be brought in to render acceptable the individual satyagraha campaign. The Congress experience of eighteen months in office has shown that the constructive programme gained by parliamentary work. Gandhiji's statement is the best argument for a reversal of Congress policy on the ground that it cannot be shown to have benefitted the country even by its chief protagonist. We are glad that Gandhiji does not argue in justification of continuing the satyagraha movement that Government has shown no sign to warrant a change of policy or any reconsideration. Gandhiji could have gone even farther. He could have said with perfect justification, as Mr. Jinnah has in effect done, that Government's every action has aggravated political difficulties, and that the release of prisoners, whether complete or selected, is at best an act of clemency which does not touch the general problem involved. Nevertheless, all that would have been irrelevant to the central question involved which is whether the country's interests are served in any way by the policies now pursued. The only direct reference Gandhiji makes to this all important question is when he says that satyagraha cannot do real harm. This might be said of those against whom it is directed but often it is regrettably incorrect with regard to those in whose interest it is supposed to be undertaken. The belief that non-violent action is good in itself, is naive in the extreme. Gandhiji himself has drawn a

distinction time and again between non-violence and non-violence which his present state of mind seems to repudiate.

THE JAIPRAKASH LETTERS.

The Government of India have issued a communique in which they counter some of the inferences drawn by the press from their disclosure of the Jaiprakash letters. It is revealed that the letters were seized on Mr. Jaiprakash Narain's person, when he tried to pass them on to his wife at an interview, after a scuffle between him and the official present. If this had been mentioned at the outset, the authenticity of the papers would not have been doubted. On the contrary, an impression was created that they were intercepted. "I came with this letter," writes Mr. Jaiprakash, "to hand it over to you but could not do so. That is why I am sending it again through the same mantell me tomorrow in the interview that you had headache last night. This will be a hint for me." As a matter of fact, the authenticity of the letters were not seriously questioned. What was discussed was the object and propriety of Government's action in releasing the letters for publication. The explanation officially given leaves no more than a hint as to the object. They have not punished Mr. Jaiprakash except by suspending his interviews for breach of camp rules and letters for two months; they have not proceeded against those who are mentioned in his letters and in his wife's case they have accepted her explanation that she is innocent of any complicity; they have not made the camp rules more strict; they have not commented on the conduct of Mr. Jaiprakash. In brief, the Government of India have taken the whole episode as part of Deoli camp life and dismissed it. Why then have they given wide publicity to the letters, not only in India but abroad as well? It is not improbable that the Government had hoped to rouse Gandhiji to withdraw the satyagraha campaign in a burst of moral revulsion against the attitude taken by a leading Congressman in these letters, as he did after the Chauri Chaura incident. However, this was a grave miscalculation and it failed because of the intrinsic difference between individual and mass satyagraha. In a mass movement, the failure of the weakest individual breaks the campaign. In individual satyagraha, those who do not keep to the mark, go out of the movement. Besides Gandhiji accepts responsibility only for those who have gone under his instructions and he has definitely said that Mr. Jaiprakash did not go to jail as a satyagrahi. As for the outside world, the publication of the letters must create an impression the reverse of what was actually intended. To one who does not know the Indian situation particularly after the war, the letters must convey the idea that subversive political activities are so strong that they penetrate prison walls. And the Government have only themselves to thank for the fact that Indian news and opinion have not been going freely out of the country. The communique is an unfortunate one. It explains nothing which was not clear before. Worse, it creates the impression that Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, brooding over a situation which has distressed many others, launched out on a desperate and utterly futile effort to break through the impasse. That he held, along with many distinguished and mediocre Congressmen and others, that the present satyagraha campaign was a farce, can only win him their sympathy, however they may deplore the immaturity of his attempted solution.

AMERICA—NORTH AND SOUTH.

(BY RAFAEL SANTORIS.)

Why are the attempts made by the United States to secure the lasting friendship of the Latin American Republics still not succeeding in placing their relationship on the right footing, in spite of the ever-increasing desire and effort in North America? Why should it be that proffered U. S. assistance is received by the Latin Americans with an outward gesture of gratitude and, in most cases, is exchanged for the desired pronouncement about hemisphere solidarity, while inwardly they have the feeling that they are swallowing an unavoidable but nonetheless unpalatable pill?

In general, and with a few exceptions, it may be said that the efforts of the United States are misdirected through a lack of understanding. The United States stands in the position of a teacher, the Latin American Republics in that of the pupils. To be a successful teacher a person must have certain qualities, lacking which his best efforts will be without avail. The greater part of the Latin American countries are very poor, and like the poor children from the slums of the great cities, they are quick to learn and quick to resent. Because of their poverty they must chase about barefooted to make a living at the same time that they are going to school to learn. To be successful among them, the teacher must show a great deal of love and understanding of their daily problems. Such a teacher must visit his pupils in their homes, for only in that way can he discover why they act in this or that manner. Poverty breeds all sorts of diseases of which the well-to-do know little; among these the inferiority complex is the worst.

The task that lies before the United States is to teach the Latin American countries and help them to live a better life out of the hitherto undeveloped plenty that surrounds them. In order to do this, the United States must abandon the condescending attitude it has all too often assumed toward the Latin Americans, for any good teacher knows that condescension is about the best way to lose the confidence of his pupils and the worst way to achieve results. Before North Americans go to the Latin American countries, therefore, they would do well to visit among their own poor for a while, living as they do and getting a taste of what their life means.

Such an experiment is illuminating, for it will bring to light the reasons why there are poor people in the world, and especially in the United States, where there is far less reason for people to be poor, having all around them the means of securing free education, good health, and work under sanitary conditions. Equipped with such knowledge, the traveller to Latin America will look at the conditions there in quite a different way. He will discover that these people are resourceful within the limits imposed upon them by their lack of education and example to do better. He will find hospitality and courtesy and kindness far in excess of what he would expect in his own country, especially when he travels away from the main thoroughfares. There he will constantly discover things he did not realize existed, even though modern cars, refrigerators and air-conditioning are wanting.

Merchants and business representatives have made mistakes aplenty by failing to consider that they are dealing under circumstances quite different from those in the U. S. A. They have expected an immediate surrender to American ways, whereas, as good businessmen, they should have known better. Customs as well as the standard of living are different in Latin

America; the attitude of the people toward politics, religion and life in general differs from United States standards. Contrasts are found everywhere which are confusing when the traveller does not observe properly in order to understand.

Travellers find themselves cheated out of little things, and on the basis of such an experience form an opinion which they would regret if they realized how little these people have to live on while usually carrying a load of relatives even poorer than themselves. And still more confusing might be the discovery that these people are willing to share their last meal with a stranger in an almost exaggerated hospitality which often deprives them of their own next meal.

During trips to isolated and remote districts such as mining camps, I have found that a supply of common medicines was far more effective than any amount of arms. When one approaches the small villages along the trail, they appear to be completely deserted. It takes some coaxing to get the people to come out, for they have had some bad experiences. So I have always made it a practice to see if there are any sick to be treated—and there always are. A few treatments will do wonders, for whereas ordinarily my money backed up by my best persuasion would procure me at most tortillas and beans, the treatment of their sick brings out eggs and cheese and whatever they have reserved for a special feast. Together with such treats on the mountain trail will come stories of every description.

There are wonderful opportunities in Latin America, but to develop them much hard work is required. The market can be enlarged only by making it possible for the people to earn more money so that they can buy more of those things which have been the greatest contribution of the United States. There is also, in all the countries, a lack of population which might well be supplied from Europe. In Latin America there is more than enough room to absorb the overcrowded population of Europe, and such a migration, if properly handled, might solve two problems at once to the greater prosperity of both. But while such a move must await a more favourable moment, the United States can, without waiting, achieve an enormous advance in its relations with its neighbours. To do it, North Americans must accept the fact that the only lasting benefit in relations with another country is one that is reciprocal. Because of their great advantage in training and technology, they can well afford to accept that fact wholeheartedly.

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INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 18, 1941. No. 11.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Mr. Jinnah and the M. P's.
Advisory Committees,
Women in Mines,
The Indo-Burma Agreement,
Special Marriage Act Amend-
ment Bill.
Mr. Subhas Bose,
Gandhiji's Lead.
America, Japan and the War.

The Press Advisory System.
Hindu and Fascist Theories of
the State.
Pallava History in Sculptures.
The Need for Constructive
Leadership.
U. S. A. and Latin America.
"Counter-Propaganda."

NOTES.

Mr. Jinnah and the M. P's:—Some days ago the New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* created a momentary stir in the political world by publishing a summary of what purported to be a letter from Mr. Jinnah to Members of Parliament. In this letter, the President of the Muslim League offered the full co-operation of his Party to the British Government, and not only of his party but also of the Indian Princes, if the League's demands were agreed to, the Congress demands rejected, Lord Linlithgow recalled, and a Labour Viceroy appointed in his place other than Mr. Wedgwood Benn whose speech in a recent debate on India did not meet with Mr. Jinnah's approval. It was recalled in connection with this document that Mr. Amery, in reply to a question in the House of Commons in February, had stated that a letter from Mr. Jinnah had been received in which he (Mr. Jinnah) urged that the demands of the Muslim League should be accepted and those of the Congress rejected. Mr. Jinnah has denied that he wrote any letter to Members of Parliament or that he had suggested that Congress should be isolated. The summary of the alleged letter by the New Delhi correspondent struck us at first reading as requiring confirmation before being accepted as authentic. The idea of Mr. Jinnah securing the co-operation of Indian Princes to his Pakistan scheme seemed too grotesquely fanciful for even an ignorant M. P. to swallow. Even all Muslim rulers would not agree to Pakistan as the price of co-operation with the British Government. Whatever else may be Mr. Jinnah's weaknesses, he is too shrewd a politician to expect anyone to take such an offer at its face value. His denial that he wrote to Members of Parliament, is, therefore, conclusive. Mr. Amery's definite statement about a letter having been received from Mr. Jinnah by himself and his colleagues in the Ministry, is not inconsistent with Mr. Jinnah's denial. The letter might have been addressed to Ministers not in

their capacity of Members of Parliament but in their capacity of members of His Majesty's Government. Whether addressed to Members of Parliament or Ministers, a letter of the kind would mark a departure from the method of political action which has come to be associated with Mr. Jinnah as President of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah has denied having suggested the isolation of the Congress. But he has not denied having required the recall of Lord Linlithgow and the appointment of a Labour Viceroy in his place. In the ordinary course of correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, as disclosed in Lord Morley's "Recollections," Mr. Amery would surely have informed Lord Linlithgow of the letter addressed to Ministers, and it speaks volumes for His Excellency's forbearance that after that he should have addressed the exceedingly conciliatory communication to Mr. Jinnah which he did through the Governor of Bombay last July. There was unintended irony in the Viceroy who, if Mr. Jinnah's wish had been carried out, would have been due to leave India, taking Mr. Jinnah into his confidence regarding the nominations His Excellency proposed to make to expand his Executive Council.

Advisory Committees:—Advisors and Advisory Committees have come into vogue of late in alarming profusion. The Standing Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature furnishes the most recent as well as the most ghastly exposure of the futility of Advisory Committees. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai appeared before it before he left for Burma to negotiate an Agreement and he appeared before it immediately on his return with the Agreement. On both occasions, the Standing Committee was stated without demur to have approved and endorsed his action, proposed as well as achieved. When the Indo-Burma Agreement was published after presentation to the Committee which, it was stated, had approved of it, the public and the Press took it for granted that the Committee would have scrutinised the terms, and were inclined to accord it their general approval. But the disillusionment was not long in coming. *The Reformer* was the first and for some time the only journal to call attention to the gravely objectionable features of the document. Then people began to enquire how the Standing Committee came to endorse it. Among its members were Mr. Aney himself, Mr. Hridayanath Kunzru,

Mr. N. M. Joshi, and probably also Sir Henry Gidney and Sir A. H. Ghaznavi who are now denouncing it with the fervour of people who find that they have been caught napping. How did this happen? Joseph Chamberlain once explained the secret of his management of committees in the municipal affairs of Birmingham and in the parliamentary life of Great Britain. "There is generally only one man in a large committee," he said, "who knows his own mind, and I take care to be that man." The Member of Government who generally presides over Advisory Committees, knows what he wants. The members follow like sheep the bell-wether of the flock. The Advisory Committee is thus not only a futile and wasteful expedient but one detrimental to public interests. This is so when the Committee is confined to members of the Legislature or to members of one single profession. The Commerce Department's five Economists' Advisory Committees, as we pointed out three weeks ago, are not likely to make for efficiency or economy in the administration of the Commerce Department. To have a cross-section of the population, as proposed in the Advisory Committee for the Information Department, and to make its functions not only advisory but also exploratory, is to aggravate the inherent defects of a Committee whose members have no responsibility for the consequences of carrying out their advice.

Women in Mines:—It would have come as a surprise to many in this country and abroad that there are 50,000 women working in Indian mines, 23,000 in coal mines and the rest in other mines. This information was given in the Indian Legislative Assembly by the Secretary of the Labour Department in the course of the discussion on the Bill to extend maternity benefits to women workers in mines. The Leader of the House, Mr. Aney, intervened during the debate to suggest that refusal to be examined by a male doctor should not disentitle a woman to get the benefits. The Labour Secretary undertook to introduce in the Bill a provision to that effect when it went before the Council of State. Mr. Aney's suggestion falls short of the necessities of the case. An illiterate and ignorant woman working in the mines will not as a rule be able to insist on her right to be examined only by a woman doctor. Indian women, with negligible exceptions, would not like to be examined by a male doctor and the right thing to do would be to make it compulsory that women should be examined only by medical practitioners of their own sex. This seems so obvious that we are surprised that Mr. Aney should have been content to make a timid suggestion leaving it to the individual woman worker to decide whether or not she would like to be examined by a male doctor. The Council of State should insist on mines employing women, having a woman doctor to examine their women workers.

The Indo-Burma Agreement:—The Hon Mr. Aney said in the debate on the Indo-Burma Agreement in the Legislative Assembly that, if the Burma Government did not agree to have the Agreement revised, he would come to the Assembly for advice as to what step he should take next. He did not apparently contemplate the possibility of the Secretary of State for India who is also Secretary of State for Burma, demurring to scrap the Agreement which had been ratified by the Governments of India and Burma and which U Saw, the Burmese Premier, who was recently in England, declared that his Government would do its best to maintain intact. Mr. Aney has disappointed U Saw about the assurance the latter wanted of Dominion Status to Burma, and he might naturally hesitate to overrule him about the Agreement also. If the Viceroy takes up a strong position, as did Lord Hardinge, about the assurances given to India in the Joint Parliamentary Committee and Parliament of which His Excellency has first-hand knowledge, and if he insists on those assurances being embodied in the Burma Act, since the Legal Advisers of Government hold that they have not been, His Majesty's Government will have no option but to yield since the last thing they would enjoy at the present juncture is to have a viceregal resignation on their hands. If Lord Linlithgow, however, shrinks from this extreme step, the resignation of all the Indian members of the expanded Council or the mere possibility of it may help him to make up his mind to it. Is there any likelihood of this? Is there any likelihood even of the Member in Charge of the Overseas Department tendering his resignation if the Secretary of State hesitates, out of consideration for Burmese sentiment, to amend the Burma Act so as to give effect to the assurances given to India in Parliament? We do not think that his resignation alone will have any effect. One of his predecessors, when urged to the same course over a Kenya crisis, agreed to do so provided no other Indian would accept his office. Since no such assurance could be given, he argued to his own satisfaction that there was no purpose in his vacating his place for, perhaps, he naively added, a worse Indian. Mr. Aney may also argue that way. In our considered opinion the amendment of the Act so as to give what was promised, is the only safe and honest way of solving the present impasse. The agitation in this country has been carried on in a way which to say the least, has not conciliated Burmese sentiment. Any mere modification of the terms of the Agreement will be only palliative. For this situation the chief blame rests on the Burmese Indian leaders.

Special Marriage Act Amendment Bill:—Dr. G. V. Deshmukh has introduced a Bill in the Legislative Assembly to enable Hindus to register their marriages under the Special Marriage Act. This Act was passed in 1872 to give

relief to Brahmos who claimed at that time to be a distinct community. Today most Brahmos are satisfied to be Hindus and to be known as such. The same phenomenon is noticeable in the Arya Samaj. The Arya Marriage Act passed three years ago describes Aryas as a class of Hindus. The Special Marriage Act was amended some years ago at the instance of Sir Hari Singh Gour by providing that in the case of marriages between Hindus no declaration of religious disbelief, as required by the original Act, need be made. But Sir Hari, tacked on to his Bill the provision that, in the case of all persons marrying under it, the joint families of which they may be members will be dissolved so far as they are concerned and the Indian Succession Act will take the place of the Hindu Law of Succession. These have not prevented several Hindu marriages being registered under the Gour Act but the bulk of Hindus regard the provision about joint family and succession as an impediment to their taking the benefit of the Act. We have not seen Dr. Deshmukh's present Bill but we fancy that he wants to omit these two obnoxious incidents in Gour's Act. Mr. Bajoria who led the opposition declared that orthodox Hindu opinion regarded registration as derogating from the sanctity of the sacrament. The Aryas fought tooth and nail on that ground from having registration provided in their Marriage Act and succeeded in getting this done. There is also a feeling of the same kind among Bombay Prarthana Samajists who do not in many cases register their marriages celebrated with the expurgated Hindu ritual formulated by the late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar.

Mr. Subhas Bose :—It is now several months since the mysterious disappearance of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, ex-Congress President, from his home in Calcutta where he was under surveillance pending the hearing of a case against him. The sensation was remarkably short-lived, so much so that we were not sure that he had really disappeared and was not being detained in some place which it was considered inexpedient in the public interest to disclose to the public. His seat in the Legislative Assembly was declared vacant by the Government of India only the other day. There was some litigation in the courts about his property and a public institution for which he had collected funds and begun the construction of a building. Otherwise, the public and even his friends and associates seemed to have felt it unnecessary to entertain any concern about him. It was, therefore, with considerable surprise that the public received the statement of the Home Secretary, Mr. Conran-Smith, in the Council of State, that Mr. Subhas Bose is believed to be either in Rome or Berlin and that he has entered into a pact with the Axis Powers to assist by fifth column methods any German invasion of this country. Pressed to disclose the source of his information, Mr. Conran Smith said that it was certain leaflets which had appeared

in this country. Whence did these leaflets appear? Were they imported from abroad or composed and printed in India? What steps did Government take to make sure that the leaflets were not the work of Mr. Subhas Bose's political opponents? We called attention the other day to an eight-page anonymous tract bearing neither the name of the printer nor of the publisher as required by law? The main purpose of it appeared to be to proclaim that the majority of the Indian people approve of Hitler's subjugation of several countries of Europe. Was it imported from abroad? As against the assumption from the flimsy evidence of tracts appearing in this country, there are the insuperable obstacles to the escape of a prominent public man who was under special police surveillance to Berlin or Rome? Gibbon's description of the Roman Empire as a huge prison from which there was no escape for any disaffected citizen applies with much greater force to the British Empire.

Gandhiji's Lead :—In the debate in the House of Commons which ended in his giving up the premiership, Mr. Chamberlain sought to decide a national crisis by appeals to the personal loyalty of his friends. The memory of that pathetic event comes to one's mind as one reads Gandhiji's latest statement on the contemplated release of prisoners. It is a fact known to all students of current politics and one which could not have escaped his notice that it is purely personal loyalty to Gandhiji which holds men whose doubts have been confirmed by the experience of the past two years, to the present barren policy of the Congress. We have been among the few journals in this country which does not think the demand for freedom of speech and opinion even in wartime a heinous offence or an impossible condition. Nevertheless judged even by the most lax standard, it must be conceded that the Congress campaign has failed not so much because it has achieved nothing but because it has involved a great political organisation in a negative attitude while others fought its battles. Whatever freedom exists today, exists not because of the Congress campaign but because of the press agitation. Similarly the comparatively irrelevant issue of better food in jails which Congress in office could solve by an administrative act, is left to the medical profession to achieve by tortuous ways. In politics, the Congress chestnuts are expected to be pulled out by the much-abused members of the expanded Council, while the Congress leader who has put his conscience into Gandhiji's hands, earns a cheap popularity which may serve a purpose at the elections. It has been repeatedly urged against Britain that she wishes to give Indians responsibility without power. But what of those who would use the little power which has fallen in Indian hands without assuming any responsibility for it?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 15, 1941.

AMERICA, JAPAN AND THE WAR.

The announcement last week-end of the loan by the U. S. A. of one thousand million dollars free of interest and repayment at the convenience of the Soviet Government to begin five years at the end of the war; and even more the cordial terms in which the offer was couched in President Roosevelt's letter to M. Stalin, have dramatically changed the aspect of the war situation and changed it very much for the better. The announcement has plainly brought fresh strength to the indomitable Russian morale and it can not but have caused at least a momentary flutter even in the hardened heart of the Nazi High Command. Even with the United States neutral, Herr Hitler would not have been able to subjugate Russia though he took a score of her cities and killed some millions of her people, armed and civil. The "scorched earth" method of defence is a true expression of the Russian psychology and it will never fail. But with the magnificent offer of American help, Russian resistance will, it has already begun to, stand up to the most desperate efforts of the Nazis to overrun the vast country which combines the mechanical strength of Europe with the moral endurance of Asia. More than the defeat of Germany in the present war, this collaboration of the two great countries, offers the world the best hope of a happy future. Though the ideologies of the two Governments are different, they are not so antagonistic as are those of the British Government to that of the Soviet regime. Mr. Winston Churchill, even while announcing the alliance with Russia, thought it necessary to declare that he had not wavered in his implacable hostility to the Soviet system during the last quarter of a century. President Franklin Roosevelt has not thought it necessary to qualify his grand offer by any such affirmation. On the other hand, his New Deal goes a long way with the economic and social policies of the Soviet under M. Stalin. The social system of the United States, moreover, is a closer approximation to the Soviet pattern especially as regards the position of women than the system of any European country. We confidently hope that, as the result of this close contact between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R., the new order for which the whole world hungers and thirsts, will be a harmonious blend of the best in both the Soviet and American systems. It may also be that the action of the United States may hasten the end of the war.

In his Mansion House speech on Monday, Mr. Winston Churchill made what was a threat to Japan and a definite promise to the United States. He said:

We do not know whether the efforts of the United States to preserve peace in the Pacific will be successful, but if they fail I take this occasion to say—and it is my duty to say it—that should the United States become

involved in the war with Japan the British declaration will follow within the hour.

Mr. Churchill went on to utter unwonted words of encouragement to the Chinese people and to declare Britain's determination to defend British interests in the Far East and "to defend the common cause now at stake." The speech marks a new policy in that it recognizes something in China apart from British interests as valuable and that it hints at collaboration with Chiang Kai-Shek—if the United States is involved. The significance of this lies in the fact that, while the world has been impressed by the very gradual conversion of the United States to Britain's view of the war in Europe, there has been simultaneously a change in British policy in the Far East bringing it into line with American sentiment. The fears of Australia that an anti-Japanese policy would involve her in instant trouble, had to a large extent restrained Britain. Mr. Duff-Cooper reassured the Australians when he was in their midst about a week before the Mansion House function, that Britain would consult Australian opinion before adopting any stringent measures in the Pacific. It is not likely that Australian opinion had been consulted about Mr. Churchill's speech placing Britain and her Empire behind American policy towards Japan. But it would be an irony if the Dominion which changed Premiers because of its claim to decide in what theatre of war its troops could be used, were to find war brought to its door by action over which it had no control. It is not improbable that the closer ties which have arisen now between Russia and America, make Mr. Churchill seek a counterpoise in the anti-Communist Chiang Kai-Shek. Nor would America be perturbed at the prospect.

Freda Kirchwey in an outspoken article in the *Nation* gives the positive reasons for American preference for a war in Asia rather than in Europe. She writes:—

Why are we ready to fight Japan and unready to fight Hitler? Why should a war in Asia, in the popular view be "our" war in a sense a war in Europe can never be? The answer is an easy one. Asia is an old American hunting ground. We have shared it, peaceably on the whole, with other imperialist nations. Our oil-company offices and our missionary compounds stand alongside theirs, and our marines stand guard with theirs in the international settlements. Our possessions, however modest, dot the wide areas of the Pacific along with those of the British and French and Dutch. Our battleships help patrol the important trade routes. The imperialism of the United States in Asia has never been grandiose or very aggressive, but it has been remunerative.

President Roosevelt's offer to M. Stalin and Mr. Churchill's assurance that Britain would support American action in the Far East, seem to be both part of a development which seeks to unite in one front three wars which at present are apparently independent of one another. It is obvious, however, that this result will depend on Japan's initiative as American opinion, though less averse from a war in Asia than from the war in Europe,

would obviously prefer to be free of any direct commitment. So long as Japan keeps her war in China distinct from the Axis campaign in Europe, she will be able to keep American opinion quiet. President Roosevelt is applying the technique he has perfected during the past few years of forcing the aggressor nations to declare war on America instead of persuading the American people to enter into a war. So far he has failed because the aggressors avoided trouble. Japan in all probability will do the same.

The Press Advisory System:—It is now a year since the All India Editors' Conference came into being and from the point of view of Government as well as the editors it has not been altogether an unfruitful year. Personal contact between members of the profession and officials has led to better understanding and, if in some provinces there has been no appreciable improvement in Government-Press relations, there has been no deterioration either to correspond with the deterioration in the political field. The greatest achievement of the Press, however, is in a somewhat negative aspect. We believe that the past year has proved the uselessness of the Press Adviser's office, if not from the centre to the provinces in the provinces at any rate. The Editors' Conference in its dealings with the Government of India has always taken an all-India view and this has also been the attitude of Government. The recent "goodwill mission" to the United Provinces is a case in point, when local tangles had to be unravelled by the Conference representatives. If points of dispute have to be referred up to Delhi, all that is required is a forwarding office. We know that, in spite of the loud cries for economy in unessentials and efficiency in war necessities, wartime is the worst period for scrutinising the appointments of a bureaucracy. In the popular confusion of mind, Governments too often interpret the demand that something must be done to mean that some persons must be assigned on high salaries to the job. Nevertheless, the Editors' Conference, when next it meets, would do well to consider the Press Adviser's office which, particularly after the Bombay session of the Standing Committee, seems to have become a fifth wheel to the coach. The editor is left free to exercise his discretion and to consult the Adviser only when he feels a doubt. An editor who wishes to have an authoritative interpretation of the Defence of India Rules and to know whether it applies to him in a concrete instance, is likely to seek the opinion of a lawyer who might be expected to understand the legal aspects of the case, rather than that of an official whose whole training has been to make him over-sensitive to all criticism. The Government of India might anticipate the Conference by early action.

HINDU AND FASCIST THEORIES OF THE STATE.

Speculations regarding a constitution which may be reasonably expected to bring peace, contentment and security to the people of India, whether by the India Office or by the Congress and the Muslim League, tend too much to proceed on the assumption that India is a clean slate for the constitution-maker to inscribe what he wishes or fancies. Mr. Amery is convinced that the British system is unsuitable to India although he will not admit that it has failed in Britain. He thinks that one particular feature of the Constitution of the United States, the irremovable Executive, and another, functional representation, borrowed from Fascism, grafted on the Hoare Constitution, will make it suitable to India. The Congress, on the other hand, clings to the British model with a pathetic confidence, although it has proved a failure in Britain itself. The Moslem League is convinced that democracy is not suited to India. It wants a part of India to be carved into Pakistan. What system of Government will be adopted in Pakistan, is not clear. Mr. Jinnah, perhaps, inclines to a republic with himself as perpetual president. He thinks that Islam is democratic. As a matter of fact, Islam proclaimed equality and fraternity centuries before the French Revolution. But it never adopted the first and most important of the democratic watchwords, Liberty. Similarly, of the Lincoln formula, Government of the people, by the people, for the people, Islam knew the first and perhaps the third and that only for Moslems; but not the second. One of the traditions of Islam is a saying ascribed to the Prophet himself that all that a human being has a right to was a piece of bread and a cup of water: all else was by the grace of God. This simplification of the Rights of Man does not fit in with democracy. All the three, Mr. Amery, the Congress, and the Muslim League, ignore the fact that there is an older pattern, racy of the soil, imbedded in the religion and culture of the people, waiting only the opportunity to assert itself in the formulation of the future India polity. This is the system of Hindu polity evolved from immemorial time in accordance with the geographical, racial and religious configuration of the country and population. In two lectures delivered at the Madras University under the Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao Foundation, Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar has ably indicated the trends of Hindu polity with reference to nearly all available sources and authorities from ancient times. (*Adyar Library Rs. 8-8.*)

Simultaneously with the French Revolution began the counter-revolution with Edmund Burke as its prophet, which has now emerged in the form of Fascism and Nazism. Burke denounced the Revolution root and branch, beginning with the idea from which it sprang, Rousseau's Social Contract. Against the doctrine of a contract between the sovereign and his people, Burke opposed the doctrine of "a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born." Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar quoted the whole passage from Burke's French Revolution in one of his illuminative notes and adds: "The view of Burke closely approximates to the Hindu view of the eternal social order as I have pointed out in previous works of mine." Was Burke influenced in his political philosophy by his intense study of Indian institutions, which made India live before his eyes, as again and again appears in his speeches during the impeachment of Warren Hastings? If he was, he is sure to have made some acknowledgment of the fact in the vast literature of his speeches and writings.

However that may be, it is curious that Burke's doctrine has been adopted and developed by the Fascists and Nazis. The opening clause of the Corporative Constitution declares :

The Italian nation is an organism having ends, a life and means superior in power and duration to the single individuals or groups of individuals who compose it.

This also, observes Herman Finer, in his *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, was the essence of the German Romantic political philosophy which took its keynote from Burke's superb phrase. The term "nation" writes Dr. Arthur Gutt, head of the National Hygiene Department,

should not be solely applied to those persons who are contemporary to one another at any given moment, but also to all their ancestors and descendants. It is essential, therefore, to remember that the term "nation" implies the element of timelessness, as this circumstance has an important bearing upon all the efforts made to preserve the national health, and the numerical strength of the nation. (*Germany Speaks*, p. 37.)

This theory of the State, it is obvious, strikes at the root of the principle, supposed by many to be the essence of democracy, of majority rule. The Authoritarian State sets itself up as the repository of the past, present and future in a way which is entirely opposed to the democratic conception of the State.

The deification of the State by Fascism is totally contrary to and impossible in Hindu political philosophy. The Hindu State must have a hereditary monarch. To be Kingless is synonymous with anarchy which the Hindu nature abhors. But the King himself is a member of the same society as his subjects and is subject to all its rules and restrictions. There is no "Princely Order" in India. The Princes as such do not belong to any particular caste of their own. They are Kshatriyas by birth or convention. Kingship in India is no mere opening of soup-kitchens. The King is not a limited monarch who can do no wrong and consequently can do no right either. Social and village life was self-regulating. The King's duty was to enforce the rules of social and village economy wherever they are infringed. Kingship did not include the right of legislation. The daily duties of the King were strict. He was expected to be a model to every one of his subjects. The model Hindu King is Janaka, the royal sage who was master of the science of Government as well as of the cosmic philosophy of the Brahman position. The King was personally responsible to his Maker for the welfare and happiness of all and every one of his subjects in their respective status in life. This is the meaning of the story in the Ramayana that Sri Rama seeking for the cause of the death of an infant in his realm, detected a Sudra practising austerities not prescribed for his caste and had him executed. The story is evidently intended only to enforce the principle of the King's personal responsibility for every detail of the life of the people. It has certainly been edited by a supporter of the caste system. The Indian ideal was too high for an average man to come up to. With the injection of foreign elements into the body politic standards deteriorated, corruption set in and the land fell a prey to anarchy. In one of the treatises on politics, the King's Cabinet consisted of four members, the Minister, the Chief Priest, the Head Cook and the Astrologer. The King who had his Chief Cook as a cabinet Minister, was clearly a gourmand. Anantadeva was the courtier of a petty State in the latter half of the sixteenth century and in a small Court whose main pre-occupation is likely to be the

composition of the Princes' menu. The special feature of Anantadeva's treatise is, says Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar, that he recognised a polygamous king, with a chief queen for ceremonial purposes. Gluttony and concupiscence had invaded the austere ideal of the Hindu sovereign. Degeneracy had set in and the nation was fast moving to its doom. As is the king, so are the subjects, was a familiar Hindu proverb.

In framing a constitution for India the high ideals which for ages have been accepted should be considered as well as modern theories. A constitution may be imposed on the country. But it will not last unless it accords with the traditional ideas of the people. Bergson's observation that while we think only with a small part of our past, it is with our entire past, including the original bent of our souls, that we desire, will and act, is a thousand times more true of a people than of individuals, and of India than of other countries.

PALLAVA HISTORY IN SCULPTURES.*

(By S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

The Pallavas hold an honoured place in the history of South India. They performed sacrifices according to the Brahmanical religion. They honoured learning, and fostered Sanskrit and Tamil literature. They destroyed forests and brought the land under cultivation. They dug tanks and cut canals and thus improved irrigation. They were pioneers in scooping out cave-temples and building structural temples. Sculpture, painting, music and the art of writing were practised to perfection. In a word, great is their contribution to the culture of South India.

Kanchipuram was their capital and Mahamalla-puram (popularly called Mahabalipuram) was their port and naval station. Both these places have been enriched with innumerable works of art that they have left behind; and they have rightly won the homage and admiration of all succeeding generations.

Kanchi is a city of temples—Hindu, Jain and Buddhist. Of the many Hindu temples the Saiva ones of Ekambaranatha and Kailasanatha and the Vaishnavite ones of Varadharaja and Vaikunthaperumal deserve special mention. Rajasimha alias Narasimha II (C. 690—715) A. D. built the Kailasanatha which is the first structural temple in stone in South India and its walls of circumvallation are studded with icons of Saivite mythology and lore.

Nandivarman II Pallavamalla alias Paramesvararman (C. 717—782 A. D.) was the builder of the Vaikunthaperumal temple which is otherwise called Paramesvaravishnugraham (or Vinnaharam in Tamil) after the name of the builder-king, and the inner prakaras of the enclosure-walls are decorated with sculptures depicting various phases of Pallava history—rare specimens of history in stone and some of which bear labels describing the events depicted.

It is the historical sculptures in this temple that Dr. C. Minakshi took up for study. She was a research student under Prof. Nilakanta Sastri of the Madras University. Very soon she improved her equipment and enlarged the horizon of her knowledge by detailed investigation of many Pallava monuments accompanied in most cases by visits to those places. Her identification with the subject was so great that some of her friends used to call her in fun a moving Pallava Spirit. This work

* Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 68—The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunthaperumal Temple, Kanchi—by the late Dr. O. Minakshi, M.A., Ph.D.

formed part of her doctorate thesis and it is of melancholy interest to record here that she did not live to see her own work published. As Mr. Dikshit observes appropriately, "she is easily the best among Indian lady archaeologists and by her untimely death Indian archaeology loses a singularly gifted votary." Her publications—the present memoir, "Administration and Social life under the Pallavas," and other articles published in learned periodicals—will be the only memento of an all-too-brief life devoted to culture and art.

The accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla to the throne is a unique event in Pallava history. His predecessor Paramesvaravarman II passed away issueless. Anarchy prevailed in the land. Thereupon, as the labels under the sculptures record, the Matras, the Ghatikayars (the body of learned brahmins) and the Mulaprakritis, approached Hiranyavarman Maharaja—a member of the collateral branch of the royal line—and sought his advice to select a king of pure descent. All the elderly members of his family having declined the offer, he sent for his four sons and asked them if they would accept the kingship. While the first three refused the offer, the youngest—Pallavamalla alias Parameswara, a boy twelve years old, accepted it. Then took place the coronation and the investiture ceremony.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla had a long reign of nearly 65 years, and those were years of troubles unparalleled in the life of any other ruler. A man of less heroic mould would have broken down under such stress and strain. He had enemies, internal and external. A pretender to the throne, Chitramaya, assailed him. The Chalukyas and latter the Rashtrakutas from the north and the Pandyas from the south gave him endless troubles. In spite of them all, Nandivarman remained victor, and true to his title of *Ekadhira*, he stood a peerless hero.

The events of early Pallava history and those relating to the eventful reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla are recorded in sculptures. These have been studied in their entirety and an attempt has been made in these memoirs to interpret them with the wider knowledge acquired by half a century of archaeological survey. In many cases they are mere bold guesses. They may be right or some of them may prove wrong. But the method the writer has followed in interpreting them is a sound one—*viz.*, using the internal evidence of stone inscriptions and copper-plates of the Pallava rulers themselves for the elucidation of these sculptures.

South India, though rich in monuments, has not received till now at the hands of the Director-General of Archaeology in India the recognition they deserve. It is with pleasure that we have to record here that the present Director-General, Mr. K. N. Dikshit, is giving some attention to South India and let us hope more such memoirs will be undertaken in the near future. One word more. It is a pity that the prices of all publications of the Archaeological Department are prohibitive, and it is hoped the department will soon revise this unwise policy by realising that the dissemination of the rich knowledge enshrined in these volumes is more important than making the publications too dear to be within the reach of scholars and merely storing them as dead stock in the already overstocked store-rooms of the Publication Office. This department is not a money-making concern, and, therefore, only a nominal price ought to be fixed in the case of these scholarly publications.

THE NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP.

(BY J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

After three months' absence in Tibet and in the interior of the Himalayas on pilgrimage, where I was almost totally cut off from world currents, as I was returning homewards to the same old conditions of life as before recently, I could well feel that during the short interval of a few months there would have been no reason to expect any revolutionary change in the social or political conditions in the country or in the mental attitude of my fellow-countrymen, but yet I looked forward to some surprise or the other on my emergence out of the wooded seclusion of the hills.

Actual change in the conditions, I expected little but, in the natural joyous feeling that is generated in the homeward journey, I often felt optimistic about finding a more healthy and forceful attitude in the press and platform leaders and in the educated people generally towards the political problems than used to be. Criticism, of course, in mild and strong expressions of the Government policy by those people and leaders there used to be in volume as well as in good logical quality but what was consistently missing was simple or straight direction in respect of things to do for the achievement of the political goal in view. Has not the continuous experience of the barrenness of such criticisms led the people to that state of exasperation, which generated restlessness for assertiveness and forceful action? I wondered.

And, so, when newspapers came into my hands, I readily turned to the editorials with a feeling of expectancy of something new, something refreshing, something significant. But no, there was nothing. Mr. Churchill was strongly denounced for what was at the worst his truthful interpretation of his Atlantic pronouncement; Mr. Amery's sayings and doings were criticised threadbare with wonderful patience; the appointment of Australian officers in the Indian Army when the appointment of an Indian officer in their army was unthinkable to the Australians was commented on with resentment; the economic hardships of the country because of its being involved in the war were pointed out; that the country did not know for what direct benefit its people were made to fight and why its frontiers were stretched according to the exigencies of the war, was also discussed. All that was in the papers as before; but what was to be done; what the people were to do individually or collectively, at home and in public; what remedies lay in their hands, which though small or weak and even apparently insignificant were calculated to bring actual results—directions to them regarding these were as universally absent as before.

It will be said here, perhaps, that criticisms and discussions like the above serve the very useful purpose of arousing mass consciousness to existing conditions and position. That is true, but such consciousness is not sufficient to make the mass move. Masses require lead and direction. They often understand and realise a thing, but what to do and how to do for effecting a remedy seldom strike them, and even if they do they feel diffident to make a move without support and prompting from behind. That is why the Indian masses, including the educated, are making no headway towards the goal they aspire to by self-effort and resolution.

Their leaders, some of whom have looked upon leadership as a profitable game in politics, which brings power and popularity and sometimes even economic advantages as well, have lacked imagi-

nation, courage and iron determination. Even if a plan of action, that has some sting in it, strikes them, they are nervous as to its results and implications, forgetting the great fact that national progress from dependence to freedom cannot be all on a smooth road, but inevitably through ups and downs, errors and mistakes. Gandhiji, for instance, conceived a non-co-operation plan with satyagraha as the sanction behind it. But after much propaganda, when it came to apply the really forceful sanctions in his scheme, he fought shy and became hesitant. He began by very much weakening the economic sanction by declaring the boycott not of British cloth and British goods but of foreign cloth in general. Such generalisation based on the principle of merely helping a cottage industry could not raise and keep up public interest for long. His own interest also flagged in not a very long time.

The partition agitation in Bengal, though conducted single-handed by the province, succeeded mainly because it stressed the boycott of the British goods alone. By that boycott the people felt that they were hitting back those who were responsible for their woes. Gandhiji's generalisation did not give them that satisfaction of giving their economic and political dominators a punch in return.

This economic boycott in everything is a strong and very effective sanction in the hands of the oppressed; and if Gandhiji had concentrated on this form of non-co-operation, and if leaders and nationalist papers had been reminding the people of it, the country would have almost reached its political goal by this time, and the Congress would not have been standing helpless like a crane on one leg looking piteously for moral support to some people in England and America, who may deign to say a word or two in its favour, and shrieking some anti-government slogans to make a lame show of its prowess.

Then, again, when he once decided to try satyagraha in practice, a communal riot in a far-off place at once shook his confidence and he promptly wound up the movement, the efficacy of which had been much advertised, but the responsibility of conducting which he had not the confidence to face. In fact, for over twenty years one has been hearing of this master weapon and of the success that it was bound to bring, but one has not seen it in operation in the face of all difficulties and opposition. Cautiousness may be good, but overcautiousness in leadership, whether in military or political warfare, as well as in other things, damps enthusiasm, and generates nervousness and indecision in the fighters. Leadership to be useful should also have the virtues of dash and audacity, which give the stimulation for a forward drive overcoming hindrance and opposition and unminding slips and falls. A thoughtful writer (Dr. Alexis Carrel) has rightly pointed out with lament that the modern much-too sheltered living and the modern system of education have destroyed to a great extent the above virtues, which the ancients generally possessed.

Though having extensive and even dictatorial powers in his hands and though enjoying in an unparalleled manner the trust and confidence of the masses, Gandhiji has for the above reasons failed to take the country even a step, so to say, ahead towards political emancipation. Who can say judging from the tone and acts of the British ministers and the contemptuous indifference of the Government to Congress agitation and to the criticisms of others that the country has gained a whit since 1920 in power to assert

its rights and press home its demands? It is possible to imagine that, if the political leadership had been in the hands of others more audacious and less hesitant to take risk than Gandhiji, India might have passed through phases of harder trials, but she would also have taken firmer steps forward and neared the horizon. A single year lost in the political progress of a great country and a great nation is a loss to the world and a loss to the cause of civilization. Over two decades of Gandhiji's unchallenged leadership have gone by, leaving not much material results. So-called awakened political consciousness in the masses finds little expression in their living. High leaders and educated people make only the same kind of lifeless political comments in their talks as before with no idea of doing anything in individual practice. Newspapers write editorials, which are only the reproduction of what they have ever been writing, pointing out with logic and laborious allusions the faults of omission and commission of the Government but not indicating the remedy that may lie in the hands of the people. More years and more decades will go as before if matters drift like this and the people are not made to rack their brains on the question of means that would bring tangible results in the country's economics and politics, and if the press and platform leaders do not think out and point out repeatedly what each individual can do to advance the cause of his mother country.

U. S. A. AND LATIN AMERICA.

(BY CLARENCE SENIOR)

Although officially all is going smoothly in the relations between the United States and its nearest Latin American neighbour, there are many Mexicans whose memories hark back to a surge of Pan-American propaganda during the war of 1914-18 and wonder if the same disappointments are due after this one.

Among the people there is little pro-German feeling. That is found among the upper middle class which has suffered in Mexico's attempt to break down feudalism and build a more modern economic and social system in its place. The native fascist movements are led by lawyers who have not kept pace with the revolution and who now and again head attempts to turn back the clock. They are supported by considerable sections of the clergy who look upon Generalissimo Franco as the man who will rebuild the Spanish empire and restore to the Spaniards and Spanish Americans their former glory. They always add that they mean this only in a spiritual sense.

The labour and peasant movements, and the lower middle class, the largest section of which consists of government employees, are generally democratic in their sympathies. This does not lead to an outright acceptance of a black versus white view of the war. Intellectually, the workers and peasants dislike Hitler and his aims. His racism is particularly repugnant to Mexicans. But Germany is the only Empire which has never invaded Mexico. Mexicans have never erased from their memories the evasive, land-grabbing shady methods of securing "concessions" used to strip her of many valuable natural resources, discrimination against her citizens abroad, and other counts which history has chalked up against the British, French and Americans. Less than three years ago, in fact, the three countries ganged up on Mexico in an international oil boycott. That Great Britain is now being forced to buy Mexican oil because of the war situation seems like retribution to many here. But the Mexicans point out, even in her emergency, Britain buys only from

the remaining private fields instead of from the government.

Recently the press and persons to whom this correspondent has talked have brought up the following points:

1. If the U. S. wants to convince us that she is in earnest, why does she not return El Chamizal to us? In 1910 the United States solemnly agreed to abide by an arbitral award in the case of land left on the north side of the Rio Grande by a shift in the river course. Since the United States refused to abide by the decision awarding the territory to Mexico, she has been in a particularly vulnerable spot.

2. If the U. S. wants to be a "good neighbour," why does she not eliminate discrimination against Mexicans in schools, playgrounds, medical services, relief, strike aid, and even in hotels and restaurants throughout the south and south-west? A recent news-story from Austin that the Texas legislature was to act on an anti-discrimination bill received a great play in the national press, but some voices asked why Negroes were not included.

3. Just before the war of 1914-18, Ruben Dario, greatest Latin American poet, could secure only a smelly physics laboratory at Columbia University for an address on Spanish American literature. Fourteen persons attended. As soon as the United States entered the war, even the most obscure Latin Americans were lionized. The fad passed when the war was over. The Pan-American Federation of Labour, started with money given by Woodrow Wilson, was allowed to die when the danger passed. Inter-American cultural relations boomed for a few years, and then were forgotten. What is there in the present situation that should make us believe that, if we rewamp our politics and even our economics at the call of the United States, we will not be left in the lurch when the current interest in us passes?

4. In spite of the flowery speeches from Washington about "democracy," a majority of the Latin American countries are dictatorships. Is the government of the United States going to underwrite the continuance of the dictatorships in power? Will it denounce attempts to break down feudalism and dictatorship as "pro-German," and help the rulers to suppress them?

5. Are interests in the United States forcing the present government to slow down the land distribution programme? Are the loans now being discussed going to have the same strings attached as past loans have had? Why does the United States Navy buy oil from the highest bidder when Mexico offers the same grade of oil at a considerable reduction in price? Why do the newspapers of the United States get so excited about the sales of oil we have been forced to make to the Axis powers after the oil boycott when even now oil, gasoline, and even iron are being sold to Japan by the United States?

These and many other questions are raised by the "man in the street" about the future of Mexican-U. S. relations. Only if he knows that the people of the United States themselves are intensely interested in atoning for the past errors of politician and investor will he feel that the present flood of talk about Pan-Americanism is more than the wolf in sheep's clothing again.

"COUNTER-PROPAGANDA."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I think that your editorial note about "Counter-propaganda" which appeared in your issue dated November 1, 1941, is based on the misapprehension that the duties of the Director of Counter-Propaganda in the Department of Information and Broadcasting are concerned with political propaganda; the origin of the Directorate of Counter-Propaganda is that on the outbreak of war a Monitoring Section was formed to take down and analyse the contents of enemy broadcasts; these analyses revealed an enormous number of hostile mis-statements and it was found convenient that the Section which was engaged in listening in to enemy broadcasts, should also frame counter-propaganda to them. The answer to your question is, therefore, that this Section is solely intended for countering enemy propaganda and is *not* concerned with India's internal politics.

Your mention of a pamphlet entitled "Allies of Germans in India" is the first that the Government of India have heard of this pamphlet which was not prepared by any of its Departments.

Bureau of Public
Information,
Government of India.
November 5, 1941.

Yours etc.,
JOSSLEYN HENNESSY
Principal Information
Officer.

[We gladly print Mr. Hennessy's letter as it clears up the existing confusion about the functions of Director of Counter-Propaganda. Unfortunately the language in which it is framed, creates impressions which give new ground for perplexity. Mr. Hennessy would seem to say that the Directorate was in existence since the outset of the war. Yet the first public intimation of it was a few days ago when the new Department of Information and Broadcasting was created. The fact that Mr. Hennessy, the Principal Information Officer, writes to us would imply that the Directorate was a subordinate branch of the Bureau of Public Information. Yet the communique which first revealed its existence, clearly divided the Department into four different sections of which Information and Counter-Propaganda were two. Mr. Hennessy fails to explain, moreover, how one can counter enemy propaganda without concerning oneself with India's internal politics. The enemy propaganda to which he refers, is, we take it, that part of it specially intended for Indians. As such it must necessarily concern itself with internal politics. How is one to reply without rebutting those allegations? It is because the pamphlet referred to in the *Reformer* seemed to fit in with the description of the work of the Directorate that we said it was liable to be confused with the Directorate's work. Mr. Hennessy's repudiation clears the point finally. But there is nothing in the pamphlet which would be irrelevant to the work of the Directorate even as it is described by Mr. Hennessy.—Editor.]

Parliamentary Congressmen:—Mr. S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Assembly Party, has been expressing himself in favour of a revival of the Parliamentary work of the Congress and has claimed that the great majority of his Assembly colleagues are with him in this opinion. He has released on Thursday a statement containing a letter from Gandhiji expressing surprise at the request for freedom of speech as that had never been denied to Congressmen.

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Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 22, 1941. No. 12.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Detention without Trial.
The Expanded Council and the
Legislature.
Government and the Bose
Revelation.
American Neutrality.
Mr. Amery on the Atlantic
Charter.
Teaching.
Allahabad Convocation
Address.

Next Bombay Governor.
The Indo-Ceylon Agreement.
The "Hindustan Times" Case.
Teachers and the Teaching
Profession.
Crisis in Cloudland.
The Late Mr. E. L. Iyer.
Ceylones of International
Fame.

NOTES.

Detention without Trial:—Commenting on the result of a recent case in which an English Member of Parliament who had been kept in detention sued the London Correspondent of an American journal for libel and was awarded farthing damages, the *New Statesman* observed that he would have had public sympathy with him had he not gone to the court because Englishmen have deep down in their hearts a detestation of keeping people under detention without trial by a regular court. The word "detenu" itself is a French word for which there is no passable English equivalent. This sound instinct of Englishmen which has been the principal factor in reconciling alien races to British rule, has evidently tended to weaken in Englishmen sent out to administer India. In the debate on Mr. N. M. Joshi's motion for the release of political prisoners on Tuesday in the Legislative Assembly, the spokesman of Government showed not the least compunction about holding in duress some hundreds of men without trial under the Defence of India Rules. Apart from the cases of men who have been tried and sentenced, detenus are an anomaly which is evil even under war conditions. On an assurance from Sir Reginald Maxwell that the question of the release of political prisoners will be immediately and sympathetically considered, Mr. Joshi withdrew his motion which, if it had been pressed to a division, would have greatly embarrassed the Indian Members of Government. The case of the detenus will have to be taken up immediately. The Home Member said that conditions were not the same in all provinces and no uniform policy can be devised. Why not take action immediately in provinces where conditions are not in the least likely to be prejudiced by the release of satyagraha prisoners and abstention from future arrests for shouting slogans? The issue of participation or non-participation in the war is no longer a live issue. Every one has

already made up his mind and a considerable majority of recognised Indian leaders outside the Congress and even inside, have declared themselves against Gandhiji's attitude which, itself, is by no means clear. Nothing would be lost, if nothing is gained, by not arresting people for shouting slogans and striking attitudes which have now ceased to have any but a symbolic significance. Gandhiji's recent declaration that he would not regard the release of prisoners as a concession to him, has no bearing on the question. While Government should be glad to oblige Gandhiji as far as possible, pleasing him is not the major purpose and Government should pursue its course dictated by considerations of equity, even if it does not arouse an answering sentiment in Gandhiji's mind. Gandhiji has not said that he would regard the release of prisoners as an act of personal offence to himself. On the contrary he has told Sardar Sant Singh that he should move a resolution in the Assembly for the release of prisoners. The Governor of the United Provinces is said to be the principal protagonist against the release of political prisoners. He may be allowed to keep his men under lock and key and the other Governors may act on their own convictions. Why should Sir Maurice Hallett be allowed to stand in the way of other provinces doing what they think just?

The Expanded Council and the Legislature:—Much curiosity was felt as to how the expanded Executive Council of the Viceroy would fare in the Legislature. The Legislative Assembly adjourned on Tuesday after a three weeks session. During that period some questions which have aroused much interest and caused much controversy, came up for discussion. The first was the so-called Atlantic Agreement. The Prime Minister had categorically declared that the Agreement applied only to countries over-run by the Nazis. It was a declaration by the heads of the British and American Governments of their plans when the war ends in the destruction of Hitlerism. The wording of the Charter was comprehensive and inclusive and there was nothing in it to suggest the exclusion of any part of the world. Moreover, the most important clauses in the agreement can not be implemented without the co-operation of countries not yet conquered by Hitler—for instance, that relating to the equal access to raw

materials. So far as these countries are concerned, the Charter is a flagrant attempt to dispose of their assets behind their backs. President Roosevelt who was the first signatory to the Charter has neither endorsed nor repudiated the British Prime Minister's interpretation. The proper and the wise course was to have ignored Mr. Churchill's commentary and waited till the Charter came to be implemented. But a non-official member raised the matter on a motion for adjournment without fully considering the implications of that step. The Leader of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Aney, might have objected to the introduction of a matter exclusively concerning the British and a foreign Government on which the Indian Legislature was not called upon to express an opinion. Instead, he virtually accepted the *obiter dictum* of Mr. Churchill and declared that the official members would abstain from voting on the motion. Mr. Aney adopted the same attitude to the resolution on the Indo-Burma Emigration Agreement and again on the Indo-Ceylon Immigration Draft. The Legislature and the country have the right to expect a lead from Government on such important subjects and the abdication by Government of its duty to give it is a grave constitutional dereliction. In fact, it is not different in kind from the walk-out staged by dissenting political parties and is only a degree removed from the stay-in-strike which has become familiar in factories. We are not able at once to lay our hand on the appropriate reference books but we have a feeling that the refusal of Government to function in the Legislature is not in consonance with the conventions and practices of parliamentary government. There is practically no opposition in the Legislature today. Only some members sit on the official benches and the others on other benches. The political temper which is bound to grow out of this relation between Government and the rest of the Assembly, can not but influence materially the course of constitutional development in the near future.

Government and the Bose Revelation:—The Government of India is developing a totalitarian outlook as opposed to its previous policy of doing with its left hand things hidden from the knowledge of its right. Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, in the debate in the Central Assembly on the proposal to release political prisoners, supported his thesis for inaction by a reference to Subhas Bose. If there was any doubt, he said, the revelation now made about Subhas Bose should convince everyone that Government had to take every precaution against "fifth column" activities in this country. Of all conjectures of the nature of Mr. Bose's activities in Berlin, assuming that he is there, the most infantile seems to be the suggestion that he is forming a "fifth column" in India. And with unflinching precision Government have picked out this of all

reasons. For such a purpose, Mr. Bose, we presume, must himself return to India somewhat ahead of the invading Army. As Egypt, Iraq and Iran are securely in British hands, he cannot possibly come through this route. If he attempts to come by way of Japan he must first evade the vigilance of Russia to find his way to a Siberian port. It is quite possible that the censors in British India are so careful to censor innocent letters including a card announcing a marriage in the United States, that they have no time to spare for really objectionable communications from abroad. That is the only way in which the appearance of the leaflets mentioned by Mr. Conran Smith can be explained. Taking all circumstances into consideration, we are inclined to distrust the official information about Mr. Bose's sojourn in Berlin, notwithstanding the supplementary messages from Rome and Tokio cabled this week. Moreover, we see no reason to reject the categorical repudiation by Mr. Subhas Bose's friends and associates that the information about him is utterly repugnant to his principles and the tenour of his career. Nor must we forget the declaration of the late Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Bose's political and spiritual guru that attaining Swaraj within is spiritually a nobler task than seeking it outside the British Commonwealth. The possibilities of a "wanted man" remaining undetected in this country of immense distances are very much greater than of his getting through the numerous obstacles which beset the departure even of peaceful travellers. Ever since the outbreak of the war no person can leave India except with official permission and even with that permission he may not get a berth on a ship or an aeroplane. Then there is the difficulty of getting the absolutely necessary cash. A friend whose daughter had secured a scholarship in an American University, had to give it up because he could not get permission to provide her with a sufficient amount of money. A great city, says Bacon, is a great solitude. Calcutta itself can give asylum to hundreds of persons who do not wish to face prosecution or detention. Then there are the great Himalayan forests which are the retreat of numerous sadhus. Mr. Subhas Bose has a strong bent to religious mysticism and was reported in his later days to have devoted himself to Yoga practices. It is quite possible that he heard the call of the forest life where the ancients meditated apart from the world of men. Another great Indian had left politics for mysticism. His example may have fired Mr. Subhas Bose.

American Neutrality:—To the man in the street America's neutrality in the present war would seem to be an exquisite piece of irony. She has done everything possible by word and deed to mark her sympathy for one of the belligerents and her hatred for the other. Nevertheless legally, the relation between the United States and the belligerents has been that of neutrality. The Neutrality Act of 1939 which has just been repealed by Congress, voluntarily imposed

on American citizens certain restrictions, the most important of which were the prohibitions on American ships entering areas proclaimed by the President to be "combat areas" and on American citizens travelling in ships of the belligerents. There was no need to repeal this law because its preamble expressly declared that, despite the voluntary restrictions it imposed on American nationals, the United States reserved all rights and privileges under international law. The Act was a purely domestic measure which conferred no rights on the belligerents but only suspended some rights of American citizens in order to prevent incidents such as those which in the last war forced the United States to become herself a belligerent. The Act, in the words of the report of the Foreign Policy Association issued in January 1940,

is designed to avoid legal controversies over maritime warfare, the growth of an unchecked economic boom based on the sales of supplies to states at war, and the development of intimate financial relations with belligerents—all factors widely believed to have been responsible for America's entrance into the last war. At the same time the Neutrality Act is framed to permit heavy purchases by the Allies in the American market, and what is highly important—to reduce to a minimum interference with all trade and shipping not considered dangerous.

Since the Act was passed several measures have been adopted calculated to relax some of its provisions. The formal repeal of the Act is a gesture that the United States no longer cares to avoid the contingencies which the Act was intended to avert in pursuance of the determination of the Franklin Roosevelt Government to keep the country out of the war.

Mr. Amery on the Atlantic Charter:—Mr. Amery's uncompromising denial of the applicability of the Atlantic Charter to India is welcome in view of some of the sophisticated attempts to show that the Prime Minister's declaration meant exactly the opposite of what its words convey. Referring to the clause on self-determination, Mr. Amery asked, "Where is the body in existence or to be constituted which can in that sense speak for India or express an agreed demand?" Of course, there is not one but more than one but it is difficult to make Mr. Amery see them because he is determined to look at India only as a group of dissentient and warring units, and not as a whole. Before an international and impartial tribunal, India would have no difficulty in establishing that she is as much a political unit as the United States and Soviet Russia with their vast extent of territory and variety of population. But it does not suit English statesmen of the type of Mr. Amery to regard India except as an irreconcilably divided country. It is not to the interest of their country, as they view it, to recognise the personality of India as they recognise that of other countries including Great Britain herself. Even he with his pre-determination to see India as a conglomeration of irreconcilable elements, absent-mindedly speaks of India becoming an equal partner with the rest of the Empire. What India is he here thinking of? Is it the same India to which he denies the right

of self-determination because he can not find a single body which could speak in her name or some other country of his imagination? When he speaks of homogeneity as essential to nationality, he speaks, not the language of a British statesman but that of Hitler who insists on racial homogeneity being the foundation of a self-determining nationality. Homogeneity even in Great Britain was attained, so far as it has been attained, by suppressing the personality of its component parts. Ireland has revolted against this suppression. Scotland acquiesces in it as it provides her sons with a wider scope of employment than they would otherwise have. Wales does the same because she is too small in area to be a self-contained unit. The United States broke away from the homogeneity as an intolerable imposition. Mr. Amery extolled Dominion status as the highest type of freedom. Does he mean seriously to tell the world that the United States would have enjoyed greater freedom and prosperity as a Dominion than she does as a free country? Does he not see that the Dominions themselves are straining the slender ties that bind them to Britain? Either he is very ignorant of what is passing around him or he is trying to deceive India and is, as often happens when one tries to deceive others, deceiving himself. Where is the body to speak for India, he asks? There may or may not be such a body, but one thing is certain and that is that he or anyone whom he represents can not answer for India. The only inference to be drawn from this and others of Mr. Amery's speeches, is that it is folly to expect him to be of any service to the attainment of Indian freedom. Yet it is of the utmost importance to answer them for not only India's material resources but her moral personality is being assaulted by politicians of Mr. Amery's type. Sir R. Acland's great speech in the House of Commons—the like of which has not been heard for half a century in that place—has a special application to Britain's relation with India. Justice to India is an integral part of the effort which Britain must make in order to win this war and to revive her own prosperity.

Teaching:—Professor P. A. Wadia's address to the teachers of a local high school run on voluntary effort, which we print elsewhere, contains much food for thought. Mr. Wadia has devoted himself to teaching and his presiding at the function was a happy event. The teachers of the Karnatak School have reason to congratulate themselves on the high words of appreciation which he addressed to them. Whilst we agree with much that he said of individuals who out of a sense of devotion to the cause of education, or anything else for that matter, give their time and energy without remuneration and without appreciation to it, we are unable to concur with his exposition of a kind of vicarious salvation of those who do not see more than a commercial point of view by those who devote their lives to something other than the pursuit of comfort and security.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 22, 1941.

ALLAHABAD CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

The address which Dr. Pannalal delivered at the Convocation of Allahabad University last Saturday is noteworthy for the freshness which it brought to the treatment of some old topics in controversy among educationists. One of the oldest of these is the rivalry between the classical and utilitarian schools. Dr. Pannalal definitely ranged himself on the side of the classicists. He began with a passionate plea for greater attention to the study of Sanskrit in the University. We are rather surprised at the gloomy picture which he drew of the state of Sanskrit studies. He spoke of them as having been sadly neglected for some years and of Sanskrit being in danger of becoming an almost unknown tongue. There was a real danger of this catastrophe in the beginning of the last century. But thanks to the zeal of Western scholars it was averted and Indian scholars since then have done much to keep the flame bright and steady. This has been the case all over the country and it is indeed surprising that it should be otherwise in Prayag which is one of the ancient centres of Sanskrit learning. We are sure that, whatever might have been the case in the past and whatever may be the local peculiarities in Allahabad, there is not the least chance of Sanskrit learning dying out of India. Every month fresh studies from the Sanskrit are being put forth from numerous well-established publishing houses in the country. The religious revival movements, the social reform movements, the Theosophical movement have all helped to resuscitate Sanskrit studies. Fifty years ago the Devanagari character was unknown in Southern India notwithstanding that the South has been for over a thousand years the main centre of religious and philosophical thought. Today Devanagari has ousted the old grantha character thanks chiefly to its adoption by the educational department in schools and colleges. We have, therefore, now perfect freedom of intercourse between scholars all over the country. We have mentioned religious and social reform movements as having stimulated Sanskrit studies. Today Indian scholars are exploring Sanskrit sources for light on political and constitutional questions. The difficulty of learning the language should be less in Allahabad than in the South where the vernaculars have different characters and are non-Sanskritic in their structure. The difficulty, if there is any, is to be attributed to the tendency of thought among present-day Indian leaders in the North which, unlike the rest of India, is towards a mainly secular outlook. Incidentally, Dr. Pannalal's diagnosis, so far as it is correct, has a bearing on the controversy in Madras over the compulsory study of Hindi in middle schools. It was said by supporters of the change that the fear expressed by its opponents that compulsory Hindi might affect detrimentally the study of

Sanskrit, was unfounded. Here we have Dr. Pannalal affirming that Sanskrit is neglected because it is more difficult to learn than, presumably, Hindi which is not burdened with an elaborate grammar or an inexhaustible vocabulary. Where men can express themselves sufficiently for their everyday needs and have not many occasions to have to converse with persons who speak a different tongue, they will not, unless they are philologists or are qualifying as polyglot interpreters, go to the trouble of learning a second language.

There are many points in Dr. Pannalal's address which deserve careful consideration. His view that specialization in University education is being overdone, is one of these. Specialization after a broadbased system of secondary education is different from specialization from high schools which have a limited and narrow curriculum. Also, the national life of a country which has interests and representatives all over the world, offers a different background from that of a people whose social and political conditions restrict them to their own country and caste or community. The Indian student has to make good the defects of his environment by a broader course of studies than the European or American boy of the same class. The introduction of specialization in Indian Universities in imitation of European Universities, has not been altogether an advantage. We do not agree with Dr. Pannalal on some other points of equal importance. For instance, we do not agree that it is the business of the university to bestow any consideration on things of which the State, because it maintains them, stands in need. Here we come up against a fundamental principle. Should the university override the purposes of the university? What are these purposes? Dr. Pannalal summed them up as the cultivation, study and advancement of knowledge and culture. The things which the State may stand in need of, are not always or generally in line with the advancement of knowledge. It sometimes, indeed, requires the subordination of knowledge to the maintenance of a particular policy of administration. Any one can easily think of such occasions. Should universities accept this position? Academic independence, until before the last war, was recognised in all civilised countries as the pre-requisite of academic excellence. The tendency now everywhere, and not least in India, is to regard Universities as adjuncts of the Government. Some of the functions assigned to scientists and economists recently by administrative departments, are not more surprising than that scientists and economists have apparently cheerfully accepted them. In the United States there is an acute controversy between the upholders of academic independence and the advocates of academic subservience to the State. In the totalitarian countries, of course, the question can not arise. India's is a strangely hybrid polity. It is a bureaucracy

masquerading as a democracy and that too a bureaucracy which receives directions from six thousand miles away. Nevertheless, owing to the tradition of freedom of English universities, our universities too have in theory at least been cherishing that ideal. We should much regret our surrendering it by our own choice. We do not agree with Dr. Pannalal again when he charges the universities with the duty of producing officers for the Army. Patrick Geddes made a distinction between the culture caste of the universities and the courage caste of the public schools in England. It will surely be a waste of valuable talent to make a professor of Philosophy captain of a squadron of Spitfires. The military career requires boys to be taken young before their reflective faculty is developed. This is much before the university age.

Next Bombay Governor :—It was announced on Wednesday that His Majesty the King-Emperor has approved of the appointment of Field-Marshal Sir John Dill to be Governor-designate of Bombay when Sir Roger Lumley vacates the office in the normal course. Sir Roger's term will expire in September next year. There is no such office as Governor-designate unless one has been created under the war emergency powers. Sir John retires from the office of Chief of Staff which he has held with distinction, on the attainment of the age of sixty. We do not know whether the age limit is strictly enforced in the Army. Sir John himself does not think he is too old as he married only recently. Some of the greatest Generals have been septuagenarians. Anyhow, it is rather anomalous that an officer considered too old for the Army should be appointed Governor of Bombay. Some years ago young men were sent as Governors on the ground that they would impart fresh vigour to Indian administration. Sir Roger Lumley is one of this batch and there is no reason why his term should not have been extended as the Viceroy's has been. Perhaps, an extension was offered and was declined. Or, it may be that Sir Roger is designated for a higher office as he well deserves to be. His regime in Bombay has not been rich in spectacular achievements. But it has been inspired by the genuine spirit of fairplay for all. The feeling is general that the Governor will not knowingly be a party to a policy or measures based on the ancient principle of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Sir Feroze Khan Noon, while High Commissioner of India in London, described Bombay as the hotbed of sedition. This was a libel on Bombay when it was uttered. The credit for establishing complete confidence between Government and the people, which is the distinguishing feature of Bombay today, is due to the sane and sober temper of Sir Roger's administration. If Sir Roger found the burden too heavy for him to undertake for another year or

two, the retired sexagenarian Field Marshal would not find it any lighter. Why send a Field Marshal at all to govern a peaceful province? When Lord Kitchener's name was pressed for the Viceroyalty of India by no less a personage than King Edward VII, the Asquith Cabinet firmly refused to consider it because of the impression to appoint an Army Officer as India's ruler would create in India and abroad. The objection applies no less to the governorship of an Indian Province of the importance of Bombay. Though it is unlikely that any heed will be paid to Indian opinion, it is the duty of political leaders of every shade to lodge an emphatic protest against this sinister precedent. Sir John Dill's Army experience will be of much use in Great Britain in an advisory capacity. Not the least of the objections to have an Army officer of eminence except in military service is that the official head of the Army in India may feel embarrassing the presence in another part of the country of an authority who has established a name as one of the ablest masters of the military science in responsible positions at the heart of the Empire. From every point of view the selection of the Field Marshal for the Governorship of Bombay has little to commend it. There is a phrase in Sir John Dill's farewell message to the Army which suggests that he may not be coming to Bombay because he is thought to be the fittest man for the Governorship. He says that he is leaving the Army with regret but, he is glad to say, without bitterness. There was obviously no need for him to say this if there was no cause for bitterness in the circumstances of his retirement from the Army.

THE INDO-CEYLON AGREEMENT.

The discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly of the draft Agreement on Indian immigration and the status of Indians in Ceylon was perfunctory and the resolution adopted unsatisfactory. The Leader of the House followed his routine procedure of announcing that the Government members will abstain from voting in the division. He enunciated some sound general principles but did not indicate how they would be best applied to the proposals for an Agreement between the two countries. This shrinking from responsibility is not a virtue in a Leader. It is really a weakness. If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound who will prepare himself for the battle? Left to its own devices the House floundered in its course to a decision. It rejected Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's resolution which was a straightforward recommendation to scrap the whole draft and adopted Mr. Hassainbhai Lalji's which practically came to the same thing by asking for the elimination of nearly every clause in the Draft. Mr. Aney said that Government had an open mind and would wait upon the discussion in the Assembly to close it up. The resolution adopted contravenes every one of the general principles which the Leader of the House exhorted the House to apply to the proposals. The help Government will derive from it is very little. They will have to consider and decide upon their course on the merits of the proposals. The Assembly was in no mood to go into the

details of the Draft. We in India are developing a spirit of pseudo-jingoism in relation to countries like Ceylon, Burma and Malaya in a sort of vicarious venging of the humiliations in the self-governing Dominions which we are powerless to prevent. As in the case of the Indo-Burma Agreement, the Ceylon Indians are pressing for a more drastic course in India than that which they favoured in Ceylon. The draft Indo-Ceylon Agreement is far from perfect. The Indian Delegation which went to Ceylon admit this. In particular, it is complicated by some unnecessary and meaningless distinctions in the rights accorded to Indians. *Young Ceylon* puts its finger on this defect :

Indians in Ceylon are divided into five groups, those who have a domicile of origin, a domicile of choice, a certificate of permanent settlement, children of the latter and other Indians. Now all these Indians can qualify for full or limited Ceylonese citizenship. All the 800,000 Indians now resident in Ceylon are potential Ceylonese. The circumstance that cannot be appreciated is why this laboured attempt is made to create different varieties of Ceylonese citizenships. A man must be either a Ceylonese citizen or not. Why have such curiosities, like Ceylonese citizens who cannot be employed by the state, Ceylonese citizens who cannot benefit under our Land Ordinance, Ceylonese citizens who can only earn their living in Ceylon, Ceylonese citizens who cannot vote at a Village Committee election, been allowed to confound and confuse society in Ceylon? All these classes of Ceylonese citizenship and all these quantum of Ceylonese citizenship add to the general confusion and makes it a mathematical problem for an Indian to find out to what class of Ceylonese citizenship he can get into. When you meet an Indian on business you will have to find out to what class he belongs before you feel disposed to do business with him. Or every Indian will have to go about with a label available for inspection by whoever calls for it.

Young Ceylon suggests that specific rules for the grant of full Ceylonese citizenship should be laid down and any one, Indian or other national, who complies with them may apply and obtain it. The reference to the English domicile has frightened some people. But the English law is very simple and a judicial tribunal will have no difficulty in applying it to any particular case. The intention to make one's permanent residence in a country is more important than the actual residence. If the intention is lacking, mere residence for ever so many years will not qualify. The domicile of choice once acquired, the descendants of the man are *ipso facto* domiciles by origin, the domicile of children being the same as that of their father. No man can have two domiciles at the same time. But in the words of a classic judgment,

when a domicile of choice is acquired the one of origin is in abeyance but is not wholly abandoned. When the domicile of choice is abandoned, the domicile of origin revives.

The plantation workers who form the bulk of the Indian population in Ceylon, are 80 per cent of them born in the Island and are Ceylonese by origin. The difficulty has been created by the action of the Government of Ceylon discriminating against the Indian Ceylonese by imposing restrictions on their rights of citizenship which do not apply to other Ceylonese citizens. This, of course, is untenable. And it seems to us that there can be no compromise on the point. The Draft Agreement expressly provides that

as regards future legislation other than the legislation necessary to give effect to the agreement, there shall be no differentiation in treatment between Indians who possess a Ceylon domicile of origin or

choice or a certificate of permanent settlement, and other members of the permanent population..... There shall be no differentiation of treatment between other members of the permanent population and any Indian who is the child of a holder of a certificate of permanent settlement (a) during minority or (b) after attaining majority, if he is ordinarily resident in Ceylon and has identified himself with the permanent population of Ceylon.

The certificate of permanent settlement, we think, is maintained for the benefit of Indians who, though resident in Ceylon and entitled to acquire a domicile of choice, do not wish to do so as they do not wish their children to become Ceylonese by origin. The British and other nationals have this status and the Indians are also entitled to it. The last clause of the Agreement is unsatisfactory and should be modified in the spirit of the above-cited provisions. It runs :

It is agreed that, as regards existing legislation, no amendment need to be undertaken to modify any provisions which, in terms or in operation, are discriminatory.

The clause only denies the need, it does not prevent the Ceylon Government from undertaking of its own motion to do away with the existing discriminations so as to start with a clean slate. We do not think that this is beyond the realm of persuasion. The introduction of such sentimental terms as insult, humiliation and so on, do not help : they irritate and prevent the adoption of conciliatory means of removing differences. On the whole, the Ceylon Draft represents a settlement which should, if administered in a spirit of goodwill, be of advantage to both countries and conduce to good understanding between them.

THE "HINDUSTAN TIMES" CASE.

The contempt of court proceedings against the editor, the printer and the Meerut correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* which concluded last week in the Allahabad High Court in sentences of fine against the three, makes extraordinary reading. The key position among the three respondents is held by Mr. Devidas Gandhi the editor, as obviously the sentence on the printer is just part of the routine responsibility which rests on him, and, though the Meerut Correspondent was responsible for the original message, no doubt it was aggravation of the offence in the editorial office which led to the whole proceedings. The Meerut correspondent's message contained the following introductory paragraphs :

With the judicial officers also now co-operating actively in the war efforts, the 'efforts' are bound to receive a heavy push forward. The judicial officers all over the province have been, I reliably learn, asked by the new Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, who, it is understood, has been requested by his Excellency the Governor, for co-operation in war efforts, to raise subscriptions for the war funds. The judicial officers raising money make it quite clear to the persons whom they ask to contribute that the donations were voluntary and they were not exercising any compulsion in asking for funds. They could donate as much or as little as they pleased.

On this the *Hindustan Times* made the following editorial comment :—

If it is true that the new Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, Sir Iqbal Ahmad, in his administrative capacity, has issued a circular to the judicial officers under his jurisdiction enjoining on them to raise contributions to the war funds, then it must be said that he has done a thing which would lower the prestige of the courts in the eyes of the people. The presiding officer of a court while asking for funds, may say that the contribution

is voluntary, but he cannot remove the idea from the mind of a person, particularly a litigant, that the request is being made by one whom it may not be safe to displease. To be absolutely voluntary, war contributions ought to be raised only by non-official committees or individuals. It was bad enough that the services of the members of the executive were utilized for the purpose, but to make judicial officers do this work is something worse.

The Meerut correspondent then gave an account of proceedings in the court of Judge Mr. Vidyarthi in which he reported that, after passing sentence on four out of a number of accused, the magistrate invited donations to the war fund from the rest with the suggestion that it was the wish of the Chief Justice and the Governor of the United Provinces. A perusal of these two extracts leaves the impression that the offence is in the editorial comment which indeed goes beyond the news in asserting that a circular was sent by the Chief Justice. The Meerut correspondent's message offends most when re-read in the light of the *Hindustan Times's* editorial comment. At one stage in the Court proceedings, it seemed very much as though the whole issue would settle down into a consideration of the lack of justification for the word "circular." But Mr. Devidas Gandhi failed to avail himself of an opportunity of settling the matter by admitting the mistake of his office, offering his apology in whatever language the Chief Justice wanted—what do words or the form of an apology matter after all when all are agreed that the thing is regrettable?—and rescuing his Meerut correspondent from a difficulty which the editorial had accentuated. We quote:

Chief Justice: The mention of the word "circular" in the headline to the news, which did not appear in the news, was unjustified?

Devidas Gandhi: I am prepared to agree to this.

Chief Justice: And yet you never thought of making any amends?

Devidas Gandhi: The question of personal amends to Your Lordship has been engaging my attention and the attention of my counsel (Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru).

Chief Justice: It is not a question of personal amends. What about amends to the office of the Chief Justice?

Devidas Gandhi: If there were anything short of the evidence placed before Your Lordship, I would have already made the fullest amends.

In answer to a question, Mr. Gandhi said that he did not think that the mention of "circular" was of cardinal importance to the case.

Had Mr. Devidas Gandhi taken the line that he accepted responsibility for something which had aggravated the message into a contempt of court, the subsequent developments would not have taken place. But no one in Mr. Gandhi's place could have foretold, any more than he did, that the Meerut correspondent was to be also brought in as respondent at a latter hearing and that even the report of that correspondent would be difficult to substantiate. And most persons would not have resisted the temptation to prove the truth of what had appeared in the *Hindustan Times*. Mr. Gandhi after the event refused staunchly to give any other name as responsible for the mistake to the Court and offered to suffer all the penalties for their sake. In all this, he took the very correct attitude which might be hoped for from any editor. It was something more than mere correctness which alone could have saved the situation and redeemed it from the initial error of too much credulity. A frank acceptance of the position and the setting aside resolutely of all

quibbles and evasions to get out of the difficulty would have given Mr. Gandhi a prestige with all save petty politician. We must confess that we are unable to appreciate the subtle, over-nice distinction between the Chief Justice as a person and the Chief Justice as Chief Justice; between amends and the fullest amends; between the facts of the case and "anything short of the evidence" before the Court.

There are certain points outside the case which arise in reading the published proceedings. The Chief Justice seems to have been as much concerned about the damage to the exalted office of the Governor of the United Provinces as with the contempt of Court involved. This seems hardly reasonable. There is nothing wrong in the Governor of a province throwing himself wholeheartedly in the war effort and most Governors have done it. What is more some of them have done quite a little political tub-thumping in the process and Sir Maurice Hallet has not certainly been the most restrained of the Governors. Nor is it altogether unheard of for the executive head of an administration to bring pressure on the judiciary either in India or in other countries.

Then again Mr. Gandhi pleaded that his purpose in commenting in the way he did was not to bring the judiciary into contempt but to maintain its integrity and independence. It was probably arguing on this basis that Mr. Gandhi offered his amends to Sir Iqbal Ahmad as an individual and not to him as the Chief Justice. The Chief Justice, however, remarked that the question of motive was not relevant in considering the guilt or otherwise of the person charged with contempt of Court but the question of effect on people's minds. If this is strictly true, then evidence should have been led to show that a number of people felt less respect for the Court after reading the note. Even if we accept that the motive is irrelevant to the issue of guilt, surely it is not or should not be irrelevant to the punishment imposed on the individual. We do not think that Mr. Devidas Gandhi would himself have allowed such an item to go into print without first getting sufficient supporting proof. Every editor knows that exaggeration is a common feature in all complaints against authorities and the United Provinces, we are sorry to say, has won an evil reputation for political hysteria of every school, from bureaucracy to the Congress. But even if he had, Mr. Gandhi has been guilty at most first of not showing adequate incredulity in a piece of news which is on the face of it unusual; and later in court of apologising ungraciously. That he should be made to pay Rs. 1,000/- for what is evidently a slip of a subordinate member of his staff, seems rather a harsh judgment.

Lord Linlithgow:—The New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* writes:—Though authoritative information is lacking, it is possible that His Excellency the Viceroy may consider taking a short leave before entering upon his extended term of office in April next. The last occasion the Viceroy took leave was three years ago when Lord Brabourne acted in his place. These three years have been extremely strenuous and if eighteen months be added, it will be nearly five years of arduous administration. Under the Constitution, the Viceroy is entitled to one period of leave but the circumstances now are somewhat abnormal since he has had two extensions. Should His Excellency decide to go on leave, the senior-most Governor will be the obvious choice for the acting vacancy.

TEACHERS AND THE TEACHING PROFESSION.*

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

My only claim to preside over your function is that I represent a whole life-time devoted to education—and more, that my last few years have been devoted to educational work in a spirit of service.

I rejoice to see a band of young men taking no remuneration, seeking no gain, not even the recognition by the public of their services.

In any country such work—the work of bringing a little light of life into the existence of the drudging, toiling workers—would be dedicated work. But in a country such as ours where not only the moral perversity of civilised nations that spend £ 12 millions a day in the work of slaughter is copied at a remote distance, but where further in peace-time the sacred trust of civilising a backward country has resulted in the miraculous transformation, after the lapse of 100 years, of less than 10% of the 400 millions into the category of literates, the call to step into the breach and help where the resources of Government have failed to help, is a call that can be justified even in terms of gross expediency. Here in India where the millions live in conditions that remind us of the Russian population under the Czars, we are also reminded of the fact of that the miracle of mass education which was accomplished within a period of seventeen years by the resources of the Soviets is impossible of achievement under a government whose power rests upon the confidence it can inspire by a policy of conservatism and a cheaply earned security.

Situated as we are, if the masses are to be taught to read and write and since our national resources are not to be made available for the provision of opportunity for the enjoyment of what is unquestionably recognised as one of the elementary and fundamental rights of the citizen, we have to fall back upon the efforts of individuals who are alive to the need and ready to respond. The promoters of the Karnatak Free High School are amongst the growing body of the younger educated generation who have heard the call for individual sacrifice and effort in this direction and who have responded to the call with alacrity, giving their well-earned leisure after a hard day's work to the task of laying down the first few stones on the paving of a long road which future generations might tread in safety towards a goal which the democracies of to-day set up before them—a life of leisure and culture for every man and woman. The road is indeed long and the end far away. Many a one may die in utter despair out of fatigue in the work of construction. But they have the comfort of knowing that their labour has not been in vain, that they have worked and died in order that future generations may live—nay more, that their death is but the prolongation of their lives in those to be born hereafter under better conditions.

In India to-day where our rulers have neither the vision for planning a better order, nor the resources that the self-imposed sacrifices of a national government may make available, it is the educated minority who have the heavy responsibility cast upon them of planning for mass education through their individual efforts and self-sacrifices. That in the drab, dull, commercialised atmosphere of a city like Bombay, there should be an increasing band of young people who are alive to this demand and ready

to give their time and energy to the fulfilment of this demand gives us hope for the future. In every human being there is an inborn potentiality, the gift that comes from God, because it is rooted in God, the seedling that promises a full and a large and a rich life. A society that denies to these seedlings the soil and the watering and the sunlight and air so essential for their growths is committing suicide perhaps unawares. And we who belong to this society as members, are sharers in the guilt and in the penalties that the guilt involves. These young men who are assigning to themselves the task of relieving the ignorance and bringing the light of knowledge to our fellowmen are offering, on our behalf, penance for the guilt; their activities have a redemptive value for all of us; though their voluntary sacrifice, it is we others who are being saved. Their efforts may be humble; the results of their efforts judged by the commercialised standards of our mechanical age may be insignificant; but let us assure them that their efforts are not in vain; that God is with them; that through them as much as through the world's great men the divine purpose is being accomplished; and that, wheresoever God's name is glorified in human affairs, there also shall these unknown personalities be associated in their glorification.

CRISIS IN CLOUDLAND.

[Date 1956. Room of Minister of Expletives. A clean-shaven young man of about twenty-five seated at a large table without a single paper on it. Time 11 a. m. I. S. T.]

Minister to himself:—I like to have a clean table which is as good as a clear conscience. Not like that blighter, my colleague for Birth Control. His table is always cluttered with undisposed files... What now, Chapprasi?

Chapprasi:—Secretary sahib is waiting outside.

Minister:—Send him in. Why this ceremony?

Secretary, an elderly gentleman with a tendency to obesity, enters.

Minister:—Come in, Ram Singh. How are things going?

Secretary:—I am sorry, Sir, for being late by thirteen and a half minutes.

Minister:—That's right. Punctuality is a virtue which we Indians lack. But I have always found you ultra-punctual, two or three minutes before time!

Secretary:—That is not my fault but that of my watch which gains three minutes every day. No watch-repairer in Cloudland has been able to regulate it. I am sorry to say there has been a contretemps.

Minister:—In your family or in the office?

Secretary:—In the office, of course, Sir, I should not think of mentioning my family affairs to you.

Minister:—What is it?

Secretary:—One of the two cats which we maintain on the establishment to chase rats in the record-room—

Minister:—Why have two cats? In these days every piece should be saved for...—

Secretary:—I know. But two cats are necessary to protect our records which cover a long period in the past and in the future. The more important reason is the principle of the equality of sexes—

Minister:—You mean that of the two cats one is a male and the other, a female?

Secretary:—Precisely. You have with your un-failing insight caught my meaning.

Minister:—O, Mr. Ram Singh. Don't flatter me. This is plain common-sense.

Secretary:—True, Sir. But you know commonsense is the most uncommon thing in Cloudland. I was going to say that the female cat has produced a litter of six.

Minister—Good Heavens! This is a matter for the Birth-Control Minister. You have had them drowned, no doubt.

Secretary—No, Sir, that is the trouble. The principle of Ahimsa prevents that simple and expeditious course.

Minister—But surely you can manage the matter quietly.

Secretary—The principle of Truth bars that way also.

Minister—But who is going to ask you?

Secretary—The reporter of the local journal has been to the office and noted the news as an important scoop for his paper.

Minister—Damn these reporters! Why can't they be content with publishing news about men and leave the cats alone?

Secretary—That is their affair, Sir. Besides, men nowadays—

Minister—I have an engagement in a quarter of an hour with the Minister for Dietetics. What about these kittens?

Secretary—The Maternity Committee having been privately informed, by the journalist, have called upon the office to provide extra ration for the mother cat as she has to feed six little kittens.

Minister—Yes?

Secretary—The extra ration will require a supplementary budget. But you have the power to sanction it in anticipation of the regular procedure.

Minister—How much will that be?

Secretary—Rupees two and annas six for the first month.

Minister—Can you not adjust the amount within the budget provision? The Socialist group will make a tremendous fuss over a supplementary demand.

Secretary—I think I can if you approve—

Minister—What is your idea?

Secretary—Quite a simple one. Cut Rs. 2 out of the allowance for the male cat. It will teach him a lesson—

Minister—That is splendid.

Secretary—Now, Sir, you are using an Expletive.

Minister—What about the six annas?

Secretary—I think we had better refer the matter to an Advisory Committee.

Minister—It will not meet for some time. And when it does, I will have to satisfy it that the spending of the six annas is in consonance with the principles of economics. The matter may have to go to one of the Committees of economists who may wish to ascertain the views of biologists. Experts on Nutrition Research may be called in to suggest a balanced diet for the cat which has kittened. It will take a lot of time and cost a lot of expletives. So here is six annas. I can ill afford to spare it, but needs must when the devil drives. Good-bye.

AKSHI.

THE LATE MR. E. L. IYER.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I know Mr. E. L. Iyer since 1921, though both of us come from the same village, North Eluppai, Cheyyar Taluk, N.A. D.T., S. India; for he shook the dust of the village off his feet even in his teens, and, to my knowledge, only made a short stay of half-an-hour in the village in 1934 along with his lawyer-relation of Madras—Mr. A. Narasimha Iyer.

I came in close contact with him in 1921-22, for he was then in the forefront of the Labour Movement in the South and was conducting an English weekly *Swadharma* on its behalf.

One incident that happened during that time still hovers over my mind. There was a mill lock-out

and troubles arose thereon, well-known as Pulliantope troubles. The mill hands were actually starving. He and Mr. V. Chakkarai Chetty fasted during nights, because their men were without food. It was a self-imposed fast, no doubt, but it indicates to what extent Mr. Iyer had identified himself, then, with the cause of Labour.

He was free from caste-shackles and his purse, though not overweighted—for he was not rich—was at the ready disposal of the needy.

News trickled out to me that Mr. Iyer had been suffering from lung-trouble and that he had gone, consequently, to Madanapalli (Chittor Dt.) for treatment. But the news of his death has quite upset us in the village, for it is quite unexpected and unlooked for. Though he is not an All-India figure and has been in public life for a decade or so, he is, without doubt, a worthy product of the village, and as such, North Eluppai will long cherish him.

North Eluppai,
November 5, 1941.

Yours etc.,
E. GOVINDAN.—

CEYLONESE OF INTERNATIONAL FAME.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

May I be permitted to make an observation regarding a sentence in the editorial note entitled "The Indo-Ceylon Agreement," which appeared in your issue of the 8th November.

Obviously to enhance the importance of the "prosperous Tamil population of Jaffna" in the eyes of your readers, you have stated "to this community belongs the credit of producing *the only* Ceylonese of international reputation, Ananda Kumaraswamy." (*italics mine*). It is true that Ananda Kumaraswamy has obtained international reputation in a certain sphere of work, but to say that he is the only Ceylonese to obtain such fame is not quite correct. I can mention the name of at least one other Ceylonese who has won world-wide reputation *viz.*, the late Ven. Anagarika Dharmapala, the founder of the Maha Bodhi Society, who represented Buddhism at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago. By the way, it may be stated here that he belongs to the much disliked Sinhalese community and not to the "prosperous" Jaffna Tamil community.

International reputation is not always the correct criterion of a great man. We know that many a third-rate man has won this by having a large number of supporters to tom-tom his achievements. Unfortunately a small nation like the Ceylonese is unable to find such large numbers of tom-tom beaters. This may be the reason for the failure of her great men to obtain international reputation. Thanks, however, to the Indo-Ceylonese question, a few Ceylonese names occasionally find a corner in the great Indian press which never took notice of them previously. Perhaps because Ceylonese quietly allowed ten lakhs of Tamils to settle down in Ceylon, the belief took root in India that Ceylon had no population of its own and, if there were any, its rights did not matter. Indo-Ceylon differences are, therefore, a blessing in disguise. At least a few of our people are obtaining some reputation in India, if not international fame.

Calcutta,
November 11, 1941.

Yours etc.,
CEYLONESE.

[We had not mentioned the Ven. Anagarika Dharmapala, as we were thinking mainly of living Ceylonese. *The Reformer* has not the least interest in setting up one section of the Ceylonese against another nor in belittling the qualities of the Ceylonese. —Editor.]

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INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 29, 1941. No. 13.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Ceylon and India.
Indians in the Executive Council.
Government and the Legislature.
Communist Conspiracy.
Sir Sikandar's Scheme.
Mr. Amery's Scheme.
New Sind.
Mr. Munshi Woos the Sikhs.

Sastry, Amery and Snow.
Orissa Leads the Way.
Social and Political Trends in India.
Propaganda and Counter Propaganda.
Subhas Bose.
Crisis in Cloudland.
British Secretaries of War.

NOTES.

Ceylon and India:—Amidst the harsh and grating noises of political controversy between India and Lanka, it is refreshing to hear the soothing voice of cultural appeal. The *Buddhist* of which Sir Baron Jayatiloka is co-editor, comments in happy terms on the establishment of a Buddhist Mission and Vihara in Bangalore on land gifted by the Mysore Government. The foundation-stone of the institution was laid by Sir Baron Jayatiloka when he was returning to Ceylon after his abortive mission to negotiate an immigration agreement with the Government of India early this year. His Highness the Maharaja sent on the occasion a graceful message stressing the need of a new redeemer to save the world from the confusion and ruin which threatens it on all sides. Referring to the establishment of the Buddhist Mission, the *Buddhist* writes that the Ceylonese owe India an immeasurable debt of gratitude for the gift of Buddhism and that they cannot repay it better than by taking back Buddhism to the land of its birth where it has ceased to exist. Buddhism has not ceased to exist in India. Most of post-Buddhistic Hinduism is Buddhism. Buddha himself lived and died a Hindu. Mahayana Buddhism which spread from India to Thibet, China and Japan, was developed by and under the impulse of great thinkers steeped in Indian culture. They wrote in Sanskrit not Pali and directly and in strict continuity with them arose the great schools of Hindu religious revival with Shankara as its prophet. Buddha is recognised and worshipped as an Avatar. Buddhism is not dead in India. Indeed, if the practical effects on life are considered, the pith and marrow of Buddhism survives more in the framework of Hinduism than in China and Japan which have fallen a prey to militant western nationalism. Even the *Buddhist* betrays a falling-off from the spirit of Buddhism. "A tree is after all inanimate," it remarks. Surely, neither according to modern science nor ancient thought, is a tree inanimate. It is in some respects the noblest symbol of life.

Buddha's remembrance of the tree which gave him shelter the first thing after his enlightenment, is in the line of a great tradition extending back to the beginning of time.

Indians in the Executive Council:—The Council of State discussed the draft Indo-Ceylon Agreement last Saturday. The debate brought out no points which had not been urged in the discussion in the Legislative Assembly on the previous Tuesday. But it gave Mr. Aney, the Member for Indians Overseas and Leader of the Legislative Assembly, the occasion to enunciate a strange principle regarding Government's function *vis-a-vis* the Legislature. He recalled that he had not given a lead in the debate on the subject in the Assembly because "a debate which took place without any lead from Government in a matter of this kind enabled the Government better to ascertain what the representatives of the people had to say." Had he himself given the lead, he added, he would have been accused of forcing a decision on the House. Last week we answered by anticipation this constitutional doctrine. We may remind Mr. Aney that the Executive Council was expanded on purpose to give the "people's representatives" a direct voice in the formulation of policy. Mr. Aney was until two or three weeks ago one of the people's representatives and as such he was added to the Executive Council. Within that time he could not have been suddenly transformed into an impersonal unit like his British colleagues, losing all his knowledge and experience of the people. A Member of the old-time Executive Council was expected to be, and in most cases was, isolated from and innocent of any contact with public opinion. But Mr. Aney and his colleagues of the Expanded Council are there solely for the purpose of supplying the grist of popular opinion to the mills of Government. Indians are not wanted in the Council for the colour of their skin or because of their descent. Indian is that Indian does. Indian Members of Government are expected, as Lord Hardinge told Sir Sankaran Nair, to present the Indian point of view as firmly as they can, leaving it to the Governor-General and their other colleagues to show how it can be best fitted in with other points of view.

Government and the Legislature:—As for the doctrine of the advantage of Government giving no lead to the Legislature, if the Government

does not give the lead, someone in the Legislature less well equipped with the necessary data, will do it. Some Indians in Ceylon and in India seem to think that the Government of India can send expeditions to Burma and Ceylon with orders to bring U Saw and Mr. Bandarnaike in chains to New Delhi, there to be held as hostages until such time as the Governments of the two countries swear by all their sacred relics to regard and treat Indian immigrants with loving-kindness. Mr. Aney as a Member of the Government knows that the Government can do nothing of the kind. The mistake of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai at the negotiations which broke down earlier in the year, was to have gone behind the backs of Ceylon Ministers to the Governor. We who want constitutional Government, should observe constitutional methods. On the present occasion, two highly respected non-official public men in India with great experience in conducting delicate negotiations, were put on the Delegation in compliance with the representations made to Government from many sides. Did the Standing Emigration Committee lay down any limits up to which the Delegation was authorised to go, and has the draft Agreement exceeded these limits in any respect? Sir Mirza Ismail and Mr. Vankatrama Sastry were entitled to some consideration, not to put it stronger, from the Government. Few will agree to accept invitations from Government to help on similar occasions if they are to be thrown to the wolves on the plea that Government are better able to gauge public opinion if the Assembly is left to its own devices. If the Assembly had been given a lead from the Leader of the House, the debate would have been led into more fruitful channels, there would have been less wild hitting, and Mr. Aney's aim that close friendly relations should be established between the two sister nations, would have been better served.

Communist Conspiracy:—There have recently been tried in South India some cases of communist conspiracy. The most protracted as well as the most prominent of these cases is that against Mr. Kumaramangalam and some others in Madras, which has ended in their conviction and sentence to various terms of imprisonment. Mr. Kumaramangalam is the son of Dr. Subbarayan who has been three times Minister in the Madras Government, once Prime Minister. Mrs. Subbarayan is a member of the Central Legislative Assembly. She was, if we remember, also a member of Round Table Conferences in London. Both husband and wife are now staunch followers of Gandhiji. Young Kumaramangalam was educated mainly in England; in his statement before the Magistrate he explained that it was in England and in an English University that he realised his responsibility to work for his country. One might have expected that in the ordinary course he would like his parents have joined Gandhiji's following. He seems to have been repelled by the anaemic

philosophy of the sage of Sevagram. Like Mr. Kumaramangalam his co-workers who were implicated in this case, were highly educated men. The son of Sir C. V. Raman, the eminent physicist and Nobel Prize winner, had also been arrested as a communist but at the intercession of his father he was released and allowed to remain free. Some similar cases in Northern India have also been reported. It is surely a matter for serious consideration that the sons of some of the first families in the land should have been attracted to Communism rather than to the Congress or the Moslem League. Mr. Kumaramangalam's counsel concluded his address by calling the attention of the Court to the fact that Britain was now an ally of Soviet Russia and that being a communist should now be regarded as a friendly act to Government. Numerous organisations in India have sent their messages of goodwill to the Soviet Ambassador in London. This is a pertinent point. One of the prisoners sentenced along with Mr. Kumaramangalam escaped from the railway train when they were being taken to Bellary under police escort to be lodged in the prison there. Hanumanta Rao has not yet been recaptured. All these incidents have a significance which we trust will be duly appreciated in all quarters.

Sir Sikandar's Scheme:—The Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, is the most elusive figure in Indian politics. It is hard to know where he stands at a given moment. He resigned his membership of the Defence Advisory Committee in deference to the mandate of the Muslim League. He thus saved his seat in the Working Committee of the League though obviously he differs in essential matters from the policy of the League under Mr. Jinnah. He denounced vehemently Mr. Winston Churchill's declaration that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India; and he accepted a few days later the Premier's subsequent iteration of his declaration as completely satisfactory. He has repeatedly dismissed with contempt the idea of Pakistan. In a speech at Sonapat in the Punjab on Sunday, he put forward what he professed to be a new proposal but which is substantially Pakistan in an aggravated form. He began by expressing impatience at lingering in the stereotyped rut and wanted to explore "the possibility of a settlement on a territorial basis which offers a satisfactory solution of the communal problem as well." The report in the *Tribune* of Sir Sikandar's speech is meagre. No doubt he told his audience what other problem or problems his proposal was expected to solve. We may assume, however, that Sir Sikandar had in mind the plan which Mr. Amery had faintly indicated in his speech at Manchester and which Sir Sikandar applauded—and not without reason—as summing up the Indian political situation most lucidly and succinctly. "His clear analysis of our complex political problem," added Sir Sikandar, "indicates a complete grasp of facts and constitutes an admirably realistic exposition of the

existing situation and difficulties." Sir Sikandar always speak in superlatives.

Mr. Amery's Scheme:—Fortunately, said Mr. Amery, from the point of view of the problem of the Central Government, Moslems, though less than one-third of the population in British India, are not in the minority everywhere. It should, therefore, be possible for them in a large measure to safeguard their interests by provisions clearly defining the rights of units. This way of disposing of a vital question for the future of India both in its internal and external aspects is far from courageous. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan in his Sonepat speech reiterated the demand which amounts to this: that the Central Government should be reduced to the position of a pensioner depending on the bounty of the provinces for the exercise of a few shadowy functions which are all that will be left to it. This is to create numerous Pakistans in the country under the pretence of opposing Mr. Jinnah's demand for one Pakistan. The Congress has never adopted a definite attitude on this all important question and has, sometimes, even seemed prepared to negotiate upon it. It is, however, the conclusive verdict of India's history that only a strong Central Government can ensure for her peace and prosperity within and security from aggression from without. Mr. Amery's remarks might be understood to encourage the demand for a puppet Central Government. The importance of having a strong Central Government, with the fullest devolution of power to the provinces, which may be further increased on the basis of language and culture, is due to its being the only way in which the interests of all classes and communities can be effectively protected.

New Sind:—A weekly journal called the *New Sind* was started in Karachi by one Mr. M. U. Abbasi four years ago and from all reports it was largely devoted to a somewhat offensive discussion of personalities. Mr. Abbasi apparently gave wide publicity to anything he heard about the leading pillars of Sind society and nobody seems to have taken him very seriously. Sometime last month, however, the *New Sind* happened to say something particularly offensive to Mr. K. M. Punniyah, the redoubtable editor of the *Sind Observer*, and Mr. Punniyah who claims to have borne all the abuse patiently for four years, turned round and attacked Mr. Abbasi and his method of journalism. In the conclusion of one article the *Sind Observer* referred to Mr. Abbasi as a blackguard and a blackmailer, challenging him to go to court over it. One should have thought that these mutual exchange of discourtesies would have settled the quarrel. Mr. Punniyah, however, pressed for Government action against Mr. Abbasi under the Press Emergency Act of 1931 pointing out the "relevant" section. On November 17 Government acted against Mr. Abbasi, demanding a security of Rs. 6,000 from *New Sind*. The

Sind Press Advisory Committee concurred in that decision. Mr. Punniyah is also the moving spirit of the Sind Advisory Committee. In the circumstances it looks unpleasantly like the Press Committee initiating action in which the Sind Government "concurred."

Mr. Munshi Woos the Sikhs:—Mr. K. M. Munshi who broke away from the Congress because he felt that it was not possible for him to remain passive in the midst of internal disorder, has been working hard on his Akhand Hindustan scheme. In last week's *Social Welfare* he describes his visit to Nankana Saheb, birthplace of Guru Nanak, and expresses his admiration for the great Sikh community. Mr. Munshi regards the Khalsa as the "spearhead of the Akhand Hindustan movement" and he tells Mr. Jinnah that the Sikhs will fight against Pakistan and bravely. To leave no doubt as to what Akhand Hindustan is intended to be, Mr. Munshi quotes Sikh hymns inspired by acute suffering under Moghul rule three centuries ago. In quoting them to-day Mr. Munshi plays, we hope thoughtlessly, with dangerous inflammatory material. He adds:—

One of the greatest tragedies of modern India is the mutual distrust between the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab. Why it should be so was difficult for a stranger like me to understand. I did not find the Sikh different from the Punjabi Hindu except in the externals. The Granth Saheb is Hindu to the core. The Khalsa was the bulwark of Hinduism in the North.

There are two points in this which makes one regard the father of Akhand Hindustan as very loose in his thinking. If he feels himself a stranger in the Punjab between the Hindus and the Sikhs, what becomes of Akhand Hindustan? Does this one-time Congress leader confess to provincialism in his thoughts? Then, again, is the absence of differences between Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab "except in externals" which the distinguished ex-Minister of Bombay noted during a short visit and feels called upon to mention, so remarkable as to strike one almost immediately one notices the external differences? Apparently the external differences between other Punjab communities—shall we say, the Muslims?—and the Hindus there have worked down into the skin. Mr. Munshi's approaches to the Sikhs are pathetic. These are the tactics which the Gandhian Congress applied to the Muslims, resulting in Mr. Jinnah, and with the Depressed Classes rousing Dr. Ambedkar. The Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab are coming together in reaction to Sir Sikandar's regime. Mr. Munshi seems to be attempting to win a little cheap popularity by arriving on the political scene as the cement of Hindu-Sikh unity. Far too much is being done, or rather spoken, with the intention of opposing Pakistan, when the only effective method would be to repudiate the thought on which it thrives. Mr. Munshi in his unrestrained wrath at Mr. Jinnah is gradually getting himself manoeuvred into a position where Akhand Hindustan is reduced to a united front against Muslims.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, November 29, 1941.

SASTRY, AMERY AND SNOW.

On Wednesday, 19th November, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, spoke at Manchester on the Indian problem. On the same day the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry spoke in Madras on the same subject. The coincidence extended beyond the date. The two statesmen covered the same ground and, what is more, made substantially the same observations regarding the difficulties which beset the path of constitution-making for India. Referring to the idea that the future Indian constitution should be framed by Indians in India, Mr. Sastry criticised the proposal of a Constituent Assembly for the purpose. If, said Mr. Sastry, the idea was that they should frame a constitution *ab initio* without any sort of commitment on the footing of complete independence of all connection with the British Commonwealth, there were a number of hurdles which have to be got over. By whom should the British sovereign be replaced? If India was to be a republic, how would the President be chosen? Would it be a Republic on the French or the American model? If it was to be a monarchy, would it be a limited or absolute monarchy? Who should be selected for the first King—one of our Maharajas or a British Indian chosen for the purpose? If they decided to remain within the British Commonwealth, how could the States be fitted into the Dominion economy? If it was to be a Federation, we have had painful experience of the obstacles confronting that course. Mr. Sastry reproached, in passing, the Princes for having started the Federation here and subsequently dropping off from the chase. So far as he knew, he said,

the Princes who began with being warm advocates of Federation and who led them into the morass of Federation, had gradually become lukewarm friends of Federation. How were they going to reconcile these men and get them in?

Very similar, if not identical in terms, were the difficulties in the way of applying the clause about self-determination in the Atlantic Charter to India, urged by Mr. Amery in his Manchester speech. His Majesty's Government, he said, had made it clear that the future constitution of India must be framed by agreement among the representatives of the principal elements of her national life. Mr. Amery indicated what he thought to be these principal elements. First on his list were the units into which British India is already divided—the eleven provinces. Next, there were the States "equally excluded from the control of India's general, foreign, defence and economic policy, but with no similarly precise demarcation between their powers and those of the Crown." Then there were the great religious and cultural communities. Mr. Amery included in the last category the so-called scheduled castes numbering, he said,

perhaps forty millions or more, but unorganized and only gradually acquiring collective consciousness. Mr. Amery dismissed the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame the future Indian constitution, as an "impossible" though natural and intelligible one. Mr. Amery next questioned the suitability of the British system which Congress has adopted as its model. He admitted that British statesmen also have in the past encouraged Indians in this idea. Another difficulty of an even more obstinate character was, if a Federation was adopted, whether the Central Government or the federated units should possess residuary powers? Mr. Amery did not raise the point raised by Mr. Sastry about the form of Government, Monarchy or Republic, which India would have. His principal objection to the Congress preference for the Parliamentary system, was stated in a striking passage. He said:

The Congress originated and grew up as the first vigorous expression of Indian national ideals into unified bureaucratic India. It has tended throughout to think of itself as representative of India in opposition to an alien rule and as natural heir and successor to that rule. In so doing it is apt to forget that conditions under which it secured its majorities and under which those majorities exercised power, will no longer be present if British control and British support of British armed force are removed. It has yet to learn that conditions under which it can exercise its influence and fulfil its ideals in a self-governing India have yet to be agreed upon with other elements which are not prepared to consider Congress majorities as having a moral authority over them or any other material sanction than that of the existing British authorities.

Mr. Amery is wrong in regarding the present-day Congress view as that which it had held from its origin. Until Gandhiji took control of the movement, the Congress did not regard British rule as a foreign rule except in respect of the personnel in the higher ranks of officialdom. Even Lokamanya Tilak had declared in so many words that he did not want the elimination of the British sovereign, he only wanted India to be governed primarily in her own interests, that he would be content if something like the Mysore model were adapted to British Indian conditions. Even Gandhiji was of the same view until the slaughter of Jallianwala and atrocities of Amritsar forced him and others to the conviction that such incidents can not be dissociated from foreign domination. In his self-righteous estimate of British rule with which he began his Manchester oration, Mr. Amery ignored these and similar incidents which have disfigured Anglo-Indian history. We have never denied credit to British rule for its contributions to Indian progress but to speak of it in unrelieved terms of superlative adulation, as Mr. Amery did, is to invite contradiction.

Throughout his speech Mr. Amery evaded the real charge against the British connection. Here is a fair sample of it by a friendly American. Edgar Snow in his "Battle for Asia" writes:

Americans may not realise that British India is a generation older than the United States. After

one hundred and eighty years of British rule, ninety-three per cent of the Indian population is still illiterate. In forty years of American rule in the Philippines, illiteracy was cut down from ninety-eight per cent to forty-five per cent, while in twenty years the Soviet Union reduced illiteracy from seventy eight per cent to eight per cent..... Perhaps a better indication of the Indian anomaly is seen in the failure to develop heavy industry on the basis of a modern industrial nation from its rich resources... Little Japan, one seventh the size of India and with extremely meagre iron resources, produces seven times as much steel..... India's water-power resources are second only to those of the United States, yet she has developed only three per cent against the latter's nearly forty-eight per cent.

As Mr. Sastry's observations show, Indian statesmen are keenly conscious of the difficulties in the way of India's political future. They realise them even more keenly than Mr. Amery. But they feel, as Mr. Amery does not, that the system of Government under which India has remained so pitifully backward in education and industry, and as a consequence, has the lowest *per capita* income in the world with the significant exception of the Netherlands Indies, must give place to some other, even though there may be no certainty that it will yield better results. The literacy and economic condition of the Muslims and the scheduled castes, on whose behalf Mr. Amery evinces so much interest, are no better than that of the Hindus whom he assumes to be an oppressive majority. Britain has to answer to the world and not to the Congress for its failure to raise the standard of life in India. Snow observes:

It will be suggested that the emancipation of India would mean the end of British "unity." It may be the only way in fact to create it. The strongest allies democratic England has today are Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and, without the help of a certain former colony south of Canada, she might not survive at all. A Free India could become as valuable an asset to England as America.

Orissa Leads the Way:—The spell which paralysed the Provinces with Congress Governments, has been broken and Orissa, regarded as the most backward of them, has now a Government headed by the Maharaja of Parlakimidi. Of the two Ministers, Mr. Godavaris Misra, has severed his connection with the Congress. The Mahomedan Minister Moulvi Sobhan Khan has not been prominent in politics. Their action in coming forward to shoulder the responsibility of a non-party Government in the province where, until recently, the prospect of such an event seemed impossible, shows a quality of independence which seems to have disappeared in political life. The example of Orissa will, no doubt, have its reactions elsewhere. It remains to be seen what support the new Government has in the Orissa Legislative Assembly. The Maharaja and his Colleagues should be presumed be confident of having adequate support in it. The public is tired of inaction. Within the Congress itself there are signs of deeply and widely felt discontent with the present dog-in-the-manger policy.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TRENDS

IN INDIA.

The movement for social change in India during the British period, dates from over a hundred years ago when Raja Ram Mohan Roy started his agitation against *Sati*. Though earlier there were signs of discontent with prevailing social conditions, it is usual and profitable to start any studies of Indian reform movements in the British period from Raja Ram Mohan Roy who struck out new paths in religion, in social reform, in education, and in politics. It was in many ways fortunate that the builder of modern India was so versatile in his interests. In the social field he left an enduring example to the generations that came after him.

For the first fifty years, efforts were largely directed towards ameliorating the condition of women in India, particularly Hindu, society. In 1887 the social reformers started the annual Indian National Social Conference which for nearly forty-five years provided a common platform for men and women workers from all over the country, from the Indian States as well as from British India, of all shades of political opinion, officials as well as political extremists. It was an annual stock-taking. Through its sessions individual advocates of reform felt a new strength and lost their sense of isolation. Social Reform was no longer a number of sporadic and ill-organised attempts to bring about better social conditions. And along with organization came also a certain restraint, an element of conservatism. Slowly the Conference took on wider scope. It turned its mind to the elevation of the unprivileged classes, to general education then believed to be the bedrock of democracy, and to labour questions. When in 1930 the annual Social Conference disappeared under the increasing claims of politics, there were several organisations replacing its work in specialised fields.

The Women's Conference, an organisation embracing all political parties and, like the Social Conference, disregarding the artificial barriers between British India and the States, took over the work of the earlier body in matters relating to education and to what might be conveniently called the home. The Labour Movement developed with the vigour of personal experience the advocacy of the workers' cause. Gandhiji threw himself with religious fervour into the movement for the uplift of the depressed classes, calling on the privileged Hindus to repent and expiate their sins towards their fellowmen. The Harijan Sevak Sangh was the practical form which his agitation settled down into. The work of the Social Conference was thus continued in associations which were more specialised and organised on a full-time basis. What had been lost was a general view of the community as a whole. Each interest found itself organised and agitated for rights for its members forgetful of the duties it owed to the community.

The Social Conference, however, did not break down before the younger and more specialized organisations. It fell before three forces: the rising tide of nationalism which promised at the time to work as a great uniting factor, gathering to itself all activities in the country and covering every aspect of life; the new methods adopted in the political field which gradually spread into other spheres; the crisis in Europe of western civilization and a loss of faith in the country as a whole in the superior values of western institutions. In 1920 the Indian National Congress accepted the leadership of Gandhiji. Gandhiji marked a departure from his predecessors which was clearcut. The Social Conference had gradually established the

authority of reason and the argument of personal example as the basis of change in place of earlier controversial wranglings over sacred texts. Necessarily it was confined in its appeal to the educated classes. Under Gandhiji the country witnessed a movement in which every weapon was pressed into service in the advancement of political aims. And the most cherished weapon was the raising of mass opinion in his favour. The emotional appeal drove reason to a large extent from the field.

The changed methods adopted by the Congress were influenced by the changes brought about in the political field by the British Government. With the extension of the franchise, a new class of men and women were given the right to take political decisions. This widening of the electorate roused doubts as to the co-relation between education and democracy. These had their immediate effect in throwing out the advocates of "gradualism" and in putting the extremist in the saddle. This, however, need not have been a change for the worse. In India, as elsewhere, the extremist tends to be tamed by responsibility. But responsibility was withheld. What was destined to work more insidious mischief in the nation, was the separate electorates given to the Muslims, the largest minority in the country. It was argued at first that, in view of the importance of the community, special representation should be given to them in excess of their population ratio. It was also pleaded that the duties of the legislators were purely of an advisory character. There was no effective opposition at the time, and it was thought that the new nationalism would overcome sectional interests. But special and excessive representation has become a permanent part of the political structure, though the reason now urged in justification of it is no longer the importance of the Muslims as the community from which sixty percent of the Indian army is drawn, but the need for overcoming the fears of a minority.

The Government of India Act of 1935, in spite of the fears of representative and responsible Indians, was put through. Not only did it give its sanction to the divisive forces already existing in the country, but it added to them by breaking up the constitutional unity which was known as British India into eleven different autonomous provinces which were later expected to come together in a Federation of Indian States and Provinces. Reforms were put into force in the provinces whilst the centre was left as before, with the result that provincialism thrived. Sectional groups demanded the creation of new provinces on a linguistic basis fascinated by toy parliaments and toy cabinets. The prospect of closer association with the autocratic Indian States brought the Congress party into intimate contact with popular movements in those territories. This inevitably led to an estrangement between the National Congress and even the more progressive States which had looked forward to a fruitful period of co-operation with the Congress which they thought would cast off its extremists. But it was not adequately appreciated by the Indian Princes that an essential step in this direction was a recognition of the distinctions that exist between one Indian State and another. For it is useless to pretend that all Indian States are equally well or equally badly administered.

The value of the provincial Indian governments in these circumstances lies more in the trends they displayed than in any actual progress they were able to achieve. In every province the indications were clear. Widespread education, economic progress and raising the living standard formed the main pre-occupations of eleven provincial administrations. And unofficial consultations took the place of

co-ordination from the centre. Prohibition was adopted as an important plank in the Congress platform but it was obstructed by concessions allowed by the Ministers of Excise to European subjects. Alcoholic drinks, incidentally, are more easily banned in India than in Western countries as the social conscience is opposed to drinking. And the system of annual licenses to liquor dealers which prevailed before the advent of popular governments and their first attempts at Prohibition, had prevented the growth of vested interests round liquor.

The political scene underwent another change on the outbreak of war. The Congress ministries which administered eight provinces, resigned as a protest against India's involvement in the war without previous consultation. At the same time they made it quite clear that they shared the British detestation of Nazism. Under pressure from all political parties, the British Government after a year of war declared its position in regard to India to be that of scrapping the 1935 scheme and allowing representative Indians to draw up the constitution of India, reserving to Britain the right of safeguarding interests that have arisen in the two centuries that the British have been in India and of looking after the Indian Princes. That apparently is the last word as another year has elapsed without any change.

It is against this background that one has to consider the last political developments—the expansion of the Viceroy's Council as a matter of "administrative convenience," and no less the Congress and Muslim League policies. Now, that Indians are in the majority in the Government of India, Indians will expect at the very least that there will be a change of mental attitude from working the war effort to its maximum, to subordinating it to the interests of the people. This is the very minimum that the expanded Council can do. More it would be idle to expect under the present system. Less would be a confession of utter failure. The political parties in the country have not been very successful in enunciating their policies. The Congress and the Muslim League have not acquiesced in the official suggestion that the war effort should take precedence over every other interest. But they have not been as definite about what they actually place as superior to the demands of the war. As a matter of fact, the attitude of detachment to the details of administration implied in the attitude of abstention of both parties, does not serve the public interest whilst it leaves Indian affairs in the hands of men who value the rather abstract and nebulous aim of saving civilization before service to the country. In the years to come, after the obsession of the war is over, there will remain much to be done and less money to do it with. Education, public health, medical aid, social betterment—all these have to be handled and they can only be done by the representatives of the people. India, to-day, shares with China and the Netherlands Indies the distinction of being the poorest country in the world. In the industrial world, her position can best be judged from the fact that with her vast network of railways, she still does not manufacture a single locomotive. For the future, if we bear in mind that the Asiatic, unlike the Anglo-Saxon, looks to his government to help him out in many ways, that distrust of political power is not ingrained in the Indian mind and that traditionally the State is held responsible for the well-being of every citizen, then the urgent need of India is clearly for a strong government at the centre. And it must be firmly convinced of the unity of this vast country as only an Indian government can be. Then only will it gather to itself the forces that make for stability and for peace.

PROPAGANDA AND COUNTER PROPAGANDA.

In *The Reformer* of November 15 we published a letter from Mr. Josselyn Hennessy, the Principal Information Officer of the Government of India, stating that the counter propaganda section of the Information Bureau, was solely intended for countering enemy propaganda and was *not* (italics his) concerned with India's internal politics. Two days later we received a green pamphlet entitled "War and the Indian National Congress" with the rubber stamp impression on the cover "With the compliments of the Director of Information, Bombay." The pamphlet is not a production by any official of Government. It is a lecture by Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, delivered at Nellore in the Madras Presidency in February last. For the Director of Information in Bombay to have hunted up this lecture delivered in another province some months back for distribution through the agency of his Department, means that the Director himself is satisfied that Dr. Reddy's lecture is superior to anything that he himself can produce for the information of the public. Dr. Reddy's lecture, however, is not information but anti-Congress propaganda. It professes to be nothing else. In the opening sentences, Dr. Reddy referring to a remark of Mr. Mack's who spoke before him, that he would have to avoid controversial references, protested that he did not see how he could carry on war-propaganda without dealing with the merits of the counter-propaganda. There are those "who hold that this propaganda could be carried without introducing political controversies of any kind." Dr. Reddy went on to say "I am afraid I am not subtle enough to be able to do so." He claimed for his lecture the approval of Congressmen themselves as they stood for truth and "truth does not preclude discussion provided that it is carried on in the right spirit and the courtesies of public life are maintained." What the "right spirit" is, is a matter of opinion but Dr. Reddy has certainly not infringed the courtesies of public life. As a war propaganda speech, that is, a speech intended to persuade those who did not know, or were indifferent to, the merits of the war, the performance could not have been much of a success. To show that the Congress had been inconsistent, that it has bungled, does not prove anything about the duty of the non-Congress public to the war. Congressmen, of course, will not admit that Dr. Reddy's presentation of their positions was free from the bias of one who was once a prominent member of their Party. But as a citizen, Dr. Reddy is entitled to say what he thinks about the Congress. We are less certain about the propriety of the Vice-Chancellor of a University descending into the arena of political strife. If he must deal with politics he should, according to our sense of propriety, do so on the high plane of abstract principle. He must treat controversial questions in the detached spirit of an academician. He must, that is to say, present first the point of view of the side from which he himself differs. Of course, you cannot carry on war propaganda if you so much as permit yourself to suspect that there may be more than one side to the question. But we are concerned with Dr. Reddy's position as the head of a University. Andhra is predominantly a Congress province. Most of the leading families are adherents of the Congress. The sons and daughters of these families attending the University can not but feel that their Vice-Chancellor is a political partisan. The feeling would invade the academic sphere and may lead students to suspect that favour is to be gained by professing

one set of views agreeable to the Vice-Chancellor and prejudice may be created by professing a different set which the Vice-Chancellor has been at great pains to denounce.

Several of the criticisms of the measures of Congress Governments by Dr. Reddy are merely repetitions of the criticisms in *The Reformer* from time to time. Dr. Reddy indeed pays us the compliment of citing *The Reformer* in one context. The crucial mistake of the Congress was to place the power of controlling the Ministries in the hands of two or three men who, as might be expected, made use of it to consolidate the party to the neglect of the larger interests of the country. Power was exercised by a small body while responsibility was left to Congress Ministers. The mistakes attributed to Congress Governments are really the mistakes of the controlling triumvirate, the consequence of the separation of power from responsibility. But these mistakes are quite irrelevant in determining the relation of India to the present war. Dr. Reddy in his zeal as a war propagandist, overlooks his function as a student of history and constitutional theory. He devotes several pages to attack those who objected to Lord Linlithgow's declaration that India was at war. *The Reformer* has pointed out that this declaration made no difference, that India would have been at war all the same if the Viceroy had made no declaration and that probably His Excellency's action was prompted by a well-intentioned desire to establish India's right to figure as a personality in her own right at the time of the peace settlement. Dr. Reddy dismisses the point involved as a mere formality of no importance. He also argues that had the declaration been brought before the Legislative Assembly it would have been thrown out by a combination of Muslim League and Congress members. The two points are mutually destructive. If the presentation before the Legislature was an unimportant formality, its rejection by that body would be equally unimportant.

Prior to suggesting the possibility of a combination of Muslim League and Congress members to defeat Government on the declaration of war—only a few lines prior to it—Dr. Reddy writes:

It is well known that Moslems for reasons which I need not go into now at length, are strong supporters of the War. For one thing Turkey is on the side of the Allies and you can take it from me, where Turkey is, the Indian Muslims will be. The fate of Islamic countries like Turkey and Persia, are menaced by Germany.... Take it as a datum that the Moslem provinces would have supported the war. Does it not mean that civil war in this country would have been precipitated earlier than now when it is almost like the spirit of civil war between the Congress and the League?

The address was delivered in February. Since then events have given an answer to Dr. Reddy more impressive than any that could have been given by individuals. We can but indicate in the briefest possible way what these events are. The Working Committee of the Muslim League met at Delhi. The British are in occupation of Persia for excellent strategic reasons. Shah Reza Khan has been found to have developed in later years an autocratic and anti-national tendency. He abdicated and is understood to have sought asylum in Mauritius. Turkey, despite the close proximity of the war, has refrained from giving active help to Great Britain whom she is pledged to help. President Inonu is reported, in the *Bombay Chronicle*, to have left for Berlin. As for Dr. Reddy's pragmatic dictum that Indian Muslims will be where Turkey is, facts are against him. In the last war Indian Muslims were not with Turkey and it was their over-

zealous efforts that forced Kemal Ataturk who would have been content with the separation of the Caliphate from the Sultanate, to abolish both. In the course of the imperfectly reported proceedings of the Delhi meeting of the Working Committee of the League, one of the members complained that none of the Muslim nations had said a word in favour of Indian Muslims while the latter have been pouring out blood and money on their behalf. As a matter of fact, there is some reason to think that other Muslim nationals view the attitude of Indian Muslims to the Congress with disfavour. Dr. Reddy's charge against the Congress that it stands in the way of agreement, is no more true than a similar charge would be against the Muslim League. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari offered to get the Congress to accept an arrangement by which power would be transferred at the centre to a Ministry headed by Mr. Jinnah with members chosen by Mr. Jinnah. Dr. Reddy quotes with evident approval Mr. Jinnah's grievance that the offer was not made to him. Why should it have been made to him? The matter was not in his hands to decide. It was one for the British Government to decide and, therefore, it was made to the British Government. It showed that the Congress was not concerned with the creed of its nationals who formed the Government but with the fact of their being natives of India.

SUBHAS BOSE.

The *Bombay Chronicle* published on Monday a message from its London correspondent repeating the account given by the "Empire News" of how Subhas Bose was smuggled out of India. He is said to have been dressed in women's clothes and to have gone to Rome via Afghanistan and Syria. The journal adds that Subhas Bose planned to broadcast from Rome but the Duce's transmitters were not powerful enough and so he went to Berlin to carry on anti-British propaganda. Rome Radio has been heard in India regularly before the war when it had an English service. And, again, if it was Subhas Bose's intention to carry on anti-British propaganda from Berlin, it is strange that he has not been heard from Berlin all these days. Even Government which has a special Department for foreign propaganda seems not to have heard him... There are besides inherent improbabilities in the story of his traversing the whole breadth of India disguised as a woman. He would have had to elude the vigilance of three provinces and the closely guarded Khyber Pass, a very difficult feat, if not a practical impossibility. The simple disguise of a woman would have availed him little.

An esteemed correspondent writing in the *Hindu* of Madras suggested another course of a less improbable character. He wrote:

The impression in Calcutta is that Subhas Bose boarded a Japanese steamer and sailed away! In the absence of authoritative information, Dame Rumour always gets busy. To give the rumour verisimilitude, it is said that for some days before his departure, Japanese visitors constantly went in and out of his house, that his disappearance was not published till a Japanese boat leaving the port was well out on the high seas, and that that boat lay in anchor a whole night in mid-stream in the Hooghly after getting port clearance. The public are entitled to know whether these rumours are true. If the Japanese story be not true, how did Mr. Bose slip away? The inference of official inefficiency becomes irresistible.

CRISIS IN CLOUDLAND.

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There has been a reshuffling of portfolios, among other changes the Department of Health has been renamed the Department of Death and added to the Department of Birth Control, Control being converted into Co-ordination. Time 2-30 p. m. Dining-room of Immortality Hotel. The table has been just cleared after luncheon. Minister for D. B. C. enters and takes his place at the centre of the table. He clears his throat and addresses the assembled journalists: Gentlemen of the Press, (peers into the back row) I beg pardon, and Lady.

Impatient Pressman: There is no lady among us here—

Minister: I thought I espied a red sari over there, (points to the back-row).

Impatient Pressman: It is our colleague of the *Dress Reformer* which advocates uniformity of standards for men and women.

Minister: Is that so? Most interesting to be sure. I should like to hear more about the movement in due course. Now, Gentlemen of the Press, you will have known already of the reorganisation of this Department. I have invited you here today to explain to you briefly the aims and objects of this Department which is literally one of Life and Death to India and to the world at large. I have thought it desirable to provide luncheon in this Hotel Immortality before the regular proceedings begin because from my experience I know that a good meal is an extraordinary help to—

I. P.: It makes one sleepy.

D. B. C. M.: Psychologists have discovered that impressions gathered during sleep pass directly into the sub-conscious and become a lasting influence in one's character. However, those of you who feel otherwise may help yourself to a pinch of snuff. Please pass this on (hands his gold snuff-box to his neighbour.) To go back to where I began, Gentlemen of the Press, the fundamental axiom on which this Department is based, is—I ask your pardon for quoting from the "Bhagavad Gita"—"*Jatasya dhruvo, mrityu h*"—which in English may be translated into "All who are born are destined to die." That I think is common ground between all religions and between Religion and Science—

Member speaking from rear: Sir, I represent the *Biologist*—a scientific journal. Biology does not admit that all creatures that are born invariably die. For instance the amoeba—

Minister: What is that? I have never heard of it.

B. J.: It is the tiniest form of life. It propagates by splitting. It never dies. It is immortal.

D. B. C. M.: I have been brought up to think that immortality is the exclusive privilege of Divinity. However, I will make a note of your objection and qualify my proposition thus: All things born (with the exception of the amoeba) are destined to die—

B. J.: I am not sure that amoebas are born. On that point, I cannot dogmatize.

D. B. C. M.: Well then, we shall further modify our proposition thus:—"All creatures that are born, except amoeba if they are born, are destined to die." Does that meet with your approval? You see, I want to carry all of you with me in the great task that awaits this Department.

B. J.: That seems all right.

D. B. C. M.: I would go further and if you like I will refer this point to an Advisory Committee of cent per cent Indian biologists.

B. J.: I'm much obliged.

D. B. C. M.: Then we are agreed on the basic principle, subject to the report of the biologists about the birth of amoeba. Here another point crops up. It is not strictly relevant to our work but let me state

it: It is whether the converse of the proposition which we have now agreed to, namely, "all creatures that die are destined to be reborn," is also true. It seems a corollary to our first hypothesis. (*Secretary whispers into M's ear*). I understand that there is a difference of opinion on that point among religions. So, we may leave it aside for the time being. Later, perhaps, we may request the Congress of All Faiths to advise us on it. I resume the thread of my talk about the function of this Department. You will note that the word "Control" in the designation of this Department has been replaced by the word "Co-ordination." I should like to explain briefly the significance of the change. It was adopted after consultation with all our numerous Advisory Committees and it has a profound significance. The idea underlying the change, I modestly claim to be mine. But I do not claim any exceptional intelligence. My conclusions are based on my experience as a family man. I have worked out a simple formula. It is this. In this room there is standing room for, say, 500 adults of average girth. If you want to get in ten more, you will have to get ten out. That is plain commonsense, is it not? (*Several members turn their wrists to see the time. Minister notices*) I should not take up your time. I know you are busy men, I myself was a sort of journalist once upon a time. I will only say today that our programme is based on the simple analogy of the room. We propose to divide the country into districts. Each district will contain approximately a million inhabitants. So that in all we shall have, say, four hundred districts. Our first step should be to collect accurate data. All schemes hitherto have gone amiss because they were not founded on reliable data. To avoid this we propose to appoint five superintendents for each district, selected with due reference to sex, caste, communal and racial claims. These superintendents will register all men and women of reproductive ages, (*several journalists have closed their note-books and are preparing to stumped*) and we shall, on the basis of the data thus gathered, introduce a well devised system of quotas.

Statistical Journalist: That does sound interesting. (*Journalists resume their seats*.) How do you propose to apply the quota principle to births and deaths?

D. B. C. M.: It is quite simple. I have worked it all out. You know the American method of regulating immigration by quotas on the basis of the population in the United States from the several countries of Europe on a given date. We extend that principle to entry into the world. Each community and caste and sect will be assigned quotas calculated on its population in 1891. We take that year because famine and plague materially altered the composition of the Indian population at the next Census, that of 1901.

S. J.: If your quota is exceeded in any community?

D. B. C. M.: Automatically the quota will be increased in others. If the quota is not worked up to, the quota of all others also will be correspondingly reduced.

Puzzled Journalist: How will that be done? What is your automatic machinery for effecting this adjustment?

D. B. C. M.: That will be referred to an Advisory Committee of Birth Controllers. The Department will be guided by their advice if it is practicable to do so. A more important and difficult question is as regards Deaths. For the principle of quota will apply to deaths also. I must frankly tell you, Gentlemen of the Press, that the point has baffled me and my able officials. The regulation of births is comparatively easier than the regulation of deaths,

although there is an intimate relation between the two. By reducing the births we directly reduce the deaths also. Apart from this, I must seek the advice of another Committee to work the quota principle in relation to Deaths.

S. J.: Of whom would this Committee consist?

D. B. C. M.: I have given special thought to this question which you have so sensibly raised. I have decided that this Committee of Quota for Deaths, should be recruited predominantly from Yogis—

Several journalists: Yogis!

D. B. C. M.: Of course. Because Yogis alone know the secret of quitting this body at a desired moment without laying themselves open to the charge of attempting suicide. Poet Kalidasa has left on record that the ancients had this faculty: "Yogenante thanu tyajam." They left their bodies by yoga when they chose. (*The hall is empty before the Minister ends. To himself*): It is precious little these chaps would have gleaned from my speech. The art of statesmanship is that of speaking much while saying little.

AKSHI.

BRITISH SECRETARIES OF WAR.

The demand of the Sapru Conference that there should be Indians in charge of Finance and Defence has won some support in Britain. Sir George Schuster in his recent book does not see anything beyond fulfilment in that demand.

"There is every reason to think," writes Mr. Rawlinson in a recent issue of the *Spectator*, "that India could produce a Defence Minister as good as the average British Secretary of State for War." If this is all that India can hope for, God save this country when it gets its freedom. For Britain has had good fortune to make up for the mistakes of incompetent War Secretaries whilst the history of India in latter years would seem to be one struggle against bad luck. It is interesting in this connection to read what Cassandra of the *Daily Mirror* has to say about the average War Secretary in his "The English at War:"

Since September 3, 1939, there have been no less than four Secretaries for War: Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha, Mr. Oliver Stanley, Mr. Anthony Eden and Captain David Margesson. The latest holder of the office has not been there long enough to prove himself—or, in view of his reputation, which suggests that he would be an efficient golf-club secretary with a flair for tyranny, should I say disprove himself? Mr. Eden, beloved of hatters and women-folk alike, was obviously shunted there to be kept in political refrigeration until such time as he could be rewarded for his somewhat restrained resistance to the dictators three or four years ago. Hore-Belisha's talents have been widely questioned by many people. But.....he was certainly preferable to the blockheaded crew who had run the Army since the days of David Haig..... The arrival of Oliver Stanley at the War office was the unmistakable proof that the best interests of the nation were ditched because of the prejudices of a military caste. He fulfilled every requirement that Hore-Belisha's enemies could have desired. He was a member of one of the most ancient of our noble families—the son of the 17th Earl of Derby. He was a Conservative. His education (Eton and Oxford) was impeccable, and he was eminently acceptable, if only for his almost unbelievable mediocrity. He has been Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Home Office, Minister of Transport, Minister of Labour and President of the Board of Education, and his imprint on these offices was like that of a rain-drop plunging into the Pacific Ocean. He was the Great Cipher, standardly equipped even to his undoubted integrity which is fortunately such a commonplace among British public servants.

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Editor:—S. NATARAJAN

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 6, 1941. No. 14.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Addresses.	Government and Congress Prisoners.
Sir Tej Bahadur on Leadership.	India and Democracy.
Mr. Eden and Indian States.	Mr. Amery on India.
Indian States' Dilemma.	Did Seeta Lie?
Storm over Andhra.	Crisis in Cloudland.

NOTES.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Addresses:—In the *Reformer* of the 29th November, we noticed the lecture of Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, which had been circulated in the form of a pamphlet by the Director of Information of Bombay. We took exception to this official imprimatur to a highly controversial composition particularly in view of the assurance given by the Principal Information Officer of the Government of India in a letter published in the *Reformer* that his Department does not indulge in propaganda in internal politics. The Director of Information in Bombay may not be bound by the assurance of the Principal Information Officer of the Government of India, in which case we can only regret that he does not realise the consequences of carrying on a propaganda against a party which Government is trying to persuade to throw in its weight on the side of constitutional action in pursuance of the country's interests. If the Congress accedes, as seems likely, and comes into office again, the Director will have to sing to another tune. To avoid this contingency and to make the Information Department trusted by the public, the proper course is that the Department should confine itself to presentation of facts using its discretion only so far as is necessary to supply the background needed for the correct interpretation of facts. To transgress these limits is to bring not only itself but the Government whose mouthpiece it is, into disrepute. Since, however, the Bombay Director has chosen to circulate Dr. Reddy's pamphlet, we trust he will have the fairness to procure copies of Sir S. Radhakrishnan's addresses recently delivered at the Agra and Dacca Universities. In deprecating the descent of heads of academic bodies in the arena of controversial politics, we indicated the legitimate ways in which they can and should enlighten the student mind on the broad principles of political philosophy. Sir Radhakrishnan's addresses are models of what such addresses should be. There is not a word about the Congress or the Moslem League,

about Pakistan or the Hindu Mahasabha. The Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University, who was Dr. Reddy's predecessor at Andhra, eschews all controversy. He analyses and presents before Indian youth basic facts of India's long history illumined by his deep philosophic insight. There is not a trace in these addresses of propaganda which has come to mean plausible lying. We once again urge the Director of Information in Bombay to secure Sir Radhakrishnan's addresses and circulate them as an antidote to Dr. Reddy's petulant outburst upon which he put his rubber-stamp, without perhaps realising that its whole effect was likely to be to thwart the conciliatory policy which the Bombay Government has been pursuing with more consistency than any other provincial Government.

Sir Tej Bahadur on Leadership:—A distinguishing feature of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's public utterances, whether extempore at public meetings or set on ceremonial occasions, is their intensity of emotional emphasis. Even in cold print one can feel Sir Tej's face aglow and eyes aflame behind the curtain of his words. His earnestness, sincerity and absolute unconcern for popular applause, have made him one of the most respected figures of our time and country. The Convocation address which he delivered at the Benares Hindu University, exhibits all these qualities in full measure. Towards the end Sir Tej touched upon a high theme which has been somewhat obtrusively neglected in his addresses on similar occasions hitherto. He stressed the importance of university men cultivating a spiritual outlook in its broadest sense. Whatever may be the case elsewhere, in India this does not mean blind adherence to dogmas and doctrines. It means simply and literally to keep one's windows wide open on the Godward side, as Lowell puts it. This does not necessarily mean that one should even believe in God. God stands for Truth and whoever engages in its pursuit in any of its many phases in a disinterested spirit, is seeking after God. With this high and majestic aim which Sir Tej invited the graduates of the Benares University to cherish in their lives, it is difficult to reconcile his thesis that Universities should produce leaders for the future Indian democracy. Surely the disinterested pursuit of truth does not make men popular leaders. No one can be a popular leader without a strong vein of charlatany in his

composition. There are several types of leadership. During the French Revolution a little man was seen tramping behind a seething crowd waving a small flag. Someone asked him what he was doing there. He replied indignantly, "Don't you see I am their leader?" There are plenty of such leaders among us and it is quite unnecessary for our Universities to put themselves out to train more of them. The other type of leader is the man of infinite brass.

The crowd must have emphatic warrant,
Right-arm's rodsweep, tongue's imperial fiat,
Ne'er dares the man put off the prophet.

Leadership is beneficial to the leader and the led only when it comes unsought as the result of a community of ideals. When the leader has constantly to look behind to see who and how many are following him, he is not a leader but a follower, though he may be allowed to walk in front of the crowd. Dr. Pannalal speaking recently to the graduates of Allahabad University, wanted them all to qualify to be Army officers. Sir Tej asks them all to qualify to be democratic leaders. Neither is the true purpose of university education, which is to train men to think on the highest plane and to live up to the best in them. Leadership whether in civil life or the army, is essentially management of men. Men are managed more through their weaknesses than through their virtues. Fear, greed, ambition are the most generally exploited emotions in their management, especially in India as she is circumstanced at present. The University can have no call to promote the process. The Army and Democracy have no claims on the University. They should train their own leaders. This is not to say that University men should not enter the Army or become political leaders. It is only that Universities should not be required to make training Army officers or democratic leaders their supreme end.

Mr. Eden and Indian States:—We called attention (*Reformer*, November 1) to the influence which the alliance with Soviet Russia and the dependence to a large extent on the United States for help in the war, is likely to have on the attitude of the British Government to important Indian problems, particularly the Indian States. To the discerning eye signs are already visible of a subtle change in this direction. One of considerable significance is the sally of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Antony Eden, in the course of his speech in the debate on the King's Address at the opening of the present Parliamentary session. Referring to criticism of Government's Indian policy, Mr. Eden said :

The honourable member (Mr. McGovern) is fully entitled to make his criticisms of the Government of India and the way our rule in India is administered, but I wonder why he did not put anything on the other side of the balance-sheet. Why did he not tell us that there are seventy million people living in Indian States which have been in Indian hands for a long period and that there is no great movement of the population from British India into those States? Why not? Because one of the fundamental problems in India is

that many Indians do not wish to be ruled by certain other Indians.

This is a revelation of the real motive of the British Government in maintaining the States, which has been long suspected. It is for them to serve as a foil to set off the advantages of British rule. We shall not pursue that point for the present. Mr. Eden asked critics of British rule in India, why, if there were so many blemishes in it, Indian people do not emigrate to the Indian States where they can have Indian rule. It must be conceded that one reason is that the administration of British India, defective as it is from the democratic point of view, has certain qualities which are not equally inherent in the Government of many Indian States. These may be summed up as pertaining to the scope allowed to the development of personality, which is more in British India than in the States. The Indian States in the Peninsula contrast less in this respect with British India than the States in the Punjab and Rajputana. Nevertheless, the belief is general that there is more elbow-room in British India for a man of talent than in many of the States. It is no answer to say that the interference of the Political Department of the Government of India has been progressively reduced to a minimum and at present exists only in the realm of theory so far as the better governed States are concerned. There has been a retrogression in this respect of late when English officials have been appointed Dewans in several States. Lord Curzon held that English officers should not be given controlling authority in the administration of the States which he wanted preserved as training grounds for Indian administrators.

Indian States' Dilemma:—The definition of a sovereign is one who has not to look above to some one else. The authority and integrity of Indian rule in the States is materially diminished in the eyes of the States' subjects by the knowledge that the ruler is in theory subordinate to another Power. In other words, the rule of the States is not real Indian rule. As Mr. Amery said the other day, the powers of the States are less clearly defined than those of the Provinces in relation to the British Government. As things stand at present, British India represents a more highly evolved type of Government than the Indian States. This is the plain reason why British Indians do not emigrate to the States while educated men from the States, even the best administered, come to British India attracted by the larger opportunities which it offers to them and their children. Mr. Eden is so far justified in his jibe that Indians do not like to be ruled by other Indians, only if we forget that the "other Indians" are only nominally rulers but in reality they are themselves subjects with less defined rights than the people of British India. There are other reasons why there is little migration from

British India to the States. The best parts of India with the coastal areas had been absorbed into British India before the Dalhousie policy was reversed. Trade and industry developed more freely and rapidly in British India. The growth of the Press, almost entirely still negligible except in one or two States, afforded the public the means of influencing public policy. Representative Assemblies have been established in several States but in the absence of a free Press such Assemblies have never functioned satisfactorily. Lastly British India is in contact with world affairs, and the British Indian has interests in nearly all parts of the world.

Storm over Andhra :—A serious situation has been caused in the Madras Congress party by the acute differences disclosed between Mr. Prakasam, the Andhra Revenue Minister in the late Congress Government, and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, ex-Prime Minister. At the 22nd Andhra Conference held at Vizagapatam on 25th November, Mr. Prakasam made a statement exculpating the Congress High Command from the charge of having sabotaged the movement for a separate Andhra province. He said that at a meeting of the Madras Cabinet presided over by the Governor, Lord Erskine, a memorandum was approved and signed by all the Ministers including the Premier, Mr. Rajagopalacharya, supporting the demand for a separate Andhra Province with a joint capital and a joint Governor in Madras City and that Lord Erskine had expressed himself sympathetically in regard to the proposals. In fact His Excellency himself volunteered the suggestion that he would himself be the Governor of the two provinces. The memorandum was sent to the Secretary of State, Lord Zetland who, after an inexplicable delay, vetoed the proposal. No reasons were forthcoming. Mr. Prakasam thereupon instituted enquiries in London through friends. One of them obtained from Lord Zetland the covering letter which Lord Erskine had sent along with the Ministers' memorandum. In that letter His Excellency had not only opposed the separation of Andhra but had stated that there would be bloodshed in the streets of Madras if the proposal was given effect to. Mr. Prakasam added :

Why should Lord Erskine who was so sympathetic towards the Andhras, write such a letter? It was not the free mind of the Governor that wrote such a letter but his mind was poisoned after the Cabinet meeting by the influence of some evil genius (Cries of 'Who was it?' from the audience). I do not want to mention any name and I do not want to insinuate anyone. You can infer for yourselves. But where does the Congress High Command come in?

When we read this the suspicion that Mr. Prakasam was insinuating that one of his colleagues in the Ministry had done the poisoning, flitted across our mind only to be dismissed as highly improbable in view of the fact that he had remained in the Cabinet to the last, had courted imprisonment, and had been released only a few days previously after serving the full term of the sentence awarded to him. The *Madras*

Mail, it seems, commented on Mr. Prakasam's statement using expressions which Mr. Rajagopalacharya understood to be an insinuation that he was responsible for Lord Erskine's view expressed in his letter to the Secretary of State. He wrote to the *Mail* :

If, as I believe, you mean to insinuate this against me, all that I can say is that I am astonished at this lie. Neither directly nor indirectly did I oppose or induce anyone to oppose the separation. Neither I nor any of my colleagues in the late Government told the Governor or the Secretary of State to hinder or delay the proposal, much less to prevent it, I am surprised that you have chosen to give publicity to this mischievous lie. If I do not take steps to sue you for damages for this libel, it is because of other and more important pre-occupations.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya added a postscript requesting the Editor to publish it at once. He waited for three days and as the *Madras Mail* did not publish his letter he sent it to the *Hindu*. Naturally, Mr. Rajagopalacharya resents the insinuation, and the non-publication by the *Mail* of his categorical contradiction. The public are concerned to know how the letter of Lord Erskine came to be written. As we said, a suspicion flitted across the mind that one of the Ministers might have "double-crossed" the Cabinet. But it was at once dismissed as impossible and the alternative which occurred to us, since the existence of the letter has not been questioned, was that Lord Erskine must have been advised by high officials of the "security services" that the probable effects of separation would be disastrous.

Government and Congress Prisoners :—In a peculiarly worded announcement the Government of India declared their intention to release "those Civil Disobedience prisoners whose offences have been formal or symbolic..... With them there will be released also Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru." It is not possible to say who are expected to be released and who are not but the next few days will clarify the position. Implicitly it also suggests a policy of no further arrests for "formal or symbolic offences." The reason urged for this new policy is that the Government of India are confident of the determination of all responsible opinion in India to support the war effort until victory is secured. We may attribute this confidence to the recent change in the constitution of the Government of India rather than to a change in political conditions. The implications of the announcement are that the Gandhian campaign of individual satyagraha does not materially affect Britain's war effort in India, and that, if the national temper does not turn against the war owing to the arrests of those who preach opposition to it, then, surely, it will not be affected by leaving such people free to agitate. Freedom of speech, however, is not an end in itself. The decision of Government has been generally welcomed as a first step though failure to release the detenus is regretted.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 6, 1941.

INDIA AND DEMOCRACY.*

A book which promises to give a centre to political discussion on Indo-British relations both in India and in Britain, has recently been brought out by Sir George Schuster and Mr. Guy Wint. Sir George Schuster wanted to have the present situation in India surveyed by one who had not been involved in the conflicts of the past two decades and he chose Mr. Guy Wint to do the work. Mr. Wint had been in China for four years on economic missions and he had the additional qualification of belonging to the younger generation. It is obvious that the main ideas influencing even the first part are Sir George's, though the details have been collected by Mr. Wint, a painstaking but unimaginative gatherer of politico-economic data. And Sir George's broad outline can, not unfairly, be sketched somewhat as follows: Democratic institutions are new to India which is an Oriental country without experience of any government save tyranny; Britain has throughout her rule in India, pursued a policy of setting up responsible government and representative institutions; India has her natural place along with the political units of the British Commonwealth, possibly with the United States also thrown in, on a basis of equality; and what is needed now is no recriminations since they serve no useful purpose but a genuine effort at understanding between India and Britain. Sir George has suggested, in vague outline but none the less only consistent with a forward policy, methods of getting such a mutual appreciation; and one hesitates to offer criticism lest that which is of value in "India and Democracy" be lost for the much that is superficial and annoying. Nevertheless, much as we would welcome a discussion in which the arid field of recriminations is strictly excluded, the ban must be observed on both sides. Otherwise it merely tends to encourage one party to impose his reading of history on the other. So far as Indian history goes, the Schuster-Wint thesis is that there is a definite demarcation between pre-British and the British periods, the first being a succession of tyrannies and the second a continuous progress to democratic and constitutional goals. This is an over-simplification of the past. We would say at the outset that with one criticism of the authors, implied more than expressed, we are in agreement: That in the India of today there is far too little serious study of problems as they exist and even less publicity for the little that is being done. It is particularly important for us that knowledge should be easily accessible and curiosity assiduously cultivated.

WINT'S SURVEY.

It is always interesting to know what opinion others have of our country and our people. Mr. Wint in the first part of the book has given a

*Macmillan and Co., London, 12s. 6d.

picture of Indian life which, if incomplete, is in the political sphere enlightening. Unfortunately Mr. Wint suffers from the British complaint of an almost cynical disbelief in the interpretations given by non-British thinkers even of their own socio-political institutions. He points out, for instance, that there is insufficient evidence to prove the democratic character of the panchayat system. How much evidence is required to prove this? There has been a great deal of research in South India into ancient inscriptions which leaves no room for doubt. We have printed articles in the *Reformer* giving results of such studies which confirm the earlier conclusion of Sir Henry Maine which Mr. Wint seeks to discredit. And is it not the wiser part to encourage the thought that democratic institutions are not foreign to Indian political conceptions? Parliamentary democracy in Britain can be represented as a struggle in which the chance of having one king who did not know the English language and another who was in a perpetual drunken state, gave the victory to the popular side. But how much of enthusiasm for parliamentary institutions would remain if this were persistently preached? Mr. Wint's researches into India's past have not been very profound. They were in fact not even necessary for the purpose of this book but, since Mr. Wint has touched on them, we shall point out a few inaccuracies and illogical deductions. In his chapter on "India and China," Mr. Wint remarks that a religious virtue attached to the Emperor in secular China unparalleled in religious India. A Chinese Emperor, he asserts, was believed to control the fate of his subjects by a kind of "sympathetic magic." Is this not a concept which is woven equally into the Hindu conception of Kingship? Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in his book on "Rajadharma" writes that unhappiness in a kingdom was a sign of error in governing. After his coronation a king was no longer a free man. He was governed by Dharma and Dharma for a king implied not only his own duties but to visualise the duties of every one of his subjects. The king in India as in China was expected to be something greater than the model of conduct for his subjects. From this arises another cause for confused thinking in Mr. Wint. He states in one paragraph that the Hindu king was not law-giver but upholder of the law. This is true. But how then can one argue, as he does a few pages later, that the Indian people did not know the rule of law until the British taught it to them? Is it not more correct to say that Britain succeeded here because the concept was not foreign to India? Again, Mr. Wint sees in the Manchu regime in China a foreign government which succeeded by offering to administer the ancient laws of the people more justly, while he hints by implication that the British supremacy in India was a "mortal threat to Indian culture." This is to accept the reading of history popular with the unthinking Indian demagogue.

It is not borne out by facts. Let Mr. Wint go back to the professions of early British administrators like Elphinstone. Again and again he will find them asserting that the British were in India not to overturn the prevailing system but to administer the old laws more justly. That is the foundation of British rule in India and without adequately appreciating the fact it is not possible to pursue the undoubted continuity of Indian history.

These are historical interpretations and one can possibly excuse Mr. Wint for not grasping them during his two years' visit though not for venturing to dogmatise on them or for including these irrelevant inaccuracies in his book. What is more difficult to excuse is his deliberate resort to picked quotations from Burke and other champions of India's cause to bolster up his thesis that Britain has followed a consistent policy of advancing political progress in India. Let us be frank about the past and admit that Britain has rarely shown a definite policy in India and, where she has, it has been more often reactionary than progressive. There can be no complete picture of British rule in India unless the shadows are sketched in equally with the light. The historical student cannot afford to gloss over his presentation without becoming a partisan and what he fails to do, will be rudely done by others. It is as essential that English students should be no longer squeamish about "mistakes," as it is that Indians should sternly admit errors of judgment and excesses of agitation. More, since even for the mistakes of Britain, Indians have to pay. Mr. Wint mars an otherwise able analysis of the political situation by slurring over the part the British Government of India played in setting Muslim opinion against the Hindus in 1909. Why must he do it incompetently by admitting later that the Muslim League which he describes first as a spontaneous rising out of Muslim fears of Hindu domination, was before the passing of the 1935 Act "little more than a club of Muslim notables?" Nor is this all. In his chapter on "Dangers" Mr. Wint insinuates that the Indian is a man brought up with little regard for truth. It is a childish charge but it is one which has come up time and again even from British Viceroys. Nevertheless, if we remember that he is considering this "characteristic" in its relation to political conditions, it is strange that an Englishman should bring it up now after the notorious admission of Baldwin in 1936 of having lied to his country for the sake of his party :

My position as the leader of a great party was not altogether a comfortable one.....Supposing I had gone to the country and said that Germany was re-arming and that we must re-arm, does anybody think that this pacific democracy would have rallied to that cry? I cannot think of anything that would have at that time made the loss of the election from my point of view more certain.

Sir George Schuster is painfully conscious of the erratic and superficial nature of Mr. Wint's groundwork. "I feel, indeed," he writes, "as one who has commissioned an artist to paint a portrait of a friend and is surprised

at some of the characteristics revealed." He, however, hides his disappointment by commending the sincerity of his immature collaborator. As the Indian reader puts down the book after reading Mr. Wint's section, he feels driven to the conclusion that India must seek her future outside the British Empire, perhaps only with Japan, and that the British regime has been an interlude which has put the national (Oriental) genius of India in a strait jacket. Mr. Wint is obsessed by the distinction between East and West and he drives that feeling home to his readers. Is India's future to be in national alliance with Japan at the sacrifice of individual liberty, or an infelicitous association with Britain gaining the rights of the individual? Mr. Wint sees this as an irrevocable choice before Indians. But Sir George Schuster has the wider vision. He sees the possibility of a greater unity arising in the world out of India's peculiar position. He also realizes that in an Empire based on the antithesis of East and West, India can have no place. Most Indians will welcome his understanding.

SCHUSTER'S PROPOSAL.

It is with relief that one turns to the second part of the book which embodies the constructive suggestions of Sir George Schuster for a solution of the Indian problem. One cannot agree with all that our ex-Finance Member has written. He begins with the obvious statement that the first interest of a national government will be the welfare of the people of India. He is rather disingenuous when he suggests that the British "people" are to be the judge of what is for the welfare of the Indian people. Who are the British "people"? Those who have been interested in India in the past? There is a certain naivete in his description of the lack of interest of Britons in Indian conditions and an example he gives cannot inspire much confidence in the value of making the British "people" custodians of India's interests. He writes :

When I was Finance Member in India I set up a Banking Commission. The Commission itself was appointed entirely from Indians, but, in order to bring in outside experience, and yet avoid any impression that we were endeavouring to impose exclusively British ideas on India, it was arranged that a small Advisory Committee of outside experts from different countries should be invited to come out and work with the Commission.....I was able to get the services of an outstanding Dutch banker.....and also one of the most notable bankers from Berlin. It proved, however, quite impossible to get any leading English banker to spare the time to visit India, and, in the end, the post of the English member had to be filled by a young man of thirty who had barely completed his experience as a learner in a London banking house. It would be easy to multiply instances of this kind, and these things go far to account for a lack of understanding proper between the two countries.

We are not surprised when Sir George pleads the right to make mistakes for British administrators in a system which particularly favours error. We might mention here incidentally that out of twenty members of the Indian Commission only one, Mr. Manu Subedar, thought fit to protest against the foreign experts of whose special

qualifications he seemed in doubt, and his colleagues in their report took him severely to task for not appreciating the time devoted by busy bankers from abroad to India's banking problem, little realising that in one instance at any rate it was rather the case of having time to spare than sparing time. Sir George has said that "it would be easy to multiply instances of this kind." No wonder Sir George observes that he found no difficulty in working with Indians during his five and a half years and in getting their co-operation. That is why Indians now want a change of system. India is too poor a country for these adventures.

There are other indications as well that the future Indian Finance Minister, granted that, as Sir George Schuster assumes, he is given a free hand in determining India's economic policy, will have to go beyond the ideals of Sir George. We are told with great ingenuity that no special stigma attaches to an agricultural population and that India would be well advised to develop her agricultural position alongside of building industries. It is a fact of history that the industrial states have invariably shown aggressive tendencies against, in the first instance, the agricultural ones. India has no need from point of man-power or material resources to concentrate on the one to the exclusion of the other. But the primary need of the day is to develop heavy industries. Australia which produced as little as India before the war, has progressed by tremendous leaps in the past two years, until the *Punjab* was launched at Sydney the other day. With an Indian Government there is no reason why India could not outstrip that achievement. Nor is it clear why Sir George Schuster who claims an exhaustive character for his economic programme, should have omitted exploitation of India's mineral resources. On the question of military help to India from Britain, we are glad to note a marked advance on the suggestions of other British writers. Sir George does not make an understanding dependant on India's continuance in the Empire. For this we believe we have to thank the realities of the present war where Britain is seeking American assistance without offering political submission and at the same time extending help to Russia without demanding compromise of her political principles, leave alone prior entry into the British Empire. It has always struck us as a particularly mean proposition to link the freedom of India with the capacity of Indians to defend their country alone.

There is the question of financial obligations between India and England where Sir George unfortunately does not show a similar breadth of vision. It is surely hardly generous to talk of getting guarantees at a time when Indian money is pouring into Britain for war purposes. Nevertheless, India will not hesitate to accept even that but it removes a spirit which

ought to exist between members of a single political group. Sir George utters sound advice when he tells businessmen and traders to rely more on their own utility to the community than on guarantees on paper. The financial obligations are the least important in the question of Indo-British relations and, if the other disputes are settled, these will be solved with the utmost generosity. But Britain who is spending colossal sums on her war with the Nazi enemy, might consider whether it is worth while wrecking an understanding with India for the sake of a few millions. On the future of India, whether she is to continue as one or be divided into several states, Sir George is at one with Indian opinion in insisting on unity. But he chooses a peculiar method of securing such unity by counselling a course of encouraging provincialism. Will British statesmen never learn by experience? The Act of 1935 has surely done enough mischief by fostering all sorts of sectional ambitions. It is not by reducing the power of the Centre that India's position will be strengthened but by increasing it. The provinces may have the widest powers by devolution from the Centre and any number of them may be created. Any statute which fails to recognise this, is bound to collapse as the 1935 Act did at the first crisis. Sir George realises this but his fears of securing Indian assent make him prefer the indirect method of first dividing the country before creating a federation. But Indian opinion is beginning to assert itself. With all its defects, Sir George Schuster's is a notable advance on previous discussions on India. As such it deserves to be widely studied in this country.

Octogenarian Sati:—In the village of Mohanpur, says a message dated Serajgunj, November 28, a woman of 82 died almost immediately following the death of her husband, Prem Das Sarker. Sarker, who was 90, was a *namasudra* by caste. The news of his death being conveyed to her, his wife it is reported, exclaimed, "What is the good of my living then." Thereafter she gave all instructions relating to the cremation of her deceased husband and when the body of her husband was taken away, she retired into her bedroom. Within an hour of this she was discovered dead by the other inmates of the house. Her body was later burnt on the same pyre on which her husband was cremated and hundreds of people visited the scene.

Gandhiji and Muslim Demand:—Mr. Mahadev Desai contradicts the report circulated by a Press correspondent from Allahabad that Mahatma Gandhi is inclined to agree to the Muslim demand for a fifty per cent representation at the Centre under specified conditions as being entirely without foundation. He adds that there is no truth in the report that Mahatma Gandhi is in correspondence with Mr. Jinnah.

Miss Bharucha Arrested:—Miss Perin Bharucha, member of the Executive Committee of the Punjab Civil Liberties Union, was arrested on November 28 under the Press Emergency Powers Act, in connection with a poster regarding detenus published by the Union in Simla about two and half months ago. Miss Perin is a daughter of Col. Bharucha, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab.

MR. AMERY ON INDIA.

Mr. Amery's Manchester speech has suffered in its reception in India chiefly because of its prolixity. The essential points in which he came closer to the Indian point of view than any British statesman has done so far, lie hidden in a cloud of controversial comment on the Congress with a vague sort of apology for the Moslem League. He seemed to be less anxious to understand the Congress point of view than that of the Muslim League. He refused to allow any weight to the Congress because its moral authority was not recognised by the other elements, meaning chiefly the Muslim League. Moral authority does not derive from its acceptance by anybody. Its authority is inherent though all the world may fail to recognise it.

Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne,
Yet that scaffold sways the future, for behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

If the Congress has moral authority, it will not be affected in the least by the other "elements"—a word which has a special fascination for Mr. Amery. Moral authority can be countered only by a higher moral authority. No moral authority attaches to a movement which has no higher aim than to secure for the group which it professes to represent, the maximum of rights at the expense of other elements, which have to be content with the minimum. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the moral authority of the Congress has steadily diminished owing chiefly to the experience of the Congress Governments which aimed more at consolidating the Party than at lasting benefit to the people of the provinces in which they were in power. Congress sacrificed its moral authority for a few material gains.

Mr. Amery came close to the Indian point of view which is neither that of the Congress nor that of the Muslim League but is the outcome of Indian historical conditions past and present. The following passage is the most significant in the Manchester speech:

Beneath all differences of religion, culture, race and political structure, there is an underlying unity. There is the fundamental geographical unity which has walled off India from the outside world while at the same time erecting no serious internal barriers. There is the broad unity of race which makes Indians as a whole whatever the differences among themselves, a distinct type among the main races of mankind. There is the political unity which she has enjoyed from time to time in her history and which we have confirmed in a far stronger fashion than any of our predecessors in the unity of the administration of law, economic development and of communications.

Mr. Amery omitted in his list the far-reaching influence of English education and British history and contact with high-minded Englishmen who at no time were altogether unavailable in this country and in England. One feature of Mr. Amery's mental processes, which distinguishes him from many other English statesmen past and present, is freedom from insularity. This no doubt is due in large measure to his mixed descent, English on his father's, Hungarian on his mother's side. Besides Mr. Amery himself was born in India and the first air he breathed was that of India. All these are ignored in conventional estimates but their influence is very real and lasting. There is no other way of explaining the habitually detached manner in which he discusses political questions relating not only to India but to the Empire as a whole. In his speeches on the war, for instance, he has not hesitated to express his admiration of German foresight and thoroughness,

in a House of Commons determined to see nothing good in the German character. The sentiments which he expressed regarding India's essential unity are what would be inferred from what German thinkers would call geopolitics. That is the influence of geography and race in moulding national unity. Mr. Amery's wide outlook is equally shown in his advice to Indians not to glue their vision to the British Parliamentary system but to study the Swiss, the American, the old German Empire, former Austro-Hungary and other examples in their formulation of the future Indian constitution, as well as those of the British Commonwealth. We may add that his father's vocation, of Forest Officer, no doubt accounts for the son not being able to see the wood for the trees of the Indian problem.

"Nor is there any reason," Mr. Amery went on to say, "why Indian political genius should not create precedents of its own." The recognition of India having a political genius capable of creating its own precedents, is another ideological revolution for which Indians should be grateful to Mr. Amery. British statesmen as a rule have hitherto assumed that India has no political genius and has to be supplied with one by their statesmanship. India has a political genius of her own. Political genius is more widely diffused among nations than artistic or spiritual genius. Socrates held that a man who managed a household could manage a State. Socrates had Xantippe for wife and naturally exaggerated the difficulties of the task of householders. But in essence he was right. The management of a State is the management of a family on a large scale. The art of household management reaches its perfection in the joint family which Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has hit upon as the pattern for Indian self-government. But Europeans to whom politics is the ruling passion, have denied political genius to non-Europeans. Mr. Amery has broken the evil tradition and that is a distinct gain to the cause of Indian freedom. India's political genius has been illustrated by the numerous works of Indian authors in ancient and medieval times. Professor K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar has given a conspectus of them in his "Rajadharma" Kingcraft, which we noticed in the *Reformer* (November 15, 1941). Professor Iyengar summarises the political doctrines of more than a score of Indian Jurists. The thread of continuity which marks all Indian historical processes is present here also. Indian ideas of Government show continuous development but in one particular they have remained constant. That is, the presence of a monarch at the centre. The Indian abhorrence of anarchy was so deep and strong that the later Indian authorities did not insist on identity of race between ruler and ruled as an essential of Rajadharma. Chandesyara (1300 A. D.) in his treatise recognises the right of conquest. He allows that the ruler may be of any caste, not necessarily a Kshatriya. He dispenses with the Coronation ceremony. It is noteworthy that the same philosopher-statesman proclaimed for the first time formally in Indian political theory the "divine right of the people." The King may be of alien descent but he should accept and observe the rules of good government laid down in the Shastras. Many foreign rulers did this and were recognised as dharmic sovereigns. One dynasty which failed to observe the rules of good government, was overthrown. This was the Sakas who levied illegal taxes, abducted women, killed cows, confiscated private property and were constantly fighting amongst themselves. They were never crowned, that is, not recognised as legal kings by their Hindu subjects. The Sakas were overthrown by Chandragupta II.

DID SEETA LIE ?

An animated controversy has been going on in the columns of the *Hindu* for some days over some remarks of Mr. Satyamurti and the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry reflecting on the action of the heroine of the Ramayana while in captivity in Lanka under the orders of Ravana who had abducted her from the hermitage in which her husband Rama, herself and his brother Lakshmana had made their home during their exile from Ayodhya. The monkey chief, Hanuman, at the instance of Rama, made his way to Lanka and gained access to the place where Seeta was confined. He had a talk with her and carried back to Rama a jewel from her in order to satisfy the latter of her identity. Soon after Hanuman left her presence, the female guards set over Seeta, questioned her as to who Hanuman was. Seeta avowed she did not know. Mr. Satyamurti in extolling Gandhiji's adherence to Truth mentioned this incident, crediting Gandhiji with having introduced new canons of truth in public life. Mr. Satyamurti observed :

There were occasions when by speaking the truth they would do much more harm than good. There was the classic example of Seeta denying to her guards any knowledge of who Hanuman was, though she had been speaking to him a moment before.

The report in the *Hindu* of Mr. Satyamurti's speech does not show what exactly the inference was which the speaker drew from the incident. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, who presided, understood Mr. Satyamurti to have justified Seeta's deviation from truth.

In the course of his concluding remarks, Mr. Sastry said that Mr. Satyamurti seemed to think that upon occasions of great danger, they might practise a slight economy with regard to truth. It was a very dangerous thing to suppose that "when you are encompassed by evil you can surmount it by evil." It was a temptation which came even to good people and poor Seeta succumbed to it. He would say that Seeta was a distinct warning to them. Sita tried to escape by means of a lie but she did not succeed.

Seeta is the model woman of Hindudom for all time. To impute falsehood to her was an act of sacrilege. Letters poured on the *Hindu* protesting against the irreverent observations of both Mr. Satyamurti and Mr. Sastry.

Admitting the fact, Seeta's champions pleaded justification in the circumstances. Some even went so far as to claim that Seeta only did her duty in denying knowledge of Hanuman. Mr. Satyamurti let the storm blow itself out and did not reply. Mr. Sastry chose the more intrepid course. He wrote a letter in the *Hindu* declaring that Hindu scriptures inculcated a sterner ideal of truth. They held that there was no religion higher than truth. "To take lower ground," maintained Mr. Sastry, "is to open the door wide to falsehood." He concluded:

At the risk of shocking some pious folk I shall add this. To me Seeta's character is edifying, adorable, grand though it be not perfect in every particular. I even doubt that any character portrayed in a poem can be perfect.

Surely, the Sakyamuni presented to the world not in poem but in life the model of a perfect character. As Dr. Harald Hoffding writes in "The Philosophy of Religions,"

Buddha does not come before us as a reformer of external conditions. He had no wish to overthrow

Brahmanism. But he gave in his personality a living example of personal perfection, which pointed beyond everything that was already in existence.

The whole controversy is no more than a storm in a tea-cup. Seeta was a girl of tender years reared in the cultured atmosphere of the court of her father, the illustrious Janaka, the royal sage who, while discharging with a high conscientiousness the manifold duties of a Hindu monarch, pursued his philosophic reflections in the spirit of absolute detachment. Seeta was abducted from her husband's protection by a Rakshasa—by the way, Ravana was a highly civilised man and a staunch devotee of Siva—and detained in a distant country in the custody of women whom Seeta was brought up to regard much as an English wife of a British official regards her Indian sisters. The Ramayana on the face of it is a propaganda poem in the interest of Hindu orthodoxy. No doubt, it has for nucleus an historical event. In the Buddhist Jataka, Rama and Seeta are represented as brother and sister and this is the version which found its way into and has been sculptured in the temples in Java and Cochin-China. Valmiki's version as it has come to us has been certainly edited so as to serve as a handbook of Hindu social behaviour, primarily of wife to husband, but also of the fourfold system of functional castes.

The Valmiki version of the incident touched upon by Messrs. Satyamurti and Sastry, is itself confusing. Where were the Rakshasi guards when Hanuman was interviewing Seeta? They were apparently witnesses to the meeting of Hanuman and Seeta. Did they stand out of earshot from considerations of courtesy or were they present at the interview and avoided questioning Hanuman himself about his antecedents and his identity? He was making no secret of them. He boldly proclaimed to Ravana himself that he was the direct descendant of Vayu and the emissary of Rama, and advised Ravana as a righteous King to restore Seeta to Rama and not to sully his fame by a sinful act. It is probable that Seeta felt that the Rakshasis were merely fooling her, that they knew all about Hanuman, and that, therefore, there was no occasion for her to repeat for their gratification a biography of Hanuman. Assuming that the Valmiki version conveys what Messrs. Satyamurti and Sastry understood it to do, Seeta is not the only figure of antiquity who acted as she did. St. Peter, under far less excusable circumstances, denied his Master thrice in the Chief Priest's Palace, Peter, a hardened sea-farer of mature years! He had been named as his successor in the headship of the community founded by his Master. "Upon this rock will I build my church," Jesus had declared, though he also foretold that Peter would deny him thrice before the cock crew in the hour of trial. If Peter was a liar, Jesus Christ evidently thought the lie which he spoke was a lie which, in the words of Bacon, "passeth through the mind," and not "the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it: that doeth the hurt." Mr. Sastry is right in holding that truth must be spoken at all times and at any cost. To hold otherwise, would be irretrievably to debase the moral currency, for all morality has for its foundation loyalty to the truth within us. But no one will be quicker than Mr. Sastry to condone the weakness of the flesh if the spirit be willing. Seeta is the type of the wife who has to pretend and prevaricate owing to the thoughtlessness of an egoistic husband obsessed by the idea of his own importance.

CRISIS IN CLOUDLAND.

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[An imposing building bearing on its front in two-foot letters: Directorate of Odds and Ends. Time 12-30 p. m. Director a benevolent middle-aged sportsman at a big table with glass-top, dictating to a stenographer. The doors are flung open and in walks a young man with a cane in one hand and what looks like a picture-frame in the other whistling to himself. He has a cigarette between his lips. He approaches the Director's table with calm assurance, throws down the cigarette and stamps on it, adjusts what is revealed now to be a folding chair, settles himself on it and accosts the Director, handing him his card.]

Director: This is very irregular. Is there not a chapprasi at the door?

Visitor: Yes, there is. He was sleeping and sitting at the same time. The picture was so interesting that I had not the heart to disturb him. And besides.....

Director: But Mr.....

Visitor: Professor, if you please. You have my card, (turning to the stenographer) Buzz off, Miss Lipstick. I have business with the boss. (Stenographer looks indignantly at him and glances towards her Chief. The latter is so taken back that he stares silently at the visitor. As she is moving away, Visitor whispers in her ear) Don't overdo the lipstick, Miss.....

Director (recovering from his astonishment): Well, Mr. Vajrabahu?

Visitor: Once again I call your attention to my card. I am Professor Vajrabahu, Professor Boomarang Vajrabahu, Dr. of Human Dynamics in the Patagonian University. I shall be obliged if you call me Professor.

Director: You have put yourself down as Professor in the Zubberdast College. The College is not yet started. We have advertised for a Professor...

Visitor: Just so. I come in answer to your advertisement.

Director: You have no right to call yourself Professor before you are selected by me.....

Visitor: I take it for certain that you will select me. There is no other exponent of Human Dynamics in all India, I may say all Asia, who can come up to me.

Director: That may be. I believe you. You see I am an old sportsman and can overlook your somewhat—er—unconventional ways.

Visitor: There you are. Just what I expected.

Director: But this is an office and certain formalities have to be observed. By the way, what did you bring that folding chair for?

Visitor: Your next-door neighbour, the bounder, would not offer me a chair when I went into his room by mistake as it appears. I thought he was the boss I should approach but the blighter was positively rude to me. I cannot stand such nonsense, I summoned his own chapprasi and threatened to give him one on the jaw if he did not bring in a chair that very instant. It was there before you can say "Jack Robinson." That is the way to get things done.

Director: I admire your self-confidence. What we Indians lack is self-confidence. I am glad to see you are rather over-endowed with that quality. As an old sportsman, I consider it a mistake, if it is a mistake, of excess.

Visitor: That is okay, Director. Now to business. I have written out the order of appointment so as to save you trouble and me time.

Director (interested in the Visitor in spite of himself): Let me.....

Visitor: Here it is. You have merely to sign on the dotted line.

Director: It is not so simple as that. There is a lot of red-tape even in Cloudland. We have been able to get away from many things but not from

red tape. By the way, the Professorship of Human Dynamics is reserved by statute for Animists and Atheists. Under which of the two do you come?

Visitor: What exactly is an Animist?

Director: According to the Regulations an Animist is one who worships inanimate objects.

Visitor: Then you should call him an Inanimist. I suppose it is the usual official camouflage to call a thing what it is not. That, however, is your funeral. As for my denomination, I am both Atheist and Animist.

Director: That under the Regulations you can not be. Every applicant must be one or the other, not both.

Visitor: In that case, I will tell you exactly my religious position. You can put me down as either Animist or Atheist as you like. I am an Atheist because I believe in no God but myself. I am an Animist because I am obliged for the time being to worship that most inanimate of objects, the debased Rupee.

Director: You may put yourself down as Atheist because it sounds more respectable. Something nebulous is what is appreciated in Cloudland. Still there is another hurdle to overcome.

Visitor: What is that?

Director: You must appear before a Board for an interview. I shall be one of the members.

Visitor: Then you may tell them all about me that you have gathered from this interview. The other two members are surely not more competent than you are to judge if I have the qualifications for Professor of Human Dynamics.

Director: True. But the bounders will feel slighted—

Visitors: In that case if I must see them or they must see me, I will breeze in at the right moment, if you tell me when it is.

Director: I can not do so offhand. I must consult them. They are very touchy about these small matters, more than about really big ones. Come and dine with me tonight. I should like to see more of you.

Visitor: I am not at my best while eating. All my Human Dynamics seems to evaporate before soup is finished. And I progressively decline during meals until with the coffee and cigars, I become as limp as a doormat. Please, therefore, excuse my not accepting your gracious invitation. By-bye.

AKSHI.

Muslim Wife's Devotion:—Three years' rigorous imprisonment was awarded to Alamgir Mirza by the Additional Sessions Judge at Alipore in agreement with the verdict of the jury for voluntary causing grievous hurt to his wife by firing two shots with a gun on June 15 last which necessitated the amputation of her left arm. In the Calcutta High Court an application was made on behalf of Begum Jahanara Mirza (wife of Alamgir Mirza) for permission of their lordships (Mr. Justice Lodge and Mr. Justice Roxburgh) to compound the offence with her husband. The petitioner said that her husband's father was a Nawabzada and he was the first cousin of H. H. the Nawab of Loharu and Patudi. He was aged 25 years. They were married in February, 1941, and since then had been living together. During the whole of the period, save and except for occasional minor differences, which might arise between any married couple, the petitioner had been quite happy with her husband. Immediately after the present incident which gave rise to the case, her husband was almost distracted on seeing the condition of the petitioner and constantly tended her, affectionately rendering her every help. It was impossible for her to live in comfort without someone taking constant care of her, which could only be done by a near and affectionate person, and there was nobody except her husband to do so.

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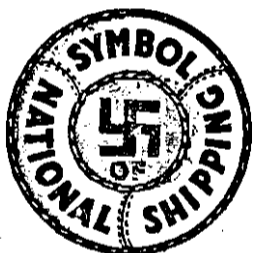
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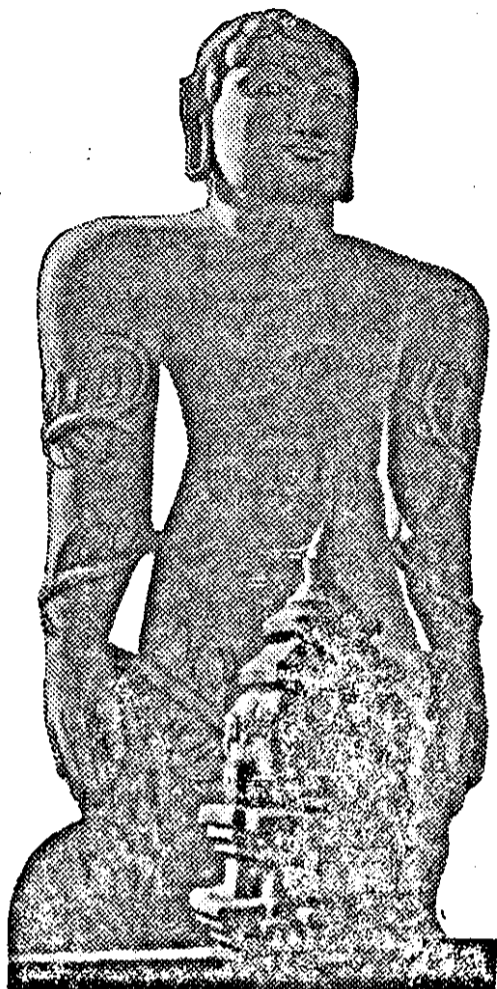
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Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 13, 1941. No. 15.

"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*:

CONTENTS.

Japan and the U. S. A.
The War in the Pacific.
India and Netherland Indies.
Pakistan from a New Angle.
"Witness" on Pakistan.
Hindu-Muslim Identity.

Bengal Ministerial Situation.
Sir Sultan Ahmed in Bombay.
Schuster's Fallacies.
Indian Christian Marriage Act
Amendment.
Crisis in Cloudland.

NOTES.

Japan and the U. S. A.:—Monday's newspapers carried the news that Japan had entered the war. The method of entry was one familiarised to the world of striking first. And in this case as in the earlier ones, the element of surprise lay more in the strength of the attack than in the blow itself. Habituated by experience to a policy of acquiescence, even though reluctant at times, on the part of the democracies in her aggression in China and to the very substantial material help she received from the United States, Japan found herself suddenly confronted by an economic blockade and by wide spread newspaper encomiums on the effect of the democracies' "calling off Japan's bluff." President Roosevelt, exercising his privilege as head of the most powerful democratic power in the world, pressed for terms from Japan which, however excellent in themselves, would have left the Japanese no place in the international world. The failure of the West to credit Eastern nations with normal ambitions and reactions is largely responsible for the nonchalance with which the U. S. A. pursued a strong diplomatic policy without providing for the contingency of Japan rudely and violently discontinuing negotiations which were interminably protracted and which showed little signs of getting out of the rut of recriminations. President Roosevelt in a statement declaring war observes that the United States Government was aware of the fact that for weeks Germany was putting pressure on Japan to enter hostilities. In view of this knowledge, the President's action in pressing Japan to leave China and abandon her war without some offer to compensate for the inevitable loss of prestige she would suffer, was not a peace move. In an ideal world, it is probable that the Western Powers would have suggested renunciation by all foreign countries of ambitions in China with concrete proof and a repeal of the racial exclusion laws against the Japanese. But we are not in an ideal world and it is as useless to blame President Roosevelt for his diplomacy, as it

is to launch tirades against Japan for not giving notice before striking. If matters can be arranged with a proper regard for decency and good behaviour between nations as between individuals there would no wars and breaches of diplomatic relations can be carried out with all the leisure of divorce proceedings.

The War in the Pacific:—Japan has not used the advantage of getting her blow in first to any feeble purpose. She launched her forces against the highly fortified base of Singapore, against Hawaii and the American Island Guam which Congress had resolved early this year to fortify, against Malaya, against the Philippine Islands, and against Thailand which submitted after a token resistance. Japan took heavy toll when her air-arm early this week sunk two of Britain's largest ships, the Prince of Wales and the Repulse. The sinking of the first is of the nature of a mystery as it was recently built and with a special eye to withstand air attacks. The startling incidents of the week were followed by an orgy of declarations of war—America against Japan, Britain against Japan, Germany and Italy against the U. S. A., America against Germany and Italy, China against Japan, Germany and Italy, and several other minor declarations from South America against the Axis and from Britain against Axis auxiliary powers. The three major wars have coalesced into one. In India a few leading men like Dr. Kalidas Nag and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose have been arrested since Japan's entry into the war, presumably on suspicion of pan-Asiatic ambitions under Japanese leadership. Bengal has of late been developing cultural links with Japan and Government even in time of crisis will not confuse academic interest with fifth column work. China in the four and a half years' of war has been on the defensive. Though her courageous resistance has been justly admired, she has not been able to take the war into the enemy's camp and it is supreme optimism to expect her to do so now when war has crippled her badly. The help will all have to be the other way. Japan is hardly likely to have launched on hostilities against Britain and the U. S. A. if the Chinese forces were a serious menace to her peace at home. The Russian position is intriguing. While Japan asserts that Russia will be neutral, Britain

expects that she will join against Japan. There has been no word from Stalin. Turkey has gone out of her way to assert her neutrality again for no apparent reason that we can think of. Japan is far enough away not to interest her and she might have kept silent at the very least. An extraordinary feature has been the manner in which the South American states have rallied to the United States of America. Possibly when the Franklin Roosevelt administration comes to be assessed, Pan-Americanism will be the one solid achievement of the President. The attack on the Philippine Islands has been used by some commentators to press the moral that their present plight is due to insistence on Independence. But then Hawaii is still under American domination and control and her Pearl Harbour has been subjected to severe attack from which her being part of the U. S. A. has not saved her. What reason is there to think that American opinion would have agreed to fortifying an American-controlled Manila earlier than she did in the case of Guam? On the other hand, there is a great deal to be said for the view that if the Philippines had been granted full independence, Japan might have left her alone. It is argued, mainly by officials, that the significance of Japan's war to India is that the dangers of war have come nearer to our shores. This is an exceedingly narrow view to take. The real significance is that it has broken down the barriers between continent and continent. The war for the preservation of European nationalism, has overnight become a World War in a sense that the war of 1914-18 never became. Mr. Churchill encouraged the Premier of Thailand with the promise that Britain had only the independence of Thailand in mind. The logic of world events has proved too much for Britain. India is expected to bear the brunt of the Eastern attack. China is Britain's ally today and Mr. Churchill welcomes the force of circumstances which has freed him from the necessity of repressing his admiration and sympathy for the Chinese. The time is not far off when Britain and America will throw off their ancient prejudice against Asia.

India and Netherland Indies :—In the negotiations which President Franklin Roosevelt conducted with Japan, the President was said to have proposed a confederacy of Britain, China, Russia, the United States, Thailand and Netherland Indies. The inclusion of the Netherland Indies and the exclusion of India in this group suggest certain reflections. India, according to Mr. Churchill, is not covered by the Atlantic Charter. Is Netherland Indies covered? That is to say, is Netherland Indies to have the right of self-determination? From the national income point of view, Netherland Indies shares with British India the distinction of being the poorest country in the world. Holland, the country which ruled Netherland Indies, has been overrun by Hitler. So it comes under the Atlantic Charter. Is Netherland Indies also to be considered as having shared the fate of

Holland and accorded the benefit of the Atlantic Charter? Are the people of that country to have the opportunity of determining at once or after the war, whether they would remain a colony of Holland or have a Government of their own? The maintenance of Dutch sovereignty in the south-east corner of Asia when Holland herself has lost her independence, does not accord with democratic principles in whichever way they may be interpreted. If, on the other hand, Netherland Indies is recognised, as President Roosevelt seems to do, as an independent State though not ruled by its own people, why is India not accorded the same status?

Pakistan from a New Angle :—The Raja of Mamdot who, in the regrettable absence of Mr. Jinnah, presided over the Muslim League meeting in Lucknow adopted an original line in advocating the Pakistan scheme. The Nawab observed :

At first the Pakistan or Muslim homelands were confined to the Punjab, N. W. F. P., Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. Muslims have been living there for the last 1,200 years and the Jumna has been the dividing line between Pakistan and Hindustan. Even now 80 per cent. of the population of these areas is Muslim, and it has a culture and civilisation totally different from that of Hindustan.

The Nawab's chronology would make the occupation by Muslims of the areas mentioned by him—practically the whole of Northern India—nearly coeval with the birth of Islam. Any school-book of Indian history will show that this is a baseless fabrication. Assuming the Nawab is right, the people who have lived in the territory for five thousand years have obviously at least as strong a claim to regard it as their homeland as a people who have lived there for less than a fourth of that period. As a matter of historical fact, as distinguished from political fiction, the territories mentioned by the Nawab were, until a far more recent period, inhabited predominantly by non-Muslim populations. Even the Muslims there were Hindu in their cultural composition. Sir Walter Lawrence in his book "The India We Served," records the visit, when he was in Kashmir, of an Arab preacher who after a long tour of the villages told him that he had found no true believers, "in their hearts the Kashmiris of the Valley were as much Hindu as were the Brahmans of the capital." The same story may be repeated of other parts which the Nawab designated Pakistan. The Taluqdars of Oudh, Muslim as well as Hindu, are Rajas and Maharajas. The Muslim title, Nawab, is not used.

"Witness" on Pakistan :—The proceedings of the Lucknow Conference were in keeping with the tone of the Nawab of Mamdot's address. The friendly neutral Methodist organ published in Lucknow, the *Indian Witness*, observed in its issue of November 20 that, as time passed and, as the Pakistan scheme was better understood, the Pakistan scheme was being received more favourably. It went on to repeat with sympathy the arguments

based on Mr. Jinnah's dictum that the Muslims of India are a distinct and separate nation with traditions and social ideas totally opposed to those of Hindus. Writing after the Pakistan Conference in Lucknow a fortnight later (December 4), the same journal asked how many Muslims really take the Pakistan scheme seriously. It went on to say :

It is difficult for an outsider to look upon the Pakistan scheme as workable. The best that can be said for it is that it is a political weapon calculated to safeguard Moslem interests. It is probable that most Moslems do not look upon it as anything other than a threat. But a Conference like the one at Lucknow, in which the most impossible claims are made, is a public danger. The manner in which the Hindus were charged with all sorts of unfair dealings and purposes will certainly not make for better relations. These charges will only be answered with counter-charges by the Hindus. The whole thing has an unreal make-up and no amount of shouting and stage play will help matters.

We may note in passing that, while the United Provinces Government saw no reason to interfere with the holding of this Conference in their capital, the neighbouring Behar Government have seen fit to ban the holding of the Hindu Mahasabha in that Province. The Madras Government imposed an analogous ban on the Hindu organisation when the Muslim League last met in Madras. All three provinces are predominantly Hindu! The *Indian Witness* fears that the charges levelled against Hindus will be met by counter-charges by Hindus. We wish we could assure the *Witness* that this is unlikely. If we had any influence with Hindu leaders, we would strongly advise them to ignore such attacks. As has happened in the case of *Witness*, it will happen in the case of other disinterested onlookers. Exaggeration and misrepresentation recoil on those who indulge in them.

Hindu-Muslim Identity:—The claim that Hindus and Muslims have totally different cultures and civilisations, is disproved by hundreds of facts which lie only slightly below the surface of Indian life. As a fact the ideas inspiring the lives of the two communities are fundamentally identical. We published last week two items of news taken from that week's papers. A Muslim lady of high social position was shot by her husband in a moment of irritation. One of her hands had to be amputated. The husband was prosecuted and on the jury finding extenuating cause, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The case came before the Calcutta High Court on appeal, when the devoted wife passionately pleaded for her husband's acquittal. He was a loving husband, she said, he was not responsible for his conduct as he was carried away by his anger. She could not live without him. The Court could not accede to her prayer. But that is another matter. The other item relates to the death of an octogenarian woman belonging to the Namasudra caste reckoned as somewhat inferior to other castes, less than an hour after the death of her ninety-year old husband. She gave instructions

for his funeral and retired to her room. Within an hour she was dead and she was cremated on the same pyre. There was no suggestion of suicide. The spirit of sati is clear in both the cases. It is a spirit peculiar to the womanhood of India irrespective of caste and creed. The Muslim League leaders are trying to create an artificial division among kindred souls united by devotion such as was exhibited in the two cases. They are bound to fail ignominiously. There is the same rhythm in the heart-throbs of the two peoples. Indeed, they are not two peoples but one. What Indian workers should do is to stress the identity and not talk of bringing about unity between our communities.

Bengal Ministerial Situation:—The Bengal Prime Minister, Mr. Fazlul Huq, it was reported, had made up his differences with Mr. Jinnah and it was agreed that no further action would be taken with reference to his letter to the Muslim League which was considered to contain reflections on the President. But it would seem that the settlement had no basis of permanence. A few days later came the news that the Fazlul Huq Cabinet had resigned and that His Excellency the Governor had requested it to carry on until he was able to decide whether or not he should accept their resignation. This gave rise to a suspicion that the reason for the Ministerial resignation was a difference with the Governor and that the latter was taking time to consider whether he can not find a way out enabling the Ministers to continue in office. Alternatively, it was thought probable that the European group which held the balance had withdrawn its support and that the Governor was negotiating an arrangement with it. The statements published by Mr. Fazlul Huq made it clear that neither of these guesses was correct. The cause of his Cabinet's resignation was internal differences between him and his colleagues who belonged to the Muslim League and who had the support of two Hindu Ministers. The Muslim League Ministers formed a party in the Legislature and elected Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister in the Fazlul Huq Ministry, as their leader. A day or two later the Nawab of Dacca, one of the pillars of the party, resigned from it alleging that Sir Nazimuddin was negotiating with the Krishak or Peasant Party promising it two Ministerships and had even approached the Congress party for support, against the policy of the Muslim League. Most of the other parties combined into the Progressive Party and elected Mr. Fazlul Huq as their leader. Mr. Huq's new party consisted of all the political elements in Bengal: and claimed to have an absolute majority in the Legislature. The Governor having invited Mr. Fazlul Huq to form a new Ministry, he has been sworn in with Dr. S. P. Mukherji and the Nawab of Dacca as the nucleus of his Cabinet.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 13, 1941.

SIR SULTAN AHMED IN BOMBAY.

The New Delhi correspondent of the *Times of India* said in a message published on Monday that the Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council drawn from public life, proposed to start the practice of explaining and defending government policies and actions on public platforms and that most of them would be going shortly on tour. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member of the Council, inaugurated the proposed practice in Bombay early this week. Sir Sultan was for many years connected in an official capacity with the Bihar Government and is not one of the Members drawn from public life in the usually understood sense. In reply to Mr. Jinnah's charge that he had joined the Viceroy's Council in defiance of the Muslim League's mandate, Sir Sultan protested that the Law Membership was not one of the "expanded" appointments and that he had succeeded Sir Zaffarullah Khan in the regular course which has been in vogue for over a generation. Nevertheless he has chosen to inaugurate a practice which his predecessors in the Law Membership did not consider it consonant with their official responsibilities to adopt. In the speech which he delivered at an entertainment given to him by Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, there was nothing which pertained to his Department. Sir Sultan defended himself and his Indian colleagues on the expanded Council against the charge of drifting without definite aims of their own. This impression has been fostered by the occasions in which repeatedly the Leaders of the Central Legislature refrained from leading. They threw the reins on the neck of the legislative steed and left it to choose its own direction. Sir Sultan cited the action that Government are said to be taking to get the Burma Agreement modified, as one instance of their initiative. The Leader of the Assembly gave no indication of his having any particular views on the subject except such as he could gather from the rather rambling discussions in the Assembly. The only right solution of the Indo-Burma problem is to get His Majesty's Government to have the Burma Act amended so as to implement the assurances given to India in the Joint Parliamentary Committee and in Parliament. If that is done there would be no need of any agreement except perhaps regarding immigration of unskilled labour to Burma. To ask for modifications in the Agreement is to acquiesce in the repudiation of those assurances which the Act was believed to have incorporated. No modification of the Agreement short of a complete revision of it will give Indians in Burma what they are entitled to. Sir Sultan next referred to the release of political satyagraha prisoners. He did not claim that the Indian Councillors had done anything more than what would have had to be done owing to the rapid movement of international affairs. Sir Sultan's words may be quoted:

We felt that with the advent of Russia on this side of the Allies and the ferocity and the rapidity of the Axis advance in Eastern Europe and the Japanese threat becoming an increasingly serious reality—which today has turned out to be only too true—the time had come when we should start as far as possible with a clean state, and in taking this decision we were certain that we were correctly reflecting the general public feeling of our countrymen.

This is certainly no new discovery of the Indian councillors. British and American publicists have for months been warning British statesmen that the likelihood of a breach with Japan made the conciliation of Indian political opinion imperative. Edgar Snow, for instance, writes in his "Battle for Asia" that the mobilisation of all the resources of India to face hostile Japan "implies a reconciliation with Indian nationalism." If the Executive Council was not expanded, the reconciliation with Indian nationalism would have been more effectively achieved by the Viceroy acting on his undivided responsibility. From the first it has been our view that the responsibility of governing India during the war should remain wholly with the Viceroy, both because it would have been more effectively discharged and because it was the right thing to do when the constitution leaves no room for consultation or criticism in respect of the war to public men in India.

There is no mistaking the ring of earnestness and sincerity in the observations, slightly pompous, of Sir Sultan Ahmed on the Hindu-Muslim question. He represented the Muslims as having advanced their demand from "accommodation" some time back to "partition" out of sheer despair. Sir Sultan deprecates seeking to know whether the despair is well or ill-founded. He rules out logic and syllogism as having no place in politics as, in his opinion, they have no place in men's lives. He pleads for a solution of the problem from the heart rather than from the head. We have unfortunately to differ from Sir Sultan on all these assumptions. Logic and syllogisms are not the arbitrary impositions of logicians but the science and the laws of the working of the human mind deduced from observation and experience. These rules are universally followed though the mass of mankind may do so unconsciously as it digests its food without studying the structure of the stomach. When men act in opposition to the course indicated by logic, whether consciously or unconsciously, they come to grief; while so long as they keep to the straight path of reason, they are perfectly safe. This is the case with individuals. With nations the dangers of drifting from the path of reason are infinitely greater, as the present world circumstances testify but too clearly. All great thoughts spring from the heart, it has been well said, but they must go round by the head. The idea of throwing away the lights available to men in solving a problem and deliberately preferring to grope in the dark in the hope of stumbling on the right solution is to regard politics as a game of chance. Despair is often the result of a

subjective depression more than of objective circumstances. The Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah has worked itself up to the belief that the National Congress is its great enemy as the National Congress has worked itself up to the belief that the British Government has wrought the ruin of India spiritually, morally, culturally and materially. Both these bodies need to turn their minds inward. The position today is more favourable to a permanent solution of the Indian problem than it has been for many years. The Secretary of State for India in his Manchester speech has conceded the two major premises of the Indian syllogism. He has acknowledged the unity of India and he has acknowledged that the Indian people represent a type distinct from others among the main races of mankind. He has shrunk from drawing the logical conclusion from these premises but the conclusion is inevitable and it will be inexorably drawn by the logic of events. For our part we are content to wait. We do not see the problem in the same light as Sir Sultan Ahmed. Hindus and Musalmans have lived in India together for centuries and a process of fusion or accommodation or whatever one may like to call it, has been steadily in progress all the time. This has been interrupted by largely adventitious causes which can not persist much longer. As soon as these are removed, the process will be resumed and Indian history will flow freely in the broad and deep channel which it has cut for itself.

No question can be considered settled until it is settled right, said Abraham Lincoln. The solution which Sir Sultan suggests, is as far as we understand it, not a right settlement even as a tentative one for the duration of the war. A single sentence contains the pith of his solution. His suggestion is that the Congress party may give to the simple majority rule a certain elasticity to welcome the Muslim League and other minorities in a coalition all through, while the latter, in their turn, may choose to soften their opposition to democracy. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Times of India* said that some of the Members of the Executive Council in their tours will indicate in their speeches how the problem of political settlement should be approached. If each member puts forward a different plan the result will be unhappy. Is Sir Sultan Ahmed's suggestion one which has been agreed upon among his Indian colleagues in the Council? That, however, is by the way. Sir Sultan Ahmed assumes that the Congress and the Muslim League cover the entire field of Indian political opinion. This is far from being true to fact. The prevailing sentiment in the country is represented by the imprecation, "A plague on both your houses." The Congress party is seething with revolt against the dictatorship of Gandhiji as the Muslim League is against the dictatorship of Mr. Jinnah. Sir Sultan himself is one of the rebels in the Muslim League. The revolt in the Congress party now smoulder-

ing will burst into flame at no very distant date. There is no majority rule in the Congress to relax. Neither is there any opposition to democracy among Indian Muslims who have, indeed, all along claimed that Islam stands for democracy. Our position has been often clearly stated. We are not against communal electorates for the communities which insist on them. But we are definitely against weightages as being opposed not only to democracy but to the elementary principle of justice as between citizens of the same State. No good will be done by forcing all communities into a joint electoral pen when they would rather have their own separate ones. But we see no justification in logic or sentiment, in head or heart, for differentiation between man and man, making one man worshipping (or not worshipping) in one shrine equal to three men who worship (or not) in another. This we regard as sheer religious intolerance, opposed to the traditional policy of religious freedom in this country, and to the solemn pledges repeatedly given by the British Governments.

SCHUSTER'S FALLACIES.

We pointed out last week that Mr. Guy Wint had not the historical or international perspective necessary for a book such as "India and Democracy" was obviously intended to be. Sir George Schuster was greatly handicapped by the deficiencies of his collaborator.

But there are some illusions which he shares with Mr. Wint. Both Mr. Wint and Sir George Schuster have a curious anxiety to prove that the British Empire is the modern counterpart of the Roman Empire. Sir George introduces a rather lengthy extract from a book which gives an imaginary interview in which an old Roman emperor reassures a British doubter on the point. As for the common citizenship which was a distinctive feature of the Roman Empire, the ghost of Trajan says that today Australia has got it, so has New Zealand and tomorrow so will India. Sir George remarks that America follows a policy of exclusion which is harder on India than that which is enforced in the Empire. This an excellent argument—against the Chinese or the Japanese. But does Britain own no responsibility for the Indian subjects of the British Crown? And have not free Japan and politically independent China secured [better terms even in the U.S.A. than India with all the political weight of the British Empire? Even in the Empire aliens secure better treatment than Indians. It is good that the British, some of them at least, are beginning to think out the race problem. It is significant, however, that, having got thus far, Sir George feels it necessary to express his conviction that Indians need not cherish the same emotions for the "mother country" as the Dominions do. We must wait for more tranquil times to see what affection for Britain the Dominions have. Mr. Wint who lauds the rule of law as the gift of Britain to India, finds himself strangely fascinated by the I. C. S. Sir George gives a qualified support to him. The greatest menace to the rule of law is the power of a bureaucracy. Any book on the British constitution from Dicey to Laski will show this. And the Indian Civil Service is the framework of one of the most bureaucratic political systems in the world. To make out that the I. C. S.

is something like the knights of King Arthur's Round Table, is to indulge in political mythology. Both writers are convinced that there is no common ground between Hindu and Muslim unless it is in the fact of both being governed by Britain. And there is an almost parental anxiety lest India be plunged in chaos. Well might the Indian ask what right have Indians, or the British for them, to expect a security which no other part of the world now enjoys or is likely to enjoy for some generations now.

There is, moreover, another defect which Sir George shares with Mr. Wint. It is the absence of a certain intellectual straightforwardness, an ability to see things as they are instead of as one wishes them to be. In view of the fact that they both accuse Indians of this defect, it is interesting to go through some of their inaccuracies which leap to the eye. We quote:

Mr. Gandhi (on the declaration of war) began by appealing to reason. "What," he asked, "is the value of freedom to India if Britain and France fail?"—India and Democracy, Mr. Wint page 161.

This is a sentence often cited in distorted form by British writers. But there was some excuse for the others as they living in wartime London were not probably in possession of the actual words of Gandhiji's statement. But Mr. Wint was in India and surely, if he wanted to be read seriously, he should have taken the trouble to procure a copy of the statement. Had he done so, he would have read:

What will India's deliverance be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled?

Sir George Schuster refers to

the proposal made in recent weeks by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, that the British Government should take a striking step to gain Indian confidence by appointing a Defence Minister responsible to the Indian Legislature. (Page 829)...the various Indian parties have all demanded assurances that if their members joined the Government they should have a position as Ministers which would in fact involve a shifting of the constitutional responsibility. (Page 843).

Let us compare this with what the Non-parties Conference demanded:

The Conference would be content during the period of the war that the reconstructed Centre remain responsible to the Crown. (Resolution adopted at Bombay).

Sir George quotes the very next line to the effect that the Commander-in-Chief will continue as the executive head of the defence forces. It is strange, to say the least, that he missed the significance or even the literal meaning of the words quoted above.

So much for the misrepresentations of India to the outside world. There is another side, where the world is distorted to serve a purpose in India.

Both Mr. Wint and Sir George Schuster set out to prove to Indian readers that some of the features of the 1935 Constitution to which nationalist opinion took exception, are justified because they are to be found in the Constitutions of the United States and the Dominions. To Mr. Wint goes the credit of having picked the prize parallel. He says (Page 143 footnote):

a disproportionate weightage of representation in favour of particular groups is an almost inevitable price for every federation which is brought about by voluntary agreement. Thus in the constitution of the U. S. A. the state of Nevada with 91,000 inhabitants has as many senators as New York with a population of 14,000,000. This is a much more striking departure

from "arithmetical democracy" than is the moderate weightage given to the Indian States in 1935.

Mr. Wint must have a very poor impression of Indian intelligence. What was the American Senate intended to be? An Upper House designed to check the excessive democracy of a Lower House elected on a democratic franchise. Yet in it, every state in the Union has equal representation with every other regardless of size and of population. To justify the 1935 elaborate scheme of representation in both the houses of the Central legislature on the basis of the composition of the American Upper House is to play with words. And it has to be borne in mind that, the election of American senators was first by the States Legislatures which were themselves democratically formed, later by direct election, while those members of the Federal Assembly, who come from the States, could be nominated by the rulers. There is a great deal of information in Prof. George H. Haynes' "Election of Senators" and "The Changing Senate" which, though Mr. Wint is apparently blissfully unaware of it, is readily available to Indian political students. The representation of units in the Federal Legislature in the 1935 Act is not on an equality basis. It differs not only between British Indian provinces and Indian States but also from province to province.

Mr. Wint goes on to Canada. Discussing the inability of the legislatures to amend the constitution under the 1935 Act, Mr. Wint remarks (page 145 footnote):

The legislatures cannot amend the Constitution. The nationalists who complain bitterly against this provision, seem to be unaware that the legislature in Canada whose constitution they profess to admire, is under a like disability.

There is a significant passage in Mr. A. Berriedale Keith's "Constitutional Law of British Dominions" which explains the difference between the Canadian position and the Indian. It reads:

So far as positive law is concerned, the chief derogation from sovereignty takes place in the case of Canada, and the lack of ability to amend the constitution by local action depends on the inability of the Canadian federation and provinces to agree on a mode of change. In this case the limitation is self-imposed and therefore not a serious derogation from sovereignty.

Mr. Wint's thesis in effect is that, because Canada has voluntarily given up the right to change the constitution, India must agree to such a limitation imposed on her. "In the case of the (Australian) Commonwealth," adds Mr. Keith, "power of change vests locally and the same remark applies to the other Dominions.....There is no safeguard for the constitutions of Newfoundland or the Union or the Irish Free State inserted in the Statute."

From Canada to Britain, Mr. Wint suggests, quoting from the Joint Parliamentary Report, that under the Act of 1935 the special responsibilities of the Governor-General and governors would place them in a position similar to that of the king in the more formative years of the British Constitution, etc., etc. (page 147.) Mr. Wint mentions 1688 as the date when British parties consciously made the king the umpire to their disputes. He would have done well to read a constitutional history of England, as for example Hallam's, with special study of the Bill of Rights presented by the Marquis of Halifax as President of the House of Lords, to the Prince of Orange, detailing the restrictions on the king's power and the many offences of James II which had led to his dethronement.

It is Canada, however, which has a special fascination for Sir George Schuster. It is true that

there is a reference to South Africa, but Sir George recognises that a constitution which owes its existence to the disregard of the large non-European majority cannot be held up as a model for those who aim at a democratic system. The British Imperial Government were caught at a point when they were not able to put forward their anxiety for the depressed communities of a country as a reason for impeding progress and as a result South Africa has been run by a powerful minority whose pre-occupation is the maintenance of power in their hands. It is dangerous to talk of South Africa which enjoys today the privilege of being the one unit of the Empire which allows a Nazi party during a war to destroy Nazism, and whose position tomorrow with regard to the Empire is very doubtful. Sir George leans heavily on Canada. "Could the Moslem party," he asks, "play a balancing role like the French Canadians in Federal affairs? What would the Congress party say to the safeguards given by the English to the French in Canada of making Westminster the final arbiter for any constitutional change?" Sir George might be referred to Andre Siegfried's "Canada" for an explanation of why the English in Canada have given the safeguards. Of course, an Englishman will not be ready to admit that Britain follows one policy towards a country where the majority is of British stock and another where it is not. Had Canada been like Ireland, would we not have had an Ulster within it? Besides the French Canadian was a Royalist and a Roman Catholic, who wished to be free from any control from republican, secular France. Marshal Petain's assumption of power in France brought about reactions in French Canada with its visible effect in Britain's maintaining diplomatic relations with Vichy. Where, honestly, is the analogy Sir George seeks between the Indian Muslims and the French Canadians? In the first place, here it is "Indian Muslim" not "Muslim Indian." According to British commentators, the Muslim in India is part of the great community of Islam, divided from the rest of India. According to a very candid utterance by the Raja of Mahmudabad at the last Muslim League meeting, the Muslim League looks to an identity with other Muslims which those in countries beyond India do not want. To put it at the least, this quest of the Indian Muslim party has not been discouraged by the Government responsible for the political unity of India. If the feeling is growing in Indian Muslims, can they play the balancing role which Britain would like them to? It would have been possible had Britain fostered the nationalism of Islamic countries and communities. A comment of the *New Republic* on the submission of Iran is illuminating. It wrote:

It is surprising and discouraging that British diplomacy has been so bungling and inept. It has failed to take account of the fundamental changes that have taken place in the Muslim world since it came under Western influence and domination. The ideas and the ideals of the French and American revolutions have taken root and a powerful nationalist spirit has risen.

Instead of encouraging this growing nationalism, Britain has tried to revive a dying Pan-Islamism, Sir George Sohuster throughout argues that the only way of progress is to still the communal bitterness in India. What then does he mean here? This is an inadvertent but revealing glimpse of his hopes in future India.

In another matter, too, Sir George shows a woeful failure to grasp the fundamental principles of the situation, that is in the position of the Governor-General in the 1935 Act and the analogy which he seeks to build up around it, of the position of the Governor-General in the Dominions. He does not consider what the relation is of the Governor-General

in any Dominion to the other political institutions. He is not the irremovable Chief Executive as he is under the 1935 India Act. Moreover, according to Mr. Keith,

though the appointment of the Governor-General remained (before 1930) under the control of the British Government, the practice had long prevailed to consult the Dominions concerned before any appointment... The Conference of 1930... arrived at the conclusion that the appointment was a matter between the King and the Dominion Government... It follows inevitably that the power of securing the removal of a Governor-General before the expiry of the normal term of office rests with the Dominion Government. The position is of the highest importance, for it reveals the fact that the Dominions enjoy now virtually unfettered freedom in selecting and removing the head of the executive, subject only to such moderating influence as might be exercised by the King.

In effect, the Governor-General in the Dominions ceased to be the Chief Executive when he was left to the mercies of popular ministries. There is nothing in the Government of India to come near this. This applies equally to the judiciary. In every Dominion there are various methods of controlling the judiciary—from the right of removal on representation by both Houses as in the Irish Free State to the expedient adopted in other Dominions of withholding his salary. Though the removal is only on misbehaviour or incapacity, still the judge is left dependant on the legislature. In India the judiciary would under the 1935 Act have been free enough from the legislature but not from the executive.

There is an exquisite Epilogue to the book in which "Indian Reader" raises questions which are suitably demolished by Sir George. For whom has this book been written? The writers suggest at times for British readers; at other times for Indians; but the Epilogue makes one feel that at all times it is meant for American consumption. Mr. Amery used the same method of feeble questions and clever answers in a radio talk to America. But American opinion has always had its doubts of Dominion Status and this book shows that it may mean anything. There is no nonsense about Independence. Americans can see a practical illustration in the contrast between their conditions and those of their Dominion neighbour.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT AMENDMENT.

A controversy which threatens to become unpleasant, over a draft Bill to amend the Indian Christian Marriage Act has arisen between American Missionaries and Indian Christians. One of the important changes which the latter are anxious to see made, is the abrogation of the sections in the Indian Christian Marriage Act permitting inter-marriage between Christians and non-Christians. Indian Christians seem to be nearly unanimous in desiring its repeal. They have drafted a Bill for this purpose for introduction into the Central Legislature. Our attempt to get a copy has met with the response that the Bill is only for circulation among Christians. That is to say, non-Christians should have no opportunity of expressing an opinion on a matter which concerns them equally with professing Christians. This is quite gratuitous from the Indian Christian point of view because non-Christian opinion is more likely to support them than to support Bishop Pickett who has published a statement giving his reasons for opposing restriction by legislation of Indian Christian marriages to Indian Christians as is the case of the analogous Parsi Marriage Act.

Some of Bishop Pickett's reasons for opposing the omission of the section relating to marriages

in the Indian Christian Marriage Act, are interesting. The good Bishop is impressed by the incongruity of prohibiting marriage between a professed Christian and "a clean-living, sober and upright fellow-citizen who does not profess the Christian faith, while allowing a marriage with a depraved, drunken, and immoral wretch whose only merit is that he is known as a Christian." The Bishop's argument cuts at the root of communalism in every shape and form. It extends to communal quotas in public offices, to communal reservations in municipal and local boards, to communal electorates for legislatures. So far as we know, however, Bishop Pickett has never raised his voice against communalism in the administration and constitution of the government. He has rather discouraged such liberalism among his missionary colleagues. The *Christian Layman* of Allahabad does not accept the reasoning of the Bishop. But its way of countering it is rather apologetic. It does not say, Prohibit marriages with depraved, drunken, immoral wretches whose only merit is that they are known as Christians, if you cannot trust the parents and the parties themselves to exercise their judgment in such matters. The *Christian Layman* somewhat lamely remarks: "It speaks very badly of the missionary effort in India if this were true; so we shall say no more about it." The implication of the Bishop's reasoning is that the non-Christian suitor is more likely to be a clean-living, sober and upright fellow citizen while his Christian rival is more likely to be a depraved person. To say that, if that be true, the Bishop and his fellow missionaries are themselves responsible for it, leads nowhere as a solution of the intermarriage problem, though it confirms the opinion of the Abbe Dubois, formed a century ago about the futility of proselytising missions in India. Mr. Barnabas writing in the *Reformer* not long ago gave figures which showed that a considerable proportion of marriages among the Isabella Thoburn College alumni during the last ten years were with non-Christians. He drew therefrom the lesson that Christian girls tend to become materialistic. Bishop Pickett seems to think otherwise.

There should be freedom in respect of intermarriages. But the provisions in the Indian Christian Marriage Act are not the right way of ensuring such freedom. No non-Christian community is likely to feel, as Bishop Pickett apprehends, insulted by their repeal. The relation of Indian Christians to their non-Christian fellow-citizens does not in the least depend on the provisions for inter-marriage in the Indian Christian Marriage Act of which few of the latter have the slightest knowledge. Every community has its marriage customs and laws which prohibit marriages outside the respective communities. Hindu castes do not inter-marry. The system has existed for centuries without provoking any ill-feeling. In fact, the almost universal opinion among Indians is that marriages are best confined to people of the same creed and culture. Bishop Pickett gives another reason for retaining the inter-communal sections in the Indian Christian Marriage Act. He fears the tyranny which would use State legislation to "impose personal or majority opinions upon a minority of persons who do not share them." We are all for minority rights having ourselves been all along in a minority. But Indian social reformers have never claimed, as converts have claimed or missionaries for them, that the innovator has the right to impose his opinions on his conservative relatives. If he cannot persuade the latter to accept him—and in nearly every case where the reformer

is actuated solely by the desire to improve social conditions he has, if not immediately in course of time, secured the adherence of his people—he must recognise the right of his people to walk in the old ways, trusting to time and education to bring them round. Tyranny is hateful whether it is of the majority or of a minority. That is why we have not been happy about some of the administrative and legislative measures of Congress Governments in the direction of reforms whose necessity is not in question. If the Christian community decides against inter-communal marriages, any Christian who wishes to contract one should have recourse to a Civil Marriage Act. Bishop Pickett deprecates the repeal of the inter-marriage sections in the Indian Christian Marriage Act for yet another reason, namely, that the Christian, intent on marrying outside the fold, would forsake it if he or she was forced to marry only a person of his or her own community. The community, we fancy, does not stand to lose much by such apostasy. The *Christian Layman* would disregard such apostasy as "nominal." Notwithstanding Bishop Pickett's unambiguous opposition, the writer in *Christian Layman* maintains that he (the bishop) would be the last man to desire to encourage mixed marriages. "I feel sure," he writes, "that he and others of his way of thinking have countenanced the much debated clause through a sense of fairplay and good citizenship." As if fairplay and good citizenship are irrelevant in discussing marriage legislation!

CRISIS IN CLOUDLAND.

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Court of Indra: Durbar Hall resplendent with decorations in all the colours of the rainbow. At one end is an imposing archway closed by a pair of massive doors magnificently carved. Outside the Hall stands the gaily caparisoned State elephant, Airavata. About five hundred persons are seated in the Hall of whom twenty are Ministers of State and occupy the seats immediately below the translucent throne. Each Minister has a different shape of turban except two who are bald and bareheaded. Flourish of trumpets. The folding doors fly open. Enter Indra with slow deliberate steps, uplifted thunderbolt in his right hand. All present stand up and bow low. Airavata outside lifts his trunk and trumpets.

Indra (seating himself on the throne and gesturing with his thunderbolt):—Gentlemen, pray be seated. (All resume their seats glancing to the Prime Minister): Prime Minister.

Prime Minister (stands up and with a low bow addresses Indra): Your resplendent, serene, beatific Effulgence, I am sure I am echoing the sentiments of not only my colleagues in the Ministry but one and all of the Durbarees here present and also the entire population of Cloudland, in offering our grateful and sincere congratulations on your Effulgence's recovery.

Indra has just recovered from a loathsome disease contracted owing to the curse of a sage for an offence of a specially odious character. After long and severe penitential observances, Indra has recovered his normal appearance. This is his first appearance in public since. He resents any reference to the unsavoury episode.

Indra: There is nothing to fuss about, Prime Minister. It was only a slight indisposition, a disturbance of the secretive function from which even we, immortals, are not free.

Prime Minister: Just so, your illustrious Effulgence. I merely made a passing allusion to it as a preface to the observations on the state of your illustrious Effulgence's glorious Cloudland during the interval when your effulgent features did not shine directly on your beloved and ever-loving subjects—

Indra, interrupting: Who are the two Ministers with bare bald heads sitting there?

Prime Minister: They are men from the land of Mist and Muddle where they wear no headdress on ceremonial occasions. They are the Ministers of Finance and of Defence.

Indra: I do not like to see bald bare heads. It is indecent. Let them cover their heads. Hand them two medium-sized Gandhi caps. They do not seem to have very big heads, though it is possible that their contents may belie their size.

A big guffaw floats towards the throne from the audience in appreciation of this pleasantry. The two men are immediately invested with Gandhi caps. They seem to enjoy the fun as much as the rest.

Prime Minister: Your Serene Effulgence's directions have been obeyed. There will no more be any bare heads among your humble Ministers. May I proceed, Your Effulgence?

Indra nods permission.

Prime Minister: The outstanding event of the period—the interregnum, if I may so call it—

Indra: Please don't. There was no interregnum. I was present always in the souls of my beloved people.

Prime Minister: The outstanding event of recent occurrence, was the unexpected meeting between Your Effulgence's Minister of the Interior with the Minister of the Interior of our ally and neighbour, Bharatvarsha. My colleague of the Interior—

Indra: Who is he?

Prime Minister: The one with the cartwheel turban. He happened to drop down into Bharatvarsha, and being tired by the descent—he had trouble with his nebulous parachute—he stepped into the first eating-house he saw to obtain some refreshment. There he found another person with a turban similar to his own but more substantial, also on the same quest. Both being of a sociable disposition and being Ministers of friendly nations—

Indra: Do they still drink Soma juice in Bharatvarsha?

Prime Minister: I am sorry to say, they do not. Not only do they not drink Soma juice but they have not been able to identify the plant though it grows in abundance on their mountains as in the days of old.

Indra: Then what do they drink?

Prime Minister: Many of them drink plain water and they have been trying to compel others to do the same. There has been trouble over this.

Indra: What do the others drink?

Prime Minister: A stuff known as Whisky which comes from the same land of Mist and Muddle, as our colleagues for Finance and Defence. It is bald and bare like their heads until a moment ago when they were covered under your illustrious orders. To cover the baldness of Whisky they add what is known as soda-water.

Indra: Have you any of the stuff here?

Prime Minister: I shall have a specimen exhibited at the close of the Durbar. O, I was saying that our Minister of the Interior, he with the cartwheel turban, meeting another with the same kind of turban in an eating-house in Bharatvarsha, entered into a friendly conversation with him. It appeared from the talk of the Bharata that his Government is at present worried over two matters. He said that they will be profoundly grateful if we could help them to solve them by the weight of our nebulous intelligence.

Indra: What are these two matters?

Prime Minister:—I am coming to them, Your Effulgence. The first is: The Government of Bharatvarsha is at a loss to know how one Subhas Bose mysteriously disappeared eluding the many

agencies which on large salaries were set to watch his movements. They have now a suspicion that he is in Rome or Berlin. There are two theories current. One is that he escaped in woman's garb through the Khyber Pass which lies just below the throne on which your august person is now seated. The other is—

Indra: Subhas Bose, if I remember, had a round clean-shaven face which might easily pass for that of a woman.

Prime Minister: I am not aware that your Highness had any opportunity of meeting Subhas Bose.

Indra: O yes, I had. There are many things between Heaven and Earth, Prime Minister, which are not dreamt of in your philosophy. *(The audience laughs. One or two voices are heard shouting Shabash. Indra's face shows he is pleased.)* Go on, Prime Minister.

Prime Minister: My colleague with the cart-wheel turban had no difficulty in explaining to the Minister of Bharatvarsha—

Indra: My recollection is that Subhas Bose had slightly Mongolian features.

Prime Minister: I do not know, never having set eyes on him. As a matter of fact, Subhas Bose did not escape in a ship or aeroplane of Nippon.

Indra: How then did he escape?

Prime Minister: On one of our noble clouds, Your Effulgence. Bose was a student of the Poet Kalidasa who wrote the immortal Meghadhuta, the Cloud Messenger. He conceived, therefrom, the idea of escaping on a cloud. He meditated long and hard, and, as a result of his tapas, the Unseen Powers vouchsafed to send a Cloud to him on which he mounted and disappeared from the ken of the Bharatvarsha officials. His my colleague explained to the Minister who said he can not simply believe it. Then, he repeated to the Bharata the same Shakesperian lines your gracious lips repeated to me just now.

Indra: What is the other subject which is intriguing the Bharatiya Ministers?

Prime Minister: It is closely allied to this. They suspect that Subhas Bose may be raising a "fifth column" in that land. They are at a loss to know how they may detect fifth columnists. Here also our colleague was able to give the Bharata a useful hint.

Indra: I should myself wish to know how to identify impostors.

Prime Minister: Your Effulgence needs no hint on the subject.

Indra winces.

Prime Minister: My colleague suggested that they should set up a Committee of experts to explore cigarette-ends. By analysing the butts it is easy to discover who is a fifth columnist and who is not.

Indra: What about those who do not smoke? I hear Hitler and Mussolini do not smoke.

Prime Minister: On that point also my colleague made a valuable suggestion to the Bharatiya statesman. It was that all non-smokers should be rounded up as they are likely to sympathise with their fellow non-smokers in Naziland and Fascist Desa and should be released only after they have become inveterate smokers. The Minister said he would place the suggestion before his colleagues.

Indra yawns. Prime Minister makes a sign. The Durbar rises. Trumpets blow. Airavata trumpets in response. The folding doors fly open. Indra walks slowly backwards with his thunderbolt on his shoulder and disappears as the doors close.

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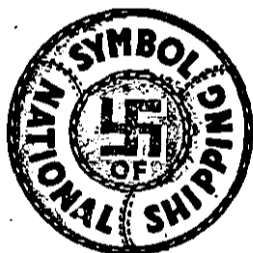
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Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 20, 1941. No. 16.

"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*

CONTENTS.

<p>Religion the Need of the Hour. National Defence Council in Bombay. More Detentions. Lord Linlithgow's Calcutta Address. Exaggerated Claims. The War with Japan.</p>	<p>Cricket Controversy. O. R.'S Convocation Address. India and the World. The Women Movement in India. Housing for Health. The Individual in War. Crisis in Cloudland.</p>
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NOTES.

Religion the Need of the Hour:—"I am not a religious preacher and I am not a fanatic, but it is borne in upon me that the world's ills are due to the divorce between science and religion, to the banishment of spiritual outlook from the life of the present generation." This is taken from the address Sir Kailas Narayan Haksar delivered at the All-India Educational Conference held in Kashmir, which is reproduced in the current number of the *Twentieth Century*. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his address at the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University also stressed the importance of cultivating the spiritual outlook by university men. The mid-Victorian antithesis between Science and Religion no longer exists. The men in the top ranks of science acknowledge that Matter does not exist apart from Spirit and that both are subject to the same law of cause and effect. The popular mind in the West is as yet imprisoned in the notion that the law applies only to physical phenomena and that the belief that it applies equally to moral and spiritual life, is an Oriental superstition. The War is a rude reminder to all mankind that there is no break in the continuity of the processes which govern the universe. The Asiatic mind even in its most sceptical moods, is conscious of this continuity. The West, too, is coming to perceive it though, as yet, darkly. That the storms and travails consequent on Western unbelief have to be endured by the East also is proof of the solidarity of the human race. Japan's example should serve as a warning to other Asiatic nations. In the hope of pleasing Europe, Japan, externally at least, adopted the Western outlook, became a Great Power, and began to compete with Europe in the industrial sphere. In a word, she outwardly Europeanised herself unlike Turkey who swept aside the Caliph, secularised education and compelled her people to adopt the

customs and manners of the West. What is the result? Instead of winning the respect of Europe, Japan has incurred the implacable hatred of the Western democracies. Prohibited from sending her surplus population to other continents monopolised by White races, she started aggression on her Asiatic neighbours to whom, especially to China, she owes in large part her culture and civilisation. She departed from the gentle teachings of the Sakyamuni and began to hanker after Empire.

National Defence Council in Bombay:—One of the numerous bodies created in connection with the war, is the National Defence Council. This body was taken to visit certain centres where war work is being done and early this week it was in Bombay. At a public meeting in Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Sir Cowasji Jehangir presiding, speeches were made by the members. As published in the Press, the speeches seem quite proper but some of those who were present felt that there was too much of vituperative verbiage and too little of real effort at persuasion in some of the speeches. No attempt seems to have been made to remove the reasonable difficulties felt on the subject by non-party citizens. Information calculated to help the enemy, of course, was out of the question but within the limits of safety, the public should be given sufficient data for believing that its security has been adequately safeguarded by the measures of Government. Not only was this withheld but some of the remarks of the principal speakers suggested that the situation was darker than it is. The Chairman himself was responsible for the most glaring of these lapses. He announced to the meeting that steps had been taken to remove Parsi women and children to places outside Bombay and recommended other communities to follow the example. Parsi friends whom we consulted are totally unaware of the arrangement mentioned by Sir Cowasji. They never heard of it until they read it in *The Bombay Chronicle* report of Sir Cowasji's speech. One of them said that Sir Cowasji and a few other Shettias might have arranged to send their women to Matheran or Mahableshwar at the first rumour of enemy approach. This Sir Cowasji perhaps magnified into an arrangement for the whole community. More than 80 per cent. of the population of the city, is not Bombay-born. More than 90 per cent. of Parsis, however, are Bombay-born.

Their interests and emotions are centred in Bombay which they consider, not without reason, to be largely their own creation. The bulk of the Parsis will not agree to a scheme of wholesale evacuation. However that may be, the bulk of the Bombay population does not show any signs of panic. The Share Bazaar panic does not represent the demeanor of the general population. Whether or not they feel that everything is being done to ensure their safety, they have the good sense to understand that nothing is to be gained by losing their heads. For the great majority, running away from their homes and work, is out of the question. All the same, panic is catching and it is well betimes to arrange for the removal of nervous people to places where their mental condition will not prove infectious.

More Detentions :—As the result of agitation in Great Britain and in India, satyagraha prisoners have been and are being released. What is more, slogan-shouters are not being arrested and prosecuted. They shout their slogans until they are tired and no one is the wiser or sadder for the performance. Although Congress leaders declare that the releases are of no consequence, yet as a matter of fact there is considerable relief felt because of them in wide circles. Unfortunately, when things were thus taking a favourable turn, the news of the detention of Mr. Sarat Bose and some others on the ground of suspected sympathy with the Japanese, has tended to counteract the effect of the release of the stayagraha prisoners. Mr. Sarat Bose, according to the organ of his party in Calcutta, was to have been appointed Minister for Law and Order in the newly formed Huq Cabinet. The timing of his arrest was calculated to raise the suspicion that the move was intended to prevent his appointment. Mr. Fazlul Huq and his colleagues in the new Ministry, have taken up Mr. Sarat Bose's case and they may be expected to do everything possible to see justice done to him. But the cases of Dr. Kalidas Nag and Mr. Balasingha the Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta, who have also been arrested and detained, are of more importance though they have not attracted the amount of public attention which Mr. Bose's detention has. Kalidas Nag is a scholar and a historian of repute of Indian influence in the Far East from ancient times. To him we owe much of the information about Indian influence in Java, Indo-China and other countries, including China and Japan. His sympathy with Japan is that of a scholar and antiquarian and has nothing to do with contemporary events. Mr. Balasingha is a Ceylonese and his residence in India is entirely for purposes of promoting interest in Buddhism in the land of its birth. His arrest is likely to produce resentment in Buddhist countries, which at the present time is not likely to help the cause of Britain. Unwise statements have been made by prominent Englishmen

describing the war as a crusade for the protection of Christianity and European civilization. It behoves the Government of India to exercise the greatest care to prevent acerbation of religious sentiments as much in Western as in Western Asia.

Lord Linlithgow's Calcutta Address :—When an appeal is to be made for the co-operation of people of different views, it is obviously desirable to avoid allusions and references which have not the same associations for all as they have for the speaker. His Excellency the Viceroy naturally cherishes a high opinion of the scheme of the Government of India Act in the production of which he played an important part. But it has been rejected by the Indian public and has been virtually abandoned by the British Government which, through the Secretary of State, has announced that the Indian people should frame their own constitution and that opportunities to do it will be furnished as soon as the preoccupations of the war permit this to be done. Not only did His Excellency indulge in unseasonable praise of this discarded measure but he also described it as the product of the best minds of England and India. It is notorious that every single suggestion made by Indian members of the Round Table Conference was rejected by the Government. To speak of this as co-operation, is to use the word in a Pickwickian sense. Apart from politics, the position of Lord Linlithgow cannot but awaken sympathy in every sensitive mind. He is officially Viceroy of India but for all practical purposes he may be Viceroy of India, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya as well. In the last resort, the burden of protecting these countries falls upon India and her Viceroy. Indians who differ from Government are yet anxious to do what they can to lighten Lord Linlithgow's burden, and they would be able better to do this if His Excellency resolutely forgets all about the Hoare scheme, the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee. As for the Viceroy's appeal to Indians to lay aside their differences, His Excellency would greatly facilitate this most desirable process, if he can, see his way to announce that for the duration of the war all Indians would be regarded as British citizens irrespective of caste and creed. The second announcement which will have an excellent effect is that the restrictions against the entry and acquisition of citizen rights in the Dominions are abolished with the concurrence of the Dominion Governments. The existence of these restrictions, shared by Indians and Japanese, is an anomaly which does not help if it does not actually hinder the war effort. The war is breaking down all barriers of race, creed, colour, and continent, and it is the part of prudence not to wait until the distinction between fellow subjects called upon to shoulder the same heavy burden is swept away by the force of events.

Exaggerated Claims:—Reuter has sent a cryptic cable regarding questions in Parliament about the authority responsible for the flamboyant messages which heralded the opening of the present campaign in Africa. The messages led one almost to expect a walk over for our troops. The preparation for the campaign during a period of five months, was said to be perfect and it was implied that the enemy had been negligent all the time. This optimistic anticipation was rudely shaken in a few days. The enemy, it transpires, had not been sleeping. The expected walk-over did not materialize; instead our troops met with stubborn resistance and the campaign is being indefinitely prolonged. The Secretary of State for War refused to divulge the name of the official responsible for this mis-directed zeal. This is not the first time that radio broadcasts have been belied by events and we do not see any object in penalising the person responsible for the mishap on this occasion. He no doubt meant to raise the morale of the Empire by a bit of exaggeration in which perhaps he himself believed at the time. The British Intelligence Department has not shown itself to be particularly efficient nowadays. The enemy is able apparently to throw dust in its eyes more effectively than it is able to throw it into his. Something like this has also happened about Singapore. For the last two years the world was led to think of the fortifications at Singapore as impregnable to the most powerful assaults. Mr. Amery was, however, warning the world this week of what would be the consequences to it of the surrender of Singapore to the Japanese. It is high time, if it is not too late, to give up this habit of misleading the public by exaggerated assurances. They lull it into a sense of false security and increase the danger of panic when the truth stands suddenly revealed.

The War with Japan:—If British authorities had any illusion that the Japanese would prove as easy to deal with as Italians, they have been quickly disillusioned. The sinking of two great battleships at the very outset of hostilities, might have been sheer luck but the subsequent operations in air, sea and land show that the Japanese have mastered the modern art of war as well as the British, the Nazis and the Russians. At the same time, it will be absurd to draw conclusions from the events of the first few days of the war. The story of the hare and the tortoise has a valuable lesson for nations engaged in war. The British Empire is, like Hindu society, a vast and unwieldy body, which, to outsiders, seems little capable of effective co-operation. It takes time for all its parts to realise that a common danger threatens the whole organism, and even after this is realised, it needs time to collect its resources and focus them at the crucial point. At the initial stages, therefore, the British Empire is likely to lag. But once started, the huge organism gains momentum every minute and unless some incredibly stupid blunder intervenes—which, alas, cannot be left out of calculation—its weight becomes irresistible. On the other hand, it would be foolish

to minimise the strength of the Japanese. They are not a rich people like the Americans and the British but they have in their Emperor a rallying centre of a potency inconceivable to Western minds. A hundred thousand Japanese will think nothing of going straight into the jaws of death to preserve the Imperial prestige. The Asiatic is more capable of concentration than the European in any sphere, good or bad, he chooses to adopt as his own. The Asiatic can also live on much less than the British or the American and this makes up for the disparity in wealth between the Asiatic and the Euro-American. One great lesson of this war is already patent. That is, wealth is not everything. It is the human spirit which counts.

Cricket Controversy:—A controversy has arisen over the game of cricket. For many years past Bombay has been holding annual matches in which teams representing the principal communities played one against another. These matches attracted great crowds from all communities and sometimes the enthusiasm of each community for its side found vent in vituperative exchanges. But so far as we know, there was nothing more serious and we can not say that these matches had any very appreciable effect in fomenting communal ill-feeling. Some people who are oppressed by the invasion of communal differences in politics and seek to eliminate them, have hit upon the abolition of communal cricket as a first step towards the end. *The Reformer* has not been able to hold that communal activities are harmful in every direction. On the contrary, the communal sense may be, if properly directed, a stimulus for emulation in social work. If Hindus attend to their numerous problems, if Muslims and Parsis and Christians do the same, much progress may be made towards the solution of common national problems. The leaders of the several communities may usefully exchange ideas and profit by each other's example. There is nothing inherently incompatible in the fellow-feeling among people of the same social and religious groups adopting measures for their own advancement and all co-operating in the advancement of interests affecting the whole country. While all attempts to create a sense of common citizenship are to be welcomed, they need not involve the abolition of all activities among communal groups. No one wants that the several communities which have lived in India for many centuries, should be compelled to coalesce into a single group. Such an idea is opposed to the Indian tradition which, alone among nations, has rejected the method of hammering all differences out with the object of having a homogeneous population which might be easier to deal with from a political and administrative point of view. The present controversy seems to us to be a case of much ado about nothing.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 20, 1941.

C. R.'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya's address at the Annual Convocation of Lucknow University, was not what Convocation addresses usually are. It was a political manifesto and an ultimatum to Gandhiji, combined. Mr. Rajagopalacharya justified his departure from the usual convention on grounds which would limit the choice of future convocation orators to persons caught in a crisis of their lives. He said that he was not an educational expert and that he did not wish to add to the plethora of advice which has been tendered to the graduates of Indian Universities in numerous convocation addresses. He presumed that the reason why Lucknow University invited him to deliver this year's address was that the authorities had heard of differences between him and Gandhiji and were curious to know what they were about. He admitted that there was a difference, and a serious one, which, unless Gandhiji came round to Mr. Rajagopalacharya's way of thinking, must lead to a split between them. He said:

I have not been quite an insignificant colleague of Gandhiji. I have worked with him these 22 years and feel the just pride of having helped him substantially to develop and put into action his principles and methods. Many are the ties that bind me to him, and it is not a pleasure to discover a difference and recognize it as leading to the parting of ways. — But prayerfully and in all humility must we face such a recognition if it must come.

The difference was as regards the application of the principle of non-violence. Mr. Rajagopalacharya upholds and adheres to *Ahimsa* as the ideal of Indian nationalism. But to him it is an ideal to be steadily kept in view but not to be indiscriminately applied to current questions. There must be compromise. No principle can be practised in this complicated world without compromise, he said.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya misses the central fact that principle itself is crystallised experience. Mankind for long centuries was content to produce fire by striking a piece of flint against a bit of steel or rubbing two pieces of wood together. It did not grasp the principle that friction creates heat. Once this principle was grasped—the process of the discovery has become a matter of legend—the safety-match quickly replaced the stone and steel method. This is the history of all human progress. Compromise there has been but it has retarded rather than helped forward progress. But there must always be some men who, regardless of personal convenience or immediate practical result, stand for a principle because it is a principle. There must be men who feel it their mission to keep the torch burning so that all may light their lamps at it whenever they feel the need to do so.

Gandhiji, said Mr. Rajagopalacharya, stands

for total opposition to all war. But, surely, he was not doing that during the last war when he was actively engaged in recruiting men for the army. Nor was he totally opposed to all war when he told the Viceroy that the destruction of Westminster Abbey would be the end of all his hopes. Even today we doubt if he is the absolutist in respect of non-violence and war Mr. Rajagopalacharya proclaims him to be. Gandhiji has declared himself to be a man of compromise. Some who knew him well and had great hopes of his leadership, found it impossible to follow him when they found that he could not follow a principle or an idea to its legitimate conclusion but was always prone to let himself be sidetracked on minor issues. The last twenty years have been full of instances. Mr. Rajagopalacharya and others who set up Gandhiji's adherence to non-violence as their reason for deserting him, are really inspired by a different reason although they are not conscious of it. They rebel not against Gandhiji's non-violence—none of them is prone to violence by temperament—but against his non-co-operation tactics now known as *satyagraha*. Some Indians including Liberals and others, realised from the first that Gandhiji's non-co-operation method was unsuited to India. They were sneered at by Mr. Rajagopalacharya and others of his school as men without courage, without principle, as time servers and solicitous of official countenance. After twenty wasted years, Mr. Rajagopalacharya has also come to realise this. He does not naturally want to acknowledge that all these years he was pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp. Mr. Rajagopalacharya even claims great success for this method. It has not been fruitful of any results which are calculated to prove of permanent benefit to the country.

The failure of non-co-operation is due to the deep-rooted abhorrence of the Indian mind to anarchy. In Europe, foreign rule as such is regarded as the greatest evil. In India some rule, any rule, has been considered preferable to anarchy. If native rule can save the country from anarchy, there can be nothing better. But if no native rule can do this, then, better foreign rule than no rule. Again and again, in Indian history people have accepted foreign rule in preference to indigenous chaos. This is the reason why a few European traders were able with the help of Indian troops and, to a large extent, with Indian money to establish British domination in this country. The idea that foreign rule as such is detestable is not an indigenous idea. It is an European importation which has now captured the Indian political imagination. The acceptable government, according to Indian ideas, is a government which left the people free to profess and practise their own religions, did not impose unbearable burdens on them, and left them free to live their lives, to think their own thoughts, to go to heaven or hell in their own way. There was at the end of the eighteenth century no Indian

power which held out the promise of such government. That was why our predecessors accepted British rule, even held it as a godsend and set themselves by constitutional methods to have it transformed into an acceptable government. They were not mendicants or beggars but men who understood the temper of the people and sought to develop through British agency the essentials of Swaraj based on principles of freedom and toleration. Gandhiji too was content with this method for many years. He would have probably remained so but for the impetuosity of followers who were eager to oust the old veterans and get the Congress into their hands. For many years Mr. Rajagopalacharya himself was an outsider in the Congress camp. He was not trusted by the inner circle. He is by nature averse to emotional demonstrations. His rise to the present high position which he holds in Indian public life, is a triumph of mind over inert matter. His public declaration of loss of faith in the non-co-operation method—disguised as non-violence—is an act of high political courage. Nobody knows better than he that he is laying himself open to the charge, at the hands of his associates, of kicking away the ladder on which he has risen. But he has felt the call to renounce and it is in the spirit of renunciation that he parts—if he must—from Gandhiji.

INDIA AND THE WORLD.

"India and Democracy" has much in it that is bad history, inaccurate reporting and inadequate appreciation of India's future place in the world. Sir George Schuster in one paragraph does refer to the great part India will have to play as a bridge between East and West, which will transform the British Commonwealth into something more than a racial combination. But it is inserted for the benefit of the gallery. It is not apparently a matter of deep conviction with him. Even the fact that India must remain in the Empire group, is a matter of convenience with Sir George rather than of national development. He has proved with laborious zeal that India cannot fit into a Japanese imperium or into a Chinese system; that the Bolshevik and Nazi political methods will not appeal to the Indian mind; that the question of uniting with the U. S. A. does not arise; and that, therefore, she must be within the British Empire as no nation can afford to be alone. Nevertheless, the picture of India and the Indian, which Sir George Schuster and Mr. Wint have drawn, must leave the impression that India does not fit in either with the British group. Even more than what our authors say, there are the Dominions. None of them want Indians except on the most humiliating terms and few of them are averse to using India for their own advantage. The Eastern Group meetings at Delhi provided a painful reminder of India's position when the Viceroy of India failed to speak as the representative of India but subtly distinguished between the British people and the peoples associated with them. Much is said of India's key position in the Eastern Group. What we can make out of her position, is that she is useful—as useful as the common stock of a co-operative enterprise—for providing supplies.

The ideal position would be for an independent India allied with Britain on one side, with Japan and China on another, with the Arab countries on the third and with Russia on the fourth. This is what the history of this country and her inability to merge into any existing groups in the world, point inevitably to. It is difficult for a student of world events to visualize any stability in alliances because in the past fifty years, alliances and treaties have not proved worth the paper they are printed on. In the anarchy of the last decade there is nevertheless a method. The weak nations win security by agreeing to allow a strong neighbouring power to look after their defence and decide their foreign policy for them. "India and Democracy" is itself a specious argument to grant Indians everything except the right to find her own place in the world of tomorrow. Yet if India is to be even a Dominion, she must be allowed to follow a policy suited to her geographical position, just as Canada's special position to the United States is recognized. It is well-known that Britain's past policy towards Japan has been actuated by consideration for Australian opinion. India has wider interests and it cannot be that her influence should be less.

Those who have followed the strange and tortuous course of British foreign policy, cannot urge that Indian influence would be a force for irresponsibility. The present British method of appealing to India to remain in the British group, even though she has no choice, is an improvement on the old strategy of saying that she has to be there. But India must decide her own foreign policy. In this connection Sir George has a very ingenious paragraph which speaks volumes. He writes:

.....The British Government would contract for a time to perform a large part of the services required for the defence of India, leaving the Indian national governments in their early years free to concentrate mainly on the tasks of internal government. Those tasks, if the appreciation in the preceding chapters is accepted as a true one, are great enough, and indeed, an English reader, looking back over the past few years, might be tempted to exclaim, "How fortunate!" if presented with the prospect of a government able to devote itself entirely to its internal social policy. It may in fact truly be said of the English people that after the last war they wanted nothing better than to go back to a quiet world in which they could develop their social policies at home regardless of external threat. That indeed is precisely what they tried to do and what may be said to have led them into allowing Germany to get such a long start in building up the mechanism for aggressive war.

This is indeed confused thinking with a vengeance. It is one of the fascinating characteristics of the British mind when concerned with India that, if left alone to do its thinking aloud, it throws out contradictory ideas. Sir George's logic is exquisite. To the Indian looking back over the past few years, the present trouble lies in the leaders who took advantage of Britain's public inertia and carried on things their own way. He is not likely to rejoice overmuch at the prospect of continuing these conditions as Sir George asks him to do. Any people who allow others, whether of their own race or alien, to conduct their foreign policy for them, will find themselves ultimately in calamitous straits. Mr. A. L. Rowse writes of the fateful post-war period in the *Political Quarterly*:

As a political candidate with a responsibility to the people in my part of the country, the county of Cornwall, I warned them again and again of the fatal indolence and irresponsibility of this man (Baldwin) who was Prime Minister of Great Britain. They preferred not to listen; they are paying for it now.

This is the mentality in regard to the foreign policy which Sir George Schuster would want to exist in India. Considering the many-sided interests of this country, we could think of nothing more disastrous.

The present war has changed radically many views about the ability of countries to defend themselves. Sir George Schuster uses the fact that no country has been able to stand alone in its defence, to press home the point that Indians should not be asked to seek an impossible ideal and, on the other hand, that Britain should not make India's inability to defend herself alone, a reason to stop political progress, as Mr. Amery has done. He suggests a convention between Britain and India somewhat similar to the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. This is a definite progress and it will, we hope, be the basis of a provisional arrangement between the two countries. But we must utter a warning against the facility with which Sir George takes for granted the military experts' conception of what is the defence of India. He writes :

India's defence would clearly be most economically and effectively assured by cooperation in the defence of points outside India which are strategically essential to her security.

The Chatfield Report made Indian acceptance of this view the basis of its recommendations. This is a subject that must be discussed on its merits. It is interesting to note that, even in the U. S. A., the American Hepburn Board suggested the fortifying of Guam Island on the same basis. Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin in an article on "Our New Long Shadow" in *Foreign Affairs* for April 1939 commented on its reasoning as follows:

"It would be valuable as a defense for the American coasts and Hawaii." Put thus, the argument can be reduced to an absurdity. By the same argument we should have bases at the North Pole, in Europe and Asia. What really is meant is that it would be invaluable for operations against Japan in case of war with that country.....If we were to relinquish our base in the Philippines following the grant of independence to those islands, we would have little reason to maintain an Asiatic Squadron (thereby removing the second argument of needing a repair base for the Asiatic Squadron)...the development (of a base at Guam) would require years and the process might be viewed by Japan as a threat to her own vital interests and this might itself induce war.

The implications of this passage are important. The most vital point is that it is no use accepting defence responsibilities for areas distant from a country unless the defending power has also political control over those areas. What is good strategy for Britain with her widespread Empire, would mean in India's case only accepting the duty of sending out troops to fight all over the world. The caution of the great United States democracy in this matter is a necessary warning to India. If there is a convention for defence, it must be one which does not mortgage India's foreign policy to the military experts. This should not be difficult with the example of Egypt's attitude of neutrality to the present war. In suggesting the treaty with Egypt as a sign-post for India's defence problem, Sir George has made a useful contribution to the subject of Indo-British relations.

THE WOMEN MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

(By BEGUM MIR AMIRUDDIN, MADRAS.)

When dealing with social conditions, there is another matter to which I should like to advert. In consonance with the secular nature of modern education which trains the intellect, builds the body, but ignores the inner self, a tendency is observable on the part of some of our younger women to break away with religion and Oriental traditions. This tendency, if allowed to remain unchecked, will do incalculable harm to the nation. We suffer in a dangerous degree from a malady of imitation, dangerous because we do not emulate other races and nations in regard to habits and customs which have contributed to their progress but rather ape their shortcomings and weaknesses. Unrestrained freedom, Occidental dancing, games of chance are all making deep inroads on Indian society and it is not uncommon these days for mothers to bewail the loss of control over their daughters' activities. Even Muslim women emerging from the purdah are to be found in fashionable circles falling into the pitfalls of a social life that is un-Islamic.

In this era of change, when the great and good mottoes of old are being supplanted by fashionable slogans, it behoves the leaders of the women's movement to guide their inexperienced sisters through the maze of ideas, of doctrines, policies and ideologies of the modern world and put a restraint upon those who feel the impulse to carry a new found freedom to extremes. It must be impressed upon the modern girl that the Indian woman today stands at the threshold of her career, behind whom are noble traditions fraught with lessons, before whom are the coming centuries pregnant with possibilities to be made her own, and that in directing the steps of progress she must be a steadfast level-headed creature, who does not in the name of fashion discard her modesty and grace and all that is fine and beautiful in Oriental culture.

I should now like to touch upon one question which is pressing upon the country with increasing insistence, and that is the need for the creation of a spirit of concord and understanding between the members of different castes and creeds. Towards the establishment of that ideal, both women and educational institutions have to play their part. No moulding influence can more effectively create among people a disposition to mutual understanding than power which mothers exercise. It is up to every mother to lay the foundation of the future peace of the land by inculcating in the young, in their impressionable age, that diversity in regard to races, cultures, and creeds constitutes the very law of Nature, but that despite dissimilarity we are all members of a common humanity. Children should be taught in their homes to free themselves from the bondage of their individual 'ego' and the 'ego' of their race and creed and to cultivate a broad spirit of tolerance for those different from themselves.

On the other side, the ideal of fellowship should be implanted in the minds of the young in our educational institutions. India is torn by dissensions because the mental approach of the nation is defective, because our educational institutions have not played their part in fostering mutual understanding and goodwill between the citizens of the land. What is needed is that in the educational apparatus of our schools, there should be ample recognition of the finest gifts which each race and religion has given to India.

I wish to express gratification at the fact that the Women's Movement in India, in its enthusiasm to lift the neglected half-section of society from the quagmire of sufferings and handicaps in which it is plunged, has not lost its balance and sense of proportion. Our women, in demanding the removal of the fetters which have cramped their individuality, have done so not in a spirit of militancy or opposition but in an attitude of calm, well-balanced assertion. Further, they have re-iterated that in pressing forward their claims to be accorded recognition in the practical affairs of life, they ask for no favours, they desire no privileges, they look forward to no special concessions. They have made it abundantly clear that though women demand equality they do not hold that such equality should be regardless of individual merit; rather it is their view that efficiency should be their watchword and be the basis of their demand for preferential treatment. Rightly did Plato observe, "Division of labour must be by aptitude and ability and not by sex. If a woman shows herself capable of political administration, let her rule; if a man shows himself capable only of washing dishes, let him wash."

It is a mistake to proclaim that women are the same as men; they are not. Had woman been similar to man, there would be no necessity for feminine representation on the different bodies that is demanded by women's Organizations. In the words of Tennyson, "woman is not undeveloped man, but diverse," and it is not identity but diversity that constitutes woman's greatest claim to take her share in public life. Women claim representation because they represent another aspect from men in the problems that face the world, because their opinions and their point of view are so vitally necessary to the welfare of the nation and humanity at large.

No woman should be disqualified by sex from exercising any public function. This should be recognized not merely in paper theoretically, but in actual practice. It is not enough that women should be recruited as clerks and in the lower rungs of the public Service ladder. We need a woman representative at the top; we need a woman representative in the heart of affairs, that is at the helm of the administration of every Province and also in the Central Executive Council of India. Let nobody misunderstand that we wish to run a competition with men in capturing seats and places. All that we ask for is that there should be one woman representative in important key positions.

Men and women, it must be remembered each constitute one-half of humanity, neither superior, nor inferior, but interdependent, having their respective contributions to make for the evolving of a happier and better world order than at present existing. The unbalancing of modern civilization has been due to the mere masculine tone given to it, to the predominance of a spirit of destructiveness, which unhappily has held sway over manhood. A bright future for the world will emerge when the creativeness that is preserved by womanhood will become common to both man and woman, and when there will be perfect co-operation between them in the making of human history.

Realizing as the Women's Conference does that the centre of life has been and ever will be the home, the aim of this organization has been primarily to call upon women to become better wives and better mothers and thereafter only to fulfil their role as active citizens.

The watchword of the Women's movement in India, I wish to reiterate, is balance, hence there is no doubt about it that this movement, which is the

crowning point of the Great Indian Renaissance, will be the pivot of all social and national progress. Let us, therefore, march onward in our task with hearts full of hope and minds filled with inspiration for the attainment of our ideals, both great and glorious.

HOUSING FOR HEALTH.

(BY LALITHA L. MOSES, BARODA)

A comprehensive survey of housing in India would begin with the housing of the past. One of the characteristics of a fully developed stage of civilization is the prevalence of a high mode of civic life; and such a life goes hand in hand with well planned units of the community, namely the city or the village. That such a highly developed civic life existed in Ancient India has been proved convincingly by archaeological excavations. The works of ancient writers containing the details of her well defined town-planning schemes amounting nearly to fifteen, testify further to her attainment of civic consciousness.

The recent excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Chanhodaro in the Indus basin, are a revelation to the city life of prehistoric Indians. The predominating feature characterising the growth of these excavated cities was the advancement in hygienic and sanitary principles governing the layout and construction of the buildings. The people were no dreamers, no idealists, but thorough realists. Their realism is plainly discernible in their architecture. With regard to their buildings, they did not lavish their attention on mere external decoration but on real comfort. They did not regard their houses as something that would catch the eye by their quaintness; but they built them as dwelling places. Whatever, therefore, did not contribute to the main purpose of a building—a living home,—was completely eschewed. Commodiousness, health, welfare,—such were the criteria that motivated the Indus city builders.

What a contrast we find in Egypt & Sumer where the grandeur of the structure has completely relegated to the background the comfort needed. The small house of the West is a poor tribute to the planning capacities of the builders. What they have left behind exhibit their love of mere decoration, to which was sacrificed all notions of well being.

With regard to the modern cities, although Science has aided architects and builders in the construction of hygienic homes and healthy environments, there are yet traces of unhygienic methods of living; dust, dirt and congestion still continue to muck up our roads and dwelling places. Probably, overcrowding is the cause of the evils. In many of our South Indian towns, buildings are put up so close to roadways that with the growth of traffic, congestion is increased; light and ventilation are reduced; accidents and mortality are rapidly on the increase. Is there no remedy for this? Rebuilding the cities is out of the question. The conditions have to be improved gradually, accelerated as much as possible by individual and collective effort. Orderly arrangement helped by legislation will help to solve the problem. Shall we allow our cities to grow any more in a disorderly manner, so that widening of streets, provisioning of open spaces and other conditions of a healthy life will become so much more costly? A wise scheme of town planning or town improvement should be decided upon by government in consultation with technical men—industrialists, lawyers, engineers, railway and transport companies—and a law passed making it an offence for any one to

erect buildings or carry out improvements except in conformity with the plan.

There is yet another direction in which the reformer ought to turn his attention. The problem of housebuilding in rural areas demands his consideration. The mud walls and thatched roofs which house the majority of Indian ryots, afford but little protection against sun and rain to the villagers. It is wrong to suppose that the peasant has no ambitions, that he is satisfied to live in his mud hut all his life. He perhaps has as many longings as the wealthy; but, alas, to him ambition is a closed book and he has been taught to smother it from his early childhood with a stoical belief in Fate. Sometimes a storm mercilessly blows away the thatched roof of his mud hut, and he and his family are left exposed to the fury of the elements; every year the summer sun beats cruelly down upon him; famine, pestilence, disease and drought are frequent visitors in the villages; yet the dwellers of mud huts eke out a precarious living.

The question of housebuilding in rural areas is a throbbing one pulsating as it does with the heart-beats of the 'backbone of our nation'. Though Civil Engineering has made strides of recent years, the rural area has not yet benefited by the knowledge. The various rural reconstruction schemes, the furtherance of slum clearance plans and the strenuous village uplift work that is being carried out in every corner of India may soon change the face of the village and see the disappearance of mud huts to give way to cosy, neat little hamlets of tiled roofs and white walls. There is yet one more possibility for the civil engineers to devote their attention to; it constitutes a deep study of the raw materials available in different parts of our country and investigation as to how best this material may be converted into strong, useful and permanent housebuilding work. Some progress has been made in this connection by the Irrigation Research Institute, Lahore, but the application of the principle to house building in rural areas has not met with success. It is not only the designs of the houses that will have to be improved, but more important is the improvement in the method of constructions. Although the cost of building, to make houses sanitary, is somewhat higher, the difference in health to the inmates more than repays the outlay.

Housing comprises not only the hygienic conditions within the precincts of the home, but also the provision of healthy surroundings. Within the latter category should be included the maintenance of clean wide roads and thoroughfares. In almost all the big towns of North India, major roads are well-kept, well-swept and watered to lay the dust. They are also invariably wide, as for instance in Bombay, so that traffic congestion is avoided and accidents to pedestrians minimized. Such thoroughfares are very necessary in our villages, for an easier transport of crops and other commodities to the towns.

A comprehensive planning of housing is a dire need in our villages. The village shall be so planned and provided with decent facilities and amenities of life that village life becomes more attractive and villages are made more fit to live in. The provision of such facilities will go a long way to brighten the lives of the teeming millions in the rural areas. When the villages are thus planned and improved, many of the thousands of young men who have now swollen the army of educated unemployed, would go back and settle in the country, thus remedying the overpopulation in the towns.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN WAR.

(By N. E. KARN, KATHIAWAR.)

In war-time our sense of values is distorted. To be of service a sense of values must have reason in it, and in reason nothing must be over-emphasised. In a state of war the reasoning man and the unreasoning man both tend to over-emphasise.

Most people possess some sense of values. Their natural inclination may be stronger in one direction than in another. Yet so long as they are aware of different standards, and sensitive to thoughts, impressions and atmospheres other than their own, it cannot be said that they are lacking in such a sense. Yet in the rapid movement forced upon us by war, in the ebb and flow of circumstance and events, in the flux of all these things, their outlook is so greatly altered that they do not, and cannot, weigh or consider, or adjust themselves aright to what is true and valuable. Even the man who has, most of all, delicate perceptions, a sensitive response to impressions, a fair and balanced judgment, in fact a keen sense of values, is bound to be drawn and influenced by the catastrophe of war! He is slightly unbalanced, that is to say, for all civilisation, all reasonableness, all art and beauty, aye even life itself, sways in the balance, and he sways with it.

Nevertheless, it is most necessary to consider or to preserve a sense of values in such a time, and at this present time perhaps more than at any time in history, for the eternal values of reality depend upon such a sense, the good and sound sense of what is worth while. Now I would make a complaint that we are not sufficiently aware of each other's "sets of values," and not sufficiently in touch to be aware. Take India, for instance. I have been living for twelve months in a cultured Indian household, and it comes home to me with much force that here is valuation of thought, of knowledge, of life itself, of which I, and many like me, know little from the inside. Against this Indian set of values, lies my own, but beyond both, it seems to me, and *depending much upon their mingling*, are values far more reasonable, far truer, and far more beautiful than any we have yet experienced. A new set of values! Can we cultivate the sense that perceives it? Certainly war will distort the vision for us, alter its significance, make us incapable of recognising that it exists at all. Nor need we think of the great war now going on between nation and nation. There is a smaller war, which is quite as evil, and it is found in the minds of men. It is selfishness in its true sense of self-seeking, and not of power, warring with all that is good. This is that which first obscures the vision; this is the thing which divides men and women, and the beauties, the values, existing for them in their different thought or knowledge, in their different countries. We must get rid of that selfishness!

We must take a fair view, we must over-emphasise nothing. We must let reason control our passions and we must reach through to that "sense of values" which will lead us, and all men, to a true liberty, the full and rich life upon which the future can alone stand secure. Can we do it?

The New Bengal Cabinet :—The new Huq Ministry consists of the following nine members: Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Dr. Symaprosad Mookerjee, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Khan Bahadur M. Abdulkarim, Mr. P. N. Bannerjee, Khan Bahadur M. Hashem Ali Khan, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed and Mr. Upendra Nath Burman.

CRISIS IN CLOUDLAND.

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Provisional Committee to advise on the composition of Constituent Assembly. A Secretary addressing those present: Ladies and Gentlemen: You will now form yourselves into a meeting and elect your Chairman.

All sit down. The tallest person present, Garuda Singh, rises and proposes that he himself should take the Chair. The proposition is seconded by the shortest woman present. The proposition is unanimously passed. Garuda Singh takes the Chair. Sits in silent prayer for five minutes. Opens his eyes, looks round him and rises slowly and speaks: Friends: I am greatly obliged to you for the confidence you have reposed in me by calling me to preside on this momentous occasion. (*A voice:* You proposed yourself, nobody called you.) I ignore that unmannerly interruption. I hope all those invited are present.

Secretary: All except three.

Chairman: Why are they not present? I specially wanted all here.

One of the members: They have been arrested for shouting slogans.

Chairman: What nonsense! I myself had given them the slogans and suggested that they shout them as they came along so as to interest the public in our proceedings.

Secretary: The Police mistook them for anti-war slogans.

Chairman: (disgustedly) That's how we suffer from want of co-ordination. Is it possible to explain to the Police and bring the men here?

Secretary: That will take about the rest of the day. The Committee is required, as you know, Sir, to report in twenty four hours.

Chairman: That's so. Well we shall proceed. Ladies and Gentlemen, as you have read in the newspapers, the Higher Authority has accepted the idea of a Constituent Assembly to draft the future Indian Constitution with the single stipulation that it must be representative of all the "elements" in our national life.

Brother Jonah: Sir, I wish to know what is meant by "elements."

Chairman: I was coming to that. I also felt the same need for enlightenment. I applied to the one source which can best enlighten us, Higher Authority itself. The reply I got was that the Higher Authority's Legal Advisers interpreted the word "element" to mean that which was not a "compound."

Bakr Raddy: That does not take us far, does it, Mr. Chairman? What is a "compound?"

Chairman: I asked the same question. The reply was "that which can not be called an element."

Sharda Begum: This practically means that the Committee is left to frame its own definition.

Bastajes: (gallantly) I compliment you, lady, on your wonderful insight.

Manava Shastry: (to himself) Silly nonsense! I see no insight in that woman's remarks. She wants only to call attention to herself.

Chairman: I am inclined to agree with our fair colleague that the Higher Authority wishes to give us a free hand.

Mahmal Khan: Only to throw us overboard later.

Chairman: That being so, I suggest for the consideration of the Committee that we may understand the word "element" to mean a human being or group of human beings who by quality, attribute or insignia, are distinguishable from one another. For example: Men and women form two distinct elements.

Atom-crusher: And hermaphrodites who are neither-man nor woman.

Chairman: I do not remember hermaphrodites enumerated at the Census. How are we to get at their number?

Atom-crusher: By instituting a special Census, of course.

Chairman: I make a note of it. It is for the Higher Authority to decide whether hermaphrodites should be reckoned among the "elements" or the "compounds." We are required only to consider the former.

Bhaktivala: May I suggest that this point may be referred to a special sub-committee before it is referred to Higher Authority.

Chairman: That is a good idea. Members who would wish to be in the sub-committee may kindly hold up two fingers of their right hand. I personally should like to be excused. (*No one lifts a finger.*) I take it that you wish the point to be settled by Higher Authority. The next "element" in the population are children.

Wilyman: I hope you will include in the term those also who are in their second childhood!

Chairman: (seventy eight years of age) A truce to such unseasonable pleasantries. We have a lot of work to get through.

Srimathi Sita Rakshasi: I don't think that children are elements. They are in the way of becoming elements just as old people are compounds on the way of dissolving into elements. I suggest, therefore, that both children and old people should not be classed among elements of the population.

Chairman: What, Madam, is your idea of old people?

Srimathi: Those who have celebrated their shasty-abdhapurthi. That is, completed sixty years.

Chairman:—You won't even allow the Psalmist's allotted span?

Srimathi: I am neither a Jew nor a Christian. I prefer our own Shastras.

Chairman: I am also a Hindu, Madam. The Hindu Shastras prescribe one hundred as man's normal span. Your definition would put me out of court.

Srimathi: That was in the Kreta yuga—we are now at the fag-end of Kali yuga. We may make an exception in your favour, though personally, I would prefer a young woman in the Chair.

Chairman: In plain English you want to be in the Chair yourself.

Srimathi: Since you say so, I will not deny it. I do not believe in hiding my light under a bushel.

Chairman: Well, ladies and gentlemen, what do you say? I surely do not want to be an unwanted guest at this feast. (*After a moment's pause seeing nobody to dissent.*) I see the general feeling is in favour of having a young woman in my place. I am glad to be relieved of this thankless job... But I warn you this young woman is a Communist at heart and only a Democrat with her lips. (*Garuda Singh walks out. Srimathi Sita Rakshasi swiftly jumps into the chair.*)

Mrs. Carrier Pigeon: I move that the meeting do now adjourn.

Several Members: Why? We have just begun the proceedings. We have to finish in twenty four hours. Please do withdraw your motion.

Mrs. C. P. I never withdraw, I never explain.

Srimathi Sita Rakshasi: She does not like me to be Chairman. She is jealous.

Mrs. C. P. I will not withdraw my motion. I propose an immediate adjournment. If you do not adjourn I will call in the Police. My husband you know, is the Police Commissioner.

Srimathi: Well, friends, I am terribly upset by this exhibition of official snobbery. I cannot sit here for a minute longer. I dissolve the Committee *sine die*. (*Meeting breaks up in an uproar.*)

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PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 28.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 27, 1941. No. 17.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

A Sad Christmas.
The Political Cock-Fight.
Civilian Governors.
Kumbh Pilgrims.
The War and India.
Osintta and the Far-East.

Germany: Lesson or Warning?
The India of Tomorrow.
Women and Social Reform.
War by Revolution.
Oasis in Cloudland.
Rama-Rajya.

NOTES.

A Sad Christmas :—The traditional greeting at this season among Christians wishing a Merry Christmas is a hollow mockery at this Christmas. The more suitable phrase would be one of condolence. In millions of homes there are today vacant places tugging at the heart-strings of bereaved parents, widows and orphans, butchered to make statesmen's holiday. If the Spirit of Christ visits the scene of his Ministry he will have reason to lament with more force than two thousand years ago that he has nowhere to lay his head. The very high priests of the Churches which bear his name, have turned war-minded. The people of India whom an English writer described as possessing the Christian virtues more than professing Christian nations, are being exhorted to become war-minded by leaders of their own race. Judging from the experience of other nations which once deliberately cultivated the spirit of war, the war spirit can be easily acquired in a generation, at the most in about a couple of generations. But once acquired it can not be as easily laid aside. The love of peace is of slow growth in the minds of nations apprenticed to war. Has Christianity failed? Certainly not. What has failed is not Christianity but a ravaging greed for wealth and power camouflaged as Christianity. A shrewd Indian Christian thinker declared two years ago that Europe was never really Christian at heart. The Europeans were the victim of mass conversions. And it is not strange that under the banner of the Prince of Peace they have continued to carry on their congenial occupation of violence and war. Was the appearance of Jesus on earth God's Himalayan blunder? No, a thousand times, No. Two thousand years are but a moment in eternity and God plans for eternity not for the passing hour. There are Christian men and women in all lands who are heartbroken at the ruins of their religious edifice and are striving bravely in co-operation with God-minded people who worship at other shrines

to bring the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. Their efforts may for the moment seem to be quixotic. It may be a century or more before their influences become visible. There must be more trials and tribulations for the human race before the gentle voice of peace is heard. But that time will surely come.

'Mid the wail of wintry storms

The halcyon hears the sound of vernal hours
Already on the wing.

Some men and women have this gift to perceive in the carnage and destruction around them the signs of a great good time coming. May their number increase!

The Political Cock-Fight :—English newspapers have discovered a new way of playing the old game of setting Indians against each other. An important London journal invited expositions of their respective views from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah of the Congress and the Muslim League points of view. The Muslim League like the Congress is in the throes of an internal revolution. But the British public will not know that the Pandit and Mr. Jinnah mainly voice their own personal ideas. It will not even know that these ideas are far from being historically or even factually accurate. For instance, the Pandit is of opinion that Indians have more affinities with China and other countries grouped under the title "Far East" than with Europe or Britain. "Affinities" may mean different things to different persons. If they mean ways of thinking and standards of conduct, then surely Indians have more affinities today with Europe and America than with China and Japan. We have never accepted the division of the human race by continents and countries as ultimate facts. The idea of a Europe distinct from Asia and other continents, which still dominates the minds of leading British statesmen, is largely responsible for the extension of the war to Asia. Likewise, President Franklin Roosevelt's efforts to establish his hemisphere as having no point of contact with the other hemisphere, is being shattered by the march of events. In view of these two precedents it is unfair to blame Japan for setting up a Pan-Asiatic ideal. We have all along been of the opinion, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that the Indian problem is an organic part of the world problem

and that it is only by cultivating a world outlook that we can find the right and permanent solution to it. We are, therefore, surprised to see him trying to differentiate between Asia and the other continents. Ideas rule the world. And ideas are no respecters of geographical boundaries. As mankind advances in its mental development geographical and racial boundaries will recede in the background and then, and not till then, will the goal of universal peace and goodwill be attained. So much for the Pandit. Mr. Jinnah denies that the Indians are a nation. He, however, speaks of one hundred million Indian Muslims—rather an exaggeration—as if they were. But can not Muslims themselves be classified as Sunnis and Shias, Borahs, Sulemani and Daudi, and Khojas, Moplahs and Memons and numerous other sects which have their distinctive tenets and customs? If he can speak of Indian Muslims, he can think of Indians without any suffix, as forming a nation. If India can not be called a nation, you may call it anything else but the fact will remain that Indians, as Mr. Amery lately observed, form a type unique and distinct among the races of the world. To put it in a concrete way, Mr. Jinnah will not find himself as much at home in Arabia or Afghanistan notwithstanding that they are Muslim countries, as he finds himself in Bombay or Delhi which are inhabited by Muslims as well as Hindus, Christians, Parsis and Jews. For our own part, we consider the controversy about whether or not Indians are entitled to be called or to call themselves a nation, as absolutely waste of words. The word, Nation, has been interpreted in various ways and some of the world's great thinkers have refused to accord it any meaning at all. At the present time, in wide circles nationalism is becoming a word of reproach as being essentially responsible for the present conflagrations and the way out of them is being realised as the recognition of a common bond between men all over the world. Mr. H. G. Wells would not grant that India is a nation but he is one of those who are out to destroy nationalism and to promote a world order in which the common factors are recognised to a larger extent than special and particular interests. If all countries accept this view, India too will accept it. But to require her to anticipate the action of other countries in which nationalism has wrought its worst consequences, is hardly fair.

Civilian Governors :—The Governors of provinces other than Madras, Bombay and Bengal are senior members of the Indian Civil Service. There has been evidence that as a rule they are apt to be less liberal than the Governors of the three Presidencies who are public men of parliamentary experience. The marked distinction between public life and opinion in the Presidencies as distinguished from the provinces is mainly due to this fact. The reactionary

tendencies of Civilian administration have come into view rather prominently of late. The Governor of the United Provinces has resisted falling into line with the policy of the Government of India and the Presidency Governments in regard to the establishment of understanding relations with the Press. He has, it was rumoured, opposed the release of political prisoners. The Prime Minister of Sind made a statement in the Legislative Assembly the other day complaining of the interference of the Governor of the Province with the day to day administration. His Excellency maintained that he was following the true policy of the Act of 1935 and that other Governors who did not do so, had acted in contravention of the spirit and letter of that Act. Then, there has happened the almost incredible blunder of the Bihar Governor in prohibiting the holding of the Hindu Mahasabha in several districts of the province which is predominantly a Hindu province. The *Searchlight* of Patna, a Congress organ, gleefully points out, that the Hindu Mahasabha is reaping the reward of its co-operation with Government in their war effort. It is strange that while Liberal leaders of Madras, not the liberal party as such, have protested against the action of the Bihar Government, the Congress which is non-co-operating on behalf of a single item of civil liberties, has not thought fit to raise its voice against this flagrant violation of another important one, the right of public meeting. Even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who founded a Civil Liberties league when he came out of his last incarceration, has chosen to keep silent about the ban on the Mahasabha.

Kumbh Pilgrims :—The contrast between the solicitude shown by the Government of India for the proper performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca and the summary prohibition of the sale of railway tickets to pilgrims to the forthcoming Kumbh Mela at Prayag, would, in ordinary circumstances, have been passed over as due to difference in the circumstances. But coming on the heels of the action of the Bihar Government in banning the holding of the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur, and the arrest of the leaders, it can not in the most favourable view fail to excite an unpleasant feeling that the scales are being unevenly held, with the result of adding to the difficulties of rapprochement between communities. The ban on the Hindu Mahasabha has evoked a protest from men of the position in public life of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry, Sir P. Sivaswami Aiyar and Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastry. During the last few days, there have been speeches by members of the expanded Executive Council. They have claimed credit for the release of political prisoners but none of them has explained whether and why he approved of the detention of the Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society and a scholar like Dr. Kalidas Nag, not to mention a political leader, Mr. Sarat Bose,

on the suspicion of sympathy with Japan, merely because, so far as is known, of their cultural and religious interest in the relations between India and Japan. The Councillors have not explained why they have not got the Government of India to intervene to prevent the provocative blunder of the Bihar Government. The latest step of prohibiting the sales of tickets to pilgrims for the Kumbh Mela also demands explanation. The dispersal of responsibility among nine Indian members, has not conduced to greater circumspection on the part of Government in discharging their primary duty of holding the scales even in the important matter of the religious sentiments of communities. The Kumbh Mela is one of the most sacred of all-India Hindu religious gatherings and if the Viceroy had been solely responsible for the administration of India during the war, we can not imagine that he would have resorted to a step of this far-reaching import.

The War and India:—Much is being said about the need for a realistic approach to public questions following the rapid developments since Japan's entry into the war. We wish that press correspondents, Reuter's correspondents, military experts and others of the tribe in Malaya and the Far East would exercise a little restraint in describing the obstacles which will impede Japan's progress in her war. The rubber jungles of Malaya and the crocodiles of the river have proved of little avail—as little or even less than the Maginot Line on which Frenchmen pinned their faith. The high hopes set up of defence possibilities in Singapore and Malaya and the quality of the resistance put up so far make one wonder whether the men posted there for fortifying the place have done their work as thoroughly as was expected by the Government in London. Mr. Churchill himself said in the House of Commons on Japan's declaration of war that Britain was prepared, as the United States of America was not, and that there would be stiff resistance. This was itself a surprise since all the theories of pitching India's defences outside, far outside, her natural frontiers, seemed to point rather to offensive warfare than to a passive waiting on events. So far not one effective blow has been struck at Japan and the Roosevelt-Churchill second meeting seems to have resulted in the decision to let events take their course in the Far East. Hong-Kong has surrendered to the enemy after an eight-day resistance. All these developments are not calculated to reassure people in this country. Bengal by reason of her proximity to the scene of war is now in the forefront. She is fortunate in as much as she has a government which is fairly representative of political opinion in the province. But the technical advantage of having such a government is offset by the fact that the first action taken relating to the war, is the decision to give government servants a month's salary in advance to enable them to send their dependants out of Calcutta.

This is a panic step. The official and through him, his dependants enjoy a certain security and prestige in peacetime. It is not to enable him or them to run out of the area in which their work keeps them, at the first threat of danger. There is a large outside element in Calcutta which has sought safety at the first sign. In their case, it is even more reprehensible.

Calcutta and the Far East:—A visitor to Calcutta can not but be struck by the curious stirrings that have shaken the entire population since Japan's blow at the Philippines and at Singapore. Sir Akbar Hydari referred at the Editors' Conference Standing Committee meeting to the cultural ties which had existed between that city and Japan for several years. That gives but half the picture. One must not lose sight of the bitterness which intellectual Bengal has felt at its present position in the country; the sense of frustration which political Bengal has suffered from under the prevailing system. It is a notorious fact that the cleavage between European and Indian has never been greater than in Bengal. There is a tendency in certain quarters to feel that that part of Bengal which has not shared in the prosperity of the European community, will surely not suffer along with it. Japanese propagandists have been quick to seize on this feeling. The "Greater Asia Co-prosperity" schemes, let us be frank about it, are not entirely without their sympathizers. The Communal Award which bore heavily on intellectual and political Bengal, drove many nationalists into the Mahasabha. The recent action in Behar against the Mahasabha has not brought the Government and these elements nearer. Indian opinion does not demarcate between provincial government actions against an All-India organisation and the Government of India's policy. Nor in assessing Bengal's attitude in the present crisis can one altogether ignore the fact that the Government of India have made little effort to familiarise Indian populations even in the cities to the presence of British and Empire troops. Alien soldiers in their midst are always regarded as a burden by indigenous populations. Except the canteens, variety entertainments, etc, given by society women, there have not grown up any points of contact between British soldiers and the people. And society women have no difficulty in taking care of themselves or being taken care of. On the other hand, it is realised that work has to continue under threat of war very much as usual. The menacing shadow which stretches each day from the Far East might remain a shadow for a month, or even a year. It is appreciated that one cannot, even if one would, leave the city for safer areas and better times. The work before all organisations today is to stand by the public in Bengal, to restrain panic evacuations and, in the last resort, to do for the poorer sections of the population what the more fortunate are doing for themselves.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 27, 1941.

GERMANY: LESSON OR WARNING?

In the leading article last week, we dealt with the Convocation address of Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya at Lucknow University with reference to his difference with Gandhiji about Non-violence. Towards the end Mr. Rajagopala Charya directed the attention of his audience to the example of Germany. Closely, and even verbally, following Lord Haldane's rectorial address to Edinburgh University with the title "The Dedicated Life", Mr. Rajagopalacharya pointed out how Germany rose from the degradation and depression of the Napoleonic conquest to strength and power by the new conception of the greatness of the State which her philosophers and poets then developed. "The leaders saw clearly that education was the key to all advance and they set to work at it. It took sixty years to complete, but completed it was at last, with a thoroughness the like of which the world has hardly seen elsewhere. The German scheme of education is as unrivalled a triumph of the spirit of organisation, except by that other wonderful outcome of scientific organisation—the German Army." Lord Haldane spoke also in high terms of the Japanese system, its thoroughness and its efficiency. "Self-effacement, the obligation of truthfulness, devotion to the service of the nation, these are the ethical qualities, lessons in which the young Japanese officer is instructed with a thoroughness and a courage which has no parallel in history.... The result is to be found in the descriptions of those who were witnesses of the fashion in which the trenches of the Russians were stormed at Liaoyang and Mukden." Obviously, the alliance between Germany and Japan today is not altogether one with no deeper basis than a passing political expediency. If Mr. Rajagopalacharya had quoted the sentences immediately following this passage, he would have made his audience aware that Lord Haldane himself had his doubts about the method which he so warmly extolled. Lord Haldane told his audience that there were already grumbings in Germany about its results. Organisation instead of being a means to an end had become an end in itself. Lord Haldane said :

After 1832 the source of the movement ceased for the time to be personality. A great policy had become merged in habit, and was now the routine of the life of the State. As a consequence the deadening effect of officialdom had begun to make itself felt. Today (the address was delivered in January 1907) in Germany there are murmurs to be heard on many sides about the extent to which the life and freedom of the individual citizen are hemmed in by the State supervision and control which surround him.

Lord Haldane went on to explain in detail how state supervision operated in different spheres to stifle initiative and promote a slavish dependence on the State. Lord Haldane's address was nevertheless coloured deeply by his pre-occupation—he was Secretary of State for War

at the time—with the reorganization of the British Army in the light of his study of the German system. Like a wise lecturer, he was also stressing the points in the German and Japanese systems which, he thought, needed to be stressed in addressing an audience of Scottish undergraduates. He had also to be careful in his praise of the German method not to seem to depreciate the British method which was the antithesis to it.

A clear and more accurate diagnosis of the process by which Germany was transformed, is given with the detachment of the historian by Sir John Seeley in his "Life and Times of Stein." In important respects, it is in contradiction to Lord Haldane's analysis. At the time of the Napoleonic conquest the German intellectuals were strongly under the influence of the cosmopolitanism of the Holy Roman Empire. Patriotism and Nationalism were held in contempt. Lessing declared that "patriotism was a thing of which he had no conception and that, at the utmost, he could only imagine it as a heroic weakness which he was very glad to be without." Herder wrote: "Of all kinds of pride I hold national pride with that of birth and race to be the most foolish." He also described a nation as nothing better than a great untrimmed garden full of plants and weeds. Wieland did not remember in his youth to have heard such a virtue (patriotism) named or the word "German" ever used as an epithet of honour and it struck him as wrong that the word should be put forward as a pretension to be so used. The greatest of them all, Goethe, complained that he should be expected to feign an inspiration which he did not feel in the War of Liberation and refused to interest himself in any way in what was going on. Lord Haldane thought that the growth of German nationalism was the work of philosophers. In Seeley's opinion the intellectuals of Germany had little to do with the growth of the national spirit. He writes :

There had been most extraordinary intellectual development, a great outpouring of genius, and yet this had not taken place, as according to some current theories, it ought to have done, in the bosom of political liberty, but in a country where liberty was unknown. And as it was not the effect, so the new literature did not seem disposed to become the cause, of liberty. Not only was it careless of internal liberty, but it was actually indifferent to national independence. The golden age of German literature is the very period when Germany was conquered by France.

Sir John Seeley admits that it was in some sense a retrogression that the liberal cosmopolitan feeling of the age of Goethe should have given place to a patriotism of the old Roman type, with all its narrowness and prejudices. He adds that when at the distance of half a century (1878), we see the principles in full operation and Germany, Russia and France competing with each other in the creation of armies, such as the world never saw before, there must be few who can rest satisfied with such a state of affairs considered final and normal. Sixty years more have elapsed since Seeley wrote and we see the

bitter fruition, as yet partial, of the nationalist movement in Germany, Russia and Japan. France has collapsed. The habit of organisation without a guiding moral principle has revealed itself as a menace to human freedom.

Indian intellectuals in the beginning of the last century held about the same views of nationalism as did the German intellectuals. The establishment of a foreign nation as the government of the land did not evoke any sentiment of humiliation. India has been accustomed for centuries to have foreign rulers. Previous to the Mahomedan period, all of them became assimilated to the religion and manners of the people and ceased to be foreigners. Muslim rulers also settled in the country and, except in religion, they too soon became Indianised. Even in religion their views were greatly influenced and modified by their Indian environment. When British rule was first established, there was no Suez Canal and for the most part the servants of the East India Company made India their permanent home. What changed the character of British rule and led to a progressive estrangement between it and the Indian people, is the attribute of absenteeism which, in the wake of the opening of the Suez Canal, was superadded to and brought into relief the alien aspect of that rule. Other circumstances affected British rule and made it an Imperialism of an exploiting character. The present and to a less extent the last war, has stimulated the exclusive nationalist sentiment among Indians.

The question for Indian leaders is, What do they wish India to be? Do they want India to become a victim of the organising spirit or do they prefer India to be a country with a culture of universalism? Apparently, it has not been so far possible for any nation to be both. Yet it is not inconceivable that a country should cherish both the patriotic and the cosmopolitan spirit in a harmonious combination. Lord Haldane himself in an address to the American Bar Association at Montreal in 1913, defined his idea of the "Higher Nationality." He quoted Renan's definition of a nation: "A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Lord Haldane also quoted Mathew Arnold's conception of the Higher Nationality. Said Arnold:

Let us conceive of the whole group of civilized nations as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working towards a common result, a confederation whose members have a due knowledge both of the past, out of which they all proceed, and of each other. This was the ideal of Goethe, and it is an ideal which will impose itself upon the thoughts of our modern societies more and more.

This is the type of nationality which to our mind, India should aspire to. Arnold's faith that this conception will impose itself on modern societies more and more, seems for the time being to be falsified. But it is only for the time being. It

will revive again with increased lustre, and illumine the world with its beneficent rays.

So sinks the day star in the ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head
And tricks his beams and with new-spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.

THE INDIA OF TOMORROW.

The rapid sketch which "India and Democracy" presents of the internal problems of India, is a constructive discussion, particularly, in matters of education, social service and nutrition, of India's outstanding problem which is that of raising the Indian standard of living. We have referred earlier to Sir George Schuster's desire to make the British "people" the judge of whether India's national Government was doing well by its own people. The British "people" have never worried overmuch about India when their own men are in power. What is meant is that a clique in London should control the Indian Government. Assuming that there is no intention save the interest of India—and few people in the world would allow the assumption—this implies that the Indian Government has to be guarded from errors due to overzeal, for no outside group can claim to have India's interest more at heart than Indians themselves. This is illogical nonsense. Every government has the right to make mistakes and to suffer for them. It is flattering that Sir George would have nothing less than perfection in India but a "protected" government like the one he suggests, will learn nothing and do nothing.

Sir George emphasises the need for sacrificial service to meet the vast needs of this country and he pays a tribute to the constructive work of the Gandhian Congress in instilling the necessary spirit into Indian minds. He avoids, we would say wisely, any discussion of the inevitable reaction which widespread propaganda for any cause or a call to great moral effort is bound to bring on. No Indian needs to be told of the force of the reaction which is evident on every hand. The danger of sacrificial service, moreover, is that to the next generation it ceases to be sacrificial. "The honour, intellectual interest and security offered by government service," writes Sir George, "should be balanced by a lower pecuniary reward." Coming from a British writer, this is a remarkable change of outlook which we can only attribute to Sir George Schuster's long stay in India. The English view of public work has always been that it must be paid and paid well. Sir George now rushes to the other extreme. The Indian members of the Civil Service, he says, should be paid less.

The desire to avoid any form of racial discrimination led to the same rates being paid to the Indian members. I have always felt this to be a misinterpretation of the laudable idea of equality.

We would support Sir George if the English element in the I. C. S. was restricted to a necessary few. But with the large numbers we have in India, if there is to be a scaling down, it must be general and not on any national distinction. India cannot afford a heavily paid official service and, under a national government, there will be a scaling down all round. But there will also be a drastic reduction of foreign personnel; for an Indian Government cannot accept the basic assumption of keeping up a high percentage of aliens—that it is necessary for the moral tone of the administration. It is surprising that Sir George does not touch on this point.

Two other subjects are touched on by Mr. Wint and by Sir George Schuster—the religious attitude of the Indian people and the future relations of the

Central Government to the units. On the first, too much is made on the Indian tendency to accept all misfortune as the fruit of his Karma and not enough is said of the stabilising power of such an attitude. Moreover, if the doctrine of Karma makes one accept one's condition as the result of one's previous misconduct, it should make one equally averse to wrong-doing which will work itself out in one's present life or later. Neither Mr. Wint nor Sir George regards the Indian people as specially free from the old Adam. Mr. Wint would rather dub the Indian, if anything, as peculiarly lax in regard to truth. If it has not worked for greater virtue, surely Karma could not have worked to produce greater apathy. We believe that it would be more correct to say that the Indian did not agitate against the laws that were against him, because he regarded law as eternal. Now that, under "democracy", he knows the ephemeral nature of law, he will change rapidly and it would be well to be prepared for such change. Mr. Wint traces the Indian non-violent tactics to the practice of "sitting dharna" which he miscalls "sitting dharna", the method of an aggrieved person sitting down on the doorstep of the offender until the pity or shame of the wrong-doer is roused. He should have followed the thought further. The practice as well as the satyagraha tactics assume a certain relationship between the offender and the offended. The infliction of suffering on oneself with a view to winning over others to one's opinion, involves a deeply personal interest or dependence on the part of the others in the comfort and happiness of the one. That is why it is mainly successful and largely practised in the family. The theory of non-embarrassment enunciated by Gandhiji on the outbreak of war, rules out satyagraha based on exploiting the difficulties of one's adversary. What is left is the essential humanity of people. Does this extend to international relations? The Congress sees the faint outline of a family relationship between the British Government of India and itself but it is unable to follow Gandhiji when he persists in tracing such a relationship between India and alien powers. We believe that both are wrong. That is why satyagraha has recoiled on India.

Mr. Wint contributes an all too brief chapter on the States and Sir George says little more on the subject than to plead for understanding between the two parts of this country. Mr. Wint has a significant paragraph which shows how he would have written, had he had a free hand :

Though the British Government has from time to time intervened in the case of graver scandals, there are few today who would not complain that in general it has been too lax; and its leniency was the more reprehensible since it has itself created conditions in which the vices of the petty tyrant enjoyed an artificial protection. In a more turbulent age a monster was liable to dethronement by his subjects or his neighbours.

This is valuable as coming from one who has earlier deplored the apathy of the Indian people under tyranny. Sir George refers to the initiative taken by the Princes in the matter of the Federation. He omits to mention that their spokesman at the Round Table Conference expressly stated their indifference to the place of British India in the Federation either as one entity or as several units. Why then, did Britain suggest the division of British India into several provincial units and Indian representatives acquiesce in the destruction of a carefully built-up unity? There are frequent references to the deliberate decision of the American Constitution-makers to federate. It is mentioned as though the choice were between Federation and Union. It was nothing of the kind. The choice was one between

Federation and separate States. The *Federalist* argues on this basis in issue after issue. And if the choice is between a strong Centre and a weak one, the celebrated writers leave no doubt as to what their choice would have been. As Jay wrote :

It is of high importance to the peace of America that she observe the laws of nations towards all these powers, and to me it appears evident that this will be more perfectly and punctually done by one national Government than it could be either by thirteen separate States or by three or four distinct confederacies. Because when once an efficient national government is established, the best men in the country will not only consent to serve, but also will generally be appointed to manage it; for, although town or country, or other contracted influence, may place men in State assemblies or senates, or courts of justice, or executive departments, yet more general and extensive reputation for talents and other qualifications will be necessary to recommend men to offices under the national government, — especially as it will have the widest field for choice, and never experience that want of proper persons which is not uncommon in some of the States. Hence, it will result that the administration, the political counsels, and the judicial decisions of the national government will be more wise, systematical, and judicious than those of individual States, and consequently more satisfactory with respect to other nations, as well as more safe with respect to us. But whatever may be our situation, whether firmly united under one national government, or split into a number of confederacies, certain it is, that foreign nations will know and view it exactly as it is; and they will act towards us accordingly.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL REFORM.

(BY BEGUM MIR AMIRUDDIN, MADRAS.)

It is generally presumed that Muslim women enjoy all legal rights and privileges and that no remedial measures are necessary to improve their status. While the injunctions of the Holy Prophet who was a great champion of women's cause, are uniformly based on equity, certain defects have crept into the Islamic legal system as a result of incorrect interpretations given to them by the men who administered the laws.

When the question of women's right of inheritance to landed property has come to the fore, it may be pointed out that Muslim women under the Shiah Law, also suffer from disability in that regard. According to the Shiah Law, a childless widow is precluded from inheriting her husband's lands but is entitled to a share only in the value of buildings erected thereon and in movable property. This is a source of great hardship to childless widows of men who are endowed with large estates and necessary legislation should be undertaken to remove this anomaly. Again, the right of the wife under the Shiah Law, when she is the sole heir, to inherit the entire estate of her husband must be established by legislation, for according to the existing law, if the only heir of the deceased is the wife, she is entitled to no more than her one-fourth share and the residue three-fourths escheats to the Crown, which is indeed a great hardship to the wife.

One other question that demands urgent attention is the curtailment of the power of Muslim men in the matter of pronouncing divorce. I say urgent, because I have recently come across very hard cases of young Muslim women being divorced by their husbands for no fault on their part, but solely in consequence of more modern and fashionable women establishing their sway over the men's hearts.

When Islamic Law used to be administered in the early days of Muslim civilization, in cases of friction between the husband and wife, the matter used to be referred to arbitrators, in consonance with the injunction of the Holy Quran, and the decision of these arbitrators used to be binding on the parties. But today man has arrogated to himself the arbitrary power of pronouncing divorce, even for no fault on the part of the wife. Divorce has been declared by the Prophet to be the most hateful of permitted acts, which may be resorted to only when circumstances acutely demand it. In the face of this, the anomaly of the existing law becomes all the more patent when we realize that, under the Hanafi Law, a pronouncement of divorce is effectual even when it has been made under coercion or without the intention of dissolving the marriage; similarly, a divorce pronounced by the husband in a state of voluntary intoxication is none the less valid. It is high time that such anomalies and the hardships to which they give rise should be removed by legislation. Muslim men must no longer be allowed to possess the arbitrary power of divorcing the wife by pronouncing the formula "I divorce you" three times, and it should be declared that a Muslim marriage can be dissolved only by a judicial decree.

With regard to Muslim girls' education, it is satisfactory to note that so far as Madras City is concerned, not more than 26% of girls of school-going age are not attending school. We hope that the Corporation of Madras and the Government will, in the near future, launch upon measures which will provide for the education of those 1134 girls also that are not at present being educated and trust that the Corporation of Madras will remove the distinction that it makes now between Muslim girls and girls of other communities in regard to compulsory education and will also provide greater facilities for the conveyance of Muslim girls, who are considerably handicapped in this regard.

In the realm of social reform, there is need for the removal of the double standard of morality. The idea is that the same standard should be set for men as for women, not because the latter may override the bounds of decorum but because the former may be thought to limit themselves to the same pure ideals as those which obtain among women. Why should not the men who lead an immoral life suffer ostracism from society? If men suffered ostracism and not merely women, social life would be rendered purer.

There is need to prohibit polygamy by legislation both among the Hindus and the Muslims. A study of the different religions reveals that no religion, not even Christianity, which is supposed to advocate monogamy, contains an express prohibition of polygamy. Charlemagne the Great, that missionary King who was known as the Protector of Christendom had two wives at a time and the Lutheran Clergy granted sanction to Philip of Hesse and Frederick William II of Prussia to contract bigamous marriages. It was the change of social conditions that brought about universal monogamy in Europe and America. The change of social conditions in India calls similar measures in this behalf. The peculiar circumstances that necessitated polygamy in the olden days no longer prevail and there is no justification for the existence of polygamy as an outcome of luxury among Muslims these days. So far as the Hindus are concerned, marriages contracted under the Special Marriage Act are already made monogamous by statute, the marriage of those who belong to the Brahma faith is likewise

monogamous, so is the marriage of the Nairs and others who are governed by the Marumakattayam Law of Malabar. Even the Brahmins of Malabar, namely, the Nambudries, are governed by an Act which restricts polygamy. It should not be difficult, therefore, to extend the principle of monogamy to other sections of Hindus as well.

WAR BY REVOLUTION.

(B. NATARAJAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

Progressive thinkers have of late been busy with academic discussions on the strategy of victory in this war. To these discussions Professor Harold J. Laski (Where do we go from here—An essay in interpretation) and Mr. Francis Williams (War by Revolution) have made stimulating contributions. They share the conviction that a British victory alone can ensure enduring peace in the post-war world.

It has been the fashion among the Allies and their champions to pretend that "we fight to preserve democracy and freedom." Mr. Williams is one of their gifted propagandists; and he styles himself a revolutionary democrat, sworn to play a part in this revolutionary war. He affirms what is commonplace that "democracy is one of the few things for which honest and peaceable men may feel justified in fighting."

But optimism about democracy is today under a cloud. We are familiar with the peevish, rather indiscriminating criticism to which democratic practice has been subject. Modern life in all its complexity, has imposed a severe strain upon even the great democracies. But they have kept faith in a liberalizing creed and, however short they have fallen of their professions, they have steadfastly pursued a grand ideal.

What does democracy mean? Democracy as we understand it to-day is a startlingly new conception opposed in every detail to the totalitarian forces. Authoritarianism is as old as the Pharaohs; democracy is only about forty years older than the steam engine. The history of mankind speaks of one long continual struggle to establish liberty in the face of the forces of nature, to overcome oppression of every type and assert the individual strength. And it was in the democratic spirit that the insurgent and competitive heart of man found its distinct expression. While totalitarianism denied "the absolute and essential importance of human development in all its diversity," democracy came in as a gesture of faith in the common man. The average citizen gave the State its strength and authority; government was organised in order to confer equal benefit upon a community of equal citizens.

To the leaders of the American Revolution democratic nations were 'self-evident truths.' They hardly understood what revolutionary conceptions they were then enunciating. But, it was in its actual working, that democracy came to be assailed. While the democratic philosophy was by no means weak, it must be remembered, it came only as a reaction against tyrannical or oppressive Governments. So it could maintain its position only with the greatest difficulty. Doubtless its achievements have done its votaries great credit. Social happiness and individual freedom are more real today than they have ever been before. Minorities who have groaned under the oppressor's wrong, have grown too conscious of their rights. Further the democratic system has not only been a form of government but a healthy way of life. It has given the common man dignity which was unknown before.

a voice, feeble yet significant, in the affairs of government.

What then has democracy not done? Unfortunately democracy, as it has been hitherto practised, has failed to give an adequate answer to the pressing problems of the times. Laski and Williams complain that it has not inspired the belief in the citizens that they own the state; the distinction between "they" the government and "us" the people has not disappeared yet. Invidious social distinctions which divide the rich and the poor, the privileged and the unprivileged, the powerful and the powerless, still exist. Security and a decent tolerable life are a vision for the many. Speaking of Britain herself, Laski observes that she has paid dearly for the blatant defects in her social matrix. If British democracy is to survive, the need for a revolution in British political institutions and ways of thought is most vital. Capitalist democracy is a fragile thing. Privilege still rules; the religion of inequality still dominates British society. Political democracy without economic equality is meaningless. The prevailing maldistribution of economic power jeopardises the national unity which is so vital to British victory. To Laski's mind, Britain must display dynamic British democracy.

Unhappily, the few failings of democracy have been brought against it in denunciation and these have given the totalitarian forces their wished for opportunity. Totalitarian states are not concerned with rallying the democratic peoples to their own creed but have always sought to undermine the democrats' faith in their own ideas and ways of life. "Rotten within before she was smitten without," France fell in eleven days. After a gallant stand against a formidable force, the home of liberty, equality, fraternity, collapsed. To the other democracies, the fall of France drove home a painful lesson. They realised at once that unless they had vision they too should perish. Democratic thinkers are today convinced that only a democratic revolution in Europe in which Britain herself takes the lead, can accomplish the triumph of her arms. Laski and Williams who incline to this view, suggest that it would not be enough merely to provoke a revolution. In Laski's opinion, Britain can hope to save Europe only by her own example—by first setting her house in order. "If we want the winds of democratic doctrine to blow through Europe, we must first see them in play in this country." What Bryce once said is still true. Liberty and equality have not been followed up by fraternity. To be consistent with her claims, Britain must offer a worthy pattern of life to a reconstructed Europe. Any new ideal must be a new deal.

CRISIS IN CLOUDLAND.

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Sama day is in the last, Police Headquarters. Commissioner in khaki shorts and jacket with two belts, one round his waist and the other across his shoulder, interviewing a candidate for a post.

Com: Your name is Syed Krishna. Rather unusual, isn't it?

Syed Krishna: Yes, Sir. The High Command decided that, as a step towards promoting Hindu-Muslim unity, Hindu names should have a Muslim prefix and Muslim names, a Hindu suffix.

Com: I see. What High Command is this?

S. K. The National High Command.

Com: If you are under the orders of the National High Command, would it come in the way of your duties in this Department?

S. K.: Not at all. The name is not my choice. It is my parents'. Besides we believe in compromise as the salt of life.

Com: What are your qualifications? I see that you are a Ph. D. of Storm Weather University. Any testimonials?

S. K.: Here are my testimonials from my father, wife and child. They testify that I am a dutiful son, a faithful husband and an indulgent father. They also testify to my inherently suspicious nature which fits me peculiarly for investigation work. I have here a sample of the work I have done in this direction. (*Hands the Commissioner a sheet of paper.*)

Com: What are these names for?

S. K.: They are names of persons who are eligible for being "rounded" up in the interest of public safety.

Commissioner going over the names: You say that this Borah sells Japanese dolls, and he may have sympathy with that country.

S. K.: I certainly think so, Sir.

Com: Does he sell only Japanese dolls?

S. K.: He sells also Chinese tea.

Com: Would you say he has Chinese sympathies also?

S. K.: Obviously he can not sympathise with both the belligerents. That name may be scored out.

Com: What is the suspicion against this Parsee?

S. K.: He has a gramophone of German make and may have Nazi sympathies.

Com: What records does he usually play on the gramophone?

S. K.: (*Ortsfullen*) He has two favourite records which he plays regularly. They are "It's a long way to Tipperary" and "God save the King."

Com: Surely, that shows that he is pro-British, not pro-Nazi. That name also should be scored out. Don't you agree?

S. K.: I'm afraid I must.

Com: What about this Hindu?

S. K.: He has married an Italian woman.

Com: Do you think that will make him anti-British?

No country has been more warmly loved by Englishmen than Italy. Italians too have long looked on England as their best friend. The collapse of the Italians in this war is due to the fact that the Italian people intensely dislike the alliance with Germany. I don't think that being married to an Italian is inconsistent with loyalty to Britain.

That name also goes. Why have you included this Jew?

S. K.: There's nothing the matter with him except that he is constantly changing his domicile. He has changed it five times in as many years.

Com: You see, Syed Krishna, it is his misfortune, not his fault that he is not wanted permanently in any country. Hitler's way of dealing with Jews is, of course, outrageous but even in my own country, and in the United States there is an underlying anti-Semitic feeling which crops up at unexpected moments. So leave Jews alone.

Doors fly open and Mrs. Carrier-Pigeon bursts in breathless. She shouts to her husband: I have gone and been and done it.

Com. looks at her wearily: What?

Mrs. C. P.: Upset their apple-cart.

Com: Whose?

Mrs. O. P.: Old Amery's and Linlithgow's: hear me, dear. Old Amery either worn down by Congressional importunity or intimidated by the fluke successes of the funny little Japs, has succumbed and agreed to the demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame a

constitution for India. Lord Linlithgow as usual at once appointed an *ad hoc* committee to advise how such an Assembly should be formed. By the way, it was a master-stroke of yours to have arrested three of the leading members of the *ad hoc* Committee.

Com. astonished: My master-stroke? I know nothing about it. It is that idiot, Kubla Shet, who has played this mad prank.

Mrs. O. P.: I am sorry. I hope you won't be hard on him. To return to my story. When the Committee met, I got myself admitted as a representative of the European community. They were glad to have me there and gave me a front seat. That old dodderer, Garuda Sing, proposed himself and was elected to the Chair. Scarcely had the meeting begun, when that minx, Sita Rakshasi.....

Com.: O, that girl with a fine profile!

Mrs. O. P.: She is no more a girl than my grandmother. As for profile, she knows she has a horrible front view and always sits or stands sideways to bring her profile to bear on those to whom she is speaking. As soon as she climbed into the chair, she is a bit of a dwarf you know, I proposed an adjournment. When they objected, I revealed to them that I was the wife of the Police Commissioner and would get you to order a mild lathi charge if they did not disperse instantly. That ended the meeting and I hope, the Constituent Assembly. Hurrah!

Com.: *sinking in his chair, mutters:* "Father, Forgive her for she knows not what she has done."

Mrs. O. P.: Stop that sanctimonious nonsense, I say, Carrie dear, I know perfectly well what I have done. I do not want any change in the present system which suits me to a T. And I took prompt actions to scotch the attempt to change it. I wish you men had my guts.

Com.: Thank you, my dear, for the compliment. But, as a matter of fact, I think that a change in the system is urgently needed most of all in my interests and yours. I think our people too will be glad to be relieved of the odium of holding India in bondage. Bondage is an ugly word which cuts clean across everything we value in English life. There used to be a legend in my family that my ancestor was one of the barons who wrested the Magna Charta from King John. Of course, he had a pompous Norman-French name which has been cocknified into Carrier Pigeon. To think that a descendant of the old Baron should help to hold any one in bondage! *Notices that Syed Krishna is still in the room and motions him to go away.*

Mrs. O. P.: I never knew that you were so ardently in favour of handing India over to the natives.

Com.: One does not wear one's sheart on one's sleeve. Besides, the Indians would not have believed if I told them that I was in favour of their having full control of their affairs, and I can not blame them. As for you, it would have provided only material for gossip.

Mrs. O. P.: If Indians take over the government, where will you be?

Com.: I will be most certainly in this country, I will help them to establish a stable government. That's the historic role of the Englishmen.

Mrs. O. P.: What about me?

Com.: I would advise you also to remain and help me to help these people. If, however, you do not wish to live among coloured people, you may go to Canada or Australia. But I warn you that the nonsense about a handful of white people monopolising a vast Continent and refusing coloured men to set foot in them, is played out. In less than ten years you will have coloured people all over

Australia and Canada. We cannot have coloured men to fight for us and forbid them to enter countries now reserved to themselves by our people.

Mrs. C. P.: Can I help you?

Com.: Surely. I can have none better,

Mrs. C. P.: I too will stay on. What makes the Englishwoman's life unbearable out here is the persistent feeling that she can not help and is only in the way.

Mr. and Mrs. O. P. walk out of the room arm-in-arm.

AKSHI.

RAMA-RAJYA.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In a recent issue of the *Reformer* it is stated that "Sri Rama seeking for the cause of the death of an infant in his realm, detected a sudra practising austerities not prescribed to his caste and had him executed". This story, under "The Sambuka Episode," forms one of the essays in a remarkable book "Rama-Rajya" by the wellknown Sanskrit scholar, Mr. S. D. Nadkarni of Karwar, whose occasional letters which you used to publish formerly, were an interesting feature of the *Reformer*.

The avowed object of Mr. Nadkarni's book is to show that Rama-Rajya is not the ideal which popular opinion or belief ascribes to it. Mr. Nadkarni examines the various incidents recorded in Ramayana with the scrutiny of a Voltaire. His conclusions will not find general acceptance. As if to frighten the high caste Hindus into conceding equal social status forthwith to the other Hindus, Mr. Nadkarni suggests that Field-Marshal Smuts, whose administration subjects the Indians to all kinds of indignities, is an incarnation of the combined forces of those Hindus who had suffered oppression and disabilities under the Brahmins in past ages, while Miss Mayo was none other than an incarnation of Sita who, through Miss Mayo's "Mother India", has avenged her unmerited sufferings as Rama's wife. Excluding these two far-fetched theories, the other well-written theories are intensely interesting and worthy of consideration.

In his foreword contributed to the book, Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, says, "Mr. Nadkarni's style is brilliant and his argument clever."

I take this opportunity of mentioning that Mr. Nadkarni is also publishing a small weekly news paper "Navayuga," containing reproductions with correct translations from various Hindu scriptures which European missionaries and others in search of accurate teachings of Hinduism will find useful and interesting.

I have always been envious of Mr. Nadkarni's great knowledge of Sanskrit. So I thought I would be rendering a service to your readers by introducing him to them; hence this letter.

Coonoor, }
November 28, 1941. }

Yours etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

[We require no introduction to Mr. Nadkarni. His criticism of "Ram Rajya" offends against the first canon of historical criticism that the men of each period should be judged according to the standards of that period. No one, except perhaps Gandhiji on one or two occasions, recommends "Ram Rajya" as the model for a modern State. Gandhiji himself perhaps does not mean anything more by it than the reign of righteousness.—Editor.]

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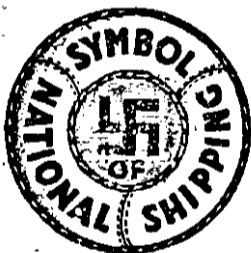
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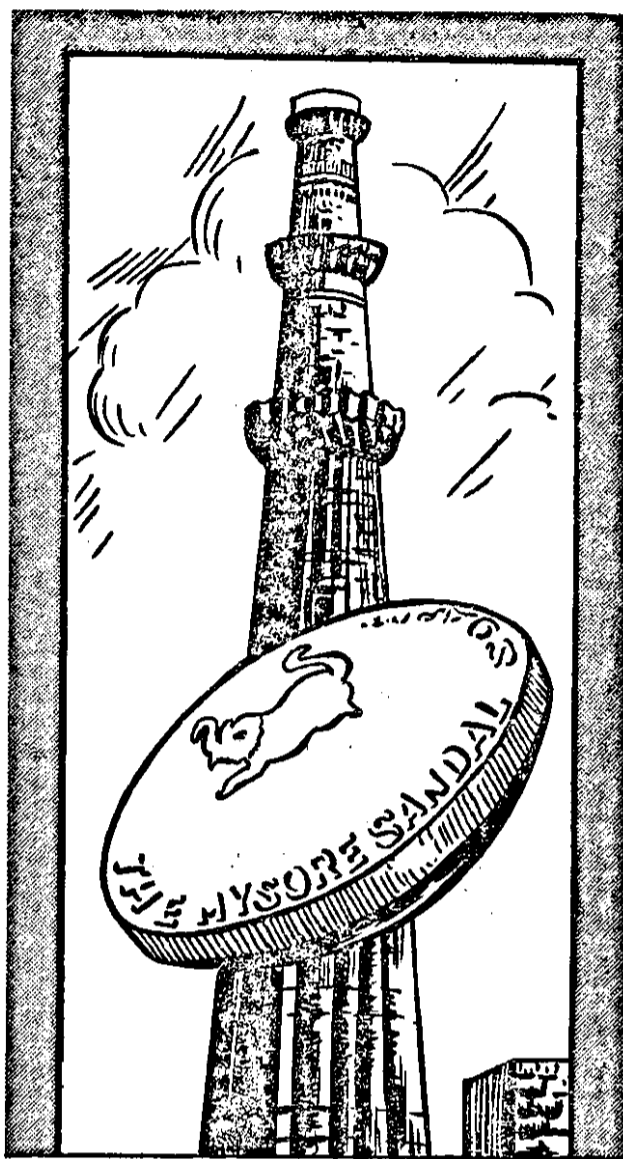
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Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 3, 1942. No. 18.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Mr. Churchill's Visit to the United States.
The Congress Technique, Gandhiji, Then and Now, Sir Akbar Hydari at the Editors' Conference.
The Lucknow Pact.
The "New Statesman" on Dominion Status.

The Bhagalpur Ban.
Congress and the War.
All India Women's Conference.
War by Revolution.
The World Crisis and India.
Special Marriage Amendment Bill.
A Strange Experience.
Ambassador Dodd's Diary.

NOTES.

Mr. Churchill's Visit to the United States:—
Although the visit of the British Prime Minister to Washington was supposed to be a close secret, it was very much of an open one even to observers far away from London. For several days, Mr. Atlee the Vice-Premier was answering questions and otherwise acting in Parliament for the Prime Minister. It required not much ingenuity to think of alternative explanations. Either Mr. Churchill's health had broken down under the burden of his responsibilities; or he had left the country for a second consultation with President Roosevelt. It was said after their first meeting that further meetings might be necessary. As regards the proceedings at Washington, the only thing of interest to us in India is that mention of India was studiously avoided notwithstanding that India is now the centre from which supplies in men and materials for at least two out of three war fronts, are largely drawn. The speeches of the Prime Minister and the President have been made much of but at the stage which the war has reached, speeches only dissipate energy which ought to be reserved for action. The most serious consequence of the Washington talks is the protest of the Australian Prime Minister against the war in the Pacific being regarded, as described in a joint official statement, as subsidiary to the war in Europe. Mr. Curtin, the Australian Prime Minister, in an article in a Melbourne journal proposed an American-Australian pact to meet the Japanese menace to his continent. He maintains that Australia has a distinctive point of view in defence policy and that he would not agree to its being subordinated to European exigencies.

The Congress Technique:—We comment editorially on the implications of the Congress decision as regards the political future of India. But there is one aspect, the attitude of the Congress to its past decisions, which comes out with sinister meaning in the present resolution. The Congress in July 1940

adopted a resolution at Poona offering co-operation to the British Government if a national government was set up at the Centre. The British Government rejected the offer and the All India Congress Committee, meeting in Bombay in September 1940, admitted that it had made the offer "even at the sacrifice of Gandhiji's co-operation," resolved that the Poona offer "had lapsed," and asked Gandhiji to take over complete control. As for non-violence, the Bombay resolution affirmed belief in non-violence "not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India." Speaking at an A. I. C. C. meeting Gandhiji observed that he himself had drawn up this resolution. Political India inferred from all this that there was a distinction between the Poona offer and the Bombay withdrawal of it and that Gandhiji had come back to power in the Congress after the failure of a revolt. Now suddenly we are told that Gandhiji who admitted having drawn the resolution at Bombay, had misread the resolution and that he found himself unable to carry on his leadership of the Congress in view of the new meaning others have persuaded him to read into the Bombay resolution. He is relieved of his command and—wonder of wonders—another resolution is passed reiterating the stand taken up Bombay by the A. I. C. C. which put Gandhiji back in the saddle. Bardoli has wrought a political miracle by reconciling the Bombay resolution with the Poona resolution, sending Gandhiji out with an admission that the leadership had been thrust on him under false pretenses, and creating general confusion. The men who are responsible for this achievement, probably know their own minds. But certainly they have no intention of letting the country know what exactly they are planning. It is ridiculous in the circumstances to expect the Congress to pursue a strong policy after these strange shifts.

Gandhiji, Then and Now:—Addressing a meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on September 17, 1940, 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.

That was in inaugurating his campaign of civil disobedience. Now in relinquishing his leadership in the Congress, he writes to the Congress President :

I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to the war effort on the ground of ill-will to Great Britain. The resolution (adopted at Bombay) contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort, as a price for the guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the effort as a price of that independence, I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct.....You will, therefore, please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution.

Sir Akbar Hydari at the Editors' Conference :—

The survey of Indian problems which Sir Akbar Hydari gave to the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference, lacked the finish which Sir Akbar's speeches generally have. It was a bald appeal to the press in India to give fair treatment to the Viceroy's Expanded Council, to present adverse news in a background of faith in ultimate victory, and to forget differences between not only Indian and Indian but between Indian and Briton. All this the press in India has done as far as it could be expected to do. The criticism of the Viceroy's scheme for expanding his Council has, generally speaking, been directed at the potentiality for good of the system rather than at the personnel of the Council. Even where the press has not been able to applaud the achievements of the expanded Council, it has refrained from attacking the members of it, realising that the best men could do nothing more in their place. This is going further than even Sir Akbar asked his audience to go. "I would ask you," he said, "to wait and judge by results." As for war news, there have been months in which without the least item to cheer the newspaper men, the Indian press has preserved an optimistic outlook. Sir Akbar rather tended to lay too much stress on the resources which the Axis powers had not got. It is this very type of optimism which is responsible for some of the worst setbacks the Allies have received. Over-confidence in one's own powers and under-estimation of the enemy's strength, as Mr. Churchill has so often told his public, can bring disaster. Very often what Britain thought or said was impossible of achievement has been done by the other side. On Government's attitude to the press, Sir Akbar's assurance is invaluable :

Much of the news which you, as editors, have to interpret to the public, comes to you through my department. I can assure you that we shall in the future as in the past be scrupulous purveyors of truth—you are entitled to expect that from us and we shall not fail you.

Newspapers must be free not only to interpret but to give the public all the news on which Indians can form their opinions. It was the fact that this freedom was threatened, that brought the Editors' Conference into being. As for stressing the points of agreement rather than the differences

between the peoples of this country, the press has a fairly clean record. We wish the same could be said of officialdom. Sir Akbar referred to 200 years in which India watched international commotions undisturbed. Where does he reckon his 200 years from? We have had disturbances with neighbours in the north and in the east which have not affected the rest of the world. Even our present policy towards Japan, to which Sir Akbar Hydari referred in his speech, would have taken a different shape had India been in a position to influence policy effectively.

The Lucknow Pact:—The Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney in one of his recent speeches in Poona described the Lucknow Pact as a great stroke of statesmanship of the late Lokamanya Tilak whose disciple he claimed to be. Mr. Aney claimed that by it Mr. Tilak brought about unity and harmony between the extremists and the moderates, between the Congress and the Muslim League and between India and the United Kingdom. The first visible reaction to the agreed demand, he said, was the arrival of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, to understand the Indian point of view at firsthand. Mr. Aney did not pause to explain how this harmony resolved itself into the discord which culminated at Jallianwala. The fact is that Mr. Tilak's compromise was a surrender to the separate electorates policy of the Government, to which the Congress under the leadership of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was strenuously opposed. Sir Pherozeshah and Gokhale died in 1915. Mr. Tilak became leader by ousting Dr. Besant, his only rival; and he signalled his leadership by getting the Congress to accept communal electorates in the form in which they had been instituted in the Morley-Minto reforms. The Lucknow Pact has been ever since a millstone round the neck of British and Indian statesmen. The authors of the Montagu Chelmsford Report declared that communal electorates were opposed to the teaching of history; that they perpetuated class divisions; that they stereotyped existing relations; and that they constituted a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. In spite of these strong objections to communal electorates, they were forced by facts to acquiesce in them, prominent among the facts being the Lucknow Pact. We take the following passage from the Report of the Simon Commission :

They (the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report) made no comment on the allocation of seats recommended in the Lucknow Pact. The Franchise Committee reporting two years after the Lucknow Pact, stated that "both Hindus and Muhammadans are in substantial agreement that the latter should everywhere enjoy communal electorates and we have no hesitation in recommending that effect should be given to this common desire." The Committee equally thought it wise to abide by the allocation of seats proposed in the Lucknow Pact. Its recommendations, in which the Government of India in the main

concluded—though not without doubt—were accepted by the Joint Select Committee and Parliament.

The Simon Commission found when it toured the country that the Pact was repudiated both by Hindus and Muslims. Thus within eleven years after its formulation by the Lokamanya, the Pact was thrown aside by both the parties to it. This is the obvious and inevitable result of the policy of having no guidance from principle and of taking what is given and asking for more. In the five years during which he had control of the Congress policy, Mr. Tilak seemed to be anxious to show that he could be more moderate than professing Moderates.

The "New Statesman" on Dominion Status :— At long last an influential English weekly has expressed a doubt as to the suitability of Dominion Status for India. The *New Statesman* wants and has been insisting for months past that India should have the largest measure of political freedom. Its doubt is as to what form of Government would ensure it for her. For years past *The Reformer* has been clear that Dominion Status is a term and a form which was anomalous in relation to India. None of the attributes of the present British Dominions are present in the case of India. Let us take these one by one. All Dominions began as British colonies. India was never and can never be a British Colony. All the Dominions have populations of British descent. The Indian people are by heredity, culture and religion quite unrelated to the British. India has a much older history than Great Britain. It has nearly eight times the population of Great Britain and her Dominions put together. Dominion Status, as the *New Statesman* says, is more or less a family affair. Ireland has repudiated it. South Africa has not openly done so but that it has not accepted it is evident from the fact that unlike Australia, New Zealand and Canada, she has, so far as we have seen, not yet declared war against Japan. Even Australia has protested against her defence being made subsidiary to those of the mother country. The fundamental requirements of Dominion Status are not political but social and ethnic. The economic interests of the Dominions are more often different from and even contrary to those of the mother country. It is the ethnic bond which makes the mother country almost invariably yield to a Dominion when the latter insists on having its own way, though it may be a way contrary to British engagements. The exclusion of Indians from the Dominions and their repression in those where they have been domiciled under pledges of equality by the Imperial Government, are instances in point. The only parallel which is of use in devising a system of partnership between India and Britain is the late Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy. Mr. Amery in his book and in his recent pronouncements has called our attention to the Austro-Hungarian model. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was due less to

the last war than to the decadence of the Hapsburg dynasty which had no ambition beyond maintaining itself as the ruling family. Under rulers of vision and energy the Austro-Hungarian system might have been a model State. The historian, Acton, held it up as a political structure of remarkable promise for human freedom which to him was the inspiring motive of history. Even in its decadence it held people of different races and religions together and more than one thoughtful writer has lamented that the Allies after the last war did not adopt a policy of keeping the Empire together instead of one of cutting it up into several parts. If the former aim had been kept in view the history of Europe and the world today would have been quite different.

The Bhagalpur Ban :—The action of the Governor of Bihar—the province is now under the regime of a Governor with the help of Advisers—in banning the holding of the Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur on the ground that he had not enough police at his disposal to deal with any communal disturbance which His Excellency assumed must arise if the session was held there during the Bakri-Id festival, and in refusing to withdraw the ban even after the organisers of the Mahasabha had offered to change the dates so as to avoid the coincidence, has met with a chorus of condemnation such as has seldom been seen during recent years. Of the five Indian Privy Counsellors, Srinivasa Sastry, Sapru and Jayakar have strongly protested against it. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir Raghunath Paranjpye and Sir Vithal Chandavarkar have criticised it with equal severity. The *Statesman* of Calcutta, one of the two leading Anglo-Indian newspapers, has denounced the action of the Governor in severe terms and the *Times of India* has regretted it in less unambiguous terms. When Sir Manmathanath Mukherji at the instance of the Hon. Dr. S. P. Mukherji had an interview with the Viceroy during his annual sojourn in Calcutta, His Excellency is reported to have declined to intervene in the matter which, he thought, was most appropriately within the province of the provincial government. A measure which galvanised Hindus from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, is certainly not a provincial measure especially when the Governor was acting under the Defence of India rules. It may be that privately the Governor was warned of the consequences of the course he was taking but that is no satisfaction to the aggrieved public. The Governor's action met with no support from Mahomedans in Bihar or outside. The president's address was published in full all over the country. Dr. Savarkar's onslaught on the Muslim League and Muslims generally, was wholly out of place and based on assumptions which were wholly unsupported by history and incompatible with the best interests of the people. We deeply regret the outburst.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 3, 1942.

CONGRESS AND THE WAR.

In the leading article in *The Reformer* on Sir Sultan Ahmed's speech in Bombay, exception was taken to his assumption that the Congress and the Moslem League between them comprised Indian public opinion and that a compromise between the two would provide a working basis for solving the deadlock which is supposed to exist and to impede India's war effort. It was pointed out that these two organisations themselves were in the throes of an internal conflict which would assert itself at no distant date. The Moslem League's conflict has resulted in open rupture. Bengal and Assam have discarded their affiliations, such as they were, to the League. The Punjab Government, as its Premier Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has repeatedly declared, is not a Muslim Government, much less a League Government. Now this is more patent than it has been before last July. The Muslim League, therefore, is today in the same position as the Congress, the only difference being that, while the Congress has of its own volition relinquished office in seven provinces, the League has not been able to hold office in any province. The Congress differences came to a head this week at the meeting of the Working Committee at Bardoli. Gandhiji has formally relieved himself of the control which he exercised over Congress policy. There is real pathos in the letter in which he tendered his resignation. Gandhiji avows that in accepting the leadership over a year ago he acted on an interpretation which he realises was wrong, of the resolution of the Working Committee, inviting him to be the sole guide of the Congress, in regard to its attitude to the war situation. He says that he believed that Congressmen were opposed to war because they had accepted the principle of non-violence. Congressmen in opposing the participation of India in the war effort were not, he is now convinced, actuated by a conscientious repugnance to non-violence. They were doing so because they wanted the Government of the country in their hands, immediately with a declaration promising complete independence on the conclusion of the war. Gandhiji is against all wars including the present one and he has been supporting individual civil disobedience or satyagraha in order to assert his right to carry on propaganda against all wars as evil. We do not think as we have said before, that there is any ban on the expression of opinion against all wars, and against this war as one of them, as sharing in this attribute. That war is an evil is common ground with all except Fascists and Nazis who have exalted war as the great purifier of humanity. And the present being the greatest and the worst of wars in modern times and fought with weapons of immensely more lethal

capacity than former wars, it is, of course, a greater evil than any former wars. So far as we know, there is no ban on the expression of such an opinion. Gandhiji seems to be labouring under a serious misapprehension on this point. What is objectionable from the point of view of Government is direct interference with the war effort which they are making, such as preventing contributions in men and money for the war. Even here Government have not experienced any difficulty on account of the satyagrahis and that is obviously one reason why they have decided to release satyagraha prisoners. As Gandhiji has imposed a self-denying ordinance on himself and his friends not to embarrass Government in prosecuting their war efforts, his present plea for withdrawing his guidance is not easily intelligible.

By the principal resolution passed at the Working Committee meeting at Bardoli, the Congress, it is said, has opened the door to co-operation with Government in prosecuting war efforts. The Committee has offered to cooperate on condition that the British Government promise complete independence to India soon after the conclusion of the war. Immediately the Working Committee insists on having a national Government at the centre and coalition Governments in the provinces. The distinction between "national" and "coalition" Governments is not clear. It may mean that the members of the Central Government should be Indians, except for the Viceroy, but that they may be drawn from all parties and from no party and not exclusively from the Congress and the Moslem League. Coalition Governments would apparently be drawn from these two parties predominantly and with their suffrage from other parties and communities. We are not clear as to what these Governments at the centre and in the provinces are expected to do and will be able to do, in the matter of war efforts more than what the existing Governors' regime is doing. As for the centre, the Expanded Executive Council has not materially affected the war efforts as they were being carried on under the unexpanded Councils. We have said again and again that the responsibility for the Government during the war should rest solely with the Governor-General and that constitutional changes should be made after calm deliberation when the war is ended. The present status of India is that of "a British Possession" or "a British Dependency" and any change which does not completely transform that status would make India's position *vis-a-vis* the war not other than what it is. The British Government have definitely refused to treat India as anything but a Possession. The word "Dependency" has been rendered glaringly anomalous by the fact that Britain is now more dependent on India than India on Britain for the successful conduct of the war. Great Britain is fighting for her Possession, and has got India to help

her in this war. India as a subject country has got to obey the orders of her possessor. The institution of a so-called national government will not make the least change in India's status. The only intelligible explanation of the position of the Congress resolution is that those who supported it, believe that when once India draws her sword she would not put it back in the scabbard until the independence of not only of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Holland and other countries now under Nazi occupation, has been secured but also until her own independence is assured. If this is so, why wait for any assurance from Britain about India's political future or even for a national Government at the Centre now? On the other side, the British Government should realize that, in the present circumstances, obstinate persistence in the old attitude towards India, is a serious embarrassment to those who wish the Indo-British connection to evolve into an equal and honourable partnership.

All India Women's Conference:—In her presidential address to the All India Women's Conference at Cocanada, Mrs. R. S. Pandit made an observation which we have felt for some years past needed making. She advised the Conference to concentrate on one or two important subjects instead of spreading itself out, as it has shown a tendency to do, over many and varied fields. We are not sure that the subjects which Mrs. Pandit herself indicated as the most suitable field for the Women's Conference, are the best that can be thought of. Speaking generally, the Women's Conference should strictly confine its activities to subjects which in the nature of things are beyond men's knowledge and aptitudes. Fields in which men and women can work together must not be fenced in for special cultivation by men or women. It should be the constant endeavour of both sexes to extend the sphere of such co-operation. As a matter of fact, the largest part of life is common ground for men and women. Any attempt on the part of women to limit this area is in the long run sure to operate as a bar to further progress and even to set back the progress so far made chiefly by the endeavours of men who held that women had the same capacity and must have the same opportunities as men. Their opponents always maintained that the natural differences between the sexes should be recognised and their respective spheres of activity demarcated in education and in life. *The Reformer* had from the first deprecated the idea of a separate University for women notwithstanding its respect for its distinguished founder. When women themselves begin to circumscribe certain activities as theirs, the danger is still greater.

WAR BY REVOLUTION.

(BY B. NATARAJAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

II

Recently there has been a tendency to believe in the efficacy of propaganda as a war-winning weapon. Such an independent worshipper of truth as Professor Joad has succumbed to this fascination. Francis Williams is also anxious that British propaganda must touch the hearts of the common people of Europe. He believes that Britain must send forth a challenge to Nazism—a bold call to the peoples of Europe—as an earnest of her good intentions.

But about the outcome of such propaganda, Francis Williams is sceptical. What is propaganda? Will propaganda pay?

Under the amusing caption "B. B. C. gives you the facts because propaganda does not win war," *Indian Information* (November 1, 1941) roundly asserted, "Propaganda by itself has never won a war. It is doubtful if it has ever won even a political election." It goes on to explain, "The real aim of propaganda is to provide really reliable news." Not content with airing this obiter dictum, it adds, "Truth had been blacked out in Europe by German occupation, and by German propaganda and that gave us our chance..... People complain of Britain's lack of a clearly defined war aim. In Britain's European broadcasts, the B. B. C. has tried to make one war aim implicit in every word which they say, the war aim of destroying the lie standard of Dr. Goebbels and putting the truth standard in its place."

But one is not quite sure that London propaganda is truth, pure and undefiled. Britain cannot hope to arouse peoples' confidence and retain their faith "unless it proves the reality of her purposes and not merely reiterates announcements of them." It ill becomes a great democracy to depend upon such foul methods as propaganda to advocate her cause. Democracy implies a robust faith in the common man. It is wrong to deny him access to true information and protection against misleading official propaganda for the success of democratic institutions is vitally affected by the action and reaction of the average citizen on matters of moment. It is essential to distinguish between propaganda that stifles the individual spirit and 'knowledge' that is free to permeate. In his remarkable inquiry into "Power over opinion," Bertrand Russell extols reason as a force in human affairs. Of propaganda, he says that propagandists thrive upon the potency of indiscriminating iteration. "Propaganda," Russell declares, "must appeal to desire and this may be confirmed by the failure of state propaganda when opposed to national feeling, as in large parts of Austria-Hungary before the War; in Ireland until 1922, and in India down to the present time. Propaganda is only successful when it is in harmony with something in the patient; his desire for an immortal soul, for health, for the greatness of his nation, or what not. When there is no such fundamental reason for acquiescence, the assertions of authority are viewed with cynical scepticism." On the power of official propaganda, which is much abused at present, Russell is equally clear. "In so far as it devotes itself to causing belief in false propositions of which time will prove the falsity, it is in as bad a position as the Aristotelians in their opposition to Galileo." Of all freedoms, then, the freedom of the mind and the spirit is the blessed.

Laski has urged the reorganisation of British Society, the removal of social inequality, the abolition

of privilege and capitalist exploitation. He insists that Britain must courageously grapple with the complex problem of her Imperial relations. The incompatibility between democracy at home and totalitarianism abroad staggers his imagination. Of Britain's management of her Eastern Trust—India—Laski writes:

"The character of our rule in India, maintained in defiance of Indian demands, has long stained our reputation for plain dealing all over the world; until the advent of Hitler and Mussolini, it was the classic example of imperialist exploitation. We are squarely faced from India with a demand, insistently maintained, for self-government and we know, within ourselves, that sooner or later we must yield to it even though the risk to our interests of so yielding is a formidable one...It seems to me clear that the solution of the Indian problem depends upon the reality of our determination to agree to its self-government."

Further, in Laski's view, such a gesture can do infinite good to the Allied cause.

"I do not think it is possible to exaggerate the importance of such an announcement, not least in its influence upon the subject peoples of Germany and Italy in whom we are so greatly concerned, both to arouse and sustain hope."

Regarding the immediate steps for implementing the goal—promised to India even during the last world war—Laski suggests,

"If we said, for example, that this self-government will begin to operate within a year of the conclusion of peace; if we proposed to India a constituent assembly elected from the present provincial assemblies, and announced, subject to suitable negotiations with ourselves, that we should ask Parliament to ratify the conclusions it reached; if we built a national government of Indians at Delhi to conduct the war and the negotiations with us; if we suggested that such communal differences as the assembly failed to solve should be submitted to independent arbitration, to the permanent International Court, or instance, or to the President of the United States: I do not think an appropriate pattern of India's freedom would be long in forthcoming. But as long as every vested interest in India is, like the Moslem interest, encouraged, openly or secretly, to believe that it will get better terms from dependence upon us than from a real attempt at accommodation with other Indian interests, of course agreement between them is not forthcoming. We patronize these dissidents from unity in the same way, though much more subtly, as the Conservative Party has so long patronised the separation of Ulster; and with the same evil consequences."

If his wise suggestions are acted on, Britain would have taken a great step in planning for peace in the post-war world.

When the Atlantic understanding was announced to the world, it was naturally expected to cover the case of India. But the Prime Minister has categorically excluded India from its scope. His decision aroused universal resentment. The House of Commons was greatly disturbed at Mr. Churchill's apathy. In a heated debate, Mr. Silverman declared, "The Prime Minister was asked yesterday (10th Sept. 1941) how far the Declaration was intended to govern the Indian situation. He made a reply which would have brought deeper despair and gloom into the heart of every Indian striving patriotically for his country and for better understanding between his country and ourselves. Contrast that with what the Prime Minister had to say about Syria. Syria is not ours; and I suppose that it was easier for the Prime

Minister to apply his Declaration to territories for which we have no responsibility. He said that the special rights of the French in Syria were to be recognised and protected but there was to be Syrian independence. What is more, he said that that was not to be deferred until after the war but was to begin now."

Mr. Sorensen's criticism was equally severe. He was sorry that the Government were not going to apply the Charter in a case where they could demonstrate to the world their consistency and sincerity. Mr. Davies argued, "I regard the war as one of liberation. Because of the Declaration we are under the most solemn obligation to apply the charter to the Indian people...The Government are under an obligation to make their contribution, where they can, towards India and thus give the world abundant and unchallengeable evidence that they mean what they say." And Mr. Cove who followed, was extremely frank: "It is surely hypocritical to say that we are fighting for the freedom of nations in Europe while denying that essential freedom in India. It gives the lie to the whole of our war effort and is regarded as so doing."

While Mr. Churchill sternly discountenances the application of the charter to India and swears by some discredited August offer, he eagerly admits the Netherland Indies to the benefits of his Declaration.

It has been said that Britain has never taken up arms in defence of an ideal but she is roused to action only when her own interests are affected. If she is to escape that charge, we agree with Laski that "the sooner we end our paramountcy in India the better for Indians and ourselves. And there is no moment more fitting to end it than in a war where we claim to be the world defenders of democracy and freedom." For true freedom and empire go ill together. Has not Froude long ago observed, "If there be one lesson which history clearly teaches it is this, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from mere incompetence for its duties."

THE WORLD CRISIS AND INDIA.

(BY K. CHANDY, KOTTAYAM.)

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that it is only men of action who need write or speak now on constitutional subjects. I hope that the Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer* would nevertheless find place for a few suggestions of mine for two reasons. As I wrote already, several of my sons and grandsons are men of action, though in a different sense, but more dangerously than what he meant. They have to be silent; and there are other dumb millions whose would be the suffering in this total war of to-day. Secondly, it has to be said that it is a suggestion which I made repeatedly twelve years ago which is now being advocated by leading papers in England and India; and which is actually being tried out in Bengal, and probably in two other Provinces. These are reasons, I trust, for giving a hearing to me also.

First, about the world crisis. Two things are obvious about this war. It is impossible to come to terms with aggressors who break every promise, attack treacherously and believe in racial superiority and in a unique world mission on that account. They have to be overcome by force unless they voluntarily run away. Non-violence would only make slaves of those who survive by preferring dishonour to death, but it is equally obvious that for every day that this war continues, the destruction

of lives and property of human values gets more terrible; and the work of reconstruction becomes more difficult.

The question, therefore, arises whether, without relaxing the war effort, and without attempting any kind of negotiation with pirates and gangsters, there are ways of shortening the war by attacking the morale of men and women in Germany and Japan through propaganda. Mussolini has become the joker of the pack, does not count and will follow Germany and Japan.

With great humility and fear in the presence of super-experts, one method which suggests itself to me may be mentioned. An American journal asked the question who is the greatest man in the world, and the answer was it is a woman. The wife of the Chinese General, besides being great in statecraft and the arts of war, is reported to be most humane. Under her instructions, I am told, Japanese prisoners are treated with the utmost kindness, as fellow-human beings with whom she might co-operate after the war is over.

Is it not possible for her to inform the women and the common men of Japan and for her or any other woman for whom Germans have respect to inform German men and women in language that is appealing and sympathetic, that there could be no compromise with the Hitler gang and with the war-mongers of Japan or with the ideology of racial superiority or a world mission based on that superiority, and that, however long the war might continue, a fifth of the human race could not win against four-fifths with their immensely superior resources, both material and spiritual?

The message might add that it would be impossible for two superior races with two unique world missions to live side by side, one for the East and the other for the West, because there is no dividing line between the East and the West. If two would ride a horse, one must ride behind. A little reflection must convince the Japanese and the Germans that the ultimate end of the present process, even if the impossible should happen, must necessarily be the fate of the Kilkenny cats, or of two serpents, each swallowing the other from the tail upwards.

The German and the Japanese men and women, on the other hand, could have peace soon, with security, freedom of trade, and facilities for expansion provided they repent of their wanton aggressions, and show the fruits of repentance by throwing overboard their Rulers who have so grievously misled them; and setting up governments whose word could be trusted by the Allies.

Such an appeal would gain immensely in weight and in credibility, if in the meantime it is made clear that at the Peace conference, Russia, China and India would have a voice equal to that of the United States and Britain. It is plutocracy and imperialism which are shown as a kind of bogey for frightening the German and Japanese masses. With the above poorer non-Empire Countries at the Council Table, no one need fear the weaker and the poorer nations being exploited. And undoubtedly, it seems to me, that, if these aggressive nations should gain sense at once and before they are completely defeated through exhaustion, their democratic and trustworthy governments would also have a share in the shaping of the future in spite of the past and present misdeeds of these two nations.

It has to be stated further—I hope those that count would agree on reflection—that no Atlantic Charter, no Balance of Power, no dominance of certain nations over others could achieve permanent peace. That would

be possible, it seems to me, only if the most formidable weapons of force are internationalised, —*viz.*, aerial warfare and tanks—and if the pirate submarines are interdicted and only if there is general disarmament, except for policing purposes.

Next concerning India itself, very important newspapers in England, even some conservative newspapers, have been advocating the grant of freedom to India today, and not at the close of the war; and some of these newspapers, besides great political leaders in India, have also been advocating the coalition form of Government.

Possibly before the article is published, some conspicuous advance might already have been made.

It is waste of effort now to discuss details, whatever is done must necessarily be makeshift and for the duration of the war. It is necessary, nevertheless, to emphasise certain matters.

(1) Britain would gain immensely in material strength and in moral status as soon as a really national Government is set up in India, as a provisional war measure, so that India's co-operation might be full and whole-hearted both in men and in material.

(2) The actual form of this government, as Sir Akbar Hydari pointed out very wisely, is not important. It is the spirit that matters. Even should the Congress and the Moslem League fail to co-operate officially, neither would actively oppose such a government and important persons belonging to both bodies would certainly co-operate. In my view, no radical changes are necessary, although the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council said that they are willing to vacate in favour of more representative men.

(3) The Bengal experiment has the blessing of both the Congress members of Bengal and of the Hindu Mahasabha. That is a great lesson and eye-opener which must be borne in mind, when governments are formed in the Congress Provinces. It is possible, as I have repeatedly said, to have Mr. Rajagopalachari's popular governments in the Provinces without making them purely party governments. What is required is united effort, and smooth, frictionless government for winning the war.

(4) It is essential, if India is going to progress in political wisdom and achievement, that a convention should be established whereby every member of government certainly, and every legislator preferably, should cease to owe allegiance to a party during the period that he is in the cabinet or the Legislature. A cabinet taking orders from a High Command, whether Congress or Muslim League, is a political absurdity under any form of Democracy. Mr. Huq has done immense service to the political growth of India by breaking away from Mr. Jinnah's leading-strings. I have already said that the Congress and the Moslem League would still possess a high place, in my view a higher place, as inspirers, guides and guardians of policy and culture.

(5) Finally a word about Pandit Nehru's utterance. Clear thinker as he is, he knows as well as anyone, and better than most, that when a war is on against strong, unscrupulous and promise-breaking enemies, when India is not sufficiently strong to be independent and when the fate which has overtaken so many other sovereign states is realized, there is no real sense or meaning in breaking the British connection. If by any chance, he means it, may I quote another saying of Oliver Cromwell, which is very apt, "by the bowels of God, I entreat you, you might be mistaken."

SPECIAL MARRIAGE AMENDMENT BILL.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Reformer of 15th November last had an editorial note on the above subject. You had not then seen Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Bill further to amend Act III of 1872, which had been recently introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly. But knowing as you did that two provisions, among others, in Dr. Hari Singh Gour's Amendment of 1923, were regarded by the bulk of Hindus as "an impediment to taking the benefit of the Act," you surmised that what Dr. Deshmukh wants by his Bill is to omit those two provisions. They are: (1) Section 22, which automatically creates for the Hindu bridegroom a divided status in his joint family; and (2) Section 24, which makes the Indian Succession Act take the place of the Hindu law for purposes of succession to the property of the marrying couple and their progeny.

Dr. Deshmukh's Bill is now published in all Government Gazettes. It shows, however, that Dr. Deshmukh is entirely on a different track. Far from being anxious to save the couples who may marry first under the Act as Hindus from these two "obnoxious incidents," Dr. Deshmukh seeks to extend the "benefits" of these and other "modern ideas of legislation," embodied in Sections 22 to 26 of Dr. Gour's Act, even to couples who had previously married according to Hindu law and usage (and been living as husband and wife for some time past). For this purpose he makes a new provision permitting such old couples to get their marriages "registered" hereafter under the Act, and adds that thereby "the previous marriage shall be deemed to have been dissolved and the parties shall be deemed to be married under this Act as from the date of such registration," and that they and their issue shall, thenceforth, have all the rights and disabilities prescribed under the Act.

It may be remembered that when the Legislature first passed the Special Marriage Act in 1872, with the primary object of helping the Brahmos whose new ways of contracting marriage were deemed to be of doubtful validity, it provided by Section 20 (that those who had already married in any form whatsoever before the passing of the Act, may on satisfying certain conditions get their marriage "registered" under the Act before January 1873. The period of grace having expired, this provision was duly repealed by an amending Act of 1876. The result, therefore, is that even Brahmos, if they once go through a form of marriage, however invalid from the legal point of view, are precluded from claiming subsequently to have their marriages registered under the Act. It became thus the invariable custom hitherto among Brahmos to solemnize their marriages first under the Special Marriage Act and then follow it up with a Brahmo-religious marriage. But nowadays this "registration" business is being increasingly felt in Brahmo circles as a great inconvenience, if not also as derogatory to their religious sense. Consequently, we are often coming across Brahmo marriages, performed by members of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj of Calcutta or some branch of it elsewhere in India, without resort to the Act at all. We have it on the authority of *The Reformer*, in the same editorial note, that there is also a feeling of the same kind among Bombay Prarthana Samajists and that they too do not in many cases register their marriages but celebrate them "with the expurgated Hindu ritual formulated by the late Sir

Ramakrishna Bhandarkar." If any of these Brahmo or Prarthana Samajist couples happen, on second thoughts, to feel doubtful sometime later whether their neglect of Act III of 1872 was prudent, they will be free under Dr. Deshmukh's proposed amendment to get their marriage registered under the Act and placed on a safe footing, provided they are prepared to accept the positive declaration form and assert that they profess the Hindu or Buddhist or Sikh or Jain religion. This last condition, however, should present no difficulty since, as has been pointed out in your editorial note, "today most Brahmos are satisfied to be Hindus and to be known as such."

It is needless to say that at present, Hindus stand in even more disadvantageous position than Brahmos with reference to the Act, because, once a couple is married with the customary Shastraic ritual, such a marriage is unquestionably complete and valid and they cannot thereafter come before a Marriage Registrar to have their marriage solemnized under the Act on the plea that they were still legally "unmarried." Dr. Deshmukh's proposed amendment should, therefore, be welcome to married Hindus who regard with favour a silent legal division from their joint family, without the fuss and unpleasantness of actual partition by quarrel or litigation of their property, with absolute rights upon their wives and their daughters equally with their sons, even in the absence of a validly executed will to that effect. There are Hindu social reformers who wish that the Legislature should enact a law, giving freedom to every Hindu to shake himself free from the Hindu law of succession by declaring, if he so chooses, that his property shall be governed by the Indian Succession Act. But without previous division from joint family even this will be found impracticable. Dr. Deshmukh's proposal has the advantage of effecting both purposes by the single act of registering their previous Hindu marriage under this Act. The only couples who will perhaps, be deterred from taking this step, even if willing, are those who have already begotten children by their shastraic marriage, because the legal consequence of its registration, according to Dr. Deshmukh's scheme, may seem to be to bastardise those children by dissolving the marriage under which they were born and shifting the date of their parents' marriage to the date of its subsequent registration under the Act. The more reasonable view to take, however, is that the previous issue will be deemed as legitimately born under the previous shastric marriage and are to be governed, therefore, by Hindu law, whereas the issue born after registration will take the legal consequences specifically prescribed under the Special Marriage Act.

Yours etc.,
December 14, 1941, KOPARGAM RAMAMURTHY.
A STRANGE EXPERIENCE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In the editorial note headed "A Sad Christmas" in *The Reformer* of the 27th December, occurs the following sentence: "If the Spirit of Christ visits the scene of his Ministry, he will have reason to lament with more force than two thousand years ago that he has nowhere to lay his head." On Tuesday (23rd) morning about 6 as I was getting out of bed, twice distinctly a voice at once pleading and peremptory was heard saying, "I have nowhere to lay my head." It did not take me a moment to recognise in it the passage in the Bible, "Foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of

man has nowhere to lay his head." I was much disturbed, especially as I have not read the Bible for some time past. But I had no difficulty in believing that it was the agonised spirit of Jesus bewailing the complete repudiation of him and his message by nations which have lived and thrived under the shadow of his personality. Perhaps others too have had a similar experience.

Bombay,
December 30, 1941. }

Yours etc.,
ENQUIRER.

AMBASSADOR DODD'S DIARY.*

The appointment of William E. Dodd as American Ambassador in Berlin was in many ways an unusual one. Mr. Dodd was a University man, of the University of Chicago, who had made a name for himself as a scholar in German history no less than in the history of his own country. It was all the more striking as the new Government in Germany claimed to terminate an irrelevant fifteen years in German politics and to revive the ancient life of the people. Mr. Dodd's point of view is unmistakably clear. He regarded Germany not as the terrible modern example of tyranny and Prussianism but as the great protagonist of religious freedom. He saw the German arch-type not in Frederick the Great and Bismarck but in Martin Luther. Whilst he was drawn to the professors of German Universities struggling under the totalitarian regime to retain their freedom of opinion, he increasingly drew away from the political leaders of modern Germany. His revulsion to Hitler, Goering and Goebbels was so intense that he even avoided occasions of coming in contact with them. More, he seems by his very sincerity and earnestness to have induced in those who came in contact with him a certain amount of heart-searching. Mr. Dodd was not afraid to admit the mistakes of his government and the Germans with whom he spoke, came in time to achieve a similar candour. The American Ambassador as portrayed in this diary is a man of uncompromising austerity and intellectual honesty. In the artificial diplomatic atmosphere in which he spent five years, he stands out as a real live personality. Arriving on the political scene at a time when the League of Nations was breaking down, he sought to steady international politics in a combination of nations including Russia and the U. S. A. and Germany. A remarkable revelation in the Diary is the part played by American Ambassadors in European politics. He writes of Mr. Bullit, then Ambassador at Moscow:

Learning that France was about to loan her old Russian ally of 1914 one billion francs, it is reported that Bullit went to a strategic person in the French Government and convinced him that Russia would never repay the loan. Thus he had defeated the Russian negotiations.....It seemed to me unusual for an American Ambassador to Russia to defeat Russo-French negotiations.....While I doubt the wisdom of any nation or great bank making a big loan to Germany, I would certainly not prevent negotiations, if England or Holland, for instance, were to lend money to Germany. My position here would not allow it according to my philosophy.

Mr. Dodd, however, is far ahead of his times in his conception of what the duties of an ambassador are and of the type of man who would best fulfil the part of representing his country. If one were asked what was the most important contribution made by William E. Dodd, American Ambassador in Berlin from 1933-38, in his published Diary, one would unhesitatingly pick out his exposure of the type of men who represent their

countries abroad. He gives a lucid picture of it in an account he publishes of a conference of United States officials on one of his visits to the States:

I reported that American diplomacy had a new role to play. The Louis XIV and Victoria styles and times had passed. The nations of the world were bankrupt, including our own. I described Belgian, Italian and French dinners of state in Berlin. There was some amusement. I then talked of American officials who shipped furniture enough for twenty rooms at the cost of \$ 3,000, with only two persons in the family! An assistant to me in Berlin had a chauffeur, a porter, a butler, a valet, two cooks and two maids. All for two persons! While these people, paid for these extraordinary expenses, the government paid the \$ 3,000 freight and then found that such a person was not even qualified for the best service. I urged that men should not be allowed to spend more than their salaries: \$ 4,000 to \$ 17,500 a year. Besides, I urged the necessity of having ambassadors and assistants who knew the history and traditions of the country to which they were sent, men who think of their own country's interests, not so much about a different suit of clothes each day or sitting up at late but silly dinners and shows every night until 1 o'clock.

In other places he tells his readers of the new type of diplomat now arising, particularly in the Central European States and in Russia:

All these ministers (from Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) from backward little countries know three languages and the history of Europe over long stretches of time.

There are flashes on the Russian Ambassador:

I called on the Soviet Ambassador here, in his magnificent palace. But only one butler showed me to the office, other embassies having several such servants. He showed no disposition to take, or expect, a tip, the only place in Berlin where one does not give a half or whole mark every time one calls.

The Soviet Ambassador was a perfect gentleman in every way: manners, dress and bearing such as even the French Ambassador could not surpass. Although the Russian officials and servants eat together in the kitchen each day, and are very simple in every way privately, there was the most pronounced protocol bearing in the enormous place rooms, and a vast and wonderful spread of foods of all varieties in the most costly dishes on a long broad table.

The Russian is perhaps the best intellect in the diplomatic service here...it is my opinion that he is not a proselytising Communist.

Mr. Dodd succumbed in the end to the intrigues of wealthy Americans in the service who did not appreciate the austerity of this professor who had intruded into their sphere and who did not disguise his aversion to the Nazi leaders. President Roosevelt does not shine in the narrative. After having asked Dodd to keep on as ambassador till March 1938, President Roosevelt issued orders for his withdrawal in November 1937, a month after personally requesting him to carry on. Wealthy American visitors to Germany who did not call on Dodd or even go to Berlin, assured German high officials that Dodd would not stay on very long at Berlin. Dodd himself attributes Roosevelt's action to the influence of men like Sumner Welles who "do not like me or the things I tried to stand for." It is true that the case of Dodd was but another proof of the failure of academic men in international affairs. But he was apparently good enough to last out five years against his own inclination. And the picture of Roosevelt one gets is not an attractive one.

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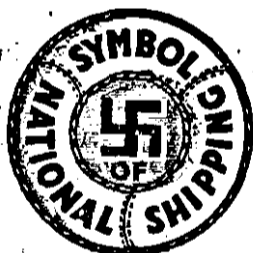
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INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office: RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 10, 1942. No. 19.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Too Many Cooks.
India and the Atlantic Charter.
Atrocity Stories.
Japan and Muslim Sentiment.
The Japanese in Manila.
Lesson of Rangoon.
Gandhiji Restarts "Harijan."
The Liberal Federation.
Bihar Government's Apologia.
Sir Akbar Hydari.

Russian Resistance.
Europe and Asia.
South West Pacific Command.
Dr. Shiva Ram on the New
World Order.
Mr. Churchill and the Ameri-
can Public.
Mr. O. F. Andrews' Legacy.
The Success of Violence?
Odds and Ends.

NOTES.

Too Many Cooks:—It was announced some-time back that thirteen countries had signed a pact at Berlin to act together in the War. Last month it was stated that twenty-six countries have signed a similar pact in Washington. While these groupings have their obvious advantages, they have also certain drawbacks. No two persons think alike. Much less do thirteen or twenty-six nations each of which has its own *amour propre* to protect. Here is an instance. A London correspondent of the *Times of India* wrote in the course of a communication last week that, except Holland which brought with it ample funds, all the refugee Governments in England are dependent on British generosity. The Belgian consul in Bombay has thereupon come forward with a protest that this is an injustice to Belgium which also has her own funds and is not dependent on Britain's bounty. His country, he said, had ample gold in Britain and America. He added rather unfortunately that "Belgium possesses in the Belgian Congo an immense colonial Empire which does not depend on any one and whose resources have been put at the disposal of Great Britain." Belgian Congo awakens some unsavoury memories. By what right does the Consul-General claim that his country owns Congo? Equally nebulous is the claim of Holland for Java and the rest of the East Indies.

India and the Atlantic Charter:—The *Bombay Chronicle* published on Monday excerpts from a letter written to Mr. N. D. Varadachari, Advocate of Madras, by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in the United States, giving the purport of an interview which the latter had with the President of the United States in the presence of Sir Malcom Campbell, British Minister in Washington. Sir Shanmukham says that he told the President that the Atlantic Charter was understood in India to be of application to all countries

and that India looked to President Roosevelt, as the guarantor of the pledge of the Charter, to have the pledge implemented so as to apply to India. Unfortunately the United Press which sends this message does not quote the President's reply. If he gave any, Sir Shanmukham would surely have communicated it along with his own appeal to the President, to his correspondent in Madras. Whether the President gave any reply or merely responded to Sir Shanmukham's fervent pleading with the famous Franklin Roosevelt smile, it does credit to Sir Shanmukham that he stretched his duties as Purchasing Agent so far as to convey India's expectations to the President in the presence, too, of the British Minister. Mr. Varadachari's indiscretion, calculated or careless, is of use as showing that President Roosevelt had been made aware of India's hopes by a responsible Agent of the Government of India in the United States.

Atrocity Stories:—Investigations made into the allegations of atrocities during the last great war, have shown that many of them were false and several exaggerated. Atrocity stories by belligerents against each other are part of war propaganda. Apart from that, the release from moral sanctions and consequent loosening of the foundations of social life which constitute war, inevitably lead to excesses when the strictest discipline is not enforced even when armed men are stationed in their own and friendly countries. Some months back there was a great uproar in Bombay owing to the misbehaviour of some Dominion soldiers and recently there has been similar trouble in Calcutta. The two cardinal principles of morality are, Thou shall not kill, and Thou shall not lie. These automatically cease to have any value in wartime. All other rules which are based on these two also lapse. In fact, lying and murder become patriotic obligations in war. Attempts to rouse feelings by allegations touching on religious and sexual sentiments, are, therefore, of far less efficacy in war than in peacetime. Moreover, the effect of such stories on disarmed populations will favour the enemy by spreading terror.

Japan and Muslim Sentiment:—A correspondent sends a message from London to the effect that Japanese brigandage and sacrilege towards the Muslim populations have deeply angered the Malayan population and also sixty

million Indonesians in the Dutch Indies, "according to well-informed Dutch circles in London." The message, presumably citing the same sources, adds :

These things, it is stated, have angered the local Moslem population in the Dutch Indies. Indonesian soldiers serving in the Dutch Indies forces are reported to be clamouring to be sent to Singapore, itching for action against the Japanese.

This round-about method of getting news to India about public sentiment in Malaya is not very convincing. It would be more to the point if details are given of the damage done to mosques and the desecration of copies of the Koran and also of the intense excitement among Indonesians. The public is often cautioned against believing and circulating alarmist stories about the war. We can think of no more salutary check to the wild rumours which naturally spread in the wake of widespread disturbances than the publication of accurate, precise news. Reuter's correspondents have great room for improvement in the matter of precision.

The Japanese in Manila:—On December 28, it was announced that Manila had been declared an open city by the Allies. The next day news came in that Japanese bombing of Manila still continued. One explanation for this persistence in destruction seemed to be that Japan is not in a position to occupy the ports and cities which fall to her in war. The consequences of this predicament will be immediately more sinister to the peoples expecting attack for no one will deliberately destroy that which he hopes to take over as a going concern. The purpose of striking Manila hard is to terrorize the people and resembles nothing so much as the fierce earthquakes which so often shake up Japanese cities. It is not unlikely that the Japanese regarded the declaration of Manila as an open city to be a strategic move designed to trap their forces. That opinion even among the allied countries is divided, is shown by a Reuter message giving somebody's reply to the semi-official Soviet journal *Pravda* which had condemned the declaration of Manila an open city.

Lesson of Rangoon:—The Government of India have issued a communique impressing on people the importance of taking shelter during air raids, a lesson which they have drawn from the raids on Rangoon. The heaviest casualties were suffered, we are told, in those localities where the public disregarded the advice to take cover and the damage to person was the least where A. R. P. instructions were carried out punctiliously by the public. This, no doubt, makes instructive reading and the public in Indian cities will be happy to know how much their safety depends on themselves. But, if one might be permitted a not irrelevant question, one would also like to be told how the A. R. P. services functioned in Rangoon, presuming that like other Indian cities Rangoon also had developed these services in peace, or comparative peace, time. The *Statesman* of Calcutta

mentioned editorially that at the prospect of Calcutta facing trouble several A. R. P. workers applied for leave to go to safer parts of the province. It was also, we believe, the experience in some of the Egyptian cities that the voluntary system of defense workers broke down and that wardens were not to be found when wanted. If this is true—and we are confident the Government of India must have detailed reports of conditions and experiences in Egypt and elsewhere—it would be interesting and not without utility to consider the state of things in Rangoon, and compare it with things outside India. At practice demonstrations, there are any number of wardens and others telling the public to get into buildings and so on. What happened when the real thing came over Rangoon, to all these dignitaries? If the voluntary system failed in Rangoon, then the Government of India should think out ways of rendering it efficient. One of them might well be turning the police on to the job. According to all accounts, Rangoon, in spite of 600 casualties in the early raids, did not take the raids very seriously—in contrast to one account of conditions in Cairo and Alexandria where, it is said, there was a state of paralysis during the raids and a rush to get out immediately afterwards. If the authorities are to handle the problem efficiently, they should do more than merely admonish the public to behave when trouble comes. We hope that even though there is no public discussion or mention of the facts of the raids and the working of the A. R. P. services, the authorities are in full possession of the necessary information.

Gandhiji Restarts "Harijan":—As usual with Congress resolutions, which are never self-explanatory, numerous commentators have given their interpretations of the Bardoli resolution. All or most of them insist that Gandhiji, although he has abdicated, has not ceased to guide the Congress. Gandhiji himself in his latest statement accepts this interpretation. It is not for outsiders to intervene in this domestic matter. One result of it which we welcome is Gandhiji's announcement that he is restarting his three weeklies. He wishes to watch the reaction of Government to this gesture which he means to be one of friendly trustfulness. Government, we trust, will reciprocate the confidence placed in them by leaving Gandhiji to express himself freely against wars as evil. No war can be regarded as a blessing by any sane person and we are sure that no responsible head of government but deploras war as a curse. The present war is no exception. But like plague and fire and other natural calamities, war too has to be borne and efforts made to ward it off to the best of a nation's ability. It is unlikely that Gandhiji will confine his writings to the subject of war. He has a wide range of interests and his observations on subjects other than war as well as on war, will conduce to the promotion of an atmosphere of non-violence, which is most desirable.

The Liberal Federation:—It has been plain for some time that there are serious differences among Indian Liberals as among other Indian political parties. The principal line of cleavage is that which separates the Bombay Liberals under the leadership of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Cowasji Jehangir from Liberals in the rest of the country. The cleavage is chiefly due to the fact that, while Sir Chimanlal Setalvad cannot get Gandhiji out of his head and heart, Liberals elsewhere cherish, notwithstanding differences in method, a high regard for Gandhiji's personality and his principles. They would like, as far as possible, to shape their course so as not to emphasise their differences with him. There are other differences also. The contrast in the point of view between the two groups was well illustrated at the Liberal Federation session held in Madras during Christmas week. Speaking on the resolution on co-operation with Government in the war effort, Sir Chimanlal laid the blame primarily on Indians for not realising their danger though he conceded that Government had not sufficiently prepared them for the present situation. But his chief concern was the fear of danger to lives and property. Sir Sivaswami Aiyer proposing the next resolution struck a different note. He said that Indians fully realised the danger but at several meetings which he had addressed, the question was asked: "You exhort us to fight for this country. Whose country is this? The question might seem foolish but it reflected the real feeling in several minds which made itself audible." Publicists who have taken upon themselves to carry on propaganda, concentrate attention on many more or less imaginary objections which they can easily brush aside. But they never approach even remotely the real difficulty in the minds of intelligent people. Sir Sivaswami's observation goes to the root of these matters. Not only in the past but even today little is being done to convince the people that they are required to fight for their own country and not for a British possession. Sir Sivaswami said that the people should be made to feel that their interests are identical with those of the British. But you can not make them feel this unless you take steps to make the two interests actually and as a matter of fact identical. In other words, unless the British identify themselves with Indians. Every Englishman in a position of responsibility should search his conscience to see if and how far he is prepared to do this.

South West Pacific Command:—Answering questions on December 23 at a Press Conference in Washington Mr. Winston Churchill said that he thought it would be very difficult to arrange for a supreme Allied Military Commander and pointed out that the war was world-wide and that he thought that there was no man ever born, not even Napoleon, who could assume the functions

of World Commander-in-Chief. We do not know if any one suggested at the Conference that one man should be appointed to direct the war operations in all the theatres of war, in Europe, Africa, and Asia, as would appear from the Prime Minister's reply. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Times of India* in a message dated the 28th December reported that it was announced that morning that the defence of Burma was placed under General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief in India. The correspondent stated that this decision was a sequel to General Wavell's conversations with the Chinese Generalissimo at Chungking a few days previously. On 4th January it was announced that General Wavell was appointed as Supreme Commander of the unified command of the South West Pacific area, which includes the general region of Singapore, Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines. Two high American officers are placed at the head of the Navy and Air Force under Sir Archibald. The Chinese Generalissimo, Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, was reported to have "accepted supreme command of the united forces operating in the Chinese theatre." Practically all these are at present Chinese and the Generalissimo is already in command of them, so that the new arrangement so far as he is concerned only confirms the *status quo*. It was not clearly stated whether General Wavell would assume the Southern Pacific Command in addition to his already heavy responsibilities as Commander-in-Chief in India, having control over military operations in Persia and Iraq in the North-West and Ceylon and Burma in the South and East. Sir Archibald's statement to the Press, however, made this clear. He is relinquishing the Indian Command with its appurtenances and will have his headquarters in Java. In the House of Commons, Mr. Attlee further disclosed that General Wavell's responsibilities do not extend to India and Australia. After the formal statement to the Press, General Wavell made some informal observations to the assembled journalists which are not without significance. "I have been handed several babies to look after," he said, "This one looks like quadruplets. I shall do my best to look after them and bring them up in the way they should go." General Wavell added that he realised that from India's point of view there have been changes in the Army Command—two had not served more than six months—but in war one had to expect that. It may be so but it also implies that capable commanders are not too plentiful and that India is regarded rather as a convenience. The United States had not agreed to place its Expeditionary Force in France under the command of General Foch as did Great Britain in the last war. It remains to be seen how the new arrangement will work.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 10, 1942.

SIR AKBAR HYDARI.

The career of Sir Akbar Hydari whose death, after a fortnight's gallant struggle against an insidious ailment, occurred on Thursday evening, was from some points of view perhaps the most remarkable in modern India. The Accounts and Audit Department of the Government of India absorbs some of the keenest brains in the country—absorbs literally because those who enter it, as a rule, seldom have the opportunity of making their talents known outside the closed circle of that service. Only two men in as many generations have escaped this destiny. Sir C. V. Raman is one. Sir Akbar Hydari is the other. Sir C. V. Raman owed his opportunity to devote himself to the pursuit of pure science, to the greatest of Indian educationists, Sir Asutosh Mukherji. Sir Akbar owed his to no one. He made his own opportunity. Even as Assistant, Deputy and Accountant General, Hydari had an outlook extending beyond codes and manuals. As first Examiner of Press Accounts, his duties took him to the principal towns of India and Burma. Wherever he went, Hydari did not shut himself up in his office. He liked the society of his fellow-men and much of his wide knowledge of men and things was derived from his contact with men rather than from a study of books. Over and above this social instinct, he was deeply interested in every form of enterprise, utilitarian or altruistic, in which Indian talent sought expression, wherever he went.

Thus it was that, although an official of a Department which offered few opportunities of outside contact, Hydari acquired quite early in his career an All-India outlook which stood him in good stead in later years when he was called upon to fill a larger stage. While, yet in the British Indian service, he got his services lent to the Nizam's Government first as Accountant-General; and on retirement he was appointed Finance Minister. This, while restricting the area of his activities, extended their scope. His abounding energy and wide interests made themselves felt in many Departments other than his particular one. He formed in his own mind a definite idea of what he wanted Hyderabad to be and, steadily, unflinching, he pursued that idea throughout his career in Hyderabad. Education, he realised, was the key to reconstruction of the life of the State. The Osmania University was the principal instrument with which he hoped and worked to bring this idea to fruition. With this as his central purpose, Hydari worked hard early and late to develop the material resources of the State. His was no light task. Until his selection for the Prime Ministership, all his predecessors, with the exception of Sir Ali Imam, were hereditary nobles of the State

entrenched in old traditions and prejudices. The medieval and even primitive conditions with which he had to contend may be gauged from the fact that even today much of the economic activity of large tracts is carried on on a basis of barter. Wages and rents are paid in kind. How far the reforms which Hydari introduced have become permanent factors in the administration, time will show. With all his labours for the State, Hydari's great qualities might have remained unrecognised outside the circle of his friends, but for the political developments in British India which led to the convening of the Round Table Conferences in London. Hydari attended them all as well as the proceedings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee as representative of the premier Indian State. He had never been outside India before he went to London in that capacity. His work and worth became known and appreciated by British statesmen of all parties and he also came to learn at firsthand the high qualities and equally important limitations of the British outlook in relation to India. He responded to the insistent call to join the expanded Executive Council of the Viceroy with some reluctance. He did not expect to hold it for any length of time nor did he think that it would end so abruptly. Personally he was a most lovable character. He never forgot a service rendered. Sir Maurice Gwyer in his fine tribute has omitted an important factor in Hydari's later life. His faith in the teachings of Arabindo Ghose was deep and to it he turned for guidance and comfort in perplexities of which he had his full share. Lady Hydari's death two years ago removed the greatest prop which sustained him in all the important crises of his life. To *The Reformer* he was a constant and consistent friend. His death is a personal loss the extent of which words cannot adequately express.

Russian Resistance:—The vigour with which the Russians have resisted the repeated attacks of the German forces, must command the admiration of even those who are opposed to the Soviet regime. There must be unsuspected vitality in even the political structure of a country to sustain such heavy and repeated shocks as the Nazis have subjected Russia to during the past three months. The Germans are now pushed back from Leningrad and Moscow and any suspicion that the retreat was temporary, is dispelled by the continued advance of Soviet troops. The mystery of Russian resistance becomes intensified when one recalls the two purges of generals carried out by the Soviet Government and the elimination of all the leading figures of revolutionary Russia under Stalin's regime. In the early days of the Bolshevik experiment, there used to be enthusiastic accounts of Russian orchestra music which, it was said, achieved marked success without having any conductor. Has the Russian Army evolved a similar technique?

EUROPE AND ASIA.

The entry of Japan into the war with the slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," introduces into international relations an element which is of tremendous significance. Even before the war of 1914-18, Europe has had repeated warnings from men so widely divergent in their views as the ex-Kaiser and General Smuts, of a possible combination of non-European races in a revolt against White domination. If these two have been the most distinguished, they have also been the most panicky. Others, serious students of race-relations, have appealed for a broader outlook from Europe and America to overcome the growing strength of "continentalism." But among the practical politicians of America and Great Britain the plea has met with very little response. Even the present war was represented, and still continues to be represented by influential writers, as a war for the preservation of European civilisation and culture. Well-meaning writers of propaganda sheets and pamphlets, searching for some particularly opprobrious epithet to fling at the Nazi system, have selected the term "Oriental." Indians who appealed for a declaration of ideals and aims which would rally the world, were told that the Nazi world order would be much worse than anything they had experienced or even conceived as possible. The European political classes throughout the Empire sought refuge behind this smug, infantile conceit, and provincial governors exhorted Indians to give their best in order to avoid a worse state than the present.

Japan, however, has given a new turn to the situation. At the moment, the immediate effect is on the Western mind. There are two items culled from the week's newspapers which give in brief the challenge as it appears to the European. The first of these is taken from the communique issued by the Madras Government on Indians in Penang:

The Government of Madras have received a cable from official sources at Singapore regarding the situation in Penang. The recent statement that "the majority of the civil population in Penang have been evacuated" has now been ascertained to be due to a misunderstanding. Practically the entire population of Penang, including the Indian community, is still there. In the first place facilities were not available for evacuating the population at the time when the enemy threatened it and in the second place many people did not abandon their homes and their possessions. There is also evidence that the Japanese are observing the international conventions regarding the population in occupied territory, so far as Asiatics are concerned.

This disingenuous communique does not contradict a report from Singapore (December 19) which ended:

Penang is now completely deserted of (by?) Europeans, with the exception of two British doctors who insisted on remaining behind in order to tend the wounded from recent air raids.

In fact, by drawing pointed attention to the treatment of Asiatics by Japan's invading forces, the Madras Government appears to justify the evacuation of Europeans alone.

There is another side which is complementary to this and it is revealed by a War Department communique of the United States. The relevant passage reads:

While the treatment of American civilians is especially harsh, the Japanese are discriminating against all white residents of Manila. Occupying troops have issued instructions that all white civilians in Manila, irrespective of nationality, must remain indoors under penalty of being shot if they appear in the streets. These instructions imply the contemplated internment of the white population of the city. Apparently the subjects of Germany and Italy, the allies of Japan, as well as citizens of neutral countries such as Spaniards of whom there are many in Manila, are included in the general discrimination against the white race. Propaganda pamphlets have been dropped by Japanese airplanes in an effort to persuade native soldiers to cease resistance. Included in these pamphlets are abusive attacks on the white race.

This type of message is obviously meant to drive a wedge in between Japan and her Axis allies, but it is likely to have dangerous consequences in Asia itself. In the first place, if the American Government had done its work in Manila efficiently, the "subjects of Germany and Italy" must have been rounded up on the declaration of war as well as those citizens of neutral countries like Spain who were unfriendly to the Allied powers. In its action against the White population of Manila, the Japanese administration is making no exception in favour of her allies because there can be no Axis representatives in the area now falling into her hands. This was the plain explanation which one would have put on Japan's policy in Manila. But, extraordinarily enough, the American Government goes out of its way to argue that Japan is pursuing an anti-European policy in Asia which aims at driving all White nations out of this continent. And the Madras Government in its little way adds a certificate to the effect that Asiatics are being well-treated. Both communiqués reveal an uneasy conscience on the race question. In trying to defeat a threat, they pursue the very methods calculated to add to its strength.

Knowing its own history—with the exclusive White Australia policy on the one side and the immigration laws of the United States of America on the other, even the most convenient memory cannot forget the painful history of inter-race relations—the European-American mind sees sinister possibilities in the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics." "No one," wrote Mr. Meredith Townsend thirty years ago, "who has ever studied the question doubts that, as there is a comity of Europe, so there is a comity of Asia, a disposition to believe that Asia belongs of right to Asiatics, and that any event that brings that right nearer to realisation is to all Asiatics a pleasurable one." Even those who have to dabble in the subject without having studied anything on it, must appreciate that it is foolish to expect to rally Asiatic peoples against an Asiatic power which fights with such a slogan, on mere empty repudiations of racial exclusiveness. As a matter of fact, denunciations of continentalism come with ill

grace from members of these continents which have perfected policies of seclusion, isolation and segregation. Even now the number of stories going about suggesting plans being made for the special protection of the European community against danger is surprising. Of many of these we get our first hint from Government contradictions. If ever there was anything contemplated in this direction, the Europeans would be wise to give up the idea. If only Europeans, Americans and Australians would credit people in Asia with nobler feelings and reactions, they would appreciate that what is needed now is not pious platitudes but a world vision and a repudiation of the errors of the past which have driven wedges deep between members of the same political groupings. If the Japanese tactics bring about such a change in the White mind even now, the cause of world understanding would have been well served. But it seems too much to hope for. The spirit that still prevails is shown by the extravagant praise showered on the Chinese Generalissimo and his gifts of leadership by Mr. Churchill just before relegating him to a back seat in the Allied Command.

Bihar Government's Apologia :—The Government of Bihar (which means the Governor of Bihar) has issued a long and laboured communique justifying its ban on the Hindu Mahasabha holding its session at Bhagalpur as decided by that body at its session in Madura about a year ago. The Bihar Government refers to disturbances in Bhagalpur in past years and publishes its correspondence with the Hindu Mahasabha President, Mr. Savarkar, suggesting to him the holding of the session in some other town. Mr. Savarkar was agreeable to changing the dates so as not coincide with the Bakri-Id but he was not prepared to change the venue. The first thing that strikes the observer in reading the communique, is the Bihar Government's quiet assumption that it had done its duty by advising the Mahasabha to go elsewhere. The obvious duty of a government worth the name when the exercise of a civic right is concerned, is to take steps to protect the exercise of the right from violation at the hands of those who are likely to infringe it. The Bihar Government's way of maintaining law and order is to forbid citizens from exercising their obvious rights as citizens. We do not wish to expound further the far-reaching implications of this conception of the Government's duty. To make the maintenance of order the first duty of Government to the complete exclusion of its duty to protect the legitimate rights of citizens without regard to race and creed, is to elevate anarchy into a system of Government. The Governor of Bihar has exhibited, in its most naked form, a tendency which has been insidiously at work in Indian administration for several years past.

DR. SHIVA RAM ON THE NEW WORLD ORDER.

The Indian Political Science Association and the Indian Economic Conference held a joint session early this month in Bombay. The first joint session was held last year in Mysore. The present world conflict is in the ultimate analysis a desperate effort of humanity to free itself from the stranglehold of economic slavery. Politics is the science of securing by social co-operation earthly human happiness. Economics has its place in securing this end but it is far from being the largest, much less the central, place in it. The possession of great wealth does not ensure great happiness to individuals or nations. Many rich men are more miserable than many poor men. The two wealthiest nations on earth at the present day find that in order merely to exist they have to discard all wealth-producing activities and devote themselves to wealth-destroying ones. The United States is not happy with its store of three-fourths of the world's gold. Great Britain is not happy with its five thousand millions pounds annual national income. They are unwilling to renounce their possessions though by so doing they can immediately end the chapter of world conflicts. But they are ready to sacrifice all their possessions and their very existence as a nation to destroy those who would wrest it from them. Political science in order to fulfil its function must throw off the domination of economics and put economics in its proper place as one of the elements of human happiness. Dr. Ram was once a member of the staff of the League of Nations. His loyalty to the League has survived the League itself. Independent observers are agreed that the League was based on assumptions which made it the tool of a few powerful nations which were interested in maintaining their predominance in world politics. Dr. Ram fails to see, what is obvious to the most superficial observation, that the primary cause of the world struggle today is that the moral progress of humanity has not kept pace with its material progress. Science has placed enormous power in the hands of man but has done nothing to raise him from primitive savagery in his dealings with nations other than his own. What is called civilization retains a great part of ancient savagery. The New World order will be only another version of the present one unless the individual man replaces his present over-developed acquisitive tendencies by altruistic ones. In other words, to use Carlyle's famous formula, to reduce the denominator in order to increase the value of the numerator.

The new world order cannot be based on the Economic Man of Adam Smith. Without a complete renovation of individual human nature, it is impossible to build up a new order which will materially differ from the present one. This exactly is what Dr. Ram's address studiously avoids suggesting. He says that the idea of sovereign nations is at the root of the world crisis. But he faints at the thought of overthrowing it and acquiesces in it himself and discourages his hearers from attempting to overthrow it by suggesting that this is too heavy a task to be undertaken. He proceeds to adumbrate a scheme of world federation of nations which he expects voluntarily and cheerfully to agree to be smashed in order to produce the enormous omelette. No nation is ethically in advance of the individuals of whom it is composed. It falls far short of the highest type of individual in it and much short of even the average individual. A writer on civilisation has declared that the mass of men in any country

never grow beyond the mental stage of a fourteen-year old boy and that advertisements, cinema shows and political oratory in order to appeal to the masses should restrict itself to what will appeal to him. Boys in their fourteenth years are grasping, egoistic, violent. Since this is a fact, the foundations of the New World Order must be laid in the education of the young. The identification of politics with economics is not more than a hundred years old. It was the product of the industrial civilisation with its apotheosis of machinery and mass production. The people's food was sacrificed to foreign trade and foreign trade had to be maintained by the exploiting, economic imperialism. There is nothing new in the conditions Dr. Ram lays down for the establishment of his new world order. The first condition is the renunciation of force as a means of enforcing national claims. Even the Indian National Congress after twenty years' training under Gandhiji has rejected non-violence as impracticable as a political instrument. If this is the case in a country where the doctrine of ahimsa is held in high reverence as a religious creed, how does Dr. Ram expect Europeans and Americans to agree to discuss differences with weaker nations on a basis of equality and equity? Who is going to recognise the supremacy of International Law when it is not advantageous to his nation to do so or when he can violate it with impunity? Dr. Ram gravely proposes that wherever assistance is needed by weaker races from stronger ones, the assistance should be given with the benefit to the weaker nation prominently in view. Everybody will subscribe to this excellent principle but who is to see that it is kept? Dr. Ram seems to favour the Mandate system. How far has the system protected mandated territories from exploitation? The Committee of the League of Nations entrusted with the supervision of mandatory administrations, has now and then indulged in mild criticisms which evoked no response from the Mandatory Power. The whole elaborate scheme of Dr. Ram seems very much like an attempt to balance a cone on its apex. The cone must be held in position by bayonets. World reformation is a long process. The sooner the Political Science Association parts company with the Economic Conference, the better will it be able to realise its true purpose.

MR. CHURCHILL AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

(BY J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

Several observers of American life have noticed the increasing unintelligence and lack of thoughtfulness characterising the modern American public. Some American writers of judgment and discernment have also realised it and have commented thereon. The present system of standardised education, which is imparted with little regard to individuality and which is strictly bound by time-schedule, and also the fussy and ever-restless life that has become almost the general rule and fashion in the Western Hemisphere, can of course only produce men and women, who are driven and actuated by momentary impulse, are excited and frenzied by propaganda, and are blown like weathercocks by passing phases of the present-day manipulated politics. Such people can hardly be expected to judge and weigh words and statements coming from clever political propagandists, who generally hold the reins of government in modern states in these days. Mr. Churchill knew that well enough when he recently addressed the American Senate, and therefore in his

oration he had the inspiration of the confidence that his words would strike home and that there was little chance of their being challenged or questioned about. The further knowledge that his audience consisted of people, whose vision of the human world and of world politics was affected by the same prejudices as that of the people he was leading himself, no doubt raised his spirits more. And, therefore, his mind moved freely backward and forward, recollecting the impressions of his childhood as received from his father and stretching into the joys of futurity, when his enemies would be crushed beyond recovery and the prosperity of his people would be insured against all further danger.

"Trust the people," impressed his father on him, and, true to the teaching of the father, the young Churchill grew into the present Conservative Chief of England, believing in democracy and always steering towards the Gettysburg ideal of 'Government of the people, by the people and for the people.' So declared Mr. Churchill amidst cheers. There will probably be few in America to-day, who may be led to ask Mr. Churchill if he could repeat the above with similar confidence without being challenged before an audience in any part of the British Empire outside the British Isles. There will probably be fewer earnest students of political history there, who will question Mr. Churchill in wonder if an empire like the one that Mr. Churchill was straining his every nerve to save and preserve could be built, maintained and enjoyed, with honest faith in the Gettysburg ideal and conscientious behaviour in following that ideal. Empire building for the primary benefit of the builders and empire-maintaining by keeping the native people under armed subjection are like water and fire to democracy, and are ridiculously inconsistent with all the theories and ideals, on which democracies are reared.

The real trouble tormenting the world to-day is not so much the aggressiveness of this country or that, or the ruthlessness, as Mr. Churchill says, of this fighting side or of that, but the lust of Europe and of white America, in particular, for the materials and possessions of militarily weaker and unorganised people in other lands, and their tenacity in keeping preserved to themselves their past gains and acquirements. If that lust and tenacity would go, the murderous world tendency of to-day would turn to a new direction, where the landscape is ever green and happy under the bliss of peace, harmony and mutual good will. If, with his knowledge of human history and human nature, Mr. Churchill would for a moment get over the rage excited in him by the 'wicked people,' as he calls them, who threaten to dispossess his country of its precious world possessions, and act up to the great teaching of his father with faith and courage, he would solve the world problem in a moment. Let him put the ideal of democracy to the test and the Gettysburg ideal to practice, by disclaiming the empire idea, and leaving the government of the people of different parts of the empire to the people there. That is the first step to meet and confound the people he is denouncing so unrestrainedly to-day. As the possessor of the biggest empire, it is for England to take that step first and set the example. The tremendous effect of that on world politics would raise into being a more tremendous world power, moral and political, which would automatically demoralise all aggressors and loosen their threatening fists. Mr. Churchill has thundered that he would give a lesson to his adversaries which they would not forget, and has promised that thereby the world would be free from wars. But he has misread world history, or he

purposely sought to disguise the facts of history when he said that, for history proves that such lessons as were, for instance, given at the end of the last Great War have only shortened the periodicity of wars. Peace comes otherwise—through the honest practice of ideals and principles that are professed and practised. When Mr. Churchill pleaded for faith in the cause he held up before them, his audience should have reflected that there was little cause to fight for when that cause was little more than saving a *status quo* that has excited the natural jealousy of others and has been repeatedly creating causes of wars.

Referring to the period of twenty years intervening between this war and the last, Mr. Churchill said that, while the youth of America and England were taught that war was evil, the youth of the Axis countries was taught otherwise. If by that comparison Mr. Churchill sought to denounce the other side and claim all virtues for his own, it was feeble and unimaginative of him to do so. For, it is but natural that the defeated and dispossessed side grumbles and prepares for retrieving the lost position, while the victor and gainer wants to avoid wars and remain in undisturbed enjoyment. He would have scored, on the other hand, if he could have given an edifying and convincing record of democracy truly practised by the winners of the last war in their former possessions and in the territories taken on mandate by them.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS' LEGACY.

(BY N. LAKSHMANAN, COIMBATORE.)

Gandhiji, in his statement to *The Hindu* of the 1st instant, says that the English friends of India's freedom have reminded him of Mr. C. F. Andrews' legacy. Two books written by the late lamented Deenabhandu in May and June 1937 throw a flood of light on this burning topic of day. He dedicated the first book to the Society of Friends who had obviously sent the "pressing cable" to Gandhiji. The second book deals with India and the Pacific. It was dedicated to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The following points are clear from the latest writings of Mr. C. F. Andrews :

(1) "When many things concerning war and peace are still in a state of moral confusion, it is certain that a much deeper analysis is needed before satisfactory results can be arrived at which will appeal to the general conscience of mankind."

(2) "Great Britain has now renounced her old imperialism...If a World Economic Conference could be summoned—preferably at Washington—which might deal directly with the relationship between the tropical countries and the Great Powers in their economic sphere—then, at such a conference, the voice of Africa and Asia could be heard and the future of their territories considered."

(3) "It will not do at all to have a discontented and sullen India at such a crisis. The most important results of all will depend on India's good-will and consent."

(4) "As a purely unselfish act of statesmanship, the British Parliament took the leading part in the Abolition of Slavery in 1833."

(5) "Human freedom is more loved and honoured in Great Britain than in any other country in Europe. The heart of England is still sound, But it is more difficult to speak for politicians."

Mr. C. F. Andrews' conclusion is noteworthy. He adds :

"My own supreme hope has always been, and still is, that the freedom which every Englishman has inherited as a birthright will be handed on to others." He himself has recorded that he had "often discussed together" the Indian problem with his friends Horace Alexander, Agatha Harrison, Henry Polak, Alexander Wilson, Carl Heath, and Jack Hoyland. It was at Cambridge, early in 1935, that C. F. Andrews launched the idea of a new Foreign Policy, under a Minister of Reconciliation. As John Hoyland says, C. F. Andrews was himself the incarnation of that ideal. The legacy left us by C. F. Andrews is now useful in promoting Indo-British understanding and goodwill. As *The Indian Social Reformer* (August 3, 1940) wrote, one of the disappointing features of the Indian situation is that there is no Englishman of the type of Hume and Wedderburn to serve as a link between Indians and Englishman.

THE SUCCESS OF VIOLENCE ?

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have read with interest your review of Ambassador Dodd's Diary in *The Reformer* of January 3rd. I was surprised, however, to see that you offer no comment on the political aspects of Mr. Dodd's study.

Both as regards internal conditions in Germany and international affairs, Mr. Dodd's survey gives the reader some facts which lead to a conclusion just hinted vaguely at by Dodd himself. Before the Nazis came to power, the German people, and particularly the German political classes, were not without indications, to put it at the lowest, of what the Nazi regime would be. Yet they were powerless to unite against it and to avert it. When, after the Nazi seizure of power, there was an attempted revolt, it was led by people who were themselves not unstained by the lawlessness of Nazi methods—by men like Roehm. After the purge of June 1934, there is a suppressed feeling of resentment in Germany against the Nazi regime. In the universities, criticism of Hitler is freely expressed. Mr. Dodd reveals again and again his feeling that another revolt threatens. Yet nothing happens. The reason appears to be that that one ghastly night of violence struck terror into the hearts of other would-be agitators. In a movement like the Nazi one, revolt begins from the top. But there are the very men who would be fully aware of the extent of force used to put down earlier revolts. Apparently those who were most dissatisfied with the doings of the Nazi triumvirate, knew very well the thoroughness with which those rulers kept track of dissentients. In the international sphere, Mr. Dodd tells us how clearly the line of conflict was seen as far back as 1935. But the knowledge was defeated by the failure of the leading nations to act up to it. Is there not a certain similarity between the progress of Nazism in the world and the history of the Nazi movement in Germany? At Munich, Britain played a part in regard to Germany in international politics not dissimilar to that of old Hindenburg in relation to Hitler in Germany's internal politics in 1933. Both regretted their submission later, and there is some consolation that there is a difference in the vital question.

of timing of the repentance. Hindenburg is believed to have regretted his part in putting Her Hitler in power about eight days before his death. He is said to have left a "testament" in which Hitler was not even mentioned. Mr. Dodd in his Diary seems to think that Britain is even in this exactly in the old President's shoes. Had he lived beyond 1940, he would surely have felt more optimistic about "poor England, for three hundred years the leading cultural country of the world, now beginning to decline"?

Bombay, } Yours etc.
January 6, 1942. } A STUDENT OF POLITICS.

ODDS AND ENDS.

The *Indian Witness* of Lucknow, a Christian Missionary journal, had the following pithy comment in its issue of the 1st January with the heading "The Bhagalpur Blunder:"

We have yet to see a good word written or hear one spoken regarding the Bihar Government's ban of the Hindu Mahasabha which was called to meet in Bhagalpur over the last week-end. It is not our intention to discuss the issue but merely to say that any Government that calls down upon its head such a unanimous chorus of condemnation can rest assured that someone has blundered.

The *Witness*' comment was premature. The *Times of India* in the issue of the 3rd January had a laboured apologia on behalf of the Bihar Government. The gist of the *Times*' pleading was that the Hindu Mahasabha have been more submissive. The meek Hindu is fast becoming a legend, thanks chiefly to the friendly solicitude of the Anglo-Indian Press.

Two brothers, bearing the Kulin Brahmin name of Chatterjee, employees of a Chinese Rice Mill in Insein, Burma, were the lucky winners of the first prize of a lakh of rupees in the last Burma State lottery. They are both Buddhists and have decided to spend the money to rebuild one of the pagodas in Insein. They have found the most effective solution for the Indo-Burman problem without the intervention of the Government of India. If more Indians in Burma acted in the spirit of their example, there will be no Indo-Burman problem at all.

Dr. Kalidas Nag and Devapriya Balasingha, Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society, have been released from the detention imposed on them on the outbreak of the war with Japan. Mr. Balasingha has been ordered by the Police Commissioner of Calcutta not to make pro-Japanese speeches. Buddhism to a much larger extent than Christianity and Islam, the other important religions aiming at universality, has kept itself aloof from the nationalistic bias. There has never been a Buddhist crusade or jihad. The restriction imposed on the Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society rests on the ignorant assumption that Buddhism is a militant religion like Christianity and Islam. If Mr. Balasingha was partial to either of the belligerents professing Buddhism, he had better reason to be partial to China which last year sent a Buddhist Goodwill Mission and had otherwise actively interested herself from ancient times in Buddhist origins in India.

Professor Siddheswar Varma of the Prince of Wales College at Jammu told a press correspondent that he has invented a phonetic alphabet which a person of average intelligence could master in six

weeks and which can be used for any language. The professor delivered an address in Arabic at the All-India Oriental Conference in Hyderabad, Deccan. He claims to have learnt fifty languages through the medium of his alphabet. Science may eventually discover a method by which the human voice can be directly registered on paper without the need of pen or pencil and thus relieve children of the drudgery of learning to write. A common language must be invented for the common alphabet to be of general use. Esperanto has not caught on. No one hears of it nowadays.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit is reported to have asked in her presidential address to the All-India Women's Conference at Cocanada: "Shall we bear sons only that they may murder other women's sons?" If Mrs. Pandit's question is understood as an argument for birth control, it will short-circuit a great idea and deprive it of all its tremendous significance. But is Mrs. Pandit right? Ceasing to bear sons by Indian women may end in the extinction of the Indian people. The races which actively promote the increase of population, will have a whole sub-continent to spread themselves over. The clever versifier in the *New Statesman*, Sagittarius, wrote a year ago some verses pointing out that they may find that the war was not worth waging when mass-produced Nazi babies came to fill the empty cradles of the British Isles.

It is announced that Sir John Dill who was created Field-Marshal and nominated to succeed Sir Roger Lumley as Governor of Bombay eight months hence, will remain indefinitely in the United States where he accompanied the British Prime Minister. This is a wise decision, and the Field-Marshal is sure to be more useful in Washington than in Bombay. The announcement is accompanied by the forecast that a Socialist will be selected to be Governor-designate in the place of Sir John Dill. This is hardly a time for experiment. Sir Roger Lumley and Bombay understand each other better than any previous Governor for the last forty years. If Sir Roger can be persuaded to remain in Bombay until after the end of the war, the Bombay public will be well satisfied.

The drastic rationing of petrol from the first of this month may prove in the not very long run to be of lasting good. The roads are no longer crowded with reeking cars raising dust and fumes. They are now safe for pedestrians. Horse and bullock drawn vehicles may soon reappear in our streets. Early on Tuesday morning a neat little tonga with rubber tyres drawn by a nice pair of trotting bullocks was seen on Turner Road (Bandra). There was not enough light to see the occupants but, whoever they were, one felt glad of their enterprise.

A Reuter's message from Washington dated January 7, says that "it is learnt from a trustworthy source that during the last few days the United States formally requested the British authorities to close down the British Press Service Office in New York. This unprecedented step is reported to have aroused instant reactions in the British Embassy and the matter is now the subject of discussion and negotiation. The British Press Service, run by the Ministry of Information, employs about 250 persons in New York. The reason for the request to close down is not known. The Ministry of Information has small offices in Washington and Chicago, but apparently they are not affected by this request."

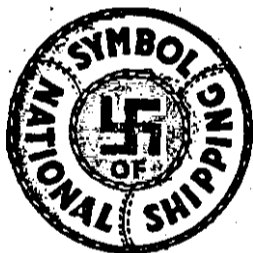
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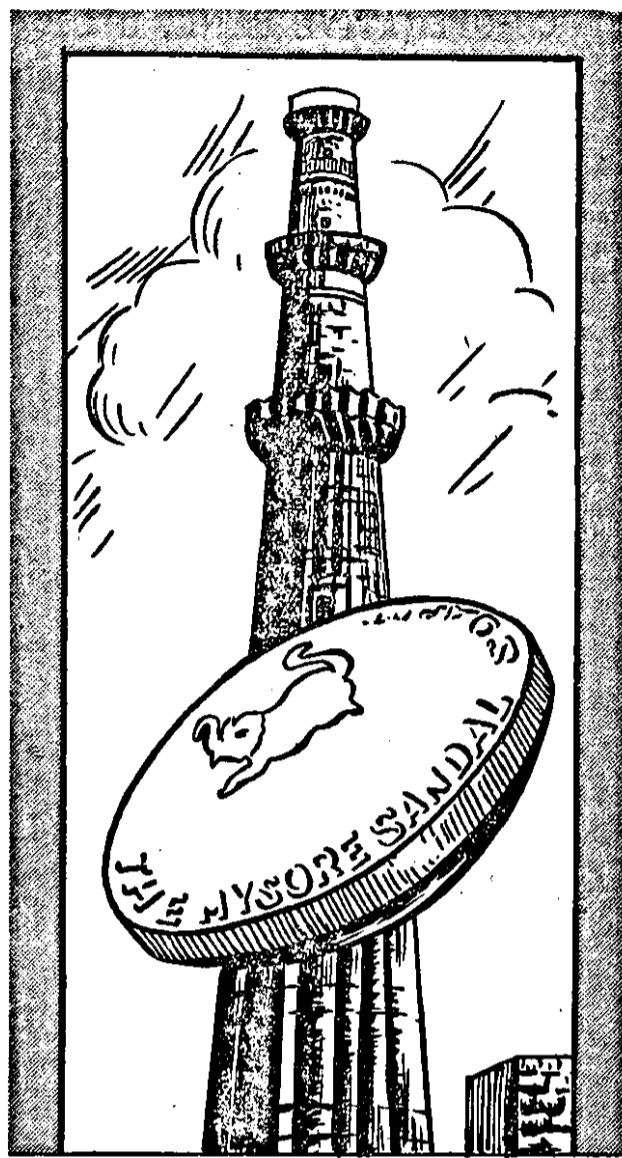
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Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 17, 1942. No. 20.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

<p>Women Doctors for War Service. Popular Rule Versus War Effort. Wild Propaganda. Australia and India. Col. Astor on War News. "Germany Shall Pay." The Congress at Wardha. The Indian Command. More A. R. P. Notices.</p>	<p>A. R. P. Coalition Governments and War. Hydari Reminiscences. Government and the Press. Empire and Equality. National Government and War Effort. Orisis in Cloudland. My Life Story.</p>
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NOTES.

Women Doctors for War Service:—After considerable procrastination, the Government of India decided this week to admit women doctors to the Army Medical Service on the same terms as men. British as well as Indian women doctors are declared to be eligible for selection. But the scope is practically limited to British women by the condition that full liability to serve in and out of India will attach to those who join the service. If we remember, the original idea was that women doctors would be posted to military family hospitals in this country relieving men doctors for service abroad. It was stated that women doctors will have to treat men patients also in suitable cases. This was a reasonable arrangement and Indian women doctors might have been expected to offer their services subject, of course, to the demands of the Indian medical profession being conceded and the grievances based on the experiences of the last war being removed. It is probable that this is still the idea though it is considered desirable to provide for all contingencies by making women doctors liable to service abroad. All the same the condition will come in the way of many suitable candidates applying. The treatment accorded to Indians in the Army on service abroad might have improved since the last war and we have the testimony of some of our ruling Princes who have visited the outposts in the Middle East and Malaya that Indians, soldiers and non-combatants, are happy and well cared for. But this impression must become more general before Indian women can be expected to enter army service which is entirely new to them. We fully realise that medical knowledge and experience by whomsoever possessed should be available to the wounded soldiers and Indian women doctors too are keenly conscious of the obligations of their profession to help suffering humanity. But two things should be guarded against. The success of the experiment should

not be jeopardised by precipitancy and the employment of women doctors should be guarded against the possibility of being misconstrued as a move to outflank the attempt of the Indian medical profession to get the status and prospects of Indian doctors in the Army recognised as absolutely equal to those of British and Dominion officers doing the same work. Women doctors required at present are those with experience of oto-rhino-laryngology, radiology, pathology, ophthalmology or anaesthetics. Women doctors in India and also elsewhere, are seldom specialists and though the term used is "experience" which most of them would have, it is easier for a British person to pass off as an expert than for an Indian. Sir George Schuster in his recent book complains that, while he was able to get eminent bankers from Germany and Holland to serve on an experts' committee when he was Finance Minister in India, he had to be satisfied with a young Englishman who had hardly completed his apprenticeship in a bank.

Popular Rule Versus War Effort:—If we have urged so far that the government of India should remain in the hands of the Governor-General for the duration of the war, there are events which press us to carry the argument further and suggest that all popular forms of administration should be suspended for the war period. In any case, whether we suggest it or not, this is obviously the tendency today. The Governor of Assam suspended the constitution and took upon himself the responsibility of administering the province because he was inspired by the thought that he could not select "a Ministry which would be in a position to prosecute in the full all the measures necessitated by the war situation"; "a Cabinet whose main object would be to conduct the administration for the purpose of and during the war"; and yet again, "a ministry commanding the confidence of the legislature, willing to assume the responsibilities of office and prepared to take its full part in the prosecution of the war." The facts do not seem to justify Sir Robert Reid's conclusion and the press and public of Assam have expressed the view that Sir Robert's apparent reason conceals a desire to protect the ex-Minister, Sir Muhamad Sa'adullah, and bring him back to power. However that may be, Sir Robert is actually supporting his action by pleading war necessity.

At Tuticorin the Collector has struck another blow at democracy for the war effort. It seems, according to the *Indian Express*, that the Municipality there refused permission for affixing war posters on electric lamp-posts. The Collector thereupon addressed a letter to the Council asking it to reconsider its decision as otherwise action would be taken against them under the Defence of India Rules. It is said that, when the Council of Elders in Turkey assembled to discuss the abolition of the Caliphate, their opposition was overcome by the guns of Kemal Ataturk's young supporters. The District Collector's letter achieved a very similar effect. A meeting of the Council was summoned and, though a quorum was wanting, the meeting passed a resolution allowing posters on lamp-posts. The Assam Governor's method is no doubt the better one as it avoids petty grievances. Had the Collector suspended the Tuticorin Municipality on the outbreak of war, the lamp-posts would have had their posters two weeks earlier and there would have been no publicity to the recalcitrance of Tuticorin's representatives. In the work of supporting the war materially, a bureaucracy can, after all, be much more efficient than popular governments. And no one has asked as yet for moral support.

Wild Propaganda:—We pointed out last week the need for extreme caution in disseminating false and exaggerated stories of war atrocities as they are bound to have a boomerang effect. A special responsibility rests on the Press in this matter. On Thursday the *Bombay Chronicle* published an Associated Press message repeating an allegation of the Rangoon Radio to the effect that the Japanese have dropped parachutes in the Hunnan Province containing bags of rice and wheat contaminated with plague bacilli. The message admitted that the statement has so far not been proved. Anyone with a slight acquaintance with literature on bacilli infection would have seen through this absurd report which the *Bombay Chronicle* printed under the heading "Japanese Barbarity." The *Times of India* pointed out next day that even the Japanese cannot start a plague epidemic by throwing bags of rice "contaminated" by plague bacilli. Japanese know enough of science to know that plague is conveyed through the blood and not through the stomach. The bacilli would not survive a flight in high altitude followed by descent by a parachute. The whole thing was an obvious fiction. We are sorry to say that the Rangoon authorities have been rather reckless in their allegations, exaggerating where they should have been careful to be accurate and minimising where they should have been explicit. The *Bombay Chronicle* on Saturday changed the contaminating bacillus to typhoid instead of plague but the two germs behave in the same way and the change did not improve matters. The Rangoon story had a close parallel in the story that hundreds of Russian soldiers, in the last war with Finland, had

been frozen to death in a standing posture.

"All this," write Harold Lavine and James Wechster in their book, "War Propaganda and the United States," "made grim and plausible copy to every one except scientists. In response to an enquiry from the Institute of Propaganda Analysis, several scientists and officials of the New York Academy of Medicine all concurred in the view that instantaneus freezing is, as one expert put it, a Munchausen tale. It just doesn't happen." They gave detailed reasons for their opinion and concluded, "Science, too, is a wartime casualty."

The *Chronicle* had only to telephone to the Haffkine Institute to ascertain the truth of this abominable story. The Japanese are on the wrong side of the fence today but they are sensible enough to know that using plague germs as munitions is a dangerous departure not only from international convention but from their own interests. Reports like that from Rangoon are calculated to act as suggestions to the enemy which he had not thought of.

Australia and India:—An Indian who sees the trend of Australo-British relations during the war, cannot but be struck by the very solid gains achieved by that Dominion in Inter-Empire relations. He must admire the manner in which Australia has secured bit by bit first that her contributions for war purposes should be used in Australia itself; next that Australian troops should not be taken for overseas service without the consent of the Commonwealth Government; then that officers in the Indian Army should be drawn from Australia; that her Government should have the right to consult direct with the United States Government; and that, in the Pacific War, assistance to Australia at points most vital to her should be considered by the Allies. There is now a demand for representation in the British Cabinet and for direct representation in a council of action urged to be set up for the Pacific. It would be surprising if nothing comes of this latest demand. Consider India on the other hand. We started with a protest against troops being sent overseas without our consent, and we have stopped there. In fact, India has won a reputation for being cussed and perverse while Australia's support is enthusiastically appreciated by every British newspaper and publicist. In the circumstances, we feel that the alarmist report circulated by the semi-official Reuter—the Governor of Bombay who warned the public against spreading false stories, may note—that Japan's objective is India and not Australia is mischievous in the extreme. It is matched by the type of official obscurity revealed in the communique issued by the Madras Government which means the Madras Governor. The communique in replying to a suggestion that the major part of the war funds should be kept for strengthening Indian defences, writes:

Government wish to point out first that monies subscribed to the War Fund are allotted to the

purposes indicated by subscribers themselves and second that money remitted to London for purchase of aeroplanes is just as much spent on the defence of India as money spent in this country.

Col. Astor on War News :—Speaking at the Empire Conference in London. Col. J. J. Astor, Chairman of the London *Times*, made some observations about the importance of the public being furnished with information, which are specially applicable to India. He said:

We have preached the doctrine—and it has needed preaching—that, if the general public is to make its full war effort, it must, as far as practicable, get full war news. Bare bones are not enough. It is for newspapers to make facts live so that we may know and understand the part we have to play. We hold the view that nothing may be struck out except what may be useful to the enemy or endanger national security. Criticism and comment on official policy is not only permissible but is desirable and necessary and should not be dependent on the view of individual censors.

The Indian Press is in a much worse position than the British Press in respect of information. One of the most tantalising ways of Reuter, or whoever is responsible for the release of news, is that few items are followed up so as to give a connected idea of what is happening. For instance, we were told some days back that the American Government had requested the British Government to close down its Press Agency in New York. Absolutely no information has been given as to what happened, whether the request was complied with or withdrawn. This is but one and not the most important instance.

"Germany Shall Pay" :—Representatives of nine occupied countries who are now running shadow cabinets from London, met under the aegis of the British Foreign Secretary and resolved that Germany shall pay for the acts of terrorism committed on their territories. Mr. Eden began with the cheering promise that this kind of decision would give strength to the people of these occupied territories. We wish we could feel as certain of this as the British Secretary seems to be. For one thing we have had little authentic news of what is going on in the countries under Hitler. Secondly if the resolution has any effect on Germany it will rather be to strengthen the determination to fight. And perhaps the consideration ought not to be quite absent from their countrymen in London that the men in occupied Europe will be the first to suffer for the decision. As an indication that those Europeans out of Nazi control are still determined to fight on, the resolution has its chief and only significance. But is it necessary now to reassure anyone that Europe is divided into two armed camps?

The Congress at Wardha :—The All India Congress Committee began its session at Wardha on Thursday. Attempts had been made between the Bardoli meeting of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. meeting to reverse the Bardoli decision and get a clear verdict for Gandhiji. "While in Bardoli," said Gandhiji on Thursday, "I had a mind to get the House divide on this issue." From which it follows that Sardar Vallabhbai

and Rajendra Prasad and others who had addressed a note suggesting the propriety of the A. I. C. C. repealing the Working Committee decision and urging its desirability, were not without his support. Maulana Azad, however, announced a day before the A. I. C. C. that the Working Committee members would all vote for the Bardoli decision. In spite of the loud professions of unity, the speeches so far reveal a grave split. Mr. Rajagopalachari stands for cooperation on the basis of a national government. Pandit Jawaharlal is for no cooperation until India is free. Gandhiji who denounced any non-cooperation by those who do not believe in non-violence—in his letter to the Congress President (December 29), he even said, "If... I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the (war) effort as the price of independence, I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct"—prefers to join hands with the Pandit whom he has named his "legal heir", against Mr. Rajagopalachari. The issue has been cleverly shifted. It is not violence against non-violence, but cooperation versus opposition. The resolution which appears to support Mr. Rajagopalachari, is really a tolerating one.

The Indian Command :—It was announced on Thursday that the command of Indian and British troops in Iran and Iraq has been transferred to the Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East, Sir Claude Auchinleck, and, as Sir Archibald Wavell has been posted to the Command of all troops in South-West Pacific, the Indian Commander-in-Chief will be able to concentrate his whole attention on making India self-sufficient in respect of her defence. We welcome this decision as it is in line with what we have all along held to be the proper policy for India, to protect herself by strengthening her own frontiers. The reasons given by Government to explain this arrangement are rather fanciful. But we need not on that account withhold our expression of satisfaction at the decision. We trust that it will be followed up, as it should be, by getting back Indian troops to India leaving Egypt, Turkey and other countries directly affected, free to do their bit to ward off invasion.

More A. R. P. Notices :—Since the leading article was in type, two more notifications regarding Air Raid Precautions have been published. One of these divides the city into black-out and brown-out districts. Apart from the difficulty of producing the requisite shades, it occurs to an intelligence unversed in observations from the air that the two shades may themselves become useful to the enemy. The object of protecting the people would be better served if a single and simple statement were issued and the Wardens and other officials are instructed to go round and help citizens to carry out instructions. If persons who are not quite illiterate are confused by the spate of notices, the mass of the people are unlikely to get a clear idea of what is expected of them.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 17, 1942.

A. R. P.

There is much confusion about the operations of the service for Air-Raid Precautions organization in India and particularly in Bombay which, in the interests of efficiency, it is urgently desirable to remove. Referring first to Bombay, two statements have been published simultaneously, the one considerably qualifying if not contradicting the other. One of these required peremptorily all residents to reduce the lighting in their premises to the dimensions of an oil lamp or a candle-light. It gave minute directions as to the length and width of the shades to be put on electric lights and prescribed the hours between midnight and sunrise as those when these instructions should be strictly observed. These instructions were declared to apply to Bombay city and the adjacent islands of Salsette and Karanja. A supplementary statement mentioned specific localities in Bombay city which were marked out particularly for the enforcement of these instructions. The observance of these instructions was to be enforced by severe penalties. Not only the Police and the A. R. P. Wardens but other persons authorised for the purpose could take action against persons failing to carry out the instructions in their entirety, that is to say, so as not to allow a single ray of light to escape from the house into the street.

The terms of the notification to be strictly observed would require virtually a remodelling of buildings in several cases. Under the building rules of municipalities, houses in Bombay and even more in the suburbs are constructed so as to admit the maximum of light and air. In several cases houses are a series of windows held together by bits of wall. The cost of closing up all these outlets of light would necessarily mean shutting up of inlets of air. People accustomed to sleep with doors and windows open will find themselves deprived of this natural means of recuperation. Public health must suffer. The cost of providing curtains for all the windows would be a strain on middle class resources and will be beyond those of the poor. The alternative of shading off light to show as little as possible requires some expert help. It was, therefore, gratifying to read the announcement that the rules would not be strictly enforced pending the preparation of suitable shades for veiling lights. The two notifications appeared in the morning papers on Tuesday. It was, therefore, with surprise that one read in the evening papers the same day reports of prosecutions and fines imposed for non-compliance with the rules. The Government of Bombay and the Commissioner of Police will do well not to rely solely on their punitive powers under the Defence of India Rules, A. R. P. Wardens, or such of them as have

ideas on the subject, may be instructed to visit the premises in their locality and to suggest to the inmates means by which lights may be screened at a minimum cost and without radical alteration of the structure. The people are amenable to reason and will readily carry out suggestions which are within their means. Lord Mayo laid down three rules for good government in India. One of these was that the people should not be asked to do what it is beyond their means to do—to water their fields with champagne, for instance.

The Governor of Madras this week declared in a speech that the citizens of Madras and the people of the Presidency as a whole had no need to apprehend air-raids by the Japanese. His Excellency gave detailed and technical reasons for his opinion. The only chance of danger, in his opinion, was—and that was a small one—that a Japanese submarine may get into the Bay of Bengal eluding the vigilance of the Royal Indian Navy patrols and may throw a few shells as did the "Emden" in the last war on Madras. The District authority in Vizagapatam gave a similar assurance to the people of the Port on similar grounds. If that is the case in Madras and the East Coast which are in closer proximity to the Japanese bases in Thailand and Malaya, the imminence of danger is much less in Bombay. Unlike in the Far Eastern theatre, in Africa all chances of the enemy assuming the offensive would seem to have been virtually eliminated. There is no need, therefore, for Bombay to get more panicky than Madras, and stringent measures do predispose people to panicky suggestions. There is one other point. Some authorities with a view to arouse the war emotion, insist that the war is at the doors of India. His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at Karachi a few days ago said that the war was as yet remote from India and, please God, it may not come to India. The Governor of Madras implied something very like the Viceroy's exhortation. We think ourselves that the Japanese objective is not India but Netherland Indies and that, if they are not obstructed in that direction, they are unlikely to go out of their way to attack India. If the interests of India were alone to determine Indian policy, the course obviously is to obviate the dragging of this country in the conflict for the Netherland Indies.

COALITION GOVERNMENTS AND THE WAR.

Mr. Gopala Reddi was Minister in the late Madras Congress Government. He was believed to a close confidant of the Prime Minister, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. Whether he is still in the same relation or not, is left in doubt by a speech which he made in what is called the Kumbakonam Parliament on January 8. In pleading for coalition governments at the centre and in all the provinces, Mr. Reddi asked why Mr. Rajagopalacharya who was in favour of a coalition

Government at the centre, should have objections to coalition governments in the provinces. At the centre, he pointed out, national policies were registered and, if coalition was acceptable there, why not in the provinces. The same argument, taken further, would require coalition in municipalities and local boards and in village panchayets and in all other statutory bodies. Ultimately it is bound to extend also to non-statutory organizations. Evidently Mr Reddy is prepared to face even these contingencies. "After all," he is reported to have said, "the fight for freedom is a fight for power in the hands of popular representatives." Mr. Reddi criticised the action of Congress Ministries in taking in Muslims who did not possess the confidence of their community. Muslim Ministers in Congress Cabinets were elected to the Legislature by Muslim constituencies and must be presumed to be as much representative of Muslim opinion as members elected on the League ticket. Mr. Reddi's plea is one for throwing nationalist Muslims overboard, including the most important of them, the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. These men have under extremely difficult conditions remained in the Congress. They have incurred the bitter hostility of Muslim Leaguers. It may be that they will chivalrously stand aside and let the Congress make its peace with the Muslim League if they are convinced that by doing so they will be serving the interests of the country. The more compromising amongst them may argue that, if the Congress leaders themselves come to terms with the League, it is pedantry for them to stand upon their principles. If Mr. Gopala Reddi's plea gains acceptance, Congress may score a temporary advantage but it will forfeit the confidence of a considerable section of the public who continue to have faith in fair-dealing even in politics. After all, Mr. Reddi's assumption that he and his friends are "representatives of the people," has been somewhat blown up by the supreme indifference with which the country has regarded their resignations from office and contributed to the war effort in spite of their opposition. *The Reformer* has repeatedly stated its opinion that during the war period the Governor-General should bear the entire responsibility for the administration of the country with the provincial governors acting under his orders. Indians, so long as they are denied any but a subject status, can not and should not be required to do more than obey the Governor-General's orders, wise or unwise, well-judged or ill-judged. If the Congress contemplates coalition, its first duty is to see that nationalist Muslims who have clung to it in good report and bad report, have a recognised and respected place in it. Otherwise, Mr. Rajagopalacharya's offer that Mr. Jinnah should form his own Cabinet and that the Congress would support it, is both more sensible and honourable.

HYDARI REMINISCENCES.

I came to Bombay in November 1898. A month or two later I met Burjorji Padshah in Mr. Ranade's house. At Padshah's shortly after, I first met Hydari. The Hydaris lived then in a bungalow just below Padshah's house on the Bandra Hill side. We were living at Chimbai, and Hydari who was then Assistant Accountant-General, and I, often walked home together from the railway station in the evening. On almost the first occasion, Hydari in connection with some topic spoke to me fervently of the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. Buddha to me is the greatest Indian that ever was. Thus our admiration for Buddha was the common ground on which the foundation of our friendship was laid. Hydari's great work for the preservation of the Ajanta frescoes was not inspired by a merely aesthetic feeling. It was the expression of his deep spiritual appreciation of the illustrious world teacher. Hydari told me of an incident. When he visited the Ajanta Caves with his family about 4 o'clock one evening when the sunlight falls full on the figure of Buddha in the principal cave, his daughter, Mariam, instinctively dropped on her knees in reverence at the sight of the figure which stood out in all its sublimity.

There was another matter which drew us together. Hydari was at the time contending with his elders over the question of his wife dropping the purdah. If there is anything which I may claim to have had at heart as my inspiring motive in life, it is the wish to help to emancipate Indian women from the restraints which kept them from making their indispensable contribution to national progress. Hydari's elders so far yielded to his importunity as to agree to Mrs. Hydari's appearing without the purdah outside Bombay. But they would on no account agree to her throwing it off in Bombay. The husband and wife hit upon a compromise. Mrs. Hydari would have no purdah for non-Muslims. This practice she continued for a few years even after they settled in Hyderabad. After Padshah's death early this year Hydari told me in the course of a reminiscence conversation that he owed much to Padshah. He and his sister, Navazbai, were very helpful, the latter in chaperoning Mrs. Hydari, then a shy young woman, to social functions.

In December 1899, on the last day of the nineteenth century to be exact, Ranade delivered the last and most important of the annual addresses with which he inaugurated each session of the Indian National Social Conference which met at the conclusion of each Congress session in the same pandal. Ranade always made his address hinge upon a theme which was appropriate to the locality in which the session was held. The Conference met that year in Lucknow and Ranade devoted his address to a historical review of the process of fusion between Hindus and Muslims which had been in progress for centuries but which could not attain fulfilment in a common nationality because of certain deficiencies in both Hindu and Muslim culture, which Providence had designed that British rule should be the means of supplying with a view to India's achievement of her historic destiny. Ranade had a very high conception of that destiny. He once or twice referred to his country as the favoured land and to her people as the chosen people. There was no hint then or only a faint one of Hindu-Muslim relations developing into a problem. But Ranade had the instinct of the student of history to anticipate events and, in that address for which he took as his text Nanak's saying "I am neither a Hindu nor a Mahomedan," he indicated the right

approach to the true solution of the problem when it arose. That address made a deep impression on Hydari. Ever since he has repeatedly avowed himself an adherent of Ranade's school. Hydari once suggested that all inhabitants of India should be called Hindus instead of Indians. It was etymologically the correct term and in the United States all Indians are known as and have no objection to be known as Hindus.

Knowing Hydari as I did, it was a constant and painful surprise to me to hear Hindu friends speak of him as an inveterate communalist, as being inspired by anti-Hindu sentiments in his administration in Hyderabad. When I assured them that from my forty years' friendship with Hydari, I have never found him attaching the slightest importance to race or caste or creed in his estimates of men, they smiled and turned the conversation to other topics. He was, it is true, rather touchy about his religion, as most Mussalmans are. The Hindu hears placidly every kind of criticism of his religion and social customs however virulent. He is completely unaffected at seeing the pictures of Sri Krishna and Ganpathi used as trade-marks on match-boxes and even on leather goods. As the result, Hinduism has been the butt of the most unbridled libels by religious and political propagandists. I personally think that Hinduism and Hindu society have both been all the better for these onslaughts. I perpetrated in an address several years ago the epigram that the fear of the missionary has been the beginning of much social wisdom among us. Missionary friends jumped on it as a tribute to their work. They were entitled to do so. But it really was an acknowledgement of the value of criticism, both self-criticism and outside criticism, for the progress of a community. The Muslims from their sensitiveness to criticism have deprived themselves of this valuable aid to progress. Hydari shared to some extent this failing as I regard it. A recent incident illustrates this. Just before his nomination to the Executive Council of the Viceroy, he came to Bandra. Much of the talk was on the state of public life. As he was leaving, I referred to the Nizam's firmans issued after his mother's death and said that his mother's death seemed to have released some hidden spring in his nature. Hydari agreed. I thereupon observed quite casually that reverence for the mother was a specifically Indian instinct. At once Hydari flared up. He shook me violently by the shoulders and said with considerable emphasis, "Don't say that. The Prophet has said that heaven lies at the feet of the mother." I at once accepted the rebuke and promised that I would not repeat the mistake again. Though extremely sensitive about Islam, Hydari had a broad tolerance for other religions, and in his administration he scrupulously endeavoured to do equal justice to all communities. His fervent faith in the teachings and personality of Arabindo Ghose, is well-known.

It was at the same visit that he told me with pride that the Mullaji, head of his sect, had sent him from Mecca the dress and turban of an ordained priest. He was wearing a long white robe and had the turban in his car. He had brought his own praying-mat with him this time and about seven o'clock retired into another part of the house for prayer.

K. NATARAJAN

GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS.

I was rather surprised at reading the long proceedings at an unveiling of the portrait of Mr. K. Srinivasan, the distinguished Editor of the *Hindu*, in Madras. The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry presided and Sir C. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, was one of the speakers. I was surprised because unveiling of portraits is associated in my mind with personalities relegated or about to be relegated to the dust and oblivion of the upper shelf. Mr. Srinivasan is as yet far from being a candidate for such canonisation. As Chairman of the Editors' Conference he has displayed qualities which mark him out as one of the outstanding figures in contemporary India. He is in the prime of life. I am impelled to write now, however, by an observation by Sir C. R. Reddy about the editorship of Subrahmanya Aiyar who with the help of friends started the *Hindu* and laid the foundations on which it has risen to its present position of supremacy in Indian journalism. I do not in the least underrate the work of his successors. But under Subrahmanya Aiyar the *Hindu* was inspired by a crusading spirit which may be out of place now but it was force for a good in those days when the Indian journalist was looked down upon not only by officials but by his own people. Without such a spirit the *Hindu* would have gone the way of the *People's Friend* which preceded it by some years. There were many acute crises in the conduct of the *Hindu*, due to a variety of causes. One such arose from the strong advocacy by the *Hindu* of the Age of Consent Bill. One evening I was discussing the position with Subrahmanya Aiyar in his house in Triplicane. He declared that if a hundred *Hindus* perished, he must adhere to his policy of strong support to the measure. His connection with the paper ceased soon after. Under Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar the *Hindu* practically ceased to be a power in the cause of social reform. By the time that Subrahmanya Aiyar's connection with the *Hindu* ended, it had become a powerful organ of opinion. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar's achievement was to repair its disorganised finances—an important service—but without the position which the *Hindu* had attained it would have been a much harder task by financial management to have put it on the road to its present great position.

In the course of his speech Mr. Srinivasa Sastry let fall as usual some suggestive remarks quite relevant to, though not directly bearing on, the object of the function. One of these touched on the relation which should exist between the Press and Government. In answering this question, British precedents are of little use. The Press in India is not the Fourth Estate as is the British Press in England. Even so sympathetic an administrator as Sir Thomas Munro held that a free press was incompatible with the foreign British rule. The trouble at first was with newspapers owned and conducted by Englishmen. Since the time of the Ilbert Bill, the Anglo-Indian Press has steadily supported Government in their measures for controlling the Press and in all repressive measures generally. I recall a talk with the Editor of an important Anglo-Indian paper. He was personally opposed to the Rowlatt Act and had told the Viceroy so. But in his paper he supported it and explained that he had to do so since the Indian Press as a whole was against Government. I suggested that, if leading English papers set an example of dealing with Government measures on their merits, it would be a powerful incentive to the Indian Press to adopt a like policy. The English Press in India has dwindled both in number

and influence. Concurrently, the Indian Press has ceased in its indiscriminate opposition to Government. Government has realised the change and has shown an inclination to respond to it. The Editors' Conference has in a short period acquired a position of importance as a mediator which would be inconceivable even ten years ago. Though this is to be welcomed from every point of view, it is neither to the interest of Government or the Press that they should become completely identified. Keyserling has remarked that a certain amount of tension is necessary as a factor in conjugal happiness. The Press should maintain its independence or its value will decrease even from the standpoint of Government. There is a definite relation between variations in the influence of Parliament and the Press. When there is an efficient opposition in Parliament, the Press tends to become secondary. When Parliamentary opposition becomes, as in India at present, inefficient or negligible, the Press is the sole means of redressing the balance and maintaining equilibrium in public life.

K. N.

EMPIRE AND EQUALITY.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

You suggested some time back that there can be no better proof of the Empire's goodwill towards India than by removing all restrictions on Indians in the different parts of the Empire. If an Indian is fit enough to die with, he is certainly fit enough to live with. (I write from memory, hence am unable to quote your exact words). It was a most striking suggestion and it is rather disappointing that it has not received the support that it should have had. With the entry of America in the war I would substitute "the English-speaking world" for the word "Empire."

The Congress wants a declaration of a free and Independent India before joining the war efforts.

Of course, "freedom and independence" will be within the bounds of the British Empire. But even the citizens of "a free and independent" India can be, and perhaps will be, treated as helots in other parts of the Empire. Japan was not only free and independent but also strong and powerful. Even so the Japanese received the same treatment as Indians in different parts of the world. And to-day we see the result. The citizens of a free India smarting under the humiliations heaped upon them will be but sullen and resentful partners of the Empire. The possibility of this sullenness and resentment stands in the way of Britain's recognition of India's Dominion Status.

The open door policy is not only a question of satisfying honour but of economic necessity. The greater portion of the earth's surface must cease to be a monopoly of a handful of Whites, if one of the potent causes of war is to be removed.

At this hour of world crisis, England's duty seems to be clear to an unbiased mind. As the owners of a large portion of the earth's surface, she and her daughter Dominions are called upon to give up the disastrous policy of exclusion of coloured races from their territories. It is not only freedom and Independence that must be guaranteed to India, but equality in the widest sense of the word. If Britain leads the way, America will follow.

Vision, boldness and courage have never been the characteristics of British statesmanship. And there are considerable doubts if British statesmanship will rise to the occasion. But our duty is clear. We must demand not only freedom and independence but equality, if we are to remain willing partners in the Empire. On the question of Indians overseas, all Indian parties have always presented a united front. In the demand for equality I am sure that front will be maintained. The need of the hour is to give it voice from the platforms of the big political parties, the Mahasabha, the Congress and the Muslim League.

Delhi
January 10, 1942 }Yours etc.,
B. BANERJI.NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND
WAR EFFORT.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have the honour to put before you some doubts about your leading article, 'Congress and the War,' in the issue of January 3, 1942. You have commented on the Congress resolution at Bardoli in such a manner as would at once rouse the spirit of the reader to raise objections to many points. What do you mean when you say, "We have said again and again that the responsibility for the government during the war should rest solely with the Governor-General...after calm deliberation when the war is ended"? Do you mean that the British government is ready or will be to give us (Indians) such fortunate and convenient opportunity to deliberate calmly on the constitutional question? If it is so hospitable and kind enough, where is the need for the Congress to ask again and again for that promise? The British Government, has it given any plain concrete promise and showed any least possible readiness to do so? Do you still believe in August offers and Amery's speeches full of well-chosen phraseology to mask their obstinate policy?

Again, when you say "we are not clear as to what these governments at the Centre...has not materially affected the war efforts as they were being carried on under the unexpanded Councils," do you think still in these days of democracy that foreign Governor's rule or war-effort will be on a par with that of national leaders like Pandit Nehru and Rajaji, of course, if such an opportunity has been given? If Nehru's appeal will not be more effective than the agents of British government, is it not foolish to talk of nationality and freedom for India?

Again, do you want to place the efficiency and influence of these Indian National leaders who have command over the bulk of population of the country, on such a low level as that of members of the Expanded Executive Council who are not at all the representatives of the people. Then, what is the fun in criticising the executive members as unrepresentatives?

Though the proposed National Government at the Centre would not be able to hasten war effort in the material sense; will it not be able to wring forth moral effect which is the pivot of Post-War New World Order? At the end of your article you have warned the British Government to change their obstinate policy towards India. It would have been better if you made clear your conception of

new policy or modified policy which the Government is asked indirectly to follow in place of its obstinate, old and persistent policy.

It is a matter of regret to write such an article in such a manner, particularly as leading one, without taking into consideration these points which are quite obvious. I am ready to accept gladly your reply in justification of your article and I hope you will do so.

Santiniketan,
January 7, 1942.

Yours etc.,
T. B. SUNDARA RAO.

The simple reason for our attitude towards emergency reforms is that power and responsibility must remain together. Indians should not be expected to assume responsibility for policies which they are powerless to modify.—*Editor.*

CRISIS IN CLOUDLAND.

(Copyright).

Time, 1948. Long table stretching right to left, with twenty-eight seats around it and writing-pad and pencil before each seat. As curtain rises, twenty-two gentlemen are seen clustered in little groups of fours and threes: a low buzz of indistinguishable voices is heard. On centre wall full-length paintings of Lord Linlithgow and Mr. K. Srinivasan. On left, a clock which indicates 1:30 as the curtain rises. From door on the right enter three gentlemen engaged in earnest conversation. From his carefree air and general lack of attention to what is said to him, one easily distinguishes the man in the centre to be President of the Conference. To his left is the rotund figure of the Secretary who smokes a pipe almost without ceasing. The third gentleman is chewing pan and is at all times looking for a convenient spot to spit in. All take their seats as President goes to centre of table, and takes the centre seat with his two companions sitting either side of him. President rises amid expectant hush and produces a piece of paper from his pocket.

President: Eh-eh, Friends, We are all assembled here on a grave occasion. Troubles seem to crowd thick on the Editors' Conference. I shall be brief.

Voice from extreme right of President: You are two hours late as it is.

President: I must apologise for the delay but you will all realise when I read this draft of a communique to be issued shortly, that I was engaged in your business—or may I say, our business?—business that is near and—

Editor, Khadi Patrika: This is not a Chowpathy meeting. We have to catch the train to Nagpur tomorrow and if we go on at this rate—

Editor, Liberal Monitor: If I may be permitted, Mr. Chairman, to make a suggestion. I would say only this, that the proceedings be conducted with due decorum. As the late lamented Gladstone has remarked—

President visibly annoyed: Our troubles, as I was saying, are many. In the first place the Indian Press was faced with a crisis when Mr. Abdul Sevakram, President of the Congress, threatened to go on a fast if his undelivered speech to the scouts of Hindupur was not reported in full. A compromise, as you know, was arrived at by inducing him to reduce his speech to a quarter column and both sides saved their faces. For this we have to thank the rare ingenuity of our worthy Secretary who has proved all things to all men (*Applause.*)

Liberal Monitor: I regret, Sir, that I must most emphatically protest against this grave departure from principle. I fear, gentlemen, that only too soon we shall have cause to repent of our action.

President persuasively: I appeal to our friend and distinguished colleague not to mar the unanimity of our decisions, so far consistently maintained, by raising an awkward matter of principle at this

juncture. I am confident that, if he and others in this room would only hear me out in patience, they will find not only this question but several others completely and, I hope, satisfactorily solved once and for ever. I take it that our friend withdraws his objection? (*Murmur from Liberal Monitor.*) I thank you. Now, the first trouble was hardly over when we were confronted by an even graver problem. The Controller of Facts and Figures (Pre-Publication Department) in a sudden accession of intellectual honesty refused to deal with matter submitted to him by editors on the ground that neither he nor his office was able to make any sense out of them. Here we must concede that the good offices of my friend on the right, from the *Pushtu News* with whom you are all acquainted, saved the day. We had agreed to submit all difficulties to a Committee—

Liberal Monitor: Sir, I must, indeed, protest against this high-handed—

President continuing: Over which our distinguished friend here (*beams at Liberal Monitor*) will preside, in the absence owing to ill-health of Mr.—

Khadi Patrika: It appears that the representatives of the people are to be denied any voice in asserting the freedom of the Press. I think, Sir, that public opinion will not stand—

President angrily: This is intolerable. Am I president or—(*Continuing calmly*) It has been my principle throughout my life to be moderate before the event and extremist after. Accordingly we had resolved to associate our extremists in another Committee with the Post-Publication Department. But a third difficulty soon confronted us. The women of the Punjab, led by the redoubtable Mrs. Sarada Raffiuddin who has just returned from a world tour, have demanded fifty per cent representation on all our committees.

Editor, Astral News Agency: May I ask the Secretary one question? What is the exact percentage of women editors in the country?

Secretary, removing pipe from his mouth and showing a certain liveliness for the first time: There is as yet no woman editor in the country. But it is believed that a new women's magazine is to be started in the Punjab, edited by a woman. Apart from this, there are one woman reporter, one woman sub-editor and twenty-three women stenographers employed in editorial offices. Three of the latter are said to wield considerable influence over the editorial policies of their newspapers. If the President permits, I shall be glad to read out the names of—

Editor, Elephanta Showers, suddenly waking up: Gentlemen, let us consider the question on its merits, without going into personalities. As an Editors' Conference, we are only dealing with editors. Must we go into matters which are the exclusive concern of editors themselves?

President, absent-mindedly: Oh, yes. Certainly not. It is clear that a case for equal representation has not been made out. In fact I knew that myself. But in dealing with an influential organization which has, if I may say so, a fifth column in every home, it is better to bring in the collective wisdom of the editors. And yet it would be advisable to appoint a committee to look into all aspects of the question. (*Looks round eagerly for any opposer who might be made chairman of the Committee. But there is unwonted silence and stillness.*) Well, that I take it is accepted... Now, to come back to the subject. The fourth trouble is one which arose out of a year old speech and its repercussions. The Rt. Hon. V. Srinivasa Sastri, you will remember, spoke in 1942 at some function in Madras in which he remarked unhappily on the first President of the

Editors' Conference. He said that Mr. Srinivasan was an editor who had not written articles himself, and also complimented him on leading the Conference to claim special privilege for the Congress dictator. Unfortunately the first point raised a constitutional difficulty at our Conference and the second created greater trouble because the Congress meeting later in the year, disowned the dictator.

Khadi-Patrika: Excuse me, Sir. This is a misreading of the position. If you would bear with me for just half-an-hour, I shall explain to you and to the house, Sir, the difference between violence and non-violence and the shades that distinguish Gandhian non-violence from Congress non-violence; and—

President: Mr. Secretary, will you please inform the members what happened the last time we granted "half-an-hour" to the *Khadi Patrika*?

Secretary distinctly uncomfortable: If I may say so, we shall be only too glad to listen to the gentleman after the President has finished his speech.

President: Well, gentlemen, the result of that complication was, as you see, that I had to step into the Presidentship with all my grave shortcomings—

Voices generally: No, no.

President: I thank you for your vote of confidence in me. (*General confusion and feeling of surprise in the room.*) It is all the more valuable in view of the new period on which we are now entering. In view, then of all these difficulties, I have decided in consultation with the authorities concerned to request them—of course, subject to your approval—to organise the press of India into an army. (*General uproar.*) Silence, gentlemen. (*The house quiets down.*) The Standing Committee will be dissolved but every editor on the Committee will be given the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Uniforms are designed which will be similar but not identical. Moreover, newspapers will be known by their provinces and numbered. The old names which were picturesque, no doubt, are undesirable in these days.

Several voices: No, no. We cannot agree to this curtailment of our liberty.

Editor, Darjeeling Heights, rising in the uproar and striving for order, speaks in deeply sepulchral voice: You do not seem to be aware, gentlemen, that there is a war on. The names of newspapers give information which may be of value to the enemy. As such it is a prejudicial act under the Defence of India Rules to print it in bold type, very often the boldest type, in the newspaper.

This new point seems to sink in into the editors who look astounded.

President with the air of picking up the threads: I take it we are all agreed? (*Hurriedly.*) Good. Now, it is obvious that we cannot continue in the old way. Before it was the practice, to differ and then reach unanimity through argument. Now, we must first reach our decisions and then differ if necessary or—er, possible. However (*as one getting away from a controversial point*) there is one minor matter before we disperse. If you, gentlemen, will step into the next room there is a special tailoring department who will fit you into your uniforms. In twenty minutes we shall meet again to complete our deliberations. (*All leave except President and his two companions.*)

Secretary smugly: Well, Sir, that is settled satisfactorily. I had expected more trouble.

President darkly: There would have been had I announced that you were to be appointed my Chief of Staff. I do not think it can be done. However, you can be Public Relations Officer.

Secretary with suppressed rage: But then I had thought—

President already martial: A good soldier, my dear fellow, does not think. (*Turns to Pushtu News who is expectantly cheerful.*) I would have made you Chief of Staff but for the fact that your personal habits are a trifle objectionable. However, you may be my Publicity Officer. We must placate our most important minority. Considerations of representation do not arise in the army and no questions can be asked. I shall appoint Mrs. Raffiuddin my Chief of Staff. (*Utter dejection on faces of both companions.*) Cheer up, the men will all be coming in in a moment.

Secretary: Surely not so soon. After all they have all to be measured for their uniforms.

President: Don't you know? Why, they were all measured without knowing it when they came up at the last meeting to shake hands with the Recorder of Unpublished News. Some of them, it is true, were too overjoyed at the presentation to be well fitted but they will, I am sure, be adequately dealt with. If there are not enough uniforms, the remedy is obvious.

The Editors all come in dressed in uniform. Ten of them seem to be missing.

President: Officers of the Indian Press Army, your country watches you. I have to announce three appointments. Mrs. Raffiuddin will be Chief of Staff, and these two gentlemen will be Public Relations Officer and Publicity Officer respectively. I have done. The watchword will be, "Mum's the word."

Door on right opens and messenger from Government House enters, hurriedly. Messenger eagerly: Have you done, Sir? Not quite, I see. I have been asked to announce, Sir, that the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Press Army is on his way.

President holly: What do you mean? Am I not the Commander-in-Chief?

Messenger sweetly: Oh no, Sir. You are Lieutenant-Colonel Fazlul Bose of the 25th Bengal Army. You see after you left, it was officially decided to close down the Information Department and to appoint the Director, Sir Aurangzebe Galahad, Commander-in-Chief.

President collapsing: Oh Churchill! Oh Amery!

AKSHI.

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"*My Life Story*" (Bombay Vaibhav Press. Price Rs. 1-8, can be had of Tripathi & Co., Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2) is the autobiography of Dr. Tuljaram Chunilal Khandvala, written by the venerable Doctor in his 83rd year. The book gives a vivid picture of the hardships and trials, Dr. Khandvala had to suffer, for his convictions. It presents, in a succinct manner, the slow but sure steps by which Social and Religious Reform has progressed in the last half century and more in the Bombay Presidency in particular. Incidentally, it may be prescribed as a book of travels, for it contains a fascinating account of the aged Doctor's visits to and stay in Europe and America. Dr. Khandvala is a man of indomitable courage, patience and hope, all these born of a strong faith in the liberal religion. The book has a simple and unassuming style and it should make a particular appeal to students of social and religious reform who should greatly profit by a perusal of it.

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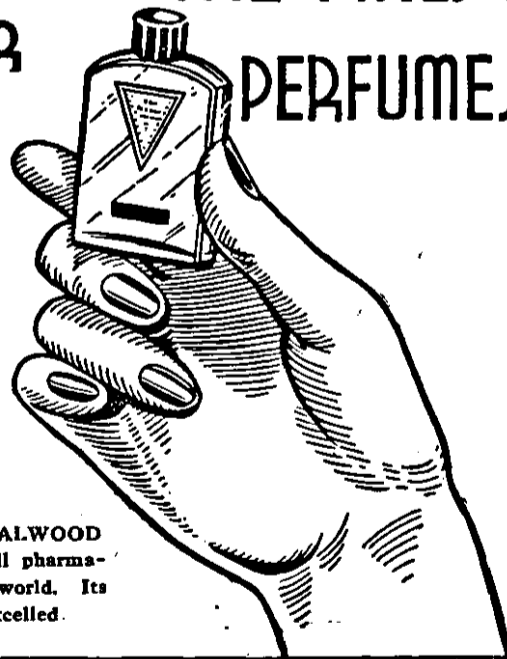
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INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 24, 1942. No. 21.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Hindu University Jubilee.
Gandhiji on English.
Padshah's Letters.
Burmese Premier Under
Detention.
Burma and Japan.
A. R. P.

Negro Citizens in the United
States.
Back to Ranade.
The Late Maharao of Outch.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Mahadev Govind Ranade.

NOTES.

Hindu University Jubilee:—The completion of its first twenty-five years was celebrated at the Benares Hindu University on Tuesday. The University is a grand testimony to the zeal, perseverance and magnetic personality of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Friends to whom the Pandit first mentioned his idea of a Hindu University at Benares, were inclined to scoff at it as an idle dream. But the Pandit persevered. His original idea was that the Benares University should be not only a Hindu but also a Hindi University with Hindi not English as the medium of instruction throughout. He was persuaded to drop the idea as it would completely isolate the new University from intercourse with the existing universities, as the Osmania University has been by the adoption of Urdu as its medium of instruction. Although the University laid special emphasis on Hindu culture, it was not intended to be a glorified Vedic Pathashala but to cover the whole field of knowledge, ancient and modern, the Humanities and Sciences. Admission was not to be restricted to Hindus. The project appealed to all sections of the population, Princes and merchants as well as the middle classes. Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy, accorded it his warm support and laid the foundation-stone on February 11, 1916. Gandhiji was one of the speakers as was also Dr. Annie Besant. Between them they managed to create a scene which resulted in the Princes present, and the Maharaja of Durbungah who presided, leaving the Hall before Gandhiji finished his speech. Under the fostering care of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya the University has expanded in scope and prestige. When increasing years made it desirable that the burden of managing the great University should be transferred to younger shoulders, the University was fortunate in securing the services on an honorary footing of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan who has done much to mould modern Hindu thought by his writings and lectures on Hindu philosophy.

Twenty-five years is not a great age for a University. Most of the other universities have completed more years. The greatness of the Benares as of other Universities, will depend on the contributions which its alumni make to the advancement of knowledge and to the establishment of a high standard of academic life and character such as would be recognised and respected by the great Universities all over the world. In her entrancing biography of her mother, Madame Curie's daughter describes the thrill which Madame Curie felt when she realised her long cherished ambition and entered the gates of the Sorbonne. We wish for the Benares University under Sir Sarvapalli and his colleagues the same power to inspire in all those who enter it the same pride and hope in the years to come.

Gandhiji on English:—The authorities of Benares Hindu University were able to secure Gandhiji for delivering the Convocation address on the occasion of the Jubilee celebration. Reference has been made in another Note to the scene created by him at the laying of the foundation stone in 1916. Since then he has graduated in politics, has become world famous as the founder and inspirer of the satyagraha movement. His influence at present has spent itself and his erstwhile ardent followers are falling upon each other in their rush to disown allegiance to his dogmas. There is a reaction, as we point out in the leading article, from Gandhiji's gospel of non-cooperation to the Ranade school of co-operation with the existing order as the best means of reforming it. The fatal defect of the Gandhian cult was its violent and indiscriminating denunciation of Western, and particularly British, influence on India. This is so largely opposed to the actual facts that a movement of which it was the cardinal principle, had no basis in reality and was doomed to collapse. In his convocation address at Benares, Gandhiji denounced the use of the English language as the medium of instruction, as shameful. Pandit Malaviya had originally intended the Benares University to be a Hindi University but had to give up his idea in deference to the strong volume of opinion in favour of English. Gandhiji thinks it a disgrace for an Indian to speak or write good English. Yet he speaks and writes excellent English and so do some of his closest followers. For any man to regard a

course of conduct as shameful and to persist in it is injurious to his moral being. Gandhiji knows this well. His using the English language nevertheless, can be explained only by assuming that his denunciation of English is a matter not of conviction but of policy with him. To our mind, it is no more shameful, to put it on the lowest ground, to speak or write in English than to ride in a British or American-made motor car, to use a Swiss watch, or to communicate through the telegraph or telephone the machinery for which was not manufactured in India. This is not all there is to be said for the English language in India. It is the second sacred language of all Indians who value freedom in all its phases. Even if British rule cease to exist, the benefits derived by Indians through the English language should not be sacrificed or forgotten.

Padshah's Letters:—We begin publishing from this week selections from the letters of Burjorji J. Padshah during a period of ten years from 1930 to 1941. He was constantly travelling during this period from country to country and there is scarcely a country in Europe, Asia, America and Australia which he did not visit—some of them more than once. Padshah was a voracious reader and his letters contain his reflections on nearly every book of note in politics, philosophy and science, published in the English language in this period. He had a distinguished academic career and his association with the organisation and development for many years of the educational and industrial projects of Jamshetjee Tata gave him a unique grasp of current problems of industry and economics. Padshah had a perfectly open mind and never hesitated to discard, in the light of fresh knowledge, theories which he had cherished. These letters are a valuable contribution to literature by an Indian of great intellectual power. We are indebted to Miss Navazbai Padshah, the devoted sister of Burjorji, for making these letters available for publication.

Burmese Premier Under Detention:—Shortly after the conclusion of the Indo-Burma Pact, the Hon U. Saw, the Burmese Premier, went to England on a Goodwill Mission. He was not able to induce the British Government to give the assurance which he desired—namely, that Burma will be admitted as an equal with the Dominions in the British Commonwealth. He was received very hospitably and evidently made a good impression on the British public by his cheerful disposition. From Britain U. Saw went to the United States. Before leaving, he was reported to have urged the British public to grant freedom to Burma with the significant remark that Japan was clever. It was reported that he was accompanied on his visit to Mr. Cordell Hull by the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax. He had an interview with President Roosevelt. He left the United States intending to visit Australia and New Zealand on his way to Burma but meanwhile Japan declared war against

Britain and the United States, and the Burma Premier was stranded in Honolulu. After that nothing reliable was known about his whereabouts. Early this week came the astonishing news that under orders of the British Government the Prime Minister of Burma was held in detention. A communique issued from the British Prime Minister's official residence in London, stated:

From reports received about U. Saw's movements after his goodwill mission to this country, it has come to the knowledge of his Majesty's Government that he has been in contact with the Japanese authorities since the outbreak of the war with Japan. This fact has been confirmed by his own admission. His Majesty's Government have, accordingly, been compelled to detain him and it will not be possible to permit him to return to Burma.

The communique has a resemblance to that issued by the Government of India about the detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose when he was about to be included as Minister for Law and Order in the present Fazlul Huq Cabinet in Bengal. U. Saw is said to have admitted having been in contact—whatever that may mean—with the Japanese authorities since the outbreak of the war with Japan. Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, ex-Premier of Madras, has publicly protested against U. Saw's detention as amounting to a breach of the laws of hospitality. U. Saw went to Britain as a guest carrying a message of goodwill from his country and by the convention of all civilised nations he was entitled to honourable treatment during his sojourn anywhere within the British Commonwealth. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's claim of diplomatic immunity for the Burmese Prime Minister may not be strictly tenable but U. Saw's detention by a fiat from Downing Street smacks of totalitarian methods. The Premier should have been allowed to return to Burma where he would have had the opportunity of defending himself before the Burmese Assembly or before a Burmese Court of Justice. The impression which U. Saw's speeches in Britain left on one was that he was apprehensive of the effect of Japanese cleverness on his impressionable compatriots and wanted to forestall it by obtaining a promise of political freedom from the British Government.

Burma and Japan:—That Burmese opinion might be influenced adversely in the event of a war with Japan, was the drift of the observations of Mr. F. Burton Leach, who said he had spent the greater portion of the last war in Burma, in the course of the discussion which followed the reading of a paper by the late Governor, Sir Archibald Cochrane, on "Burma in War Time" before the East India Association in London last July. Mr. Leach expressed his disappointment at Sir Archibald not having said anything regarding the question of the feeling of Burma in connection with the Sino-Japanese war and of the effect on Burma of the opening of the Burma Road, and the possibility that Japan might choose to throw in her lot with the Axis Powers in which case, Mr. Leach added, the

exclusion from domestic, social and religious communion, which their action often involved. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, pioneer in modern Oriental scholarship and indomitable leader of religious and social reform movements, insisted that, unless practice accompanied precept, the cause of reform could make no headway. Would Hindu society have moved forward to its present acceptance of all the reforms which it bitterly opposed half a century ago, had social reform activities been confined to eloquent speeches? Replying to a comment on a speech in which Ranade seemed to consider a life of compromise more arduous than a life of action in accordance with conviction, he wrote (*The Reformer*, October 14, 1893):

It is true, as you have elsewhere observed, that we differ in our views on the methods of social development but that difference need not be exaggerated. In human affairs, it is not true that our past is always dead and burned as you seem to suppose. Nothing that we have done is really dead. Nothing that our fathers have done is dead for us. It is a living force which draws us upward or downwards, and one has to choose between the two.....Those who live in the past secure popularity. Those who bury the past secure ease. Men like Telang (who got his daughter married at the age of eight) and others obtain neither ease nor popularity, by the very fact that they can neither hold by the past, nor forget it altogether. This is the chief difference in our points of view.

The flaw in this argument is in its failure to distinguish between what the Galilean Prophet called "the dead past" and the living past which manifests itself as instincts, impulses and aspirations to make the present a stepping-stone to higher things. Mr. Sastry referred to some persons who were no longer as aggressive as in their younger days when they felt obliged to criticise the temporising method of "co-operative conciliation." The simple explanation is that the occasion for aggressiveness has passed with the acquiescence of society in the reforms for which the reformers had been working against heavy odds.

The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, said Mr. Sastry, had lost their appeal after the early gains which they secured because they had isolated themselves from the main stream of Hinduism. The Bombay Prarthana Samaj has not escaped a similar fate although it has maintained contact with the parent society. The fact is that like Buddhism, like Sikhism, the Brahmo and the Prarthana Samajes as well as the Arya Samaj, came into existence as correctives of specific abuses which had crept into the main religious stream and they have exhausted their mission when this limited object has been achieved. Buddhism cleansed Hinduism of the abomination of animal sacrifices. Sikhism inspired helpless cultivators to protect themselves from religious persecution. Guru Govind declared that he would teach his sparrows to strike down the eagle, and he did. The Brahmo Samaj aimed at the abolition of gross forms of idolatry which survived in Bengal long after

they had been swept away over the larger part of India. The Arya Samaj was a reaction against the attacks on Hinduism by Muslim and Christian missionaries. The re-interpretations and reforms set in motion by these movements are now integrated in the sentiments and practices of the Hindu community. Similarly, Swami Vivekananda made the Vedanta mission the means of conveying the message of Hinduism to foreign countries, which the Theosophical movement had been promoting for some years before he came on the scene. Judged by his achievements in any single field, Ranade falls short of the highest among his countrymen. But taking national life as a whole, he towers above them, next only to Raja Rammohan Roy. Ranade was the philosopher of progress in India by way of evolution. His writings and speeches point the way to the true method by which India will fulfil her high destiny.

THE LATE MAHARAO OF CUTCH.

The death of the Maharao of Cutch was announced this week. The orbits of his life and mine, so far apart, touched at one moment—touched only to part the next. I was deeply impressed by his personality, calm, sedate, yet genial. Some years ago His Highness acted as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. The Round Table Conference was being held in London. Sir Prabhaskar Pattani whom I knew well and with whom I was on friendly terms, had asked me to accept the Secretaryship of the Chamber of Princes. He spoke for about half an hour and I listened in silence. He seemed to assume that I would find no difficulty in consenting. He told me that he had talked over the idea with those concerned and that he had their permission to put the offer to me. My reply must have been somewhat of a surprise to him though he lost not a second in seeing my point. I said I was past my sixtieth year and, much as I appreciated his kindness in making me an offer which was so attractive from many points of view, I wished to devote what remained to me of life to objects which would be in line with the principles for which I have stood. Sir Prabhaskar warmly took my hands in both of his, showing how fully he appreciated my position. I made the following entry in my diary with reference to this incident: "August 29, 1930. Called on Sir Prabhaskar at Taj. Sir Chimanlal, Sir Visvesvarayya called. After they left, Pattani opened the offer of Secretary of Chamber of Princes, with Maharao of Cutch, acting Chancellor, Rs. 2,500 a month. Declined." A year later one of the Maharao's chief officials wrote to me that His Highness wished to see me. I called at the Taj, and His Highness received me as if he had known me for a long time though I had met him only once before. After a few preliminary remarks which freed me from the constraint I always feel in the presence of people whom I know but slightly, the Maharao broached the subject he wished to speak to me about. He wished to know if I would assist him in connection with his work as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. This was the gist of the Maharao's proposal clothed in terms of the utmost urbanity. I did not mention principles to him but suggested two conditions: first, that His Highness should grant his people a charter of civil liberties, and secondly, that he should devise some form of election for State representatives to the

Federal Legislature. I was somewhat vehement in my talk. His Highness said that there was no need to get excited about the matter, I do not recall his exact words but one word which he used has stuck in my memory. His Highness would not agree because his people were not "civilized" enough. I was astonished. I pointed out to His Highness that his subjects were some of the leading citizens of Bombay, mentioning by name my late friend, Lakmidas Raoji Tairsee. The Maharao merely smiled. "Your decision is final?" he asked. I replied it was and left his presence. The Maharao is said to have been a hunter of lions but during my interview with him I felt that he would not hurt a fly, so gentle and courteous and kind he was. The following entry in my diary refers to my interview with the Maharao: "5th July 1931. Called on Maharao of Cutch at Taj Mahal Hotel at 12-30 on invitation. Met his Dewan, Narmdashankar Mehta's brother. Politely declined offer to act as Maharao's Private Secretary during his expected visit to England as a delegate of R. T. C. M. has a dignified appearance and very poite."

K. N.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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AUSTRALIA.

MARCH 2, 1930.

Nearing Colombo.

I cannot use what I read by practising on fellow-passengers. I sit alone at a separate table, keep to my deck-chair, walk when no one is about, so that only two or three are on bowing terms because of confrontation during these walks, and one has had a talk on the latitude and climate of Australia. But I am not *all* silent; the chief steward had a discussion with me on possibilities of variety in food, with the double restrictions of vegetarianism and of diet; my own cabin steward has had to give me help with luggage and dress-suit and extraction of things from the luggage-room; the saloon steward and chef have drawn my attention to the daily provision of egg sandwiches or tomato sandwiches, so I do not need to worry about the accompaniment with tea; the hair-dresser gives me information about changes of weather to be expected as we progress, and the passengers we pick up or shed. I told him that the P. & O. seem to distinguish between business passengers and tourist-passengers, much as the American tradesman, Clemenceau's favourite, distinguished between American citizens who work for their living and might be called "gentlemen," and the others who might be called "bums."

I understand the Naval Conference better for what I have read on this ship; and I wonder if I shall ever know the truth about the Soviets. During the last three months much has been said—particularly by Dr. E. F. Dalton—about the great educative work done by the Soviets, and now there is this religious persecution controversy. I am a fourth through the novel called "The Gateway of Life."

MARCH 9, 1930.

36 hours before Fremantle.

It is a week since I last wrote and though it is still 36 hours before we make our first Australian port, it is appropriate that I should re-open communion with Bandra on a Sunday as I have done for years.

The wireless reports are exciting, but have not excited me in the slightest. The campaign of Mr. Gandhi, the arrest of Mr. V. J. Patel, and sentence; the resignation of Dr. Schacht from the Reichsbank; the calamitous floods in the South of France; the restoration of M. Tardieu to French

premiership and of M. Briand to the Naval Conference; the new cotton duties; the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George from the Liberal leadership; the Beaverbrook-Rothermere kite and the Baldwin outlook; the Australian gloom in finance; the high price of the Landsdowne marbles, and the low price of Hatry's House, at auctions; the theft of a princess's necklace at a hotel.

Events on the ship have been more exciting and, had I not been pre-occupied, there was enough fitting for the hours—compulsory vaccination on the boat which has not averted quarantine for passengers, and luggage landed before reaching Sydney; boat drills which don't seem to come off; evening races on deck; music nights both on the first and second decks, and dances for those who care; innumerable forms to be filled for passengers and luggage before we arrive at our first port; visits needed to the luggage room at unexpected turns of weather; then the yet more unexpected conversations with unexpected fellow-passengers. And meanwhile, the expected events have not come off.

Barring casual exchanges, I have had three principal conversations almost forced on me, but which I enjoyed. The first was by a Hawaiian who is leading a company to Perth for Hawaiian music, after entertaining Bombay where he gave 11 performances on five days. He told me of his experiences in various parts of India. When in Bombay, he lives at the Taj or Green's, where madame now is, awaiting her spouse. I fear he will have to go into quarantine. He talked to me of the 13 islands known as the Hawaiian, 8 of which are inhabited by an aggregate population of 800,000 of which Honolulu alone has a hundred thousand. Hawaiian natives are not growing in number; the cosmopolitan crowd is gaining on the natives. These are lazy and easily contented; and he asked me whether he was wise in seeking adventure and forfeiting the faculty of content. He asked if he was right in his surmise that I was flying from conversation. As we were settling down to a discussion, he was led away by his cabin steward saying he was wanted for revising the eternal "forms" to be filled in for his company. He is a tall, massive man and speaks very good English.

The second conversation took place last night, and was brief. A young man, almost lad, came up, roused me from my reading (it was "Music for All"), asked if I knew that a Ladies' Race was going on on the deck, and urged me to come on and look. I feared to disappoint him, but had to be candid that I could find no interest, was not at all prepared to understand; and, as he went away smilingly crying, "Shame," I finished my reading in my cabin. It might not be safe on the deck to arouse unwanted interest.

The third was a conversation with Dr. Rutter, a practising electro-therapist of 78 years, who is visiting New Zealand—probably the only one in the ship who will go as far forward on this voyage as myself. He came behind my chair and seeing me engrossed day in and day out with just one book and being shown what it was, asked permission to draw his chair near mine to hear about the latest Physics. And so the world has gone and the unending meals, and the unvarying daily sleep, and bath at 6, and shave at 7-30, and the novel "Gateway of Life" finished and succeeded by "Music for All" as the fare before sleep.

MARCH 14, 1930.

Nearing Adelaide.

Important events may happen on a ship, and a passenger or two, most concerned, may remain ignorant for a week, even though the event may be

known in Bombay by cable, as to most fellow-passengers, at the right time. We arrived at Freemantle on the morning of the 11th and did not sail out till 1 p. m. the following day after a wait of 26 hours. Tiresome medical inspections took place.....The doctor of the port remained on board all the time the ship was in port. He explained to the mustered passengers that since an Australian passenger (age about 70 years) from Bombay, discovered almost fully developed small-pox before two days and was laid off at Colombo (at Freemantle he was reported to be dead), it was necessary to keep all passengers under observation...and that even at Sydney nobody would be allowed to land till the official period after Colombo. He said all this in so agreeable a manner that the mustered ones laughed more than once. I, the deaf one, sitting at the other end of the large music-room, heard nothing and joined in no laugh. A passenger, wondering, came up and told me of the event which, he said, they had known all along. Then I understood why our expected visit to Candy had not come off at Colombo and why Lady Verney, sitting by me at tea, had warned me the day before our arrival at Freemantle, that we might not be allowed to land at Sydney for two or three days after arrival, and that I might not be allowed to join the ship proceeding to New Zealand. Now it turns out that we shall not arrive at Sydney to catch the boat...

Dr. Rutter, already put out, (he says the Bureau treats him like a dog. He had experienced annoyances at dinner table and his complaints had been treated with scorn. A P. and O. voyage never again for him), does not know what to believe. The office will not acknowledge that there will be any misfit and laughs at passengers' tales; on the other hand, how can they make up for detentions? The ship, after Freemantle, is ten per cent slower than before. The weather has been perfect; the sea is giving no trouble.

Dr. Rutter says, the first three days after Southampton were both rough and excessively cold. Cold, yes, says the barber, but not rough. He has a well-arranged shop with glass doors for cupboards and glass shelves to exhibit articles; so that when the ship rolls, the articles slide about on the smooth glass on which they lie and there has been no such effect observed during the whole voyage. The temperature has not gone below 65 degrees but the chilling wind makes the deck chair uncomfortable...Dr. Rutter seeing me in flannels the day after Freemantle, asked me to consider if there was no risk of pneumonia.

MARCH 19, 1930.

Between Adelaide and Melbourne.

We arrive at Port Sea (the quarantine station of Melbourne) tomorrow when all passengers, those landing at Melbourne and those going further forward alike, are to be bathed and all their luggage and wear have to be disinfected, so that everything is to be packed ready for fumigation.....

New Zealand passengers were offered the choice of proceeding by train from Melbourne to Sydney to catch the boat; but I preferred to take no risks and to avoid the racket of long rail-travelling. Dr. Rutter in spite of his 72 years is accepting the exchange into the train at Melbourne.

On the whole, though I had a fright, and though the programme is changed, things have not worked out worse. And the last three days have provided conversations on Literary Criticism, the Censorship, Should God be abolished?, Australian immigration policy, and the miner's wage of £3 a day,

Would Mr. Gandhi succeed?, the new planet that has swum into our ken, the discovery of helium, Free Trade and Protection, the loss of friends if people only told truths, the uselessness of fumigation, the Roman Catacombs, Ludwig's Jesus; from passengers as varied as cattle-rancher, colliery owner, vacuum oil inspector, doctor and Lady Verney.

MARCH 21, 1930.

At Port Melbourne

The boat is nearly empty. Hardly a dozen passengers in the first saloon. The bulk got out at Melbourne on our arrival last night after release from quarantine at Port Sea. The affair proved not uninteresting; there was no worry; nothing was lost or damaged though we apprehended both. For example, I had deliberately thrust in my books and thermometer, as well as clothes; and, when I learnt that everything was to be steamed, I feared for everything. It was only this morning that my cabin steward could report and show utter absence of damage.

The bathing station itself was a pretty little place, and all passengers were pleased except Dr. Rutter whose grievances against ship and officers and passengers culminated in a loss of self-control and violence towards the ship's officers—he hit the Chief Officer so that his plate was broken. I believe he had to be put under restraint of some sort before he was allowed to take his turn at the baths, and was put on the train as soon as the quarantine authorities permitted it, without his return to the ship with the rest of the bathing group.

APRIL 1, 1930.

Sydney

I certainly find Sydney week very alluring, rail-road, river, ferry; din of unemployment all over the Continent and yet theatres and pleasure-resorts and holidaying steamers all full of Australians; and all one unique picture of beauty, whether lake or lagoon or the blue ocean; mountain scenery or forest or foreshore; gumtrees, or apple orchards or wild flowers or parks. I have been moved out of indifferentism to read closely the daily paper.

APRIL 2, 1930.

2 hours before Hobart

We moved half-an-hour after noon yesterday; the delay of the half hour was due to the pilot not coming to time. They have a peculiar send-off in Australia: passenger's friends on shore wave a finely matched mesh of colour-pattern with paper-threads, the other ends of which are held by the passengers receiving the send-off; and the whole structure is waved up and down and sways from side to side, and makes a good show if not unduly prolonged by a pilot's not turning up to time.

I spent most of the afternoon yesterday in my deck-chair, greedily reading up the Sydney paper, discoursing on unemployment in Britain and Australia, the different remedies in each country, the inadequacy of statesmen to the problem, the plunge into insufficiently explored situations. Curiously, when the paper was finished, I turned to resume "Insects and Industry" and read further the tale of human endurance as well as of human effort, human inability to recognise failure and charlatanism and yet progress achieved almost by inadvertence. Just as disinfectants and fumigation have only now been seen to be useless, so insecticides and sprays have been acquiesced in without result—or rather with the mischievous consequence that the accumulations of grain and flour on British wharves gave so much impetus to insect-breeding that the war was nearly being lost by the triumph of insects.

I slept very well last night, but was awakened at 3-45 by the night-watchman rushing in to close the port hole. The hair-dresser was not so lucky; he was literally washed out of his cabin, and, even though things did *not* move in the glass shelves of his cupboards, he could not deny rough weather.

Australian papers are instructive. Yesterday's paper gave a fine article on British shipping, their present great improvement in organisation, their ability to get orders, yet 25% workmen out of job and expecting no re-employment, average return on shipping capital 1.5%.

APRIL 3, 1930.

Hobart.

Tasmania is beautiful, sunny and healthy, its whole population is about 200 thousand of which the capital Hobart takes about a third.

In the charabanc I shared one bench with a new Zealander who is a second-saloon passenger of the "Narkunda." He gave me a good deal of information about his country, its population of a million, of whom 50,000 are Maoris, who send 4 members to their Parliament of 75, some of whom are wealthy and drive their own motor-cars, who shine at colleges, do not seem to flourish in professions, but are good at farming, are to be seen also as clerks, are of the average size, some tall, some short, and their colour would be the same as mine. They were much more numerous when the white man went there; but their numbers were quickly thinned by inter-tribal warfare and cannibalism; now they are again increasing. New Zealand has the best of climates, is also suffering from unemployment and trade depression, though not so acutely as Australia; but the wages are the same as in Australia.

APRIL 6, 1930.

Nearing Melbourne.

Our second day at Hobart broke fine, but I carried the umbrella all the same; and when rain fell at Port Arthur (the ruin of an old penal settlement, exceedingly beautiful, with timber-cutting and two saw-mills yet not boasting more than 300 inhabitants) the shop-keeper there remarked "Any fool carries an umbrella in the wet; it takes a wise man to provide against a contingency."

The inspection of the old penitentiaries was not exhilarating; one marvelled at the callous cruelties inflicted on convicts; no thought even to sufficiency of air, or sufficiency of occupation or sanity. But as the convicts were segregated, they just died out; though Mr. Tod, Lord Sydenham's nephew, (he now claims relationship with Niebuhr, the German historian of Rome) who was of our party, considers that the convict strain has not entirely been expunged from either Sydney or Tasmania. Hobart is a favourite of retired Anglo-Indians with means.

I told you in my last letter about a New Zealander whose information I passed on to you. In the Port Arthur trip there was another New Zealander who is a planter in Ceylon, unconcerned about its politics though aware that a change of constitution would affect both his security and taxation. He corrected the first one's figure of New Zealand population; it is not a million, but 1,400 thousand.

APRIL 9, 1930.

Nearing Adelaide.

[During the stop at Melbourne, after a visit to a theatre.] We dispersed at 11-15, walked to the station, and I took train for the port, where several steamers lay in their separate berths and I walked by habit, into a wrong one; when the mistake was rectified, and I was at my cabin-door, it was looked, the cabin-steward having gone to bed at 11-30.

MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE.

(BY THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRY)

By his teachings from the pulpit of the Prarthana Samaj and by his incessant social reform activities, Ranade incurred the open and unrestrained wrath of the orthodox party, but he was never known to lose his temper and return abuse for abuse. Even during the violent controversy of 1895 over the venue of the Social Reform Conference, his forbearance and equanimity were exemplary. When he made his accustomed speech as President, he mentioned no names, recalled no ugly incidents, avoided all personalities and ascribed the unfortunate turn of events to the fact that in Poona, unlike other places, a variety of methods were adopted instead of one sole method. Of these different methods the one that he most approved was that of persuasion, and the one that he most discountenanced was that of rebellion. To many ardent spirits what they called progress was God's own work, and those that obstructed it were like *rakshasas* whom it was a merit to condemn and destroy. They delighted in war against orthodoxy, and thought nothing of separating themselves and forming a distinct group of their own. Social affinities and family ties were consumed by the fire of conviction, and many a young man fancied that, by disregarding parental authority when he heard the call, he was testifying to the sovereign power of social reform. Ranade pointed out that the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal and the Arya Samaj in the Punjab which chose this heroic path, had come to a standstill when the first momentum was exhausted. His own method was to reason, to expostulate and to allure to brighter worlds. The movement would necessarily be slow, but it would be sure and carry forward the whole community. He never forgot, and would never let others forget, that reform was for all and not merely for a few. When compelled by adverse circumstances to halt, he was content to do so, hoping that the next step would be firmer and longer.

Ranade was cast in a big mould in body and in mind. He was a giant. His studies had amplitude and depth far beyond the common. History, politics, economics, blue books, Sanskrit literature and Marathi literature—these and similar subjects made up his gargantuan fare. His knowledge and experience in the official and non-official sphere were at the service of a patriotism, fervent and sleepless, which comprehended all the sections and elements of our population. Like a true *rishi* he had toleration and mercy for all and planned and laboured for all alike. His Marathi sermons are considered by competent judges to constitute a valuable and inspiring course, in the doctrine and practice of theism. He rehabilitated the character of Sivaji and the empire that he founded. Of Indian economics he laid the ground-work, showing how the maxims and principles of English writers would not apply to the conditions of our country unless corrected in great part by the writings of German authorities on the subject. He took a leading part in the growth of the Indian Economic Conference, studied the conditions of agriculture and the peasantry in their various phases and became an unequalled authority on questions of land revenue, land tenure and land improvement. On Indian Finance, his views commanded equal attention and equal respect with those of Dadabhai Naoroji. His close study of constitutional and administrative problems of India and other countries was laid under contribution by the organisers and leaders of the Indian National Congress, and it is well-known that his advice and guidance

position of Burma would be very critical. Mr. Leach continued:

The Sino-Japanese war had just started when he left Burma, and the sympathies of the Burmese were a little divided at first. The Chinese were well known, whereas the Japanese were not. There was a large Chinese community living in Burma, most of them of a well-to-do class and highly respected. The Japanese were newer arrivals and had not made a place in the country to the same extent. It was quite natural that Burma should admire the qualities which the Japanese displayed, and when politics became a matter of interest in Burma many of them looked towards Japanese inspiration.

Sir Archibald Cochrane did not respond to Mr. Leach's invitation to supply the omission in his paper, if only by way of a hint of what the Burmese felt about their relations with the Japanese. The Chinese Ambassador, Dr. Wellington Koo, who spoke on the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. L. S. Amery, merely observed that Burma with her resources and her strategic position was of special significance to his country "in her own fight for liberty and for the freedom of nations in general."

A. R. P.—A law or ordinance of the necessity and the benefits of which the public is fully apprised, commands spontaneous obedience and only a minimum amount of coercion is needed in the background to secure its general observance. Where an order requires to be enforced by numerous prosecutions every day, it is obvious that sufficient care has not been taken to apprise the public of its scope and purpose. Some of the orders recently promulgated by the Bombay Government, we are sorry to say, do not satisfy these tests. The appointment of one of the Governor's Advisers as a sort of dictator untrammelled by rules indispensable to a rule of law summarily and rather contemptuously dismissed as "red tape," does not strike us as well-considered. The reasons for the unhappy experience of Rangoon at the first Japanese air-raid are not fully and clearly known. The number of casualties are admitted to have been much higher than that given in the earlier estimates. The blame for the large figures of dead and injured is laid on the curiosity of the people to see what was going on. Without denying that this was a cause, it is safe to say that there were other causes. Both the people and the Government were caught napping. This should not be repeated in other parts of Burma or India. At the same time, it is not wise to banish sleep in order not to be caught napping. It is the universal experience that men after a good night's sleep are better tuned to face life's troubles than if they are victims of voluntary or induced insomnia. The authorities of the East Coast of India who are nearer to the sources of the Japanese menace, assure the public that there is little danger of Japanese air-raids. Are they mistaken? Is the news about the virtual elimination of the Axis powers in Africa wrong or exaggerated? If there is, nevertheless, imminent danger, Government should give reasonable facilities to the public to satisfy itself

that adequate measures have been or are being adopted to repel it. Civil Defence in Great Britain and elsewhere is not the main defence against enemy air raids. In India, on the other hand, the A. R. P. seems to be regarded as the chief protection of the people from dangers from the air. The reason for entrusting the leadership in A. R. P. operations to Englishmen, officials and non-officials, is not self-evident. At a time like this both prudence and policy favour using Indian leadership to the utmost possible. While no tried and proved measures to ensure protection of life and limb should be omitted, blind imitation of measures adopted in Great Britain under totally different conditions, are likely to prove more harassing than their efficiency as measures of protection would justify.

Negro Citizens in the United States:—When President Roosevelt announced that there was to be no racial discrimination in defence works in the United States of America, there was a tendency in some quarters here to regard it as a forward step. As a matter of fact, a recent issue of the *New Republic* reveals the necessity for such an order. It writes:

Negro newspapers describe the army situation as bad indeed. They cite, as examples, race riots at Fort Oswego; fighting at Camp Davis; discrimination at Fort Devens; jim-crow conditions at Camps Blanding and Lee; stabbings at Fort Huachuca; killings at Fort Bragg; and the edict "not to shake a nigger's hand" at Camp Upton.

A demonstration in front of White House in which fifty thousand Negroes were to take part, was scheduled to take place on July 1, 1941 and this was dropped on Mr. Roosevelt's announcement against discrimination. But, so far as the rest of America's citizens are concerned, the President's appeal has failed to have any effect. "Negroes," wrote the leading Negro newspaper, the *Pittsburg Courier*, "hear the old familiar platitudes, a eulogy of black soldiers who had won honours fighting for democracy, a little tap-dancing and what amounted to praise of a jim-crow system that mocks the word, democracy." The greatest menace to the democracies, especially the British and the North American, is from within rather than from without. The deep-rooted colour prejudice in the United States and the Dominions has been penetrating Britain. It would be incredible were it not the fact, that, at this time when Japan has raised the slogan of destruction of White domination, an Englishman should have created a scene at the Nagpur railway station to prevent an Indian, the Chief Secretary of the Central Provinces Government, entering his compartment. On one side we have the addition of Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council. On the other, we see the Indian Adviser to the Governor of Bombay shunted to the Chairmanship of the Provincial Public Service Commission and his place filled by an Englishman. The future of British and American Democracy, depends on whether they will command sufficient moral strength to cast off their race obsessions.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 24, 1942.

BACK TO RANADE.

It is forty years since Mahadev Govind Ranade died. During this period his memory came to be cherished by a narrowing circle of people who had personally met him or read his writings and speeches. There is a Ranade Hall in Madras. There is a Ranade statue in Bombay considered by competent judges to be not a very fine specimen of the sculptors' art. There may be a few other places where there may be reading rooms and libraries named after him. But the great synthetic principle of his schemes for national regeneration has been overshadowed by the narrower outlook of subsequent Indian leaders. Ranade came to be known as Gokhale's guru. When Gokhale died and the Tilak regime began, there was a reversal of the Ranade policy, but the process was veiled by the retention of the old forms. On Tilak's death in 1920, Gandhi ascended the Congress gadi and discarded all pretence of following the old lines. An attempt has been made to show that Ranade's policy was the same as Gandhiji's. Nothing can be less true to fact. Ranade was a co-operator to the marrow of his bones. Non-co-operation was opposed to his whole philosophy of life. His activities covered many fields. But a central principle ran through them all. It was to reconcile the insistent claims of the modern spirit knocking at our doors to the claims of an ancient tradition to Indian allegiance. The reign of law, introduced by Britain in the place of the personal rule of Hindus and Muslims, turned, in his opinion, the scale in favour of British rule against the disadvantages of foreign domination. As a corollary, he would have maintained that, if British rule ceased to be a reign of law and an Indian rule came into being on the basis of a higher law, the *raison d'être* for the former would lapse and it would, in the natural course, go the way of other empires. The birth, growth and decline of empires, to him, were parallel to the processes of biological evolution. Experience and reflection reinforced by the study of Indian history convinced him that the acceptance of British rule and the unswerving effort to help its evolution into a national system, were most in line with Indian historical trends.

Many foreign adventurers had established themselves as rulers. But they all eventually adopted the Indian way of life and thought and became Indians. The Muslim rule was not an exception as might seem to superficial observation. But for a few interruptions, Muslim rule was also assimilated to the Indian tradition. India accepted the Moghul Emperor as the national sovereign. The Maratha Confederacy is sometimes represented as a revolt against Muslim domination. It was only a protest against certain excesses of the Aurangzebe regime, departures from the principle

of religious toleration which has been the bedrock of Indian political theory from ancient times and had largely become incorporated as an organic part of Muslim polity in this country. Even after the Marathas had taken Delhi and the Moghul Emperor was a puppet in their hands, Mahdaji Scindia regarded himself as no more than the agent of the Emperor and, what is more, the Peishwa himself accepted the position of Vicegerent of the Emperor and was invested by Scindia, as the Emperor's delegate, with the Silver Fish, the insignia of the highest order of the Moghuls. Raja Rammohan Roy, the Father of Modern India, belonged to this tradition. He braved caste prejudices and crossed the seas as the envoy of the Moghul Emperor to plead his cause with the British Government. Rammohan Roy welcomed the British connection as a God-sent opportunity to raise India to high levels of freedom and progress. Ranade was in the direct apostolic succession to Raja Rammohan Roy. The Bombay Prarthana Samaj is, what the Raja intended the Brahmo Samaj to be, not a separate sect but a synthesis, a harmonising of the religious spirit in its various forms. It is no mere accident that the revival of interest in Ranade's cooperative philosophy synchronises with the formal abandonment of non-cooperation by the All India Congress Committee at Wardha a few days ago. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru described the effect of that resolution as sending Gandhiji into the wilderness. As a matter of fact, it is quite the reverse. It brings back from the wilderness the national movement which had strayed away from the true path in pursuit of a negative and barren policy of aimless sacrifice.

The address which the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry delivered at the University Hall last Sunday at a crowded public meeting to celebrate the centenary of Ranade's birth was, even for Mr. Sastry who has delivered many great speeches in many lands, a magnificent one. We print extracts from it in this issue. It touched the high-water mark not only of oratory but also of thought and reflection. Mr. Sastry marshalled in the capacity of Devil's Advocate all that has been or might be said by detractors of Ranade—for in his time Ranade had detractors and very virulent ones too. Then, in the capacity of God's Advocate, Mr. Sastry met the accusations, dwelt on the greater qualities which in a just estimate of Ranade should cast minor defects into the shade. Criticisms of Ranade were based on his conduct or behaviour at, what, for want of a better term, may be called, the crises of his career as a social reformer. For instance, although an ardent advocate of the remarriage of child-widows, when the opportunity came for himself to set the example he shrank from doing so out of deference to his parents. Other men, many with fewer advantages, have, without in the least disregarding what was due to parents—in fact, with the utmost deference to them—acted on their convictions submitting cheerfully to the

were at disposal of the Subjects Committee wherever it met year after year.

The Indian Social Conference was founded by him in 1887, and at every subsequent meeting of that body during the next 13 years he presided and delivered addresses replete with wisdom, comprehension and insight. His mind was also devoted to problems of Indian education, and his membership of the University governing bodies was signalised by unremitting efforts on behalf of the Marathi language and literature and of the health and longevity of Bombay graduates. In all departments of national endeavour and uplift he was a pioneer, and it would be the bare truth to say of him that he was the most considerable and influential among the builders of Modern India. He himself once enumerated the elements that go to the making of a great man—"earnestness of purpose, sincerity in action, originality, imagination and, above all, the power of magnetism—we might call it vital or spiritual magnetism." These he possessed in rich measure. Add to them the achievements catalogued above, and you have a record of greatness so imposing that a teacher or *rishi* of old may be proud to call it his own. The name *rishi* was in his judgment so exalted in import that when he desired to pay anyone the highest honour for character, he applied the name to him. More than once in his speeches we see Mr. N. M. Paramanand described as "our political *rishi*." Why, Ranade himself was deserving of the title in the eyes of many of his contemporaries. It was surely nothing uncommon in his life as well afterwards for his admirers to speak of him as the modern *rishi*.

The order of *rishis* exercised a powerful fascination over Ranade's mind. In the hierarchy of homage he would accord them the throne of eminence. In the address called *Vasishtha and Visvamitra*, the last in the great series (which Gokhale had to read for him in Lahore) the concluding passage is a paean to the glory of these semi-divine teachers and a devout wish that their line may be continued without end.

There must be a good few here who have sat at his feet more than once and heard his discourses. That good fortune came to me only once. The scene was in Anderson Hall, Madras, and the time was an evening in December, 1898. A great crowd waited expectantly to hear Ranade on "Southern India a hundred years ago." We felt surprise without a touch of admiration, as a big figure moved forward with slow deliberate steps. As the lineaments became clear, a faint feeling of disappointment rose in our breasts, but we kept it under as somewhat premature. But in a few seconds the figure pulled a kerchief, coloured as I remember, and applied it to the nose which was running and made strange noises. The opening words did nothing to reassure us, and as the handkerchief and the nose persisted in their joint activities, our spirits sank within us. Whispers of dissatisfaction and poutings of lips went round, but scarcely relieved our feelings. Soon, however, things seemed to change. One good remark caught our attention, we strained our ears. Lo, and behold! the handkerchief went back to the pocket, the voice gained distinctness, the sentiments captured our fancy, and as if by magic the face became bright with intelligence. Half a dozen sentences, and our eyes were fixed on the speaker. Thereafter, all through the speech he held us as in a spell. I thought I was listening to a superior being, all aglow with wisdom which seemed a part of him,—so easily, so naturally, so unostentatiously did it keep flowing into me. There was pindrop silence in the hall. I don't think the audience laughed or cheered once. If they did, I didn't hear it.

The published speeches have solidity and mental nutriment which are astonishing. One may go again and again to them with profit. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's eulogy is not overdone. "Those weighty and eloquent annual addresses, wise with the wisdom of the heart, powerful with all the power of his great intellect, majestic with the majesty of his lofty and commanding personality." There is no art either in the sentences or in their grouping. You don't come across a light, humorous remark; no passing allusion to the trivialities of thought or gossip. The nearest he comes to a joke is when he asks: "Shall we revive the old habits of our people when the most sacred of our caste indulged in all the abominations, as we now understand them, of animal food and drink which exhausted every section of our country's Zoology and Botany?" The nearest he comes to impatience or indignation is in this passage: "If we were stronger and more manly, more prudent, more abstemious and more thoughtful, millions would not live and breed as if they were members of the brute creation, and not men and women made in the image of God for a higher purpose than to live and die like the butterflies." The joke and the indignation are alike grim. As you read through, you seem to see Ranade slowly assembling the details from one quarter and from another, inviting your gaze to the accumulation, and slowly and patiently leading you to a realization of your duties and prospects.

The style is by no means varied, picturesque or pleasing. But it is weighty without being ponderous; profound without being mystic; edifying without being homiletic. One reader complains that Ranade has no partiality for Anglo-Saxon. Another grumbles that grammar and idiom do not get the respect due to them. A third is saddened by the frequent inelegances and solecisms. But all are subdued to attention by the dignity of the diction and the high level on which the argument moves without once declining on a false or discordant note. When you are lifted above the small and the grovelling, when you are freshened by the gentle breezes of the upper air, you forget the unsightly objects you have left behind and the inconveniences through which you have ascended. Or may be you feel like a tourist that has been dragged through mean lanes and pebbly tracks, and suddenly finds himself entering a stately edifice with imposing corridors and noble columns and spacious halls, the *ensemble* harmonizing in every part and ravishing his inner soul with a beauty of proportion and symmetry of which he had never dreamed. Criticism is hushed, judgment is awed, and the only feeling left is one of joy and complete satisfaction.

Ever since I gave Ranade a definite place among my heroes, my heart's adoration has gone to him in fuller measure every day. Which one among his qualities grips me most? His elevation and detachment. Wordsworth's immortal line occurs to me whenever I think of him, "His soul was like a star and dwelt apart." True, he mingled in men's affairs and strove with all his matchless strength to improve them. His life was one long and unbroken sacrifice. In a pre-eminent sense he was

Type of the wise who soar but never roam,

True to the kindred points of heaven and home.

Nevertheless, after his duties to the world were fully done, there remained a part of him above attachment and clear of taint. There his *dhakti* reigned alone and he kept converse with his God in his triple nature as *sat*, *chit*, and *ananda*. Where the air is serene and rare, gross beings cannot follow him. The simple but noble words of Goldsmith are the aptest I know.

As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,

Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm,

Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,

Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

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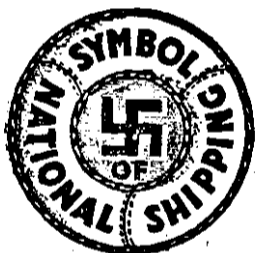
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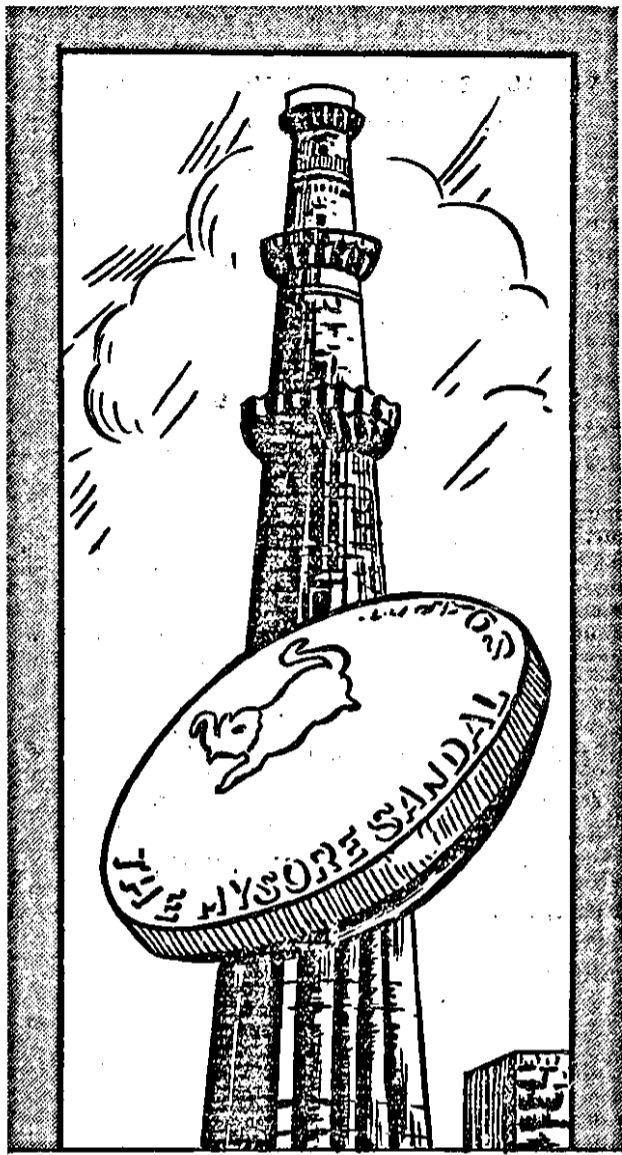
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Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 31, 1942. No. 22.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

The Bombay Governor's Broadcast.
Attacks on Bombay.
Distances from Singapore.
Air Raid and Casualty Figures.
The Call for Vengeance.
The Pearl Harbour Fiasco.

The Australian Tangle.
Sir P. Baghavendra Rau.
Mr. Churchill's Apologia.
English in India.
Hindustani or English?
The Ranade Centenary.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.

NOTES.

The Bombay Governor's Broadcast:—The Governor of Bombay's broadcast on Wednesday seems to have been prepared by two different hands without reference to each other. Quite two-thirds of the statement was devoted to showing that the danger from war to Bombay was at present slight. Air raids were impossible owing to distance from the nearest Japanese bases. There was a chance of a Japanese warship smuggling itself into the Arabian Sea evading the patrol ships. It may hurl a bomb or even catapult aircraft loaded with bombs on the city. The chance of that too was slight. On the whole this, the first part of the statement, conveyed the strong impression that the danger from air raids to Bombay was so slight as almost to be negligible. In the next and shorter part of the statement, Sir Roger Lumley declared that his Government would "ruthlessly" enforce the A. R. P. measures which had for their object the protection of the citizens in case of air raids. The use of the word "ruthlessly" in this connection was unhappy. There is nothing in the measures proposed that requires any degree of ruthlessness to carry out. There is nothing ruthless in suggesting to people to remain in their homes at times of raids or in suggesting that those who have open places should dig slit trenches or heap up sandbags when they are made available, or observe the lighting restrictions so far as they are intelligible. All these may be done with complete consideration on the part of the A. R. P. men or the Police, provided they are properly explained to the public so as to convince it of their necessity. We regard the war as a visitation so far as India is concerned like the plague in the last years of the last century. The experience which might be of use, is the experience of that time. Indiscrimination on the part of those employed to enforce segregation measures at the time led to a new and ugly chapter being opened in Indian politics.

Attacks on Bombay:—Ruthlessness, whether for protection or destruction, by friends or enemies, is always provocative of violence in thought, if not in deed, and no wise administrator should mention it. The aim should be to take the public with you and not to drive it in any particular direction by use of coercion. Much will depend on the agency employed. His Excellency referred to ten thousand volunteers. If these volunteers or most of them have a clear conception of what they have to do and of how to do it, there will be no need for any coercion much less for ruthlessness. His Excellency should reassure himself on this point. For our own part we are afraid we do not share His Excellency's view that the chances of an attack on Bombay are slight. In Burma, Malaya and in the Philippines they were caught napping notwithstanding that they had ample warning by publicists—notably an article in the American journal *Life* which described all the alternatives which the Japanese may adopt, some of which they have actually adopted. Bombay because of its industrial and strategic importance will be one of the first places to be attacked in India if the enemy gets the chance. Government and the public must co-operate in the face of the danger but co-operation is not possible on the basis of ruthlessness whether from below or from above. We would advise the public to remember that thousands, perhaps millions, of homes in almost every part of the world are desolated by the war and that we have no particular right to be immune from suffering. By all means let us take whatever measures are possible to save ourselves but let us not shrink from bearing our share of the pain and anguish which afflict humanity. Those of us who believe in prayer, should pray for the speedy termination of the war as the most effective means of saving ourselves and the rest of the world from this monstrous curse.

Distances from Singapore:—Those who have been following the news from Singapore and Malaya, must be struck by the difficulty found by Reuter's special correspondent in calculating distances. On Friday January 23, a message dated the previous day was published in the *Times of India* which referred to Batu Pahat as "a coastal port and ferry-crossing about 60 miles north-west of Singapore." Nobody had

worried about the distance between Batu Pahat and Singapore until the outbreak of the Japanese war in the Pacific, and the public was quite willing to accept Reuter's calculation. However, it seems that Singapore officials have a different view of space; on Saturday the *Times of India* gave a Singapore communique dated 23rd January which clearly mentioned that "the nearest point to Singapore which the Japanese have reached is Batu Pahat; Batu Pahat is about 75 miles distant." We have not been able to understand this official craze for figures which seems to be unbridled in wartime. Does it really matter how far Batu Pahat is from Singapore, specially as the British forces are withdrawing into the Singapore area with a view to resisting there? A certain amount of confusion is understandable when one remembers that the town of Singapore is on the east coast of the Island of Singapore which is twenty seven miles long and fourteen miles wide, connected by a causeway with the Malayan mainland. This probably accounts also for the fact that while Tuesday's message stated that Kluang "the nearest point on the mainland to Singapore reached by the Japanese is about 45 miles from Johore Bahru where a causeway links up with Singapore Island," the newspapers on Thursday published the information that Japan was not nearer than fifty miles to Singapore. The causeway is not five miles long.

Air Raids and Casualty Figures:—It is not only in distances that there seems to be a desire to suggest a precision by the use of figures which is not justified by the information possessed by the authorities. We are surprised by the anxiety to publish figures of casualties in air-raids without any warning that at best they are only approximate and tentative. For instance, in the first Rangoon air-raid the earliest news was that nine Japanese planes had been destroyed; then it was stated that the deaths were six hundred which later information has corrected to nearly double that figure. The public does not realise adequately the difficulty of counting up losses in an air-raid and the unusual haste of officials to issue figures, though doubtless intended to allay panic and correct exaggerated reports and inflated figures, has added to their confusion. The only way of arriving at the death figures in an air-raid is to count the bodies, found and disposed of by the authorities or otherwise. When we remember that there was more than fifteen days interval between the first estimate and the later "actuals," we shudder to put the difference down entirely to fresh information received during the period, as it would imply that the defence services had completely broken down with all that that conveys. There is something objectionable also about the manner in which the casualties are reported. There were long complaints about the failure of the public to carry out instructions preceding and accompanying messages giving the figures. Indian Government officials may note the trend of criticism in Britain where there

is not the least suggestion even by the intrepid Mr. Churchill that the people are not doing their bit. Moreover the later disclosures came only along with the large influx of Indians returning from Burma. One remembers Mr. Churchill's dictum that the naked truth was good for the Briton but that the more nervous races of the Empire required a good dose of optimism. That the methods once employed with the rest of the Empire are also practised now in the home country is shown by the angry protest by Sir John Wardlaw-Milne in the House of Commons expressing dissatisfaction with the manner of news presentation from Libya and the Far East and asking whether the dust storms which hindered the British army in Lybia, did not equally affect General Rommel's forces.

The Call for Vengeance:—The protest in the British Press against the call for retaliation made by Archbishop Temple of York does it honour. It is not that Englishmen are not liable to blind fury when they are roused. Incidents of the Indian Mutiny, of the Boer War and of the Irish revolution, not to mention the Jallianwala massacre, bear testimony to the liability of Britons to break out into terrorist methods. But there have always come forward English public men to protest against such outbreaks and they have always succeeded in arousing public opinion against them—often, no doubt, too late to prevent them. "Clemency" Canning and Bright and Cobden during the Mutiny, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman during the Boer War, the *Times* on the Black and Tans in Ireland, and Mr. Winston Churchill on General Dyer's exploit are outstanding instances. Lord Hardinge's "No reprisals, Wilson," before he lost consciousness when he was struck down by a bomb on the occasion of the inauguration of New Delhi as the Imperial Capital, is worthy to rank in history along with Sir Philip Sydney's "His need is greater than mine." The recent proclamation of the American General MacArthur in the Philippines that, although the Japanese Army may indulge in treatment of prisoners opposed to international agreement and usage, the American Army will strictly adhere to them—we hope it will be kept—is another instance. The credit due to the British Press is all the greater because of the fact that the protest is directed against the second highest ecclesiastical functionary in the realm, who may be expected to uphold the message of the Founder of the Christian Church to love one's enemies. *The Reformer* took exception to the nine nations' statement in London under the auspices of Mr. Antony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, which is, presumably, the occasion of the Archbishop's outburst.

The Pearl Harbour Fiasco:—The report on the total collapse of the American defence of Pearl Harbour, the most important naval base in the Pacific, by the Committee appointed by President Roosevelt under the chairmanship of Mr. Owen Roberts, a Judge of the Supreme

Court, is a devastating document which would not have been allowed to see the light of day in Britain if any such report was ever made. This is a fundamental difference between the methods of the two countries. The American detests a hush-hush policy. The Briton loves it and, in imitation of the latter, Indian leaders have also come to adopt it. The Roberts Report confirms the fact that the authorities of Pearl Harbour, Naval and Air, were totally unprepared to meet the attack, and makes it clear that they were so in spite of ample warnings from Washington. Immediately after the failure of the defence, the officers responsible were superseded and the fact announced to the public. Change of British commanders in similar circumstances is an official secret not to be referred to by newspapers though in a few days' time it becomes subject of debate in Parliament. The English practice encouraged initiative, the right to blunder, on the part of "the man on the spot" and was largely responsible for the building up of the British Empire. But it also encouraged empiricism and prevented the Empire striking roots anywhere and growing into a living organism. On all except the self-governing Dominions which, as events show, are part of the Empire only for their own advantage, British rule has lain like oil upon water. The success of the attack on Pearl Harbour at the very outset of the war, gave an enormous impetus to Japan's prestige.

The Australian Tangle:—Australia with an area slightly less than the United States has a population less than a tenth of that country. She has put a barbed wire entanglement round herself so as to prevent immigrants coming in to fill the vast empty spaces of her territory. This was all right so long as no country with an overflowing population insisted on its right to fill some part of them with the overflow of its own population. British sea-power so long held back any attempt at infringing the All White policy of Australia. Britain now has preoccupations nearer home, and has not been able to send adequate forces to uphold the policy of "Hands off Australia." This has provoked the Australian Government into negotiating directly with the United States to afford her protection from the intrusion of Asiatics. President Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill apparently sent some message to the Australian Premier which does not seem to have entirely satisfied him. He has now demanded that the Australian troops which were fighting the German-Italian combination in the Middle West, should be sent home to defend their native land. The British Prime Minister has consented to do this. He has also consented to have a representative of the Australian Government in the War Cabinet. Since the Australian contingent is to be withdrawn there is no reason to have an Australian representative on the War Cabinet. But Australia

is a spoilt child of Britain and there is no arguing with it. These developments are of interest to us in India. Indian troops are fighting in the Middle East and at one time seem to have gone up to the Caucasus. The Hindu Mahasabha at a meeting held in Calcutta has demanded that Indian troops should be recalled to defend the shores of India. *The Reformer* has all along held that Indian troops should not have been called upon to defend Egypt, Iran and Iraq when their own Governments were indifferent to their safety. Now that the Indian Command has been divested of its All Asia obligations, the way is paved for making Indian defence self-contained and the Indian troops engaged in distant countries may be safely recalled to defend India which has come closer to the scene of war on the Pacific. The Prime Minister said that the concession to Australia will be available to the other Dominions if they too wanted to be represented on the War Cabinet. He did not mention India. Even if an Indian representative is allowed to sit along with the other members, he will under the present constitution be merely the mouthpiece of the Secretary of State for India, alias, the British Government for the time being in power.

Sir P. Raghavendra Rau:—One of the brightest minds among contemporary Indians was extinguished by the death last Sunday at the early age of 53 of Sir P. Raghavendra Rau at New Delhi. At the close of a brilliant academic career, he entered the Indian Finance Department and steadily rose to occupy for the first time an office previously held by Englishmen. For some obscure reason he was reverted to a provincial appointment in Bombay. But the mistake was recognised and he was recalled to New Delhi as Joint Secretary in the Finance Department. In this office, according to those who had an opportunity of judging, he distinguished himself by his mastery of the uncharted ocean of British Indian Finance. Not only was Raghavendra Rau respected as a brilliant officer but he was held in very affectionate regard by all who had to work with him. Over and above his departmental efficiency which is of little public interest, Raghavendra Rau had a wide outlook. Opportunity did not favour the manifestation of his deep interest in all aspects of Indian life. But he kept in close touch with those who were working in various fields and, if his life had been spared, he would certainly have become a valuable worker himself in some of them. His experience and his knowledge, united to his keen desire to see his people progress on all sides, would have been of inestimable advantage to the national cause.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, January 31, 1942.

MR. CHURCHILL'S APOLOGIA.

On Tuesday, Mr. Winston Churchill made a long statement on the events connected with the war during his unprecedentedly long absence in Washington. It is not only in the East that the populace requires the ruler to keep himself before its eyes by the daily appearance in the Palace balcony. Democracy is even more insistent on its leaders making themselves visible and audible to it without intermission. When Queen Victoria after the death of Prince Consort failed for some years to observe the Court functions, a Republican sentiment threatened the existence of the monarchy. Mr. Churchill's long absence in Washington provoked criticisms of his policy and methods. The British public is very suspicious of its Ministers hobnobbing too closely and frequently with foreign Ministers. It is not less jealous because the Americans at one time belonged to the same country and nationality as itself. The outbreak of the Japanese war and the dashing victories which heralded it, gave a special edge to criticisms. To be beaten by an Asiatic people was intolerable to the British ruling class. Japan's victory over Russia was hailed in Britain at the beginning of this century and Japan became the theme of fervent panegyrics in prose and verse. But Russia was not regarded as a unit of the European system. Russia herself did not claim to be part of it. Russian writers nearly always referred to European ways as distinct from Russian. Moreover, there was the legendary injunction of Peter the Great to his successors to take Constantinople and make it the Russian capital. Constantinople was on the way to India. The Russian menace to India was the inspiring motive of British policy in the East until the Bolsheviks overthrew the Tsarist regime and renounced the claims to Constantinople conceded by secret treaties. Even after that there were old-fashioned men who continued to hold up Russia as the enemy against whom British India must be protected. Japan was Britain's ally throughout the last war. Her warships patrolled the seas of India. Nothing but kind and beautiful things were spoken about Japan. Under the influence of the United States, Britain renounced her alliance with Japan and the two friends drifted from each other with every passing year. They began to hate each other, at least Japan did, the more for their old friendship. "To be wroth with those we love, doth work like madness in the brain." The Japanese took delight in humiliating Englishmen. And at the beginning of the war they destroyed two great British battleships at one fell blow under the very nose of the guns of Singapore proclaimed for many years to be the impregnable Gibraltar of the Pacific. This was too much for the British public. The Prime Minister

who ought to be on the spot to reassure it in the face of this severe blow, was away in Washington. Criticism grew in strength and volume.

The Prime Minister faced it with cool courage. And well he might because none of his critics had the courage to disavow him personally. Every one prefaced and ended his criticism by declaring his unswerving loyalty to and confidence in Mr. Winston Churchill. Every one professed, no doubt sincerely, that Mr. Churchill was the only man who can save the Empire. Mr. Churchill knew that he held all the trumps in his hand. The most important of them was his friendship of President Franklin Roosevelt. With consummate tact, Mr. Churchill kept this to the end of his speech:

During the three weeks that I spent in President Roosevelt's home and family, I established with him relations not only of comradeship but of friendship. We could say anything to each other, however painful (laughter and cheers).

When we parted he wrung my hand saying, 'We will fight this through to the bitter end, whatever the cost may be.' (Loud Cheers.)

There is no other British statesman who can say that. Since Russia's inclusion in the war, there has grown up in England a feeling that the Russian alliance will be more valuable than the American in the reconstruction of British society after the war. At the present moment, however, Russia herself stands in need of outside, and especially American, help, and Mr. Churchill for all his admiration of Russian heroism has not abated his distrust of the Soviet system. The debate on Mr. Attlee's motion of confidence in the Churchill Government has ended in a great personal triumph. The whole House voted for him. Mr. Maxton alone went into the Opposition lobby. There was never any doubt that the confidence motion would be passed and passed without any dissent worth mentioning for the simple reason that no alternative Government has the chance of surviving for a week in Great Britain in the present state of international affairs.

We comment in an editorial note on the public denunciation of the "dereliction of duty" by the Naval and Air Force Commanders entrusted with the defence of Pearl Harbour. In striking contrast to it is the taking upon himself of the full responsibility for all the mistakes of omission and commission in the Far East and elsewhere by the British Prime Minister and his challenging the House of Commons to throw him out. He would not allow any member of his Cabinet to be censured. He is responsible for all their actions. The implication of this attitude is that all his colleagues are his creatures and he can do what he will with them but not at the dictation of Parliament. It is not unlikely that the more unpopular Ministers will, shortly after the end of the debate with the vote of confidence safe in the Prime Minister's pocket, find that, for reasons of health, it is necessary for them to drop out of office. The British are as careful about the observance of the proprieties as any Confucian. A practical advantage attaches to the English

method that none of the outgoing Ministers will publish a word about his colleagues, whereas the dismissed American officers are almost sure to come out with public exposures of their Government in the next few months. So far as India is concerned, the complete absence of any reference to it in the Prime Minister's review, may be taken to be a compliment to India's disinterested participation in the war. In the old days the Indian sepoy contented themselves with the congee and gave the rice to the British soldiers of Clive's army at the siege of Arcot. This ancient tradition is still apparently in force, at least in the British official conception of India's position in the Commonwealth. Mr. Churchill praised the heroism of the Greeks, of the Russians, of the Americans, of the Chinese. Lord Linlithgow and other high placed-personages are now and again reminding India of the great place she has achieved by supplying men and materials for the war. Virtue for her is its own reward. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has not received as yet any but a bare acknowledgment of his appeal to the Prime Minister. India can wait.

ENGLISH IN INDIA.

The paper famine due to the war has obliged newspapers to exercise the utmost economy in the disposal of their space. The magnificent address which Mr. Srinivasa Sastry delivered on Ranade, was almost ignored in the daily press. *The Reformer* had to content itself with a not very copious summary. Comparatively, Gandhiji's convocation address at Benares University has been accorded more consideration, though it was less well thought-out. He did not argue. He scolded. He was moved to verbal violence, though he should have known it all along, by the principal medium of instruction in Benares University being English. *The Reformer* pointed out last week that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had originally intended that the medium of instruction in the University should be Hindi and that he had to accept English instead, on the advice of friends deeply interested in the project and because he was himself satisfied that with English as the medium the University would have an All-India appeal which it would not with Hindi twenty-five years ago. The scope of the University would have become still more restricted if the medium of instruction was, as Gandhiji wished, Hindustani which he seems to conceive as the residue left after Urdu is denuded of its Persian and Hindi of its Sanskrit affinities. Gandhiji seems to be confident that this residue will be identical and the Hindustani which Hindus and Muslims will understand.

Hindi is derived from Sanskrit through Prakrit, and what Gandhiji demands of it is that it should forswear its ancestry. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Hindi is easily followed even in the South because the words he uses have passed in their Sanskrit form into the vocabulary of the Dravidian languages, including Tamil which alone has a pre-Sanskritic literature. Even before the Christian era, the Sanskrit idiom along with Sanskrit ideology had penetrated Tamil. If that was the case in the South, the process must have long preceded it in the North and, if every trace of Sanskrit is washed out

of Hindi, what will be left of it, one fancies, will be some childish gibberish, hardly fit to be the medium of instruction in a university. Hindi literature has no pre-Sanskritic literature like Tamil. Some such thing will be the fate of Urdu if all Persian influences are eliminated from it. And what is this effort to disintegrate a long process of evolution for?

Gandhiji's onslaught on the Indian who has the misfortune to know and to speak and write English correctly, is even more grotesque. The first English school in India was not established by the British Government but by Raja Ram Mohun Roy and his friends. English education was not imposed on India, but conceded in compliance with a strong demand from Indian leaders. Sir George Schuster in his recent book has compared the British with the French attitude towards the diffusion of their respective cultures. He writes:

The British attitude has always been governed by a respect for local religions, customs and traditions which has expressed itself in one way in a reluctance to interfere with these, and in another way in a reaction of distaste and suspicion when local people have shown a tendency to ape British customs. The French policy, on the other hand, has been to break down distinctions between races and to weld them into a mixed amalgam, dominated by their own language and ideas. If the British attitude is to be interpreted as implying a sense of superiority and resentment that those whom they regard as inferior should try to imitate their ways, then obviously there is nothing to commend it.

This passage is typical of Sir George Schuster's method of twisting facts. According to him, we must assume that the objection of the Englishman to Mr. Trivedi's son travelling in the same compartment with him at Nagpur, arose from the former's concern for young Trivedi observing his ancestral customs. There are so many other instances and the tendency to treat Indians as undesirables has been so generally deplored, that Sir George Schuster's interpretation will convince no one. The Frenchman's disregard of local customs does not deter the Governor of French India from lending a hand to start the temple car at a Hindu festival. Some of the most appreciative students of ancient Indian classics are Frenchmen. This, however, is a digression. Our purpose here is to point out that the British attitude to English-educated Indians is very much the same as Gandhiji's and that contempt for them is one of the several common grounds between the Anglo-Indian official and Gandhiji. Gandhiji said that the Japanese had learnt "the best" in Western culture in their own language. He held up, says the report, the example of Japan which had become a challenge to the West not by slavishly following everything Western but learning the best of the West, through their own language; he expressed satisfaction at the progress made by Japan. We wonder how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was on the platform, took this compliment to the Japanese whom he has been denouncing for their aggression on the Chinese whose cause he has espoused. Japan, to our mind, has learnt not the best but the worst of the West. It has learnt not the civilisation but the savagery which Western civilisation has not been able to eradicate from its organism. Japan has copied and vastly developed the least estimable of western achievements. While India was learning the lessons of the great emancipating and humanitarian movements of the West, Japan was studying the construction of submarines and battleships, tanks, torpedoes and incendiary bombs. We can understand other people extolling these latter as the best of the West but for Gandhiji the apostle of non-violence to do so takes one's breath away.

The problem of language in the United States presents a close parallel to India. The population of the United States is no longer predominantly British. About 60 per cent are non-English. President Wilson in a speech at Manchester during his visit to England warned the British public against claiming the Americans as their kinsmen because, in the first place, it was no longer the fact and, in the next, it caused irritation. To a large number of Americans English was a foreign language. Neither the Government nor the people seem to think that there is anything slavish in all citizens having to learn English. In fact, one of the great American educationists, Dewey, writes :

Our schools, in bringing together those of different nationalities, languages, traditions, and creeds, in assimilating them together of what is common and public in endeavour and achievement, are performing an infinitely significant religious work.

The English language has created a sense of unity among Indians of different provinces, castes and creeds. It has no doubt also been the medium through which old differences are finding expression. But the influence of English is to unite. The attempt to put up Hindi or Urdu as the national language will only accentuate existing schisms. With English all can meet on neutral ground. Indian children learn English as easily as any language except their mother tongue. Indeed they are anxious to learn it. They do not seem to be particularly ashamed of it, any more than of playing cricket or football. Gandhiji said that it was due to toleration and courtesy that when the country's great men continued to address the masses in English they were not mobbed by the people but listened to in patience. This is a direct incitement to mob violence to further the campaign against English.

HINDUSTANI OR ENGLISH?

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The teaching and learning of English in India is a necessary evil. 'Necessary' because it is the State-language and we cannot live without it if we wish to live 'honourably and decently'. An 'evil' in as much as it is a foreign language imposed upon us by alien rulers. It is said that we are good linguists—a glowing tribute of which we must be proud—and hence we are in a better position, as compared with other nations, to master the English language more easily and quickly. But the facts are not as they are claimed to do. The causes are not far to be found. Some causes pertain to the language itself and some are due to our un-English atmosphere and environment.

The English language possesses a number of inherent shortcomings which are almost insurmountable for an average Indian child, which he, willingly or unwillingly, has to master either in the mirage of some lucrative job or to save his skin from the birch of the master.

Besides this drawback he has to face the curse of "Bilingualism." In school, especially in the English period, he was to read, write, speak English and last though not the least he is expected to think in English. The school is over and reading, writing, speaking and thinking, quite obviously in English, are relegated to oblivion. At his house and in the circle of his friends and inmates he talks in his own mother-tongue and very rarely, if at all, comes across the English language. In some schools, to improve the English of the pupils, some subjects—History and Geography—are taught through the medium of English whereas the pupils can answer their examination papers in their own

mother-tongue. What a waste in the name of improving the English language! We ourselves cause so much waste and then complain of 'Deterioration' and 'Stagnation.'

Practically, in all the countries of the world, and quite naturally too, the pupils are taught through the medium of their own mother-tongue. But, unfortunately, in this country they are taught through English. Here, instead of doing away with the evil we have invented different stilts—the Translation Method, Oral Method, Direct Method, Basic Method, etc., etc. Every method has been tried and found wanting in one way or the other. Then why not teach a pupil through his own mother-tongue? A lot of time will be saved and the pupil will understand what he will learn.

An Englishman, after serving this country for about three decades, cannot speak any of its regional languages as he ought to. But we, Indians, are expected to know "Shakespeare's English" whereas "shop English" is sufficient for us. If an Englishman, after 30 years' service in India, can blurt out: "Tum jahneko nai sakhta" we expect at least so much liberty as to say: "Where did you went?" I am sure the person addressed will understand us as he who is addressed by the Englishman understands him.

We read and gape at the lessons "Christmas in England," "Summer in England," "Winter in England," "Spring in England," "Autumn in England" and "Whatnot in England." In short we are made to create an English atmosphere in the class. Actually we know less of India and more of England. Whatever scrappy knowledge we get of our own Motherland is not worth getting. We know that her climate is such as to make us lazy, her streets are dirty, her towns and cities are insanitary, the Hindus and Muslims are the deadliest enemies so much so that they are incorrigible and irreconcilable; whereas England is the very embodiment of Heaven, her inhabitants are angels and her condition—Geographical, Social, Political, Economical, Moral—is celestial. We were devoid of civilization and culture and we have been given these blessings by the Englishmen, the whole of our literature is not worth a single shelf of the European, etc., etc.

The displacement of English, a foreign language, which creates difficulties for pupils by way of diversion of interest and concentration on the study of the foreign medium itself, can be met, in the best way possible, by adopting any one of the Indian languages. Here arises the controversy as to what language should be adopted the medium of instruction in our schools. Hindustani is a widely understood language of India adopted by some of the leading political bodies in this country as the common and national language, differences being largely confined to the question of script. Even foreigners have realised the importance of Hindustani and either Urdu or Hindi has been made compulsory in many European Schools. It is really unfortunate that we, Indians, have wasted much of our energy in Urdu-Hindi controversy and thus have done disservice to our own national language. Anyhow, it is the only national language as it has come into existence from natural causes and is thoroughly Indian. Its vocabulary is largely borrowed from other Indian languages, both of the North and the South, of the East and the West. It is significant from its very origin that it is the embodiment of the spirit of Hindu-Muslim unity, both communities have shared equally in its development. If the use of Hindustani is objected to where it happens not to be the mother-tongue of the pupils, the force of the objection is multiplied n-times in the case of the use of English.

It is a well-known fact that Urdu is the medium of instruction in the "Usmania University," Hyderabad.

It has not displaced any one of the other local languages but has succeeded either English, a foreign language, as the medium of instruction or Persian, the Court-language of the State, within memory. The change has thus been along national lines and its introduction never meant the eradication of the regional languages. There is provision for all the regional languages in the "Usmania University." The statistical reports reveal that there has been a much greater increase in the number of pupils taking the "Usmania Matriculation Examination." A fact that goes a long way to prove the popularity of the University and the Hindustani language.

The Universities of Allahabad and Nagpur, having realised, though rather late, the importance of the mother-tongue and the tyranny of the foreign language that has usurped its place, are on their way to adopt the former and reject the latter as the medium of instruction and vehicle of education. Gandhiji some time back had said, "Among the many evils of the foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by History as one of the greatest" and very recently, addressing the Convocation of the Benares University, he has observed, "This business of crossing the hurdle of the English language before anybody could learn anything, was a game not worth the candle and dissipated the energy of the nation's youth which could otherwise be much more usefully employed."

We are sure to make a tremendous improvement and make our education effective if we eliminate the 'evil' and keep the 'necessary' element and make Hindustani the medium of instruction in our educational institutions. Our young generation will imbibe "Nationalism," a commodity we require the most in the Indian market.

Bombay,
January 27, 1942.

Yours etc.,
HINDUSTANI.

[Some of the points in this letter are met in the article on "English in India" published elsewhere. A large part of the letter deals more with what is taught than the language in which it is taught. Other points may be briefly cleared up in this footnote. There is no difference of opinion about the importance of the child's mother tongue as the best medium of education. This is recognised all over the country and elementary education has always been through that medium. In secondary education also, though the text-books were in English, the mother tongue was freely used in lessons by the teacher. The main difficulty was the absence of suitable textbooks in the Indian languages. This is being overcome. That difficulty exists in an aggravated form in university education and will, in due course, be similarly overcome. The question at issue is none of these. It is what should be the language which Indians should have as the medium of inter-provincial and international intercourse. English is a world language. Its use for inter-provincial intercourse is largely determined by that fact. In the last one hundred years English has established itself as the language of inter-provincial and international intercourse largely owing to its manifold advantages. We see no wisdom in trying to tear up this historical growth by the roots. As for the Osmania University, *The Reformer* from the first has regarded it, as also the Women's University, as a retrograde step notwithstanding its great respect for their respective founders. The mother tongue argument does not apply to the Osmania University because Urdu is not the mother tongue of the overwhelming majority of the Hyderabad population.

—Editor.

THE RANADE CENTENARY.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Sir,

I have been following with great eagerness the celebrations of the Ranade Centenary in some of the provincial capitals of India. But I must confess to a feeling of inadequacy of the celebrations. The celebrations ought to have been nation-wide. Every city and town of importance in this vast country must be reeking with the incense burnt at the altar of one of the greatest sages of modern times. It is partly a measure of the listlessness and indolence that are prevalent in India on matters other than the one immediately topical; this is a sad commentary on our boasted preference for things spiritual to things material, for things universal to things particular.

As I was reading the account of the celebrations, one particular feature struck me. No Congressman of any note or importance has taken any part in these celebrations, except the Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney, who is now regarded by Congressmen as a renegade, and Mr. S. Satyamurti. Whenever the Indian Liberals quote the authority of Dadabhai or Ranade or Gokhale for their present attitude to political problems, the Congressman is only too ready to ridicule them for their imperfect understanding of these great men. Mahatma Gandhi has been calling himself a disciple of Gokhale, and claims to have carried on on lines that would have been approved by Gokhale. In the preface to the biography of Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. R. P. Masani makes a pointed reference to this question and has the Mahatma's answer in it to the effect that Dadabhai would have been with him in the preaching and practice of Satyagraha. If this is true of Dadabhai and Gokhale, it must also be true of Ranade. If Congressmen of the present-day honestly feel that they are carrying on the torch of the earlier Congressmen, and that the Liberals are their misguided interpreters, why do they not show that they have a right to share and even treasure the memory of Dadabhai, Ranade and Gokhale? Perhaps it is reserved only as a taunt to the Liberals. Even granting that they have gone away from the path of the older Congressmen, I contend that they should still take part in celebrating the memory of one who, by consensus of opinion, is regarded as one of the greatest Indians. Such tributes to the memory of great personalities, of whatever party or creed, are generally given by all men and women in other parts of the civilised world.

Personally, I think—I say this after a careful and conscientious study of the lives and works of these great men—that the Liberal, despite his imperfections, is the true representative of that school of political and social thought, whose illustrious progenitor was Raja Ram Mohun Roy and whose powerful advocates were Dadabhai, Ranade, Metha, Surendra-nath and Gokhale. I look upon the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri as the greatest living child of their spirit; and it was only fitting, eminently fitting, that he should have presided over the main celebrations at Bombay.

Chidambaram,
January 21, 1942.

Yours etc.,
A. V. RAMASWAMI.

[The significance of the "inadequacy" of the Ranade Centenary celebrations is that they were not got-up and were largely spontaneous. An All-India programme of the kind mentioned by our correspondent, should necessarily be arranged by an organization and would have lacked spontaneity. The silence of Congress leaders is natural. Ranade's way was the direct antithesis of their way.—Editor.]

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

APRIL 25, 1931.

Nearing Colombo.

The solitude is being recommenced, and so far the heat is too great to test how it may be felt—I sleep all I can; I don't feel too energetic about work; and I have conversed with only two people...

APRIL 27, 1931.

After Colombo.

The sea was quite calm, it rained only on the night preceding our arrival, and it even rained in the cabin next to mine; but our reception on arrival was warm and sunny as befitted a Sunday. I would have liked to see Kandy if the steamer gave time for a run up and back and if the cost did not bluff me out. Well, the steamer arrived at 8 a. m. and did not depart till 11; there was time enough. I asked Mr. Scott if he would help out a pauper; but having been enriched by the experience of rain in cabin, he was not in the mood to consider my proposition. The tourist agency, however, found a partner—Miss Black, an Australian. Miss Black had been a traveller, has been to the West Indies, where I have never been, is fond of flowers and fruit, so she was a very helpful companion, though not so helpful as you.

MAY 1, 1931.

Yesterday, being given radish with salad, I managed to split a molar tooth with it, and to make a cut on a considerable area of the lower stretch of the tongue; the cut and the soreness block passage of food and breath through the throat and make talking difficult; or even spitting. Luckily, the incident does not interfere with food; only the discomfort of opening mouth interferes with the enjoyment of it, except that one replaces the enjoyment of food, as food, with the enjoyment of the proved circumstance that man can rise superior to discomfort, and enjoy in spite of disenjoyment. Sleep has not suffered at all, nor reading nor thought. You see use and wont make no fewer calls than on shore.

MAY 4, 1931.

Yesterday, Sunday, there was Divine Service, and I applied myself to the Philosophy of Reality which gave me unbargained insight into the present knowledge about the "pathogenic" (diseased) conditions which have produced so much philosophy and religion, and which have been stimulated by fasting and asceticism and which have permitted mental and moral lapses from the high estate of "ecstasies" achieved. India is proclaimed the supreme home of the Philosophies which are illusions, and the argument is that these illusions flourish because, not weeded out, like other illusions, by the play of Natural selection which can kill illusions only if they result in *direct* and *immediate* damage, a 'philosophy and religion' do not—their action being indirect and remote; professing believers are not always interested in the practice of beliefs.

MAY 8, 1931.

Nearing Adelaide.

In our party to Perth was Mr. Hormasji, of Secunderabad (fuller name, Mr. Jehangir Panthaky) who is looking round for business in Australia—stimulated by Mr. Lalca's articles in the *Jam-e-Jamshed* pleading for a Parsi settlement in Australia. At our lunch at Perth, he avowed himself a vegetarian and asked me to give orders for both. When I stated that Bombay had better finance and less unemployment than Australia, Mr. Hormasji dissented, saying I could not be aware of the extent of joblessness among Parsis—even in cotton mills. I suppose that decided him to try Australia? He

inquired what had led me into vegetarianism, and I mentioned our brother Sohrabji's connection with Theosophy; he seemed pleased; but the pleasure did not outlive my avowal that I had ceased to believe in Theosophies of any kind. The gentleman who appeared to be a duplicate of Eruch Lalca, turns out not to be the Lalca I expected and apparently dropped out at Colombo. I found the real Mr. Lalca at the Passport Officer's table at Freemantle, on arrival, and wondered what a Parsi was doing there. Of course, he was only a passenger who was awaiting the commencement of passport examination. Later, I related to him my impression, and told him how Mr. Justice Candy was pacing up and down the Station at Bournemouth, and how an excited passenger asked him whether the train standing near was the train he was looking for. Mr. Candy referred him to the station-master. "Then why the devil do you walk about, as if you were the station-master?" was the retort Mr. Candy got.

MAY 12, 1931.

Nearing Sydney.

I spend a month in New Zealand instead of 23 days, return to Sydney, *via* Wellington, and not *via* Auckland again as previously arranged, and, on arrival at Sydney three days before the sailing of "Narkunda" towards London, I again take up my quarters on the "Narkunda."

I was much surprised by the cheery spirits of Australian men and women on this ship in face of unemployment, depreciated currency, fall in prices of wool and wheat, inability to raise fresh loans, financial deficits, unpromising political handling, run on banks, including the Commonwealth Savings Bank. The explanation of this cheeriness is an unconquerable belief in the soundness of the country at bottom, its great productivity in grain, meat, metal and the superior quality of the human stock. Things must come right; meanwhile, they hug the consolation that Australian conditions are not so bad in [their part of] Australia as elsewhere; and I think West Australia and S. Australia think that things are not so bad with them as with the rest of Australia. This courageous front shames me. On Saturday last, on returning from Mount Lofty, near Adelaide, I took up some Physics to brace me up and at dinner found myself lamenting whether the Australians had as good reason for groaning as I who could make no progress either in comprehending, or in interest, in my chosen subjects. Since then I have been able to make good the whole ground.

With reduced time, there was no opportunity for plans for visiting distant wonders, and all of tourist interest in and near Melbourne had been shown me during my two previous visits; yet I had luck, was recommended to see the panorama from the watchtower station of their Fire Brigade and saw Melbourne as I had never seen it before, including Roman Catholic cathedrals and convents which brought me the information that 1 in 3 in Melbourne and 1 in 4 in Australia was Roman Catholic.

MAY 15, 1931.

I did not get out of Australia without some acquaintance with newspapers. The only Indian news I got on the voyage was first from the *Ceylon Times*, the hacking to death of a U. P. Zemindar, and the 150,000 workless in Bombay—and then from the Australian papers, the prosperity of the Bombay mills built on the achieved ruin of Lancashire debated in Parliament; the new demand by Mr. Gandhi for the release of the 1925 prisoners; the recrudescence of outrages and of derailment of trains.

But, naturally, I am more interested in their outlook on their own affairs; I have understood better the

collapse of the New South Wales Savings Bank and the Labour Party's attack on Banks in general. Mr. Lyons, the new leader of the United Australia Party, has proved no match in Parliament for Mr. Scullin, his old chief; and there is some move to make Sir R. Gibson, Governor of the Commonwealth Bank, the Prime Minister of Australia. Daily one reads of the hold-ups at Banks and commercial houses and on the roads, for even sums so small as £ 12—including an Indian hawkier relieved of £ 83 on the countryside; and there is a general increase of violent crimes. There is also an increase of criminal assaults on girls, sometimes with their complicity; and Australian writers say all this criminality is of one piece with the loose morality set up by the easy, if fictitious, prosperity consequent on 20 years of reckless borrowing abroad. Money and push-forward became the standard of merit, and traditional restraints became old-fashioned. The booklet on New Zealand offers a refreshing contrast to this state of things.

We are 40 in the first saloon; among others, an English officer of the Indian Army proceeding to New Zealand on a year's leave to look round if it would pay him to settle down on the land there and resign from India after 16½ years' service. There was another Englishman, in the Jodhpur service, born in New Zealand who joined the "Naldera" with me and proceeded to Wellington (N. Z.) the day before I sailed from Auckland. The Army Officer tells me that three Indians whom I see in the second saloon, have a shop of curios in Auckland, and are returning after a visit to their country, probably to obtain fresh stocks. I had no sight-seeing in Sydney; being occupied at the P. & O. office, and the N.Z. tourist bureau, to obtain passenger's permit to travel in New Zealand.

As I came out of the N. Z. Government Bureau, I was assailed by the shout of my name; turning back I faced a man whose face seemed familiar who said he had been in charge of the dining-room at the Taj; that Mr. Framroze called him Rosso; that after leaving the Taj, he had gone over to the Grand and thence to Candy, Ceylon, and then migrated to Sydney where for 10 months he had in vain looked for a job, and was awaiting passage-money from his father to return to England; could I help some. I explained that I was very short of money, and would fare badly if the remittance I had telegraphed for did not come to hand in Auckland. He took it very well and we parted.

On arrival at Sydney I was surrounded by a batch of pressmen and photographers. I allowed two photographers to do their will provided I had not to pay for it. But explained to pressmen that I was nobody in my country; reminded them of Gilbert and Sullivan in the 'Gondoliers,' "If everybody is somebody, nobody is anybody;" that I had been turned out of all the businesses they mentioned; that I had no belief in the Parsi faith (of which they had been advised) or any other faith; that I was not committed to any opinions myself, and did not think any worth communicating to Australia. The head waiter would not provide me with a separate table in the dining room; wireless officer, another officer, a New Zealand lady in pearls, and a Scotchman who left Edinburgh at the age of 16, are my company at the table; they accept my deafness, and don't bother about my silence. But the Scotchman remarked that he would not be a wireless officer for worlds; there was no home life in it; would I? I replied that, had I the necessary skill, the job would suit me down to the ground.

"But why?" he asked.

I said, "I was without home, country, religion, business—nothing to tug me to land."

He said, he was the same way; father and mother were dead—but there were the neighbours calling?

MAY 18, 1931.

It is the 18th to-day; usually I would have a hair-cut; but this function was performed on the 14th, the hairdresser of the ship showing a strong wish to be allowed to handle and shampoo my hair before I left the ship. On leaving Bombay, I had informed him that I should require a shave every morning before breakfast, and a hair-cut and shampoo on the 18th.

"Why the 18th, Sir? Birthday?"

"No, my birthday falls on May 7."

Today at breakfast, we three passengers talked. The lady sitting opposite me is, according to my Scotch neighbour, a past school-mistress on a visit to her daughter in New Zealand which she expects to leave in a fortnight. Seeing me enjoy fresh grapefruit—the "Naldera" only gave preserved—she had yesterday said she hated grape-fruit. Today something she said made me avow that my first visit to Europe was made in 1884—in fact, before she was born (she has brown hair)—and that I still remember a song I heard in the first days

Then said the young Obadiah to the old Obadiah—

Obadiah, Obadiah, you are a guy;

And then said the old Obadiah to the young Obadiah, Obadiah, Obadiah, so am I.

The lady said she had heard and recited the song at school; and so had the waiter, a much younger man; but the Scot had not.

Madam had once spoken of her husband's death—so she is a widow. She and the Scot said I was a humbug claiming to have been in London in 1884. My passport, I said, would attest my birth on May 7, 1864. She was surprised; she was 58. She said she was one of 14 in her family. I said last night I had seen figures of Australian mothers of children, from 0 to 30 in a family. Both Scotchman and lady nearly jumped. "30 children?" I said, she was only one in several thousands. That mother must have worn out how many husbands? The Scotchman roared; the lady turned red.

The Scotchman had offered to lend me Birkenhead's speeches the last of which he thought would interest me.

"Shame," I cried, "a Scot reading Galloping Smith (F. E.) and neglecting Ramsay."

"O! Ramsay is too platitudinous," he retorted.

"Well his daughter, Ishbel, or Maxton," I suggested.

"Well," replied, "I grant you Ishbel is a fine woman and brainy; and Maxton, any day in preference to MacDonald."

He said the lady opposite me had to be compassionated—just fancy a life of schoolmistress-ship. (When he said that the lady could not hear). Anyhow, I remarked I was deep in human problems, and Galloping (F. E.) Smith (alias Birkenhead) "would be a feeble diversion. He had brains all right; but he galloped too fast, and with too much assurance for me."

Then I expounded what I was reading: human sacrifices as origin of agriculture, infanticide once the approved mode of limiting populations all over the world, the relativity of morals.

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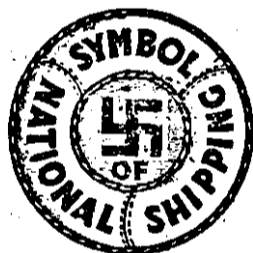
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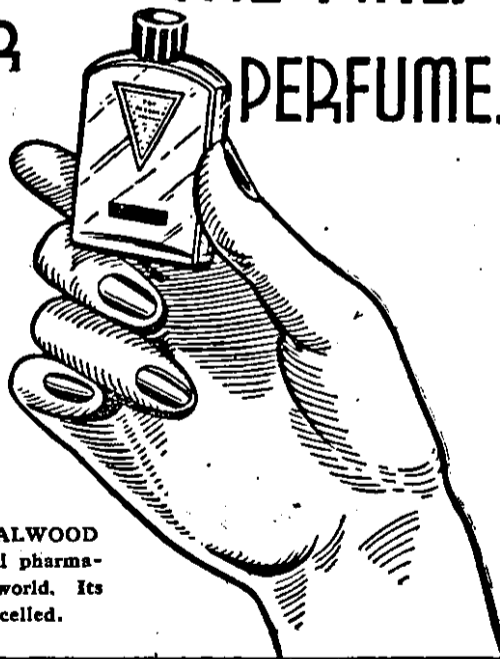
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PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY FEBRUARY 7, 1942. No. 23.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

The Romance of Indian
Women's Education.
India and Japan.
India and the War.
India in the Lords.
Intermarriage and the
Christians.
Marriage and Education.
An Allied Victory.

Women's Role.
Catholic and Communist.
Shirer's Berlin Diary.
India's Marching Song.
Peace and Victory.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Christians and Inter-Communal Marriage.

NOTES.

The Romance of Indian Women's Education:—
The outstanding feature of the British period in Indian history is the movement for the emancipation of women from an evil tradition of mental and social servitude. This movement has not very much been promoted consciously and of set purpose by the British regime. The part of that regime has been rather that of removing obstacles to the free expression of the Indian genius than of active interference to stimulate it. At the same time, it will be unjust to deny all active effort on the part of individual Englishmen and women to promote the good cause. Education is at the root of all progress and the education of women had been neglected in India during what corresponds to the middle ages in European history. This neglect had developed into hostility. It was the establishment of British rule which enabled the conversion of this hostility into the present enthusiasm for girls' education. Mr. S. C. Roy contributes an interesting article to the current number of the *Prabudha Bharati*, the organ of the Ramakrishna Mission, in which he gives an account of the growth of girls' education in Bengal from troubled beginnings. The British and Foreign Bible Society sent out in 1821 Miss Cooke to promote women's education. She started learning Bengali in order to undertake the work. One day "she found a girl crying at the door of a boys' school, because the teacher refused to admit her while her brother was reading there. Miss Cooke met this girl's mother and other ladies of the neighbourhood and with their consent and co-operation, it was decided to start a girls' school." Within two years of starting the school, Miss Cooke married and gave up the school. Her co-workers thereupon approached Lady Amherst, wife of the Governor-General, and under her auspices the Bengal Ladies Society was formed. The first non-denominational girls' school was started by

Drinkwater Bethune, a member of the Governor-General's Council. Orthodox opposition expressed itself in jeering at the girls being convoyed to and from school. When Bethune left India, Lord Dalhousie took over the management of the school which is the oldest Women's College in the country. This was about the middle of the last century. Mr. Roy notes the revolutionary change which has occurred in the public attitude to the education of girls. He writes:

Today we have not only hundreds of girls reading in schools, but dozens of them are reading in the colleges with their brothers. We have as many as four colleges for women in Assam alone, besides co-education in most of the men-students' colleges. We know how our women are coming to their own, falsifying the worst fears of the scoffers of the last century.

The scene of the girl crying at the door of the boys' school, should be commemorated on canvas and on marble as the inspiration which broke the chains of ignorance which had held down Indian womanhood for centuries.

India and Japan:—The *Manchester Guardian* is about the only British newspaper to realise the possible effects of Japan's slogan of "Asia for Asiatics" and to attempt to counteract its effect on India. India is an Asiatic country and is not particularly proud of being a subject nation of a European overlord. Japan's victory over Russia, as Lord Curzon felt, had changed the attitude of Asia *vis-a-vis* Europe, and stimulated the nationalist movement in India. The fate of Japan in this war will have far-reaching consequences to Asia and Europe. The *Manchester Guardian* quotes an opinion expressed by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore regarding Japan's aggressive tendencies but the Poet has expressed even stronger views about Great Britain's imperialism, the latest instance being his reply to Miss Rathbone. India was not conscious of an Asiatic continentalism until Europeanism made itself obnoxious to the rest of the world. Just as the Moslem League brought forth the Hindu Mahasabha, the declarations of Europeans regarding their special interests and virtues brought into existence an anti-European Asianism. Repeatedly the *Reformer* has represented the unwisdom of thrusting the European White-Skinism into the faces of the coloured races. Without any effect. If this war should make Europeans understand that the weapons of destruction can be mastered by men of any race and that they are no longer their

exclusive possession, it will not have been fought in vain. No fair-minded Englishman can fail to realise that if the war is allowed to develop as one between White and coloured races, the people of India would be torn between two incompatible loyalties. Lord Chatfield in the House of Lords criticised the denunciation of the alliance with Japan which had stood the British Empire in good stead in the last war. It was a foolish mistake but for which the course of history would have moved on entirely different lines. Britain should have espoused, as an Asiatic power, the cause of the people of Asia to equality with Europeans. If she had supported Japan at the Peace Conference in her attempt to get the colour bar effaced from international relations, she would today be standing out as the great champion of peace and goodwill among the nations. The *Manchester Guardian* refers to the spiritual wealth of India. But what has Britain done to conserve it? She has stood passively by without lifting a little finger to stop the scandal of mass conversions against which all the great religious leaders of this country have protested. We respect the consistent goodwill of this great English journal but we have to point out the difficulties in the way of establishing a working arrangement which would bring salvation both to India and England.

India and the War:—Sir Vithal Chandavarkar in an address on the political situation on Tuesday asked the Indian people to forget the past and to give their unstinted support to Government in its war effort. But Sir Vithal himself was unable to achieve this psychological feat as he kept harping on the failure of Government in the past to get Indian opinion behind it in the administration and to make the Indian public feel that this war was their war. Memory is not a function of the will. The more you try to shake off an unpleasant memory, the stronger is the force with which it impinges on your consciousness. This is a common experience which can be verified by anyone who has not had it. Why is your finger disposed to press now and then on the painful tooth though to do so will only accentuate the pain? This failure to allow for the psychological process has been and is largely the cause of the failure of much of war propaganda. This is also evident in the charge that Government has not made the Indian people feel that this war is their war. The question is, Is this war, as a fact, my war or is it not? To answer this question one has to define what is meant by "my war" and "not my war." The answer may be sought through an analogy. Instead of "war," let us take "car", as the object under discussion. When is a car "my car"? Obviously when I am able to start it when I want, and drive it to the place where I wish to go, and at the time when I need to go. Consideration should also be within my competence as to having sufficient petrol in the tank and having available the tools necessary to mend

a puncture should one occur on the way. With none of these at my disposal, the car can be called "my car" only by a figure of speech. In order that I may feel that the war is my war, I should be satisfied that it is within my power to influence its course in accordance with my capacity and knowledge, not to mention my interests. Unless there is a sincere and not merely affected feeling among Indians and Britons of a common fellowship, it is futile to ask one party only to conjure up an emotional experience which must be mutual. "It is a true rule," says Bacon, "that love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque or with an inward or secret contempt." In order to enlist Indian co-operation, not merely mechanical compliance with orders, the appeal should be to the imagination and not to the will which is out of court here. Some great and engrossing ideal should be held up which will capture the Indian imagination. Freeing Poland and Holland from the Nazi yoke, worthy as it is, has no imaginative appeal to Indians. Nor defending European civilization nor the Christian virtues which it has rejected. The maintenance of the *status quo* in Netherland Indies and in Belgian Congo positively repels. Britain should have the imagination to conceive some high ideal which Indians needs must love when they see it, and to place it before this country and the world as her supreme purpose in peace and war. When this is done, no effort will be needed to make Indians feel that this is their war. Until this is done, no effort will really convince them that their interest in it is more than a consequence of their subjection to British rule, which no wise statesman would wish to emphasise.

India in the Lords:—An interesting conversation—it was no more than a conversation—was initiated in the House of Lords by a Labour Lord this week. Lord Faringdon put the Indian case fairly and clearly before the House and he was supported by other noble Labour Lords among whom was Lord Wedgwood who is, we believe, the same statesman who used to be known as Wedgwood Benn. That a man should change his name in order to become a member of an assembly where his services are expected to be useful, is one of the humours of the British temperament. The only criticism we feel impelled to offer on Lord Faringdon's speech is that he left out of his calculation, in estimating the returns Britain derives from this country, the vast invisible ones in strategic advantage, political prestige and a field for employment for its middle class sons on salaries which they would not get anywhere else. Lord Faringdon was answered by the Duke of Devonshire, Under-Secretary of State for India. The Duke wisely avoided going into figures which are his weak point. Some time back he told the House that two million Indians were serving in the Army and had to be corrected the next day by the announcement that His Grace meant one million when he spoke of two millions, an excusable mistake in one of

his exalted rank. The Duke agreed with Lord Faringdon that it would be right to transfer the Government to Indian hands but he asked to be advised as to which Indian hands power should be transferred to. He pointed out, as his Chief has been doing for some years, that there were several Indian hands stretched not to receive power but to smite whoever might be entrusted with it. Lord Faringdon, of course, could not give an answer which would satisfy the Duke. But we might attempt an answer. If you are earnest about parting with power which you feel should belong to Indians, you have simply to tell Indians that you are resolved to leave them to their own shifts after a definite period and that they may either come to some agreement among themselves or go to Hell for all that Britain cares after that date. Britain does not want to bear the odium of holding down India in bondage. She will shake the dust off her feet and will not mind what happens to the country. This may seem a harsh course but nothing will more surely lead to Indians settling their differences. They will have to do so or go hat in hand to the Duke begging him to stay on or at least to give them more time to come to a working arrangement among themselves. Britain will be cleared of all blame for holding India in subjection. Will Britain do this?

Intermarriage and the Christian:—We publish this week a letter from Mr. S. W. Howard of Bareilly on Christian girls and intermarriage, which relates largely to the position in United Provinces. In his interesting study on "The Indian Christians of Lucknow," Mr. N. G. D. Joardar, a professor in the Lucknow Christian College, considers a sample section of the same community. He notes that, during the last ten years,

sixty-seven Indian Christian girls married outside the community and seven Indian Christian men chose their brides from non-Christians. When a Christian young man brings a Hindu or Muslim wife to his home there is not as much agitation in the community as when a Christian girl marries outside.....Of the 67 marriages of girls outside the community, 45 belonged to the four first classes and 22 to the last four (Mr Joardar's division is economic, the first four being families earning above Rs. 900 a month and the last four below). In the latter cases the girls chose Muslim boys as their mates. But in the 45 other cases, 32 were Hindu youths and 18 Muslims.....In all these marriages the girls chose bridegrooms above their economic station in life; they had scarcely that possibility in their own community.

The author was deputed in 1941 by the National Christian Council to write an objective account of the Christians of Lucknow. He had done some work along these lines in 1924 and he has now given his readers the benefit of two surveys carried out at an interval of seventeen years. His figures show that out of roughly 670 Indian Christian families, 67 girls married outside the community during ten years. A point on which light is wanted, is the number of families in which more than one person married outside the fold. In addition to Mr. Howard's argument that Christian girls are better educated, Mr. Joardar says that in

Lucknow they are more numerous, than Christian boys. Mr. Joardar concludes his survey on the Lucknow community with the remark that the economic position of the Christians rested in the past on Government jobs and will in the future be less rather than more favourable.

Marriage and Education:—The implications of this read along with Mr. Howard's indictment of the Christian parents' passion for security, are that the community is suffering from a lack of the spirit of adventure and that economic considerations take precedence even over communal claims. Mr. Howard's picture of the life of a Christian girl is truly depressing. It is the reverse of the position of women under ancient Hindu law: it could be well said of her apparently that she protects her father before marriage; her husband in youth; and her sons in old age. Mr. Howard's portrayal, if correct, fully explains the large number of unmarried girls in the community; probably none but the most conscientious is anxious to incur new and recurring liabilities. One must not forget, however, that Mr. Howard is biased against the Christian girl who marries outside her community, and her parents. The difficulties in this question are those which beset a community in which the education of girls has far outstripped the training given to boys. The argument that to educate a girl is to educate a family while the education of a boy is the mere equipping of an individual, rests largely on the assumption that the girls will become mothers and so pass their knowledge on to their children. It is cut at the very root in communities where the increase of unmarried girls constitutes a problem. These intermarriages probably show that the younger generation do not feel as separate from other Indians as do the older Christians. It is noteworthy that Mr. Joardar says nothing about marriages of Indian Christians with Europeans or Americans or about any trend among the wealthier or more ambitious to pass off as Europeans. Presumably, these questions either do not exist in the United Provinces with which alone both Mr. Joardar and Mr. Howard are concerned; or they do not trouble the leaders or investigators in the Christian community.

An Allied Victory:—"Even our bitterest Indian critics," said Mr. Amery in a review of the Empire's war effort at Leeds, "do not wish for any other result than an allied victory." So what? Evidently the question of granting Indian national demands depends on India attaining a degree of bitterness which has yet to be reached. Mr. Amery's certificate is very welcome to Indians. Not because they had any doubts on the subject but because they did not know for certain that the British Government was free of all fears. Reuter omitted to mention whether any one in his audience asked the Secretary of State for India why then Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose has been arrested and U. Saw detained, both unwarranted actions in view of Mr. Amery's confident assertion.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 7, 1942.

WOMEN'S ROLE.

There seems to have been a slight "breeze" at the celebration of the completion of twenty-five years by the Indian Women's University last Sunday in Bombay. Sir S. Radhakrishnan who presided, pleaded, according to the report in the *Bombay Chronicle*, that the true conception of democracy and equality consisted in the recognition of the diversity of human beings and in giving opportunities for their development. "Women should be the inspirers, not imitators, of men," he added. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, continues the report in the *Chronicle*, in proposing the vote of thanks, joined issue on this point and asserted that civilisation had become lop-sided and unequal because women had been denied their due voice in the counsels and achievements of men. She said that women did not want to be competitors but comrades of men. The Philosopher's reasoning led him to postulate that women should retain "the quality of romance; some mystery in their make-up; some sense of glamour that would lure and inspire to greater ends." The Poet did not, as she could not, repudiate the claims of romance and glamour. She implied that women should be men's comrades in order to inspire the latter with something of their glamour and romance. Referring to Sir S. Radhakrishnan's remark that women should not be a mere copy of men, which would be doing violence to their nature, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that nature would not permit a woman merely to copy a man. Lord Haldane in an address to the students of Edinburgh University several years ago, gave more precise expression to this argument for not making too much of the natural differences between the sexes, particularly in education. He said that one feature of the University which did not exist when he was a student, was the admission of women to share the academic life. He went on to answer critics who, in Scotland as in India, deprecated the education of men and women in the same studies and institutions on the ground of their natural differences. He said:

It (the admission of women to Universities) is part of a movement which is causing the world slowly to alter its point of view, and which is, I think, making for the principle of general equality, in the eye of the law and the constitution, for women. The differences of temperament and ability which nature has established, even an omnipotent Parliament can never alter. But Society, whatever Parliament may say, appears to be making progress towards a decision to leave it to nature and not to law to set the limits.

The argument of "natural differences" between man and woman, has been the staple argument urged against every reform for the last one hundred years. The argument has taken one of two forms: woman is inferior to man in mental and moral stability or she is an ethereal being to

whom the concessions necessary in the case of the more earthly male creature, are not needed. In one or the other form this argument has been urged against the abolition of suttee, against legislation permitting remarriage to Hindu widows, against raising the marriage age, against even sending girls to school. Reformers at every step were countered by this argument and what progress has been made is by their exposing the falsity and selfishness of this complacent assumption. Except among a small wealthy class in which women lead soft, easy, protected lives, women share equally with men in the rough and tumble of life and, in addition, bear and bring up children. They carry loads, they dig, they plough, they tend cattle, among the masses, and among the professional classes, the heavy burden of domestic drudgery is borne by them. Lenin with the insight of genius declared that the relief of women from domestic drudgery was one of the foremost tasks of the social revolution. A faulty education which is common to men and women, is more conducive to the abolition of "the double standard," the lop-sidedness of civilisation, as Mrs. Sarojini Naidu called it, than different systems for men and women, however perfectly conceived. Particularly in India where we have to struggle against a long-standing obsession, it is necessary to insist on the equal position of men and women as moulders of the common social life. Any detraction from this principle is sure to lead to the loss of the position so far gained in relieving Indian women of the pressure of forces which have kept them ignorant and suppressed for many centuries. Women themselves have now taken the helm in reform and though some of them unfortunately are carried away by popular slogans, the great majority of them may be expected to oppose strenuously every influence which tends to put back the hands of the clock in their progress to freedom and personality.

We should not have thought it necessary to comment on Sir S. Radhakrishnan's thesis but for its implied criticism of the system of co-education which in this province has had a long history. Granted that the majority of women are destined to be good wives and mothers, it is not clear how education in common institutions will unfit them for this destiny. In passing, whatever might have been its original idea and inspiration—statements have differed as to these—the Indian Women's University has, we believe, found it necessary to adopt more or less the same methods and courses of study as are followed in other colleges. Nor is there any proof that the girls educated in the University during the last twenty-five years, have established a claim to be better mothers and wives than girls educated in other colleges or even women who have received only the traditional training in the Indian home. As for glamour and romance, it would be interesting to know what special teaching is provided to the students of the University in those qualities which, by the way, are more valuable for aspirants to stardom in Film-land than in the average home in India or

elsewhere. More of these qualities is in the minds of men rather than in the make-up of women. Some of the famous romances in history centre around women who were plain-featured and matter of fact in their dealings with men. The point, however, is not worth pressing. A separate University for women is justified only if it attracts a considerable number of girls who, owing to sentiment or prejudice, will not attend the same schools as men. That this is not the case, is evident from the fact that the ordinary colleges have more girls on their rolls than the Women's University. The present tendency, even in secondary schools which until a few years ago were differentiated, is to work on co-educational lines as being both more economical and efficient. Sir Radhakrishnan, while approving the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction, warned the authorities against neglecting English which was necessary for its world importance. A language is not merely a collection of words with a certain plan for stringing them together. Every language has its highest value in a discipline of mind. The Indian languages, notwithstanding their differences, have all a common trend in this respect. The English language, by reason of its political content and international vogue, has a discipline different from theirs which modern India needs to assimilate.

CATHOLIC AND COMMUNIST.

The *International Labour Review* for October opens with an interesting article on the fiftieth Anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, by Rev. Albert Le Roy, S. J. *Rerum Novarum* is the title of an Encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII, on May 15, 1891 as an exposition of the Catholic Church's solution to the socio-economic conflict. On June 1, 1941, the present Pope, Pius XII, broadcast an address in which he recalled the benefits which have accrued from the "epoch-making" social encyclical of his predecessor, from which, he said, "sprang forth a Catholic social teaching which gavean orientation and method for social reconstruction...through it there arose in the Catholic field numerous and diverse beneficent institutions that were flourishing centres of reciprocal help." The June number of the *International Labour Review* printed some extracts from *Rerum Novarum*, and the Rev. Albert Le Roy gives more excerpts from it in his article. The unit of society according to the Encyclical is not the individual but the family. "In the family," says the Encyclical, "the nation finds the natural and sound roots of its greatness and power." The Encyclical does not define "family" but its implication seems to be that it means the father, mother and children, and it is, thus, identical with the current European usage. The Church knows nothing of the matriarchal family and assumes that the patriarchal family is the creation of God. The first family in the Old Testament was a patriarchal one and the Papal vision was bounded by that circumstance. But the matriarchal family is not only a discovery of anthropological research. We have it living and functioning in Malabar at the present day. The same criticism applies to the dictum that the institution of private property is divinely ordained. There is an overwhelming

mass of evidence to show that property, both in land and goods, was communal in its origin. Human institutions came into existence in response to human needs and to attribute them to God impedes the path of the social reformer by encumbering social issues with a theological complex. The Church maintains, says the Rev. Le Roy, "that social reforms must be based on the family, and that in this field it is more than ever inadmissible for any one to take the place of the parents or for them to be hampered in performing their task." This freedom claimed for parents does not prevent the Church from insisting on the education of Catholic children being entrusted to it alone and to no other agency, and on the parents also guiding themselves by the advice of the nearest priest.

Apart from doctrinal differences, the Church comes very close to Communism in its denunciation of the present industrial and economic system. It bespeaks not only rare insight but courage on the part of Pope Leo XIII fifty years ago to declare :

By degrees it has come to pass that working men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestricted competition. And to this must be added the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay on the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself.

This grave indictment of the capitalistic system, which was anticipated by the Prophet, Isaiah, centuries ago, was brought up to date by His Holiness Pope Pius XII in his broadcast last June. He said :

Immense power and despotic economic domination concentrated in the hands of a few, and these few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure. This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason employing, so to speak, the lifeblood of the entire economic body and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one dare to breathe against their will.

Approaching the question from an objective standpoint, the Communist comes to the same estimate of the economic system as the two Popes. Here is a passage from John Strachey's "The Coming Struggle for Power :"

The worker is brought into the factory by being prevented from working, and so sustaining life, outside it. And this is accomplished by a small number of persons appropriating originally by use of force (usually the force of the State machine of which they have got control) the increasing centralised means of production. Once this process has begun, however, it extends itself automatically.

The Communist holds that this undesirable state of things can be remedied only by the abolition of property rights at least with respect to the instruments of production. The Church stoutly opposes this solution. Ownership of property, it holds, is ordained by God. But its own solution comes very close to this. It would substitute State control for State ownership. Pope Pius XII in his broadcast declared that

the public authority, in view of the common good, may specify what is licit and what is illicit for property owners in the use of their possessions. Leo XIII had wisely taught that "the defining of private possession has been left by God to man's own industry and to the laws of individual peoples."

Strachey concedes that capitalism could not make much headway wherever the Catholic Church main.

tained its hold. Spain, for instance, remained outside the capitalistic orbit until the Revolution of 1931 which established a socialist republican government in the place of the ancient Catholic monarchy. Strachey regards Protestantism as both parent and protege of capitalism. The Catholic Church, he points out, has met the industrial-economic crisis by reverting to the communalism of primitive Christianity. This, according to Strachey, has increased the intellectual prestige and the temporal power of the Catholic Church. "For any one who can achieve religious belief at all," he observes, "the Catholic form of Christianity is becoming increasingly appropriate."

But the Catholic solution does not satisfy the Communist, because it merely transfers economic power from the capitalist-controlled to the Church-controlled State, which is a sort of flying from the frying pan into the fire. The Communist wants the power of the State to be the power of the proletariat. This is possible only by promoting the growth of a class-conscious proletariat free of the domination of both capitalist and priest. The Soviet Revolution was an attempt to do this. It has not been able to hold its ground. Stalin's Russia is not Lenin's Russia.

Strachey's estimate of Protestantism is patently inaccurate as well as unfair. Christian Socialism is not the monopoly of the Catholic Church. Viscount Snowden, in his Autobiography, says that the British Labour movement drew its inspiration not from Karl Marx's "Capital" but from Jesus Christ's Sermon on the Mount. Its leaders were Protestants not Catholics. Strachey, however, does not think much of British Socialism and that is, perhaps, why he underrates the part of Protestant Christianity among the forces working for a newer and braver world.

SHIRER'S BERLIN DIARY.

The incapacity to see the other fellow's point of view is a fairly universal trait. Mr. Shirer's "Berlin Diary" (Hamish Hamilton: 12s 6d), because it is, in other ways, the most notable book of its kind, conveys this impression profoundly to its readers. Mr. William W. Shirer who switched over from newspaper correspondent to radio commentator in Berlin during the first year of war, was as appropriate for reporting the Berlin end to America as Colonel Lindbergh would have been for covering London on behalf of the United States. Like Ambassador Dodd, he disliked the very air he breathed in Nazi Germany. But while the U. S. Ambassador considered it part of his duties not to work against the German Government, Mr. Shirer was continuously trying to put over the radio "information useful to the enemy." "You are reduced," he writes in explanation of his decision to leave Germany in December 1940, "to rebroadcasting the official communiques which are lies...With my deep, burning hatred of all that Nazism stands for, it has never been pleasant working and living here..... There is not even a job to do—not from here." The question of ethics does not, of course, arise in dealings with the Nazis and many of Mr. Shirer's readers who would condemn the action of a man who works among a people whom he dislikes, on a job of interpreting them to his countrymen, will have nothing but praise for Mr. Shirer's attempts to outwit the German censors. Largely because Mr. Shirer's prejudices are widespread, Mr. Shirer himself considered his business as more concerned with events than peoples. But then in a strictly logical world he should have little reason for grievances against the counter-ruses of the German censorship.

Mr. Shirer, moreover, is very naive for a hard-boiled American press correspondent of fifteen years' standing. In the light of Britain's refusal to indulge in reprisal bombings of civilian objectives and the oft-repeated charge against German methods of victimising the innocent, Mr. Shirer's references to air-raids on Berlin, though accompanied by encouraging remarks on the efficacy of keeping the Berliners in their cellars, convey a different impression, and his experience in outwitting the German censorship of which he has given many examples, gives one the rather uneasy fear that he may have tried it this time on the British censor. Nor is one reassured by his frequent denunciations of the Germans for applying a different standard to other peoples from what they seek for themselves. To quote,

To give American radio listeners an idea of the kind of propaganda (though I couldn't label it as such) which the German people are being subjected to now, I read in my broadcast tonight the following quotation from today's Berlin newspaper: "While the attack of the German air force is made on purely military objectives—this fact is recognized by both the British press and radio—the R. A. F. knows nothing better to do than to attack continually non-military objectives in Germany. A perfect example of this was the criminal attack on the middle of Berlin last night. In this attack only lodging-houses were hit."

All this, however, enhances rather than detracts from the unique value of the book as a record of Germany at war.

Mr. Shirer traces the success of the German armed forces not so much to the years of mechanical preparation, as to the new spirit which he reports as having developed between officers and men. He writes:

All the big tank attacks were led in person by commanding generals. They did not sit in the safety of dug-outs ten miles behind the lines and direct by radio. They sat in their tanks in the thick of the fray...The great gulf between officers and men is gone in this war...In the cafes, restaurants, dining-cars, officers and men off duty sit at the same table and converse as men to men. This would have been unthinkable in the last war and is probably unusual in the armies of the West, including our own (American).....In Paris I recall a colonel who was treating a dozen privates to an excellent lunchWhen lunch was over, he drew, with all the care of a loving father, a plan for them to visit the sights of Paris.....One reason for the excellent morale of the troops is their realization that they, and not the civilians back home, are receiving the best treatment the nation can afford. Last Christmas it was the soldiers who sent food packages home to their families and not the reverse.

We may mention in passing that while this may be good for the army it is not good tactics for total war. Has not Hitler himself said that the last war was lost to Germany not by the failure of the troops but owing to breakdown in the morale of the civilians at home? To some extent preferential treatment to the army is inevitable in modern war, particularly when the same materials are required by both civilians and soldiers. The fact that the soldiers were sending food home, means that there was more food in the invaded countries than in the home country. The one real point is the relation between the army officer and his men. Mr. Shirer does not throw any light on how this fundamental change has been achieved. Writers on modern Germany, following Dr. Peter F. Drucker's "End of Economic Man," have pointed out that Russia pursuing economic equality had achieved social equality whilst Fascist States seeking to raise the status of the lowest classes had brought about greater economic equality but accentuated social distinctions. Drucker himself

wrote: "Fascist society is based upon a non-economic concept—that of a nation in arms. It follows, therefore, that the privileged classes are not only the first to make economic sacrifices but that their very privileges rest upon their readiness to make greater sacrifices than the others. In the communist, economically-conceived, society, economic sacrifices degrade socially. In the totalitarian society they raise the social status and strengthen the title to social power." It was inferred that Hitler had organised Germany into one vast army, an army of the old school. That there was a change as well in the army spirit underlying the old Prussian formalism, was not realised. How great the change is can be gathered from J. B. Priestley's description of life in the army in his "Midnight on the Desert":

I served over four and a half years in the army, where money does not count for much and privilege, carefully adjusted according to rank and then very strongly enforced, counts for a lot. A wealthy private soldier is not allowed to be insolent to a poor officer. Money might bribe a little promotion, but that is all. Whereas there is a tremendous difference between what a private soldier is allowed to do and what a general is allowed to do. And to my mind this is far more galling than any difference of income, provided that that difference is above a certain level. Once the low level is raised, from starvation to decent comfort, the inequalities do not seem to me to matter very much.....In short, equal income severely tempered by privilege would not enlarge but further restrict the liberty of the individual. What is needed is a juster distribution of wealth with as little privilege as possible.

If this was the position in the British Army, it must have been ten times worse in the Prussianized German forces. Moreover the German army had a prestige in Germany which no other army had in Europe. As it has been said, it was to the German people what the British Constitution was to the British people. Hitler's influence with the High Command was due to his promise to strengthen the army. Apparently in doing so, he also ensured that it would be displaced from the minds and hearts of the people. Even if it is the Nazi party which has supplanted the German Army, it is a cheering thought for the world's future that Germany has been turned away from reliance on her army to a political party. The defeat of Germany now will mean the collapse of Nazism. It will not lead to the same repercussions as the defeat of 1914.

In analysing the contribution of Hitler to Germany, Mr. Shirer stresses the political unification of the country. Few people outside that country realize, he writes, how this unification has knitted the nation together, given the people self-confidence and a sense of historical mission and made them forget their personal dislike of the Nazi regime, its leaders and the barbaric things it has done. Mr. Shirer adds that the German, however opposed to the Nazi regime, is beginning to realise that even a Nazi victory is better than defeat. He fears that the countries now overrun by German forces, will seek a bitter and unrelenting revenge. Already the nine nations' decision taken under the auspices of the British Foreign Secretary, to exact the fullest punishment from the aggressor, must confirm his worst fears. Mr. Shirer draws the obvious moral:

Only the dawning realization that they can't win, coupled with Allied assurances that to give up the struggle will not mean their destruction, will make them falter before one side or the other is destroyed.

Mr. Shirer has given us a brilliant book and one which well repays reading. It is surprising how much more there is in this diary than appears at first sight. And through it all his personal story. We have confined ourselves in this brief review to the

broad principles of the narrative. Mr. Shirer has some revealing flashes also on particular aspects as, for instance, in the following:

Hitler may attack Russia before he attacks the Americas.....but the clash (with the U. S. A.) is inevitable. As a matter of fact it may come sooner than almost all Americans at home imagine. An officer of the High Command somewhat shocked me the other day while we were discussing the matter. He said: "You think Roosevelt can pick the moment most advantageous to America and Britain for coming into the war. Did you ever stop to think that Hitler, a master at timing, may choose the moment for war with America a moment which he thinks will give him the advantage?"

The Japanese attack in the Pacific last November?

INDIA'S MARCHING SONG.

The following is not from Walt Whitman's Song of the Open Road. It is a translation of the hymn of "Onward March" in the Aitareya Brahmana, 3000 B. C., with well-known refrain चरैवेति चरैवेति:

"One who is weary of a long journey, acquires a grace incomparable. However important and great one might be, if he sits idle in this world he is reduced to insignificance. He who walks endlessly has God as his comrade and co-traveller. Hence, O Traveller, march along.

"A traveller's body blooms in grace and beauty. His soul becomes greater every day. Isn't that life's greatest achievement? As he marches along the open road, his sins are automatically destroyed and they fall dead. Hence, O Traveller, march along.

"An idle man's fate sits idle too. When one rises and stands upright, his fate also rises and stands up. As he lies down, his fate lies down with him. He who marches along, has his fate marching with him. Hence, O Traveller, march along.

"While one sleeps it is Kali-yuga; when he merely awakes it is Dwapara; as he stands up it is Treta; but the moment he steps onward there is Satya-yuga. Hence, O Traveller, march along.

"To march along is to gain immortality, marching by itself is the sweetest fruit of the journey. Look at the Sun—the ever glorious and eternal traveller, who once having started on his journey has never felt drowsy. Hence, O Traveller, march along."

PEACE AND VICTORY.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,
Do the signatures of "nine Allied Governments" which declare that Axis criminals will be brought to justice represent the "nation-States" concerned, or the "nation-peoples"?

There is a difference!

The "peoples" have not desired war, but it is the people who would have suffered most. It is possible that that suffering will only be increased by the grim threat to "punish the Axis criminals." Where after all does the real war-guilt lie?

Which of us brought face to face with the sins of a competitive system of civilisation can dare to claim innocence?

And "Vengeance is mine! I will repay," saith the Lord of these so-called Christian nations. D. Karaka in "Out of Dust" writes, "We want to erect no monument which will harbour the hatred we once felt.....We want rather to erect a monument to Peace."

He is right! Let us support him.

Kathiawar, }
January 22, 1942. }

Yours etc.,
NORA E. KARU.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

THE MAORIS OF NEW ZEALAND,

(Copyright.)

MAY 24, 1931.

Rotorua, N. Z.

Rotorua is 1000 feet above the sea level, and gets snow-blasts from the mountains when it is very windy. It is a health-resort for sulphurous bath-cures, girt round by mountains and lakes, and much steam emitted by geysers. The place is autumn-tinted, though generally N. Z. is said to be unfavourable to the development of autumn owing to its evergreen trees. One of the lakes showed floating on it a long patch of thick brown, the reflection from a tree. It is a favourite Maori settlement, and I have come in contact with several Maori guides, three of them girls; the girl who conducted me today alone, charged me 2/- for the hour; she showed me round geysers, Maori carvings, Maori palisades against invaders, meeting-houses (town-halls) and churches.

They are 66,000 all told, about 5% of the whole population, and a good half, half-caste; they have recently made a move for improvement; a settlement on the East Coast has now churches, colleges, hospitals, dairies of their own under the leadership of a Maori who is a practising barrister, knighted, member of the present Cabinet as well as Member of Parliament. Tribal jealousy prevented other tribes from accepting this man's gospel until the results on the East Coast compelled imitation.

The expectation is that the half-castes show promise and will be assimilated and that the pure Maoris will die out like the pure Indian of the U. S. who is dying out, and whose woes have been related in a book reviewed by the *N. Z. Herald* yesterday. It states that an Indian Chief visiting England 50 years ago, narrated to Queen Victoria the steps of the death of his race until tears rolled down the White Queen's cheeks, which flowed on till the Chief made her smile, with the dance of his women.

The girl guide today was also a half-caste, she spoke very good English, introduced me to an elderly lady with a tattooed mouth, done 80 years ago, herself a widow of an Englishman; she also speaks very good English.

Guide says Maoris are taught in Government schools where the only language taught is English. The white people love the Maoris, give them every chance and encouragement, institute girl guideships, to give educated girls the chance of earning a living before they marry, teach them to use the colour of their warm rocks for paint, or the white volcanic dust for face-powder, and encourage old Maori carvings and costumes and dancing. There are fewer Maori marriageable women than men, and old Maori maids are unknown. Belief in old medicine men has now taken refuge in the back settlements; no educated Maori dreams of a bath in a river as a cure for fever.

The Maoris are all Christians now, and embrace every denomination. The Catholic churches have services both in Maori and English, contrary to the European practice of holding services only in Latin. I have heard an occasional White man's fear that the Maoris quickly lapse after a rise. The Maoris, where they could, built their settlements round geysers, with chimneys at the foot of their houses to eject any accumulating steam and using the geysers for cooking and sometimes, where cold-surface water mixes with the less immense volume of the water oozing from volcanic cavities, for baths also. A geyser mid-mountain is used as a Barometer; if

steam issues from the crater, it is because of low pressure of air, and is a sign of coming rain.

The girl guide is interested in Indians from India; she knows two of them, her neighbours, to whom I was led, who have completed building a store which they will throw open tomorrow. The elder is from the Punjab, with a long beard and moustache, the younger is clean-shaven. The elder has been a station-master in the Punjab and has been 18 years in Auckland; his last business being selling motor cars near Auckland. There is a shop in Rotorua marked "Tobacconist and Hair-dresser, D. Govind." I saw two bare-headed Indian youths on the main street of Auckland.

A White guide on the Lakes told me of an Indian doctor who had the cream of the practice in Auckland, arousing the jealousy of the regular practitioners, who are alleged to have sent a woman to him, and she accused him, with the result that he had to quit the country.

MAY 26, 1931.

Waitomo Caves.

I have been to three Caves today—stalactites, stalymites, their junction in columns, their imitation of Shylock, witch, devil in configuration. Still I held out, even after seeing two caves; while they were good and different, yet I could not give them the palm over either the caves in Sydney or over the Caves of the Wind. But when, after dinner, we, a party of a dozen, were led over the glow-worm caves, where we saw the habits of glow-worms—each putting out 30 threads to entangle the insects intended to be devoured—and the roofs studded with the glow-worms, like stars, and were afterwards rowed in a boat on the river whose flow round has made the cave passages, we felt an enchantment beyond dreams. The magic of darkness and complete silence made a spell; and the glow-worms on the roof stood out like stars.

"Well?" asked the guide, when we stepped out of the boat.

"I capitulate," I replied; "it is beyond a dream of beauty; of such beauty, I have not dreamed and could not have dreamed."

It is immediately after this that I sit to communicate to you that my visit to the dentist and pre-occupation with the rawness of my mouth started the inquiry; Why is it I remember nothing of mother's or brother Sorabji's groans about decaying teeth? And brother K.—did he during the last four weeks of his final sickness, ever canvass the worth of his endeavours? Did he, like Perikles, feel the glow of satisfaction? Mortally plague-stricken, Perikles rejoiced that no Athenian had died from his ministry. Or, did he, like Cardinal Gascoyne (?), feel that all his life-work was an illusion? or did he feel like the Roman, "Si queries monumentum, circumspice"?

I throw about thoughts rather freely, and a visitor from Dunedin at Rotorua was so struck with the truth of my sally to Lady Cromer—that we are all humbugs, including bishops; that he is to take me in hand at Dunedin when I go there, and show me round. I was obliged to remind him that bishops were not *greater* humbugs than lawyers, doctors or statesmen.

MAY 31, 1931.

Nelson, N. Z.

A hunchback on the "Manowok" turned out to be Sir Truby King, a renowned baby expert, to whose work is given credit for the phenomenally low infant mortality (36 per thousand, half of London and a tenth of Bombay). I have protested that they might leave some credit for Almighty God.

JUNE 9, 1931.

Mount Cook.

Last night's conversation was with an Inspector of Schools who is himself a deer-stalker, is interested in Himalayan goats and chamois let loose on Mount Cook which have ranged to 400 miles from their original position. He knows about Ladak and Afghanistan and the tribal beliefs and Hindu Scriptures. There breakfasted at my table one who avowed himself to have come from Ayrshire, Scotland. I told him that, since the Ayrshire Bull is the acknowledged thoroughbred, the John Bull from Ayrshire should be recognised as thoroughbred.

The Sanitariums we had seen on Cashmere Hills on Sunday from the observation car were chiefly for the service of consumptives. Near Auckland I had read of a "Bombay deviation". New Zealand adopts a whole variety of names—English and Scotch—the Southern Island is very Scotch—Maori names of places are in very great favour in the South. Maoris are not in any evidence in the towns; they are but sparse in the interior; in the towns Chinese as fruiterers and laundrymen are seen flourishing. One conjecture is that there never were many Maoris in the South; they were constantly being raided by their more vigorous kinsmen in the North and constantly being wiped out. Another conjecture is that the pure Maoris of the South are being victimised by consumption and wiped out. This seems strange as consumption has always been called the "White Man's Plague;" and it is the Maoris who are racy of the soil. It is probable that New Zealand being the most distant corner of the earth for the White Man, it is the select stock that gets so far; tuberculosis does not kill this stock out; their death-rate is the lowest in the world.

CHRISTIANS AND INTER-COMMUNAL MARRIAGE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have perused with keen interest the article on the above topic by the pen of the veteran Bishop of Donakal, reproduced from the *National Christian Council Review* by the *Indian Christian Messenger* for the months of November and December 1941. Whatever opinions and criticisms have hitherto been advanced to abrogate this much abused stigma of mixed marriages, I am afraid we have not yet traced down the real cause, in other words we have absolutely failed to unearth or discuss the basic and fundamental reasons of this apathetical malady. I sketch those aspects here in their nakedness in the hope that I may not provoke the feelings of the Christian community.

I am of the opinion that those girls who marry a non-Christian on the pretext that they fail to discover a suitable or an Apollo-like husband in their community, lack true religious fervour and spiritual convictions. A true Christian girl, notwithstanding all her difficulties and handicaps, will in no circumstances marry outside the Christian fold. I know numerous girls who have been hopelessly frustrated in their search to find a life-partner to suit their whims but, rather than crucify Christ again, have crucified their own desires and happiness instead, so that His name be glorified; while others have chosen another way to find a good husband in their own community. They have left their parents and taken the reins of responsibility in their own hands. They have singled out their men out of hundreds, poor and uneducated, but full of potentialities of achievements. They have helped them in the prosecution of studies. They have provided them with all the necessities. They have done everything in their power to bring them to their own state, and having

made them successful in their enterprises they are the happiest women today.

This characterisation is of those who are classed as highly educated girls in the community. I have a still more sad and pathetic picture to place before you. This class of girls, to whom I am alluding, are those poor and unfortunate girls, who entirely depend on their selfish and irresponsible parents. In other communities it is deemed a bounden duty for the parents to look for husbands for their daughters. They would travel from one place to another in search of husbands. They would discuss with their friends, their relations and approach other sources to find husbands. They will spend money, time and energy for this purpose. They feel embarrassed and worried to see a young unmarried daughter in their homes. They realise a great responsibility and burden on their shoulders until such time as their daughters are married, not only this but they also feel duty-bound to fix up an orphan girl should any of her relations leave her in their custody. Whereas most Christian parents live on the incomes of their daughters, and are afraid to part with them least their revenue be curtailed. The poor girls are ashamed to speak or to say that they wish to get married. And, if any one of them is courageous enough to declare her intention of marriage, she is considered as bold and shameless. Has ever anyone in the community taken the trouble to ascertain the soaring number of unmarried girls? Have the community ever thought or contemplated this alarming problem? Has anything been done to promote marriages in the community? No, they only know to criticise and grind their teeth. Ask them to condemn the poor girls for their unscrupulous and imprudent actions, they would call them by all the opprobrious names that they can think of against them. Ask them, "Have you done anything to eliminate or ameliorate the sad situation?" they will look this way or that. Such are the altruists in the Christian community.

Many young girls have unreservedly approached me to get them married, and should you challenge the authenticity of my version, I shall be glad to introduce these girls to prosperous would-be husbands but let there be no fooling. My wife and I have consecrated ourselves to serve the Christian community, irrespective of creeds, denominations and nationalities. And I suggest to those who intend to get married that they should join the "Fellowship League," 88, Civil Lines, Agra, and we would render every possible help in uniting Mr. Right and Miss Right. The exclusive aim of this League is to promote pen friendship, marriages and fellowship among the Christians only. I have no intention to cause any division or friction between the parents and children but for those who really wish to get married and on account of some obstacles are unable to come forward, the League is the best medium as no name or secret will be divulged to the persons concerned, unless and until the two parties have approved and finally agreed to get married.

Agra,
February 1, 1942 }Yours etc.,
SETH W. HOWARD.

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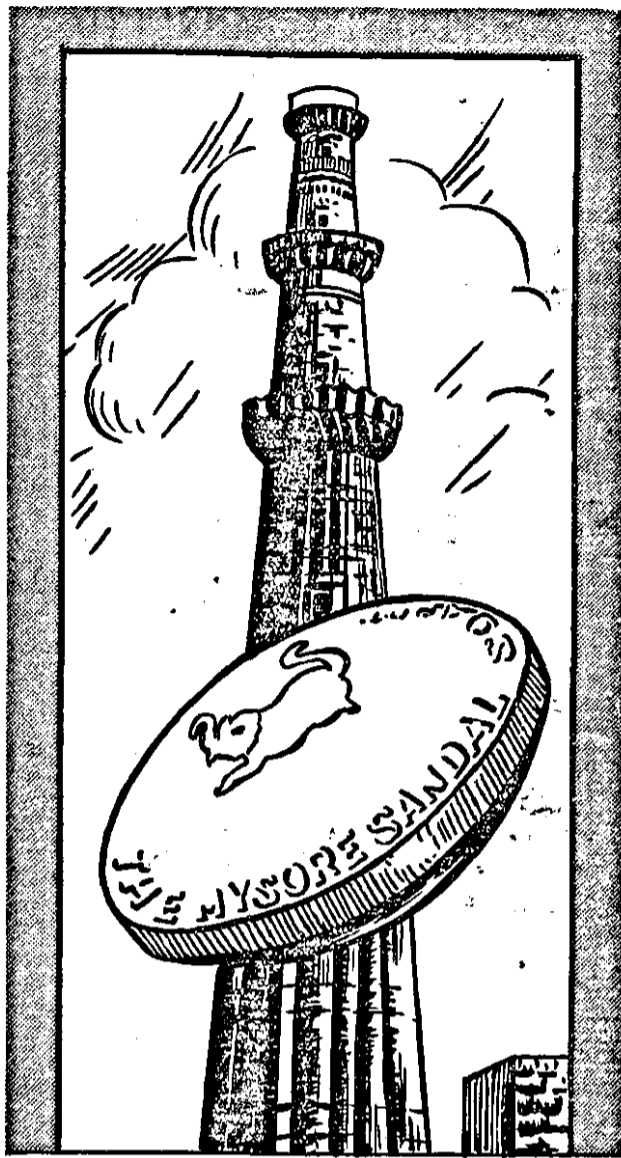
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Street - KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 26.

Editor :- S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII BOMBAY-SATURDAY FEBRUARY 14, 1942. No. 24.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Dewey on Education.
Lingua Indica.
Sir Stafford Cripps.
Monogamy in Baroda.
Words in Season.
Bugs and Mr. Rajagopalachari.
Light and Shade.

Singapore.
Seth Jambhal Bajaj.
The Chinese Dictator in India.
Property and Family.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
The Special Marriage Bill.
The Child and the Home.

NOTES.

Dewey on Education :—"Education Today" (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, 5s) is a collection of extracts from the works of the famous American educationist, John Dewey. "Education," wrote Dewey, "is the fundamental method of social progress and reform. All reforms which rest simply upon the enactments of law, or the threatening of certain penalties, or upon changes in mechanical and outward arrangement, are transitory and futile." The popular idea that education is a preparation for life, met with his sternest condemnation. For him education was not a preparation but was itself life or growth. Of the two sides of the educational process, the psychological and the sociological, neither can be neglected. The first is the basic. "The child's own instincts and powers furnish the material and give the starting-point of all education." On the sociological side, Dewey insists that the school should be a continuation of the home. School life should grow gradually out of the home life. It should take up and continue the activities with which the child is already familiar in the home. Conflict between the ideas taught in school and the ideas practised at home is a severe strain on the child's body and mind. This conflict which in India found most acute expression in schools conducted by proselytising missions, has been counteracted by the development of a protective instinct which softened the impact and, indeed, turned mission schools into seminaries for the training of leaders of revival movements. The continuity of home and school life, Dewey observes, is a psychological necessity, because it is the only way of securing continuity in the child's growth, the only way of giving a background of past experience to the new ideas given in school. As a corollary to his idea of the end of education, Dewey holds that the discipline of the school should proceed from the life of the school as a whole and not directly from the teacher. The theory of the teacher's supremacy, Dewey denounces as the "pipe-line theory."

The book is full of suggestive passages and it is extremely opportune at present when education, like other phases of human life, is in the melting-pot.

Lingua Indica :—A friend sends us a scholarly pamphlet on the question of a common language for India by Mr. Fardunji Mulla of Hyderabad (Dn.) published two years ago with the title "Lingua Indica." The main points in the pamphlet are that Urdu is an artificial language unlike Hindi which had its roots deep in the past, that Hindustani is only another name for Urdu, that the adoption of Hindustani as the common language would mean the scrapping of the great classics of both languages—an argument which can equally be urged against Basic English which Mr. Mulla seems to favour—that attempts to impose languages for political reasons have invariably failed in the past and will fail in the future, that English by virtue of its wide diffusion is marked out as specially suitable to be the Lingua Indica, that the acquisition of English far from being detrimental, has been an incentive to the development of important Indian languages, and that the difficulties of which much is made of learning English can be minimised by the adoption of rational methods of teaching it. Mr. Mulla points out that until about 1600 Hindi was used for purposes of administration and record under Muslim rule. The substitution of Persian, was effected by the famous Todarmal, the orthodox Hindu Minister of Akbar. Mr. Mulla speaks of the suppression of Telugu by a Congress Ministry. If he is referring to the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject in Madras middle schools by the Rajagopalachari Government, he is not right in describing it as a suppression of the Telugu language. The main opposition to the innovation came from the Tamils not from the Telugus. The reason is that Telugu is itself highly sanskritised and, except for its script, is to all intents and purpose an offshot of Sanskrit. Mr. Mulla does not seem to be clear whether a language can be advanced or modified by the State. Gandhiji holds that language is the creation of man and that by selection and mixture he can create a new language. It is more true to hold that man is the creation of language than language of man. The first human child probably emitted the same sounds as that born yesterday. The

rapidity with which children pick up words from their environment is something marvellous. This is the best proof that language is part of the environment and the most important part of it. Environment is in a sense a human creation but in a truer sense man is the creature of his environment. Character, it has been said, is nine-tenths environment. Mr. Mulla derives the word "Urdu" from the English "horde" which he traces to the Turko-Tataric "orde." Mr. Mulla says that Baroda has replaced its own vernacular Marathi by Hindi as the Court and official language. We doubt if his information is correct.

Sir Stafford Cripps:—The return of Sir Stafford Cripps to England from Moscow has brought a new force into British politics. It is clear from Sir Stafford's statements that he relinquished the Ambassadorship owing to differences with the Churchill Government on a fundamental issue. Mr. Churchill, in announcing the alliance with Russia when Germany invaded that country, felt it necessary to declare that he did not recant any of his strong criticisms of the Soviet system. In commenting on the declaration, *The Reformer* expressed a doubt whether an alliance unsupported by harmony of ideas could be expected to lead to the maximum co-operation desirable. While the help rendered by Britain to Russia in sending much-needed munitions is appreciated, Sir Stafford said in one of his timely and frequent statements since his return, that the old suspicions between the two countries have not been wholly obliterated. He appealed to the British public to take the initiative in removing mistrust by closer co-operation and more substantial help to the Soviet Government. In another press interview he made it clear that he did not want the Soviet system transplanted in Britain, nor did the present Soviet leaders desire this to be done. Every country should adopt the methods and institutions best suited to its requirements and its genius. Sir Stafford was offered the portfolio of Minister of Supply vacated by Lord Beaverbrook but he could not accept it because some of the powers attached to the office under Lord Beaverbrook were withheld in the offer, particularly membership of the War Cabinet. It is obvious that, without being in the inner councils of Government, Sir Stafford could not have made himself effective in promoting a policy of closer co-operation with Russia. It is probable that Sir Stafford Cripps' non-admission to the War Cabinet was due not only or mainly to the Prime Minister who in emergencies has shown himself capable of discarding prejudices of long standing. The Labourites in the Cabinet from whom Sir Stafford had broken when they were in opposition, were perhaps more responsible for his exclusion. However that may be, it is plain that Sir Stafford Cripps' re-entry into British politics brings into view an alternative leader for want of whom several members of the House of Commons were obliged to vote for the motion of confidence notwithstanding their strong opinions

about the wisdom of Mr. Churchill's recent measures. Sir Stafford Cripps has expressed opinions about the right course to adopt towards India which are clear and convincing. He would give India the promise of Dominion Status at the end of the war with freedom to go out of the British Commonwealth if she so desires. We do not think much of Dominion Status for India but, with freedom to go out or stay in, it should satisfy even extreme Congressmen. Sir Stafford holds that the co-operation of Russia and India will be of vast benefit to the world. The spontaneous enthusiasm for the Russian cause evinced by Indians, especially students, in India and abroad, springs, as we explained in *The Reformer* (October 18, 1941) not merely from community of present-day interests but from affinities in their spiritual outlook.

Monogamy in Baroda:—Baroda has maintained its tradition for progressive social legislation by enacting a law making Hindu marriages monogamous. As we have repeatedly observed, the Hindu community is ripe for this reform. In British India, as usual, there has been much pottering about with comparatively minor incidents of Hindu marriage. The Baroda law has an added merit in that it was introduced by a member of the scheduled castes, Mr. Nagjibhai Arya. It passed through all the three stages at a single sitting of the Legislative Assembly last week. The Bill as introduced contained one or two loop-holes, such as permitting a second marriage with the consent of a first wife and exemption of husbands whose wives had no children for a period of ten years; but these were plugged up by amendments which were adopted by large majorities. Childlessness is more often due to the husband's constitutional defects than to those of the wife though it has always been assumed to be the latter. The permission of the wife is generally a myth. She is often bullied into refraining from the expression of her natural feelings for fear of offending her husband. The Dewan President, Sir V. T. Krishnamacharya, congratulated the Assembly on passing this important piece of social legislation. Baroda's example, we hope, will encourage the more timid of our legislators to drop their opposition to making Hindu marriage monogamous. A monogamous marriage does away with many of the most vexatious incidents of Hindu family life and the law of succession. It also removes the one cause which has been often urged against the free admission of Indians into some of the Dominions. Above all, it raises the status of Hindu women to that of equality with that of women in the socially progressive countries. So long as the prejudice against the education of girls held the Hindu community in its deadly grip, polygamy was tolerated as a consequence of an evil fate. But with the rising tide of women's education, the old practice has become impossible and persistence in it would inevitably lead to breakdown of the Hindu family. As the Rau

Committee has pointed out, monogamy is in line with the highest tradition of Hindu marriage.

Words in Season :—The *Times of India* had a curious editorial on Tuesday (February 3) morning rebuking Indians for mistakenly squabbling over words when the enemy was at their Eastern gates. But in two places, once in relation to Singapore and then in writing of Rangoon, in the same editorial, the *Times* dwells on the peculiar efficacy of words. Potent is the word in season. Says the *Times*, "The defenders (of Singapore) are in stout heart, fortified by a message from His Majesty the King...Burma's defenders have been cheered by a robust message from the British Prime Minister." As there has been nothing in the cables to convey this important piece of news, the reader must infer either that the *Times* has its own sources of information, or that it follows the conventional practice of regarding the Governors of Malaya and Burma as representative of the people, or that it reads into the public mind in those two territories the confidence engendered in its own heart on learning of the messages. In a controversy into which it entered this week with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the *Times* reduces the Indian problem to one of inducing Mr. Churchill to repeat what Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow have been saying so far. Here again the *Times* confuses what it wants with what Indians want. But if mere words can have so good an effect, are Indians after all to be blamed for fighting over words?

Bugs and Mr Rajagopalachari :—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in a speech at Hospet admonished his audience not to play with the idea of settling down to a Japanese conquest because, he said, the bugs to which we are used are better than new and hungry bugs. The Congress ex-premier's reference is doubtless due to his much-advertised campaigns in jails against vermin, where from all accounts he did not distinguish between bug and bug. No one is in any doubt as to what Mr. Rajagopalachari means, though apparently he himself is afraid to face it squarely. Like many others who have been loudly proclaiming their nationalism, Mr. Rajagopalachari now realizes that it was a protected independence he stood for. If he and others were able to meet the time-honoured British question as to India's position, if she was given independence, in the event of foreign aggression, it was because they were unable to visualise the possibility of either event. It is perhaps too much to expect a frank admission of this from politicians but at least they might keep silent. To refer to men whom you have come to regard as indispensable for your very existence, as bugs, is a cheap way of feeding your vanity and self-importance. When a demagogue does it publicly, he is encouraging the worst qualities in his public.

Light and Shade :—After all the elaborate, and often confused, instructions on how to achieve complete darkness, Indians must have realized with a shock that they were being unnecessarily

muddled in a wrong cause by the authorities, first, when they read that Rangoon had been raided in broad daylight and, again, when on Wednesday morning they read in bold headlines in the *Times of India*, "Darkness helps Japanese," and in the message itself that, in the night, before the rise of the moon, the Japanese, under cover of the dark, had crept into Singapore Island. Unfortunately, even this item has failed to bring home to the authorities what every householder (and burglar) knew, that mischief thrives better in the dark. All evil, as Shakespeare put it of one particular wrong-doing,

folded up in blind concealing night,

When most unseen, then most doth tyrannize.

The Bombay Corporation after an illuminating discussion adopted a resolution this week requesting Government to call a conference of officials and non-officials for the purpose of shaping the measures for air raid protection in the light of experience so as to cause the minimum inconvenience to the public without impairing their efficacy in preventing the enemy from directing his attack on vital points. The single experience of Rangoon at the first air raid, has been put forward as the excuse for enforcing drastic measures, in ignorance of the fact, since made clear, that that raid took place in broad daylight. A contributor to an American review some months ago showed that the black-out method in the experience of pilots who have had firsthand experience of it, has not proved effective for the purpose it is intended to serve. No town has escaped bombing even when the black-out was complete. One of the conditions mentioned for this result, is present in Bombay, namely, the breaking of the surf with its phosphorescent gleam. The contour of the island is sharply defined by this natural phenomenon which no black-out can hide. The darker the night the brighter the gleam. No one objects to reasonable restraints. The Corporation's suggestion is a wise one and we hope it will be acted upon.

Singapore:—Though there is no confirmation of reports that Singapore has been taken by the enemy, the authoritative news that there were heavy attacks and some enemy infiltration, and that the naval base has blown up, may be taken to imply the end of effective resistance. The only remaining task is to evacuate those who are still in the city. The destruction carried out in the past few days has greatly reduced the importance of Singapore to the enemy, though this is no consolation to the Allies for the terrible loss they have suffered.

Seth Jannalal Bajaj :—There will be general regret at the death at the early age of 53 of Seth Jannalal Bajaj. Mr. Bajaj had not the equipment necessary for a political leader nor had he the inclination to pose as one. But in deference to Gandhiji whom he profoundly adored, he tried his best to act a part for which he had no natural aptitude. He was a kind-hearted man, gentle and affable, and will be much missed by a wide circle of friends.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 14, 1942.

THE CHINESE DICTATOR IN INDIA.

Last week *The Reformer* observed that, if the war is allowed to develop as one between the white and coloured races, the Indian people will be torn between two incompatible loyalties. It also said that Britain should have the imagination to conceive some great ideal which will appeal to India. Apparently other minds have been thinking on these lines—some of them in authority—and the result was shown last week when it was announced that General Chiang Kai-Shek and his wife with a large contingent of high functionaries had arrived in Delhi. The distinguished visitors attended a reception given by His Excellency the Viceroy and the members of his Executive Council. *The Reformer* has had occasion to regret that Lord Linlithgow seemed constitutionally unable to forget the difference in status between the British and Indian peoples even when he was appealing for co-operation in a common end. Lord Linlithgow's speech welcoming the Chinese Generalissimo showed that Lord Linlithgow has completely outgrown this disability. No Indian could have spoken with more warmth and pride of the ancient cultural and spiritual ties between China and India and of the enormous power which both together can be for the good of humanity. The whole speech was happily conceived and brilliantly expressed. The Generalissimo replied in the same vein, and expressed his pleasure at the Viceroy's reference to the ancient cultural affinities between India and his own country. The Generalissimo during his stay in India is expected to meet Indian leaders of all shades of opinion. To whomsoever credit is due for the happy inspiration of bringing about direct contact between the Chinese leader and Indian leaders, it is a feat of high imagination of which, we confess, we had not deemed British statesmen to be capable. Unfortunately, there are indications which show that the Viceroy is rather overdoing things. The speech reported in Wednesday's newspapers is too unctious to be convincing. After all neither the Generalissimo to whom the speech is directly addressed nor the Indian people for whom it is doubtless meant, can quite forget the history of the last decade and Britain's century-old policy in the Far East. Whilst it is always flattering to be courted, it is well for the courtier to exercise a certain restraint. It would have been wise had Lord Linlithgow contented himself with the first speech.

In the exchange of compliments which took place between the Viceroy and the Chinese Generalissimo, there are two significant features. In the first place, the circumstances in which the two were placed made certain reticences necessary. For instance, Lord Linlithgow could not with any courtesy bring up the issue of democracy in welcoming the Chinese Dictator. Nor, for

his part, could Chiang Kai-Shek refer to the ideal of repelling foreign invasion. The second point is the difference shown in the two attitudes to Japan. The Viceroy in his speech referred to the Japanese as barbarous. The Generalissimo in his reply scrupulously refrained from using any opprobrious epithet about those against whom he was fighting. This is not merely oriental courtesy. Much as they deplore Japanese aggression, Asiatics can not forget that she has broken down the legend of European superiority in the mastery of the modern weapons of war. Both Dr. Sun Yat Sen and General Chiang Kai-Shek received most of, if not all, their education in Tokio. The Generalissimo, after all, was most reluctantly pushed into war against Japan by a military oligarchy. One point should not be forgotten in estimating the position of Japan. She happens for the time being to be one of the Axis Powers but this is an accident. Unlike the German and Italian Dictators, who have destroyed pre-existing systems in order to grasp the reins of power, the Japanese are fighting to maintain and augment the prestige of an ancient Empire.

There has been general enthusiasm for the visit paid to this country by one who has been praised by Mr. Churchill as the greatest general thrown up by modern Asia. But it is not unnatural that people ask why Chiang Kai-Shek should have chosen this particular moment to come to India on a prolonged visit. Even if internally his position in China was never stronger than it is today with the Chinese Communists quietened by Soviet Russia's entry into the war, China herself was never more gravely menaced than now with the threat to the Burma Road at Rangoon. The situation is exceedingly critical at Singapore where several rich Chinese supporters of Chiang Kai-Shek reside. It is most unlikely that, like General De Gaulle, General Sikorski and numerous other military leaders, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek intends to conduct his country's war from outside his territories, though the frequent assertion that he has sent his best troops to defend Burma does suggest this idea. The general impression is that the Chinese Dictator has come over to carry on military consultations with army experts in India, and that he will also, whilst he is about it, try to bring about agreement between the several political parties in India. We are inclined to regard his visit as a purely military one, even though the viceregal reception at Delhi gives apparent support to the belief that he is on a political mission. The chief problem in India, so the British have told us and are even now telling us, is the minorities question. On this the Generalissimo's advice, if it is in keeping with his own methods of settling dissent in China, will be impracticable here. The Generalissimo cannot even appeal to Indians to unite in the face of danger from foreign aggression without laying himself open to the charge of preaching to Indians something he did not practice in China itself

until others in the army felt it necessary to press him to act. When Chiang Kai-Shek says in his reply that China's resistance is due to the united will of the Chinese people, he is stating nothing less than the truth. Moreover, even though Sir John Maynard suggested in an article in the *New Statesman* (*Reformer* June 21, 1941) that Haile Selassie and Chiang Kai-Shek be asked to help in goodwill missions to India, it is very unlikely that Britain by doing so would admit her inability to settle what she has always regarded as an internal problem. We mention these facts not to detract from the public enthusiasm engendered by the visit, but in order to prevent the reaction from the raising of hopes which must inevitably be disappointed. The feeling of hope which came spontaneously to Indian hearts at first hearing of the Chinese leader's visit was due largely, almost exclusively, to the fact that China shares with India all the disabilities put upon non-Europeans. That does not mean, however, that General Chiang Kai-Shek will be able to have them removed. We hope—though we have absolutely no ground for doing so—that the British Government intend the Chiang Kai-Shek visit as the first of a series of moves to prove beyond doubt to India and to the world that the Empire at least, if not the Allied countries as a whole, repudiates all racial distinctions. If it is an isolated political manoeuvre, it is, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has rightly pointed out, grossly unfair to the distinguished guest.

PROPERTY AND FAMILY.

The Reformer has often regretted that Western writers on social problems by neglecting or ignoring the vast store of experience and induction available in Asia, miss valuable guidance in their endeavour to find solutions for them. There is nothing new under the sun, observed a wise man long centuries ago. This is true as a general principle. Each age, however, has its own special point of view. Mere repetition of the old wisdom will not answer the requirements of every age. What the past can do is to help later generations to apply the lessons of its experience, avoiding its mistakes, profiting by its achievements. In the article, "Catholic and Communist," in the last issue of *The Reformer*, are set forth some salient features of the Catholic and the Communist approach to the economic class conflict in the industrialised West. At the heart of this conflict is the issue of ownership of property. The Catholic view is that ownership of property is a God-ordained institution. Its object is the deliverance of man from economic insecurity, not the enslavement of man by a few who, having achieved this security, are preventing their fellowmen from doing the same. The Catholic doctrine, as laid down by the Popes, favours the distribution of ownership among as large a section of the people as possible and to this end advocates for workers not "a living wage" but "a family wage" which would suffice not only to bring up a family in comfort, that is to say, provide the necessities of life such as food, clothing, shelter, and education of children, but will also allow of savings sufficient to bring ownership within reach of every worker. The family as the unit of society is also the Hindu idea. The Hindu family, however, has a much more extensive

connotation than the Catholic. Another point of difference is that the Hindu family is not exhausted by the individuals who live at a given moment but includes ancestors and descendants. The head of a family for the time being is but a link in the long chain which stretches between the remotest ancestor to the most distant posterity. This is the spiritual or the metaphysical basis of the family. The Hindu law of property embodies the influence of this idea. Property does not belong to the individual but to the family. The distinction between ancestral and self-acquired property is a modern one. The absolute right of property which has given rise to the modern conflict, is alien to the Hindu system. The family is preserved from extinction by the fiction of adoption. Owing to the institution of the joint family, property never accumulates in a few hands. It is being constantly dispersed. The proposal to control by legislation the sub-division of land into small holdings, is, from the point of view of social reform, a retrograde proposal.

Then there is the institution of caste. Caste, as it has come to be, is a travesty of the original fourfold division. Patrick Geddes has observed in his "Dramatisations of History" that these four divisions exist in every society. They are the cultural, the courage, the wealth producing and distributing, and the manual labourers. The rigid system of the present day is a degeneration from the past. The principle of the fourfold system was a separation of functions, each group being guaranteed and protected in the discharge of its special function. The control of the State by moneyed interest was prevented by the wealth producers being made independent of and separate from educators and administrators. The group entrusted with the intellectual and spiritual guidance of society, was forbidden to accumulate property and required to adopt voluntary poverty as the condition of the special consideration which was accorded to it by the rest of the community. In every society there must be two classes who should be relieved of the attractions of wealth—the educators using the term in a broad sense, and the administrators. This can be done in two ways. The British method is to pay them high salaries and pensions. The Indian method is to promote a high tradition of disinterested work among select groups. The German Civil Service was paid small salaries in the second Empire but it was admitted on all hands that it was not only efficient but incorruptible. Some years ago an association in Europe issued some publication in which a plan of social reconstruction much on the Indian system was expounded in much detail. The democratic watchword about the equality of all men, even if it meant only equal opportunities for all, has never been seriously attempted. The abolition of the feudal system, as John Strachey shows, did not result in the emancipation of the people as it was expected to do. First the commercial, then the industrial, employer stepped into the shoes of the feudal landlord, and if anything the last state of the masses is worse than the first. The Catholic solution involves the acceptance of the Catholic faith with the rule of the hierarchy by all mankind. In the opinion of competent thinkers, this will not be an improvement on the present state of things. Neither would a proletariat-controlled State, if such an one can be established, be better. The more promising solutions seems to lie in the direction of functional classes, autonomous within themselves, and free from the interference of, and prevented from interference with, the State. This is put forward not as a cut and dry solution, but only as a possible solution avoiding the pitfalls of others in the field.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

JUNE 18, 1931.

Dunedin.

The problem of unemployment is the general subject of talk. The figures are mounting up and there is no money to carry out even present schemes—one of which has been suspended. They hate to be driven to the dole which has been such a disaster in England; they have an Unemployment Board which frames schemes to find or create work for those unprovided for by business; and the schemes are supported by a compulsory levy doubled from state funds, and still the funds have got exhausted. The income is £ 24,000 a week, the outgoing is £ 40,000 and the deficit compels them to close down schemes. The wages here are regulated by awards of courts; and they have had a general cut of 10% all round.

The waterfront workers refused to work on this cut, and ships were suspended; but this morning all is settled; so our ship will sail from Wellington tomorrow. But the same newspaper says that floods and squalls and rough seas rage near Sydney where I am due to arrive on the 23rd. The financial distress of Australia is being closely watched here and even other wise Australia engages New Zealand's interest. The Prime Minister is being urged on all sides to do something and not to let suspension of schemes starve beaten men; farmers have begun to send to towns free grain and vegetables for distribution; but Mr. Forbes says there is no money in the State coffers; tomorrow he is to make some suggestion. The earthquake area is fast being rebuilt; there is a Rehabilitation Fund for that purpose; and also gold-dredging areas if men would accept 10/- a day wage.

JUNE 20, 1931.

S. S. Marama.

At dinner I had next to me a Japanese gentleman with whom I opened casual conversation...and who told me much about himself. He says that there are six Japanese in New Zealand including himself. As I had seen three, I told the gentleman that I had seen half the Japs in New Zealand. He is not a good sailor. After five years' training he had to abandon a marine career as he is not suited to a sea life. He went through the worst earthquake in Japan in 1923 and, when the whole of his office was killed, he miraculously escaped. He is now the Government representative in New Zealand and is returning home on vacation.

He takes a great interest in Indian affairs, inspired thereto by a Jap friend who had been Private Secretary to Mr. Gandhi in South Africa and also by his own Buddhist profession of religion. His political sympathies being frozen by my want of response, he expressed his interest in the Indian yogis who hibernate for nine years and come out whole. What did I think of it? His parents were Christians and he himself had seen the inconsistencies of the pronouncements of Christian pioneers, spent three years in Buddhist studies, and adopted that faith. What was my attitude to Indian faiths?

I said, mankind have been on earth a million years out of the million millions that probably remain to them—barring accident. The whole of the present experience of mankind is of a moment in a life-time of three score years and ten. Mankind are in their infancy and cry the cry of the children and babble patriotisms, causes, miracles, faiths. They also have the inventiveness of children.

So runs my dream; but what am I?
An infant crying in the night;
An infant crying for the light;
And with no language but a cry!

But, said the Jap, is not the cry appeased by milk? Don't we need milk? Don't we need faiths? For a moment, I had no answer. Then I retorted, Is milk always available when the baby needs it? What right have we to suppose that the faiths are milk and not chalk-solution? The faiths are various enough and variously noxious enough to start that question, to have started that question long ago.

He had also talked of Australian and British finance, of predictions of the next war to come before 1935; he had not heard of Ludendorff's warning to Britain; but he felt that the next war would bring an end of England's greatness.

I said, Nations are up against a situation which they dare not face to the full.

For example, Australia was heading for bankruptcy living on borrowed money and borrowing for the War sums huge compared to the population. Then the fall in the prices of wool, wheat, frozen meat, principal primary products, further reduced its annual income by at least 25% in the last two years. The slogan has been set up that no class, not Ministers of State, not the white-collared Brigade, should escape the full share of the call of adversity; and they propose a 10% cut in salaries and wages. They economise in public expenditure by dismissing heads of families who are giving expensive technical and organising education for the next generation. They never realise that a correct suggestion is no less correct because a political opponent has first seen it; and that to make heavy duties on foreign goods heavier is to make sales of goods and their interchange more difficult still in difficult times.

JUNE 21, 1931.

After I wrote you at Nelson on Sunday afternoon (May 31) I found that it was time for dinner; so I returned to the lounge before the fire waiting for the dinner-gong which was slightly late in coming; at the fireside there was another couple to prevent whose embarrassment I opened conversation..... The lady offered me an *American Geographical Magazine* for reading.

I asked other people at the Hotel at Nelson, whether my benefactors were Americans. Is this magazine available at N. Z. bookstalls for natives to pick up? That would be evidence of extraordinary culture. The reply was that their name was Mr. and Mrs. Somervill, that no American tourists are expected in New Zealand in winter, that this magazine cannot be bought on the bookstalls, it is available only on subscription, through a member—like the Derby ticket? I was not surprised to see that, in the present unemployment trouble, false prophets declare that it is for the benefit of New Zealand that its currency is at discount in sterling, encouraging N. Z. exports, discouraging foreign imports. But I was surprised to see smashing criticisms in the N. Z. press of such confident anticipations of benefits from cheapened currency. It is also curious to be told that the War veterans are the greatest sufferers. N. Z. sent 110,000 men to the wars, of whom 3,000 never came back. It is said that the men who went to the wars found on return that their places had been filled up, and those who took those places do very well; the veterans had to take what they could get, and lost their jobs on depression appearing. All over the world, the younger fighters feel desperate in the face of an unappreciative neighbourhood and seem to contribute to crime.

The N. Z. Government have decided to find money for the unemployed schemes which had been suspended for lack of money. People complain that the earthquakes have been forgotten; but following the example of Japan they have established committees of study. Why have earthquakes and fires gone together? Why have brick-houses collapsed most disastrously? Can areas of N. Z. be named entirely exempt from the chance of earthquakes?

Experiments have shown that the earthquake shocks move away from their protected places inflammable vaporous chemicals like alcohol, and mix their favours with the erupted gases; and to that is attributed disastrous fires. Earthquake shocks are said to have bent bricks and so brought down roofs. The possibility of this had been anticipated and children had been trained to run away fast; but the roof-slabs fell faster on the running children. The Minister of Education has cancelled his sanctions of brick school-buildings; but the bricktrade has only recently begun with some promise of prosperity which will be ruined by the pronouncement of the Minister of Education. On behalf of the trade it is fairly asked, why should areas, such as Dunedin, who have never yet seen an earthquake, be denied brick? Why should the bricktrade not be confined to the exempt areas? And then there are the chimneys; at present tin chimneys are allowed only in backward places; will brick chimneys be also disallowed? It has been unfortunate that the town of Napier, at Hawkes' Bay, which suffered most from the shock, was also one of the richest in N. Z.; and though recovery is coming fast, yet the damage, I was told, might run up to a hundred million. It is said that exaggerated reports of the extent of the damage prejudiced the recent issue of N. Z. Loan in London for £5 millions.

The town of Dunedin is said to be the richest in N. Z. and would be richer still if its harbour capacity could be enlarged. A new element that contributes to its wealth is that wealthy men from all N. Z. prefer to retire there.

JUNE 22, 1931.

The Jap was probably the worst off on the rough seas; he looks well now, but was none too well pleased with himself in the morning; and he again came to me for conversation. I asked him about economic conditions in Japan; he mentioned a population of 90 million, increasing at the rate of 2 million a year, with 2.5 million unemployed. England with half the population has as many. There are no doles and relief works do not suffice; and in return, he asked about the conditions of India. He says he has read a great deal, considers Mr. Gandhi a very great man, thinks the English in India are blood-suckers and the people ready to expel them. I submitted that none of the propositions was acceptable. It is true that their great political and economic and colonial successes in the XIXth century made British administrators feel they had nothing to learn either from new facts or new races of men, and they shrugged their shoulders when subjects complained or events proved obstinate. They had done the best they know how. When the French theorist was confronted with facts not agreeing with his theories he could only shrug his French shoulders and say impatiently, "So much the worse for the facts." That that attitude of English administrators must have retarded or thwarted improvement is not to be denied; but they have not sucked blood. No Native State has a single idea to its credit.

Taxes in British India are light; the economic condition of the people is visibly improving in spite of increase of population; the outcaste classes are winning a place; a new middle-class has been created with wealth and education, there is more total wealth, there are more rich men, and the rich are richer than they ever used to be. For me, there is a chance to live, make a living and create or adopt thought as I please; and this chance is not given by any other Government with the same fulness. Mr. Gandhi would take away that chance of living and of free thought. He has no administrative ideas; he has borrowed the worst of Tolstoy. He is astute; he wants to be a prophet and needs authority. He has exploited the word, "Swaraj," so that people feel that to oppose Gandhi is to deny themselves the emotion associated with Swaraj. I have no use for emotionally charged words, nor for their vendors, the prophets—any prophets.

JUNE 27, 1931.

Do you recollect Dr. C.—the physician of S. S. Franconia, who gave us tea to whom we were introduced by a lady who travelled with us? The newspapers say that the society beauty, Miss F.—bored with her world, and infatuated with Dr. C.—committed suicide; and her body came up from the water where she had drowned herself. For 24 hours before, she abandoned herself to thrills—even flirtations—in the expectation that she would not be alive to feel the consequences.

JUNE 30, 1931.

Mount Gambier.

We arrived at Melbourne on Sunday morning; at 10 a. m. Mr. Williams of the Melbourne Bureau, took me out in a fine motor-car; we were joined by a much travelled American lady, Miss Austin, who has been in India and admired Mr. Gandhi's work—chiefly the awakening of the peasants; she is not a milk-sop, has admired Bryan and then given him up;.....while she was talking I wondered if I had not under-estimated the awakening even if I need not discuss Mr. Gandhi's credit for it.

JULY 5, 1931.

Between Adelaide & Freemantle.

A London letter in one of the newspapers reported the flutter created by Miss Dawes—American Ambassador's daughter on her presentation at Court, and mentioned the discarding by girls of remedies for keeping slim and looking ghostly—the debutantes at Court this year looked plump and rosy—and also mentioned the change in preparation for presentation at Court; where formerly hours or a whole day might be spent on dress and trimmings, this year it was a matter of a few minutes. The paper also mentioned that women are very great sufferers by the depression in Trade, that heaps of applications from women for appointments in the State Lottery department installed in N. S. Wales are worrying the chiefs who are followed wherever they go by these applicants.

JULY 17, 1931.

11 hours before Bombay.

The ferocious methods to raise wind by lotteries and motor taxes and an emergency tax of 5/- in the £ to which New South Wales has resort, have this consequence that the needed capital for industry is going towards checking the bankruptcy of the State. N. S. Wales has twice defaulted to its English creditors who refuse to lend money and so is plundering its own people to pay the salaries of officials. People sometimes do desperate things; a farmer in difficulty murdered wife and child and

then 'suicided'... There are Mr. and Mrs. Justice Reilly of Madras. We talked of Sydney's beauty and its imitation of the U. S. skyscrapers, and my surprised delight in them when in 1914, after the statue of Liberty on the Hudson, Woolworth Tower and the like suddenly burst on my vision. [One] Mr. Bray considers them an eyesore; but Mr. Reilly reported that his brother who is a Professor of Architecture, feels that skyscrapers are or can be made into a new type of beauty; and Mr. Justice Reilly on a nearer view, feels the same.

All my acquaintances on the ship have been in apprehension as to possibilities in the Bight through which we have passed. Floods in N. S. W., then in Victoria, then in S. Australia, and the wireless intimation that navigators never experienced such seas, had prepared us for rain, storms, misery; but nothing happened—nothing, or hardly anything.

THE SPECIAL MARRIAGE BILL.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Bill to further amend the Special Marriage Act (Act III of 1872) is being circulated by Government for eliciting public opinion.

The Bar Association, Aska, has accorded its support to the Bill but with a slight reservation, disapproving of the omission of Sections 15 and 16 in its new scheme.

There are many anomalies and defects in Act III of 1872 which must be rectified if it is to be fairly useful to those for whom it is intended. The present Bill, however, does not attempt this task. It accepts the Act as it stands, with all its shortcomings, but seeks to expand its jurisdiction a little for the sake of its benefits which are valuable though few.

The Bill is an innocuous and reasonable measure. In the first place, it puts no one under compulsion to avail himself of its provisions. Secondly, it seeks merely to extend to couples already married, in whatever form, the same freedom as is now enjoyed by un-married persons to have their marriage "registered" under the Special Marriage Act. The new Sections 2A and 15A proposed by the Bill for this purpose are practically a revival, on a permanent basis, of the temporary Section 20 of the original Act of 1872 with necessary amplifications to suit and cover the provisions introduced in 1923 by Dr. Gour's amendment. Other proposals are only ancillary to these two.

Neither the Brahmos for whose benefit the Act of 1872 was mainly passed, nor the Hindus who have been enabled since 1923 to get their marriages solemnized under the Act with a positive affirmation of faith in the Hindu religion, are "irreligious," as implied in some of the speeches made in the Assembly debate over the Bill. It is true that the Act is concerned only with civil marriage. But the Brahmos who resort to it, go through a religious wedding ceremony prescribed by the Brahma Samaj, and the Hindus similarly go through their Hindu ritual, after the civil marriage is solemnized under the Act. This order of procedure is imposed upon them by the lapse of Section 20 of the original Act. But the sensitive religious conscience of Brahmos as well as Hindus is averse to this order. It yearns for the liberty to solemnize their religious ceremony first instead of after the civil marriage. Dr. Deshmukh's proposed amendment is calculated to satisfy this highly commendable religious craving of Brahmos, Hindus and other conscientious persons who yield to none in their love of religion but are at the same time anxious to secure the legal benefits of the Special Marriage Act for their wives and children.

To the Hindu wife married with Hindu ritual and thereby placed under the governance of the Hindu law which freely permits polygamy to her husband, his voluntary acceptance of the monogamic restrictions embodied in Sections 15 and 16 of the Act, is her foremost benefit. The legal possibility of her supersession at the husband's whim is thereby precluded and her wifely tenure is placed on a more secure and honourable footing.

The second benefit is the better inheritance rights to her husband's intestate property which the wife and her daughters get under the Indian Succession Act as per Section 24 of the Special Marriage Act.

Some apprehension has been caused by the wording of the proposed new Section 15-A. The first part of it which says that the previous marriage shall be deemed to be dissolved on the date of registering it under the Act and that the parties shall be deemed to be married anew under the Act on that date need cause no anxiety. The dissolution does not nullify the previous marriage and make any issue born before registration illegitimate. But the second and consequential part relating to the rights and disabilities accruing to the parties and their issue under the Act is either superfluous or complicating. The consequential Sections 15 to 19 and 21 to 26 are already in the Act. Those sections determine, each according to its wording, the rights and disabilities of the contracting parties or their issue or both. The reason for specifying some of these sections again and making them uniformly applicable to both parents and issues alike is not obvious. It seems in fact to be un-warranted and un-called for.

The most perturbing feature of this latter part is the omission of the penal Sections 15, 16 and 21 which guarantee the enforcement of the monogamic principle in the present and the future. Section 21 punishes for perjury any one who declares falsely under the Act that he has no other wife. Since the new section is placed as 15-A after the old Section 15 which by punishing a bigamist implements not only the old Section 2 (1) but also the new Section 2-A (a) (prohibiting the registration of marriage under the Act to a person who has another wife living), it is conceivable though not certain or probable, that Dr. Deshmukh intends the old Section 15 to apply to his new entrants also. But why is Section 16 omitted, which punishes bigamy when committed after registration? If monogamy is not to be legally ensured for the future, why should any couple, already married, take the trouble of resorting to the Special Marriage Act? Does Dr. Deshmukh wish that his new entrants and they alone shall be immune from punishments for bigamy when they desert one of two wives and marry the other anew under the Act and marry another woman again later on? The Act should not be misused for this end.

Sections 22 to 26 are among the Sections specified in new Section 15-A. Their wording leaves no room for doubt that they can be applied only to couples who declare under the Act their profession of the Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh or Jaina religion. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill relates not only to them but also to those who deny such religious profession when registering under the Act. How can Dr. Deshmukh apply Section 22 to 26 to this latter group too without amending the sections themselves?

A question has been raised about the property rights of any children that may in some cases be born in the interval between the previous marriage and subsequent registration. If the

registration be made with positive declaration of Hindu faith, the joint family status which subsisted till then is automatically severed as per Section 22. The previously born son takes equal share with the father under the Mitakshara to the exclusion of the daughter. The father's half-share and his subsequent acquisitions, which together form his separate property, will be governed thereafter by the Indian Succession Act as per Section 24, and, if he dies intestate, one-third of it will be inherited absolutely by the widow and the remaining two-thirds will be shared with absolute powers equally by all the sons and daughters born to him, whether previous to registration or after it. So the problem presents no difficulty here.

But the Act is silent as regards the rule of intestate succession to the property of a person married with a negative declaration whether before or after 1928, according to Section 2. Section 24 cannot apply under any circumstance. The Courts have supplied the want by ruling that the Hindu Law of Succession would govern such property if the deceased owner was a Hindu by birth though for the purpose of the marriage he declared he did not profess the Hindu religion. (Vide 1928 Cal. 265=49 Cal. 1069; 1934 Pat. 427; 1935 Mad. 653=58 M. 1004.) An anomaly is no doubt created thus by a denier of Hindu faith being held to be governed by the Hindu law and an affirmer of Hindu faith being treated as outside its pale. But neither the courts nor Dr. Deshmukh can help it. Only a direct amendment of Sections 22 to 26 can relieve the situation. But that is beyond the scope of the present Bill.

It is not desirable, however, that the Bill should be rejected or held up till a more comprehensive one is forthcoming. What is needed is the deletion of the second part of the proposed new Section 15-A commencing after the word "Registration."

K. R.

THE CHILD AND THE HOME.

(BY S. S. LAL, BOMBAY.)

The figures in the Census Report reveal that there was a large number of orphanages and other institutions in 1931 taking care of children without parents. I am not going to enquire in this article into the causes which deprive the children of parental care but I want to consider the effect of the loss of parental care upon the personality of the child. Children who come under this head, are those whose parents have died or who have been deserted by their parents due to extreme poverty or mental abnormality, or being born out of wedlock. Unfortunately we have no agencies in our country working in this sphere to give us accurate figures and statistics of such cases and their causes.

On the death of the father or mother, the child is deprived of the interest and care of one of his parents. If the father dies, the widowed mother's economic condition makes it very difficult, almost impossible, to devote due care and attention. When the mother dies, what generally happens in Indian families is that the father marries again and this makes the matter still worse for the child as he loses the care of both parents. The man remains under the influence of his newly married wife who generally is jealous of the former child.

The absence of parents marks a child out as different from other children. "When a child loses his sense of recognition and backing which comes from belonging to loving and intelligent parents,

he is likely to lose confidence in himself and to develop a feeling that he is not wanted." No doubt there are instances where the new guardians to whose care such children are entrusted, are more competent and sometimes become more attached to the children than the natural parents were but such instances are rare.

When a child is deprived of his natural parents and is removed to relations or to an orphanage, for some time he feels a stranger. He does not know what is expected of him or what to expect.

In an orphanage the child has to readjust himself. He passes through a transition period. He has to live in a large group instead of a compact and small family and has to follow a routine instead of a flexible programme at the house. There the child receives mass treatment instead of individual care and attention. When he comes out of it, he finds himself little prepared for planning and carrying on his own life. His spirit of initiative and self-reliance is gone.

In most institutions all sorts of children are admitted without knowing the antecedents of the child or without medical examination; no regular diet is given—the food, mostly depending upon what is received from the public. Moreover, the programme is too heavy. The staff is untrained with no study of child psychology, sociology or hygiene which are fundamental to the careful handling of children. A worker amongst children without proper training is just like a mariner without a chart, and may do incalculable injury instead of helping them.

Quite a large number of these children, if properly handled, can overcome these handicaps of institutional care. Much depends upon the emotional stability and adequacy of adults who work as substitute parents in the institutions, or of the family taking over the children. Such persons should be trained in child care and training and mental hygiene. They should have a natural aptitude and interest in the work. While even for a small mechanical workshop we search for trained and experienced mechanics, we do not take the same interest in the handling of children.

Secondly, children should be given great latitude in their daily activities so as not to feel the strictness of the programme. The neighbouring children should be frequently invited for joint meals and play.

The children before being admitted should undergo a mental and physical test and then should be graded accordingly so that the growth of gifted children may not be retarded and that the normal and the defective may receive adequate attention.

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INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, SANDRA, BOMBAY, 29.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY FEBRUARY 21, 1942. No. 23.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Parliament and the Prime Minister.	India and the Atlantic Charter.
Britain, China and the U. S. A.	Spreading False Reports.
Asian Nationalism and the War.	Singapore Reactions.
Japan and Asia.	Baroda Administration.
Defence of India.	Censorship in War.
Mr. Amery and India.	Missions and Superstitions.
The Legislative Assembly and the Chinese Visitors.	Travancore Directory.
Gandhi and the Chinese Generalissimo.	China and India.
	Letters of B. J. Padshah.
	Prostitution in Europe.

NOTES.

Parliament and the Prime Minister:—The *Political Science Quarterly* reprints in a recent number an article entitled "The Study of Administration" written in 1886 by Woodrow Wilson which still retains its freshness. In the present struggle which is going on between Mr. Churchill and the House of Commons, there is a peculiar importance attaching to Mr. Wilson's description of the relation between the Executive and the Legislature in Britain and also in the U. S. A. "The English race has long and successfully," he writes, "studied the art of curbing executive power to the constant neglect of the art of perfecting executive methods. It has exercised itself much more in controlling than in energizing government... English and American political history has been a history, not of administrative development, but of legislative oversight (supervision)—not of progress in governmental organization, but of advance in law-making and political criticism.....Our governments are saddled with the habits of a long period of constitution-making. That period has practically closed.....but we cannot shake off its atmosphere. We go on criticizing when we ought to be creating." This passage explains most aptly the present difficulties which confront Mr. Churchill with his Parliament. The situation is even more disturbing when one considers that the most virulent opposition comes from the Conservative party—from Baldwin-Chamberlain men who see their opportunity of riding into power on the general wave of uncertainty. We have never concealed our feeling that Mr. Churchill's methods in many points can be only justified by their success, and that success has not attended his conduct of the war so far. Nevertheless there is something particularly revolting in the harassing manner in which Parliament and the press are leading the attack with expressions of devotion to Mr. Churchill but distrust of his colleagues in the Cabinet. It resembles in a sinister way the

campaign waged against Edward VIII by men who professed nothing but the highest admiration and loyalty for him but disapproved of his advisers. A Prime Minister, however, is not a constitutional monarch; nor is Churchill Baldwin to evade the joint responsibility of the Cabinet as did the latter when he sacrificed Sir Samuel Hoare, and saved the Ministry. He has only three weeks ago been given a vote of confidence. There is no provision in the constitution for insisting on a man remaining at the head and carrying out another man's or clique's policies.

Britain, China and the U. S. A. :—Considering that the occasion for Mr. Winston Churchill's broadcast to the Empire and America on Monday night was the loss of Singapore, special interest attaches to his reference to Japan. Mr. Churchill remarked that, in spite of the gravest provocation, he had sought to avoid war with Japan at a time when "we had Nazi Germany at our throat and Fascist Italy at our belly." The British Premier referred enthusiastically to China and the five-year resistance put up by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek's armies. But the reason for the Empire being at war with Japan was not admiration or sympathy for Chinese heroism; if it had been, the war would have begun earlier and the initiative would have been in British, not Japanese, hands. Mr. Churchill gave the reason in an astonishing passage:

When I survey and compute the power of the United States and its vast resources and feel that now they are in it with us and with the British Commonwealth of Nations, all together, however long it lasts, till death or victory, I cannot believe there is any other fact in the whole world which can compare with that. That is what I have dreamed of, aimed at and worked for and now it has come to pass.

In short, the Empire is at war with Japan because that was the only way in which the United States of America could be brought into the war in Europe. And, as cause or effect, the United States' hostility to Japan is linked with her concern for China. If there is any doubt about American special interest in China, the words of Nathaniel Peffer in a recent issue of the *New Republic* should remove them. Mr. Peffer writes:

There is an almost artistic unity in the Far Eastern war, unity as well as historical continuity. The point of unity is the fate of China, with the ultimate division on that point America versus Japan...So it has been for forty years almost.....Over China we are at war and over China we shall be at war again unless China

is wholly free or irrevocably conquered by some great power...The charter of peace in the Far East lies in the terms the American Government submitted to Japan: evacuation of all alien military forces from China, abandonment of extra-territoriality and all foreign rights and interests in concessions and settlements on Chinese soil...provisions that must operate against all great powers and not Japan alone.

Asian Nationalism and the War:—The significance of this is tremendous. The United States of America has at the eleventh hour given the lead in recognising China's emancipation from colonial status and the British Premier has had to accept this policy. Much as one might deplore the almost cynical manner in which Mr. Churchill announced the change to his people and to the world, one cannot fail to note the sureness with which the war which began as a war for European civilisation, is being forced by the logic of events into a struggle for the redemption of Asia. In China, both belligerent sides claim to be fighting to establish and strengthen Chinese nationalism. A mere gesture in this direction is the Japanese announcement that Hong-Kong is to be administered by the pro-Japanese Nanking Government. As the sphere of hostilities extends, this is also the position in which other Asiatic countries are finding themselves—with this difference that there is not an indigenous government in these countries to counteract Japanese pretensions, and the Allied Powers appear to pursue methods which have worked in the most undeveloped parts of Africa where so far nationalism is believed not to have permeated to the peoples, but which are now woefully out of place even there. The difference in Japan's experiences in China and in Malaya is due partly to this. Mr. Churchill, of course, puts it in his own way when he says it is due to Chinese heroism and endurance. But there is also another reason which must be mentioned. Japan has not as yet pursued in China the forceful tactics which have yielded such quick results in the South Pacific.

Japan and Asiatics:—While the Governor of the Punjab, citing Sir K. V. Reddy, warned Indians against being deceived by Japanese professions of friendliness to Asiatics, General Percival, the Commander-in-Chief in Singapore, would seem to have assumed that the Indian troops, constituting over fifty per cent of his army which was in Singapore when it surrendered, needed no special assurance of good treatment at the hands of the Japanese. According to the official communique, General Yamashita, in dictating the Japanese terms of surrender to General Percival "accepted the fullest responsibility for the lives of British and Australian troops and British women and children remaining in Singapore." It is inconceivable that General Percival would have been indifferent to the fate of Indian troops and women and children in Singapore. If he did not press for a similar assurance for Indians, it must be because he thought that it was superfluous. If, on the other hand, he asked for it and was refused, the fact should be published as it will confirm the Punjab Governor's warning.

Defence of India:—The Governor of Madras in replying to some mild newspaper demand that part of the sums collected for war purposes should be kept for the defence of this country, remarked sententiously some months ago that the defence of London and Britain was also India's defence and that it was ridiculous to ask for any such earmarking. When it was urged in some quarters, again, that it would be wise to prepare for Indian resistance in India rather than miles outside, the omniscient British official and the Anglo-Indian press talked knowingly of the higher strategy of modern warfare. The fall of Singapore leaves the official stranded. The two Anglo-Indian newspapers in this country, the *Statesman* and the *Times of India*, have both protested vehemently, almost frantically, against exclusive pre-occupation with Britain's defence. They have apparently forgotten their own admonition to the Indian press that the authorities are alone in full possession of all the facts.

Mr. Amery and India:—In many respects, as has been pointed out more than once in *The Reformer*, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, has a truer view of the direction in which India's relations with Britain should be developed than his colleagues in the British Government. When it comes to giving effect to it, however, he seems to suffer from a paralysis of his nerves and muscles. The reason for this is that in his deepest moments of insight he cannot think of India and not Britain taking the initiative. This is exemplified in his speech at a luncheon in London on Tuesday. Reuter reports Mr. Amery as having said: "By our tradition as well as by our geographical distribution we may play our part, on the one hand, in interpreting Europe and America to each other; on the other hand, through India in reconciling Europe and Asia." Why should not India reconcile Europe and Asia herself instead of acting as the instrument of Britain? We think ourselves that the reconciliation of the two continents is a high mission of India but she can fulfil it only as a free agent herself. As the agent of Great Britain, India can but aggravate the differences between Asia and Europe and in Asia itself.

The Legislative Assembly and the Chinese Visitors:—The relevancy of the resolutions passed in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State is by no means clear. The Viceroy had disallowed a resolution which referred to the declaration of the war with Japan. The resolutions adopted by the two houses expressing admiration of and welcoming the visitors referred distinctly though indirectly to the war and might be taken to acquiesce in the Viceroy's action in declaring that India was at war with the Axis Powers without reference to the Legislature. A constitutional issue was thus circumvented. The action of the Viceroy has been criticised both in England and in India but here the Legislatures have gone out of their way to endorse that action.

The Reformer has held that the Viceroy's action made no difference in the constitutional position but for the Legislature to endorse its own effacement against constitutional criticism is quite a different matter.

Gandhiji and the Chinese Generalissimo :— Some needless fuss was made over the meeting between Gandhiji and General Chiang Kai-Shek. It was said that the Viceroy's invitation was not extended to Gandhiji as to Mr. Jinnah and His Highness the Jam Saheb, Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber. It transpires that invitation was sent in identical terms to all three, the one to Gandhiji, for some reason, being sent through the District Magistrate. Gandhiji would not go to Delhi without the Viceroy's invitation, the Generalissimo would not invite him as it was against Confucian etiquette for a younger man and a guest to invite an older man in the position of host to visit him. The General might have gone to Wardha but this would require special arrangements which were evidently deemed impracticable. The dilemma was eventually solved by Gandhiji going to Calcutta where the Generalissimo had preceded him. The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek called on Gandhiji and spent four hours with him, being treated to an Indian dinner in Birla Park where Gandhiji stayed. There is no problem which would bear discussion for four and a half hours, without fraying nerves and exposing lines of cleavage. Much of the time was no doubt taken up with general talk about the world situation and the method of solving world problems without infringing the principle of non-violence. The Generalissimo would have agreed to the principle though he might have regretted that it has been his misfortune to resort to violence in the past and it will not be easy for him to relinquish violence so long as the Japanese are in occupation of Chinese soil. Gandhiji entrained the same evening for Wardha though it was stated that he would make a return call on the Chinese leaders. The Generalissimo also met Mr. Jinnah at Calcutta and invited him to Chungking. Mr. Jinnah, we hope, will accept the invitation. He will have ocular demonstration of how the Generalissimo had harmonised class and communal differences in China without breaking up the unity and integrity of China. It would be interesting to know what advice the Generalissimo gave to the Jam Saheb, and the Jam Saheb to him.

India and the Atlantic Charter :—History, to use Mr. Lloyd George's piquant phrase, is moving on oiled castors since the promulgation of the so-called Atlantic Charter. A Pacific and an Indian Ocean Charters are imminent. Still our slow-moving legislators are sore because Mr. Winston Churchill declared that the Atlantic Charter applied only to Nazi-occupied countries and not to India which was not so occupied. At the last session, the Leader of the House left the non-official members to carry a resolution. The question was again brought up at

the opening of this session. The Leader of the House told the members that, as Mr. Churchill had said that the August offer which embodied the policy of His Majesty's Government was in "entire harmony" with the Atlantic Charter, the House ought to be satisfied with the position. It that be so, the countries over-run by the Nazis might enquire from the President of the United States and the British Prime Minister whether the Atlantic Charter conceded to them only what was contained in the August Declaration which has been rejected by every section of Indian opinion.

Censorship in War :—Some time back there was considerable agitation in Australia over the fact that Japan had got hold of information which was secret and was broadcasting it from Tokio. The position was rendered rather ridiculous by the report that the Commonwealth Government had wanted to keep the information from its own people, in the interests of security. "The object of censorship is to prevent military secrets from falling into the hands of the enemy. Censorship for any other purposes is foreign to the democratic spirit and to democratic traditions," writes the *New Republic*. "Nothing is so likely to damage this nation's morale as the feeling that the Government is holding back information without warrant." The question of censorship is becoming a very live one in Washington where, it is reported in a subsequent issue of the *New Republic*, information about Philippine defence was given to selected pressmen among whom was the representative of the *New York Times*, by army headquarters under the pledge of secrecy and the pledge was broken by the *New York Times* which published a despatch from another of its Washington correspondent giving the details with map, commenting at the same time that Mr. Kurusu, then in the U.S.A., could get the information from that very despatch. Apparently it was done with the mistaken notion that Washington wanted the indiscretion.

Singapore Reactions :—The fall of Singapore has had curious reactions. Several who were loudest in their professions of approval and support of the war, have turned critics. They feel that they have been let down, that they have a grievance which it was the plain duty of the authorities to have spared them at any cost. On the other hand, some—a small number—who were critical of the policy and methods of the British Government, have become solicitous for the future of Britain. The difference is due to the difference between the angles from which the two groups viewed the British Empire. One side was inspired solely by what may be called the protective value of the Empire in its largest sense and the other by what may be called the spiritual or creative value, using the term also in its broadest sense. The latter have throughout valued the British Empire not for what it possessed but for what it held concealed under and by its great possessions, like the soul of goodness in things evil, the loss of which would be a grievous loss to humanity in its progress towards self-realisation.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 21, 1942.

BARODA ADMINISTRATION.

One rises from a study of the Baroda Administration Report for 1940-41 with the feeling that one has been witnessing a picture in which the perspective is well maintained. The problems of administration are grasped in their organic entirety. Every part gets its due and adequate share of the Government's attention, neither more nor less. Care is taken at the same time to stimulate initiative on the part of the people and to avoid the mistake of fostering the habit of mind which makes them content to be passive recipients of boons from a paternal administration. The place of the leader, it has been observed, is not in the van of a movement but just ahead of the central force. This is true of Governments pre-eminently. The initiative in progress must remain largely outside the Government mechanism which must serve on occasion as a brake to check society from racing downhill. The Baroda Government, under the inspiration of the late far-sighted Maharaja, long ago grasped the truth that education is the mainspring of reform. The people's minds should be prepared to receive and assimilate new truths. Free and compulsory education was introduced many years ago. In its application, however, care was taken to adjust the pressure of the State to the capacity of different classes of the population. Baroda has a considerable tribal population in a primitive state of society. Here the pace was necessarily slow. On the top are some of the advanced classes which needed little pressure to fall in with the policy of the administration. The proportion of children in the elementary schools is slightly above 87 per cent of those of school-age. There has been a steady increase in the number of students in secondary schools during the last fifteen years, "showing how the middle and professional classes have realised the advantages of English education." The Baroda College is one of the most advanced institutions of the kind in Western India. The Baroda Government has wisely resisted the temptation to start a University of its own. Experience has abundantly proved that universities without a basis other than administrative divisions seldom attain a high standard of efficiency. The Bombay and Baroda Governments have recently adopted an agreement to the effect that candidates domiciled in Baroda State and Bombay Province will be equally eligible for admission to the Government services in the two administrations. This is a wise move to counteract fissiparous tendencies between British India and Indian India and may be followed with advantage between other provinces and States.

The section on Social Legislation in the Report is of exceptional interest. Baroda was among the first administrations in India to realise that, next to education, reform of the

social and family life of the people is essential as the foundation of a stable and progressive administration. Baroda was one of the first governments in the country to legislate against infant marriages. But the law was administered so as to press lightly on the backward classes. At the present time, child marriages have practically ceased except among the primitive tribes, so much so that the Government felt able in 1928 to pass a law declaring marriages before the age of eight years void and to stiffen the penalties for marriages under 18 for boys and 14 for girls, the same as under the Sarda Act in British India. The age of marriage has risen on an average by five years in the last decade, as shown by the census statistics relating to civil condition. Legislation has been a powerful incentive "though, no doubt," adds the Report, "the influence of social changes, the pressure of economic circumstances, and the leavening influence of education, have certainly played an important part." While the result of legislation restraining early marriages has been gratifying, some other laws affecting family life have failed to evoke the same measure of response. The Divorce and Caste Tyranny Acts are prominent instances. Divorce is repugnant to a deeply ingrained Hindu sentiment and the law providing divorce for castes other than those among whom it is allowed by custom, has remained practically a dead letter. There were only 472 suits in the last ten years. Figures were given in a previous Report showing that a considerable proportion of these suits were by persons from British India. The present Report does not distinguish between the suitors according to their domicile but it is not unlikely that a fair proportion of them were not *bona fide* Baroda subjects. The Caste Tyrannies Act has not been invoked except in a very few cases. Not a single one of these few cases resulted in conviction. The Report explains, as was done in a previous report, that people are unwilling to come forward to give evidence in such cases. But this itself is due to the fact that caste "tyranny" is in large part the tyranny of one's social over one's personal self, both being subjective and not objective. The Social Disabilities Removal Act has met with more or less the same experience. On the other hand, the Act securing the property rights of Hindu women has materially helped in the raising of women's status because, in the words of the report, "among the higher castes, these rights are generally conceded in this part of India. Owing to the absence of purdah and other causes, women's property rights have always been more extensive than elsewhere." The Special Marriages Act legalising marriages between castes, has not had much effect in promoting inter-marriages, only 50 marriages having been contracted under it in over 30 years. We referred last week to the Act passed by the Baroda Legislative Council making Hindu marriages monogamous. This, as we observed,

gives effect to a reform in favour of which practically the sentiment of the Hindu community throughout the country is strongly enlisted. More than a quarter of a century ago the late Maharaja ordered that no distinction should be made between antyajas and other Hindus in regard to admission to schools maintained or assisted by the State. Nevertheless, Baroda has not been able to dispense altogether with special schools of which there were 60 in the State. The antyajas are fast catching up with their fellow citizens. The proportion of their children at school was 10.5 as against 13 among other castes and 12.5 among Muslims. These are high percentages—15 per cent being the normal proportion of children of school age—and communities which show them, cannot be included among the backward classes. It must be borne in mind that to label a community as backward and to give it special concessions are apt to operate as a strong inducement to it to cling to the classification. It is desirable to fix a point educationally and economically at which a community automatically passes out of the backward category. Otherwise the encouragement afforded to the really backward classes is likely to fall short of their needs. Baroda has a number of tribes who are backward but not liable to the social disabilities of the antyajas.

Spreading False Reports:—Periodically we have some high official telling the Indian public not to believe and not to spread false reports. There is even the suggestion, born out of panic and hysteria, that drastic action should be taken in one or two cases. No one, however, has yet told them how to recognize a report as false. Take the case of Singapore. After the Japanese forces had entered the Island, there was still confusion as to whether the word Singapore by itself referred to city or island. As a result, repetitious Reuter's announcements of infiltration into the island from the West were mistaken for entry into the city. The water supply was now said to be in Japanese hands; then, with no reference to the earlier message, to be still in British control. Messages of ungrounded optimism were put through, contradicting earlier items of despair. Now that the United States is in the war and the American press faces some of the difficulties all newspapers meet with in wartime, standards different to the ones adopted in European systems will be available. The *New Republic* remarks that a few simple statements of facts at regular intervals will be of far greater value than a hodge-podge of fact and rumour, of assertions followed by denials. "Ambitious seeking after coverage," it writes, "at the expense of accuracy and discrimination, is national hysteria's best friend." Here even that excuse is lacking. Reuter had no competitors in the field and it has a semi-official status.

MISSIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

One of the catchwords of the nineteenth century was "superstition." Every custom and notion which had no immediate utilitarian value, was dubbed "superstition" and to disown it publicly by word or act was to show oneself to be a person of enlightenment. The instance of the English atheist, who inveighed against God and stood watch in hand at a public meeting allowing five minutes to the offended Deity to wreak His vengeance on the offender on pain of being exposed as a myth, may be equalled by the ardent Brahmo of the early seventies who administered a severe beating with his shoes to the images which his grandmother worshipped, in order to give the old lady ocular proof of the imbecility of the objects of her worship. Englishmen continued to believe in God though nothing happened to the atheist and Hindus continue the worship of idols notwithstanding that the shoe-propagandist lived and prospered. Thoughtful men, who were alive to the enervating effect of superstitions, realised at the same time the truth of Bacon's warning that there is a superstition in avoiding superstition. Fifty years ago Sir James Frazer published his "Golden Bough" which wrought on the cultured mind a revolution which has been compared to that effected by the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species." Frazer in fact applied the principle of Evolution to the study of old customs, especially religious beliefs, and came to the conclusions that superstitions furnish us with a clue to the understanding of the history of religions. Frazer found among the European peasantry a large mass of beliefs which educated contemporaries had long discarded. "In Europe at the present day," he wrote, "the superstitious beliefs and practices, which have been handed down by word of mouth, are generally of a far more archaic type than the religions depicted in the most ancient literature of the Aryan race." A further advance from this position of inquiring attitude to superstitions as the source of religion, was made in later years by the study of psychic phenomena. As a result the French astronomer, Flammarion, in his introduction to his Trilogy, "Death and its Mystery", declared that Science should now reverse her principle of believing nothing.

The Theological Seminaries which turn out yearly scores of men and women to convert the heathen in the East and Far East do not seem to keep abreast of developments of thought. The idea of evangelisation which they inculcate goes no farther than denouncing and trying to uproot all old practices and beliefs as superstitions. A hundred years ago Raja Ram Mohan Roy who had a great reverence for Christ and had exhorted his countrymen to follow "The Precepts of Jesus," indignantly asked his Missionary contemporaries what good it would do to the people of India to discard their native superstitions only to substitute in their place foreign superstitions, and he showed that there were as many superstitions in the Christian Churches as amongst Hindus. The comments of the *Guardian* of Madras on a recent resolution of the Ceylon Methodist Synod, denouncing the observance of 'auspicious days' by Indian Christians for celebrating marriages, illustrate this mental stagnation among proselytising missionaries. The *Guardian* agrees that there is much superstition that has been brought over by Christians from their ancestral faiths but thinks that it will be no easy task to persuade Indian Christians to abandon their preference for "auspicious days" for celebrating marriages. The Ceylon Methodist position, indeed, is illogical. Admitting that there are no auspicious and inauspicious days and that one day is good as another, what is the sense in

requiring Indian Christians—for that is what it amounts to—to regard days considered auspicious by their forefathers and their kith and kin as inauspicious. The missionary himself, perhaps, does not observe any days except Sundays as particularly important. Why should Sunday be considered important more than Tuesday or Thursday? They celebrate in the United States the anniversary of the day on which they declared their independence of British rule. What is this but a superstition? There is a sect in that country which regards the salutation of the Stars and Stripes as idolatry and refuses to let their children participate in the flag worship in their schools. They have had to endure something like medieval persecution for their recalcitrancy as it is regarded by the majority of their fellow citizens. All false values will drop away when the human mind grasps the essence of true religion. Instead of concentrating on the inculcation of true religion, to waste one's time in tilting at ancient practices and beliefs which are innocuous in themselves and had their origin in practical needs, is the fundamental defect of proselytising missions.

Ceylon Christians, it would seem, continue to believe in astrology. Astrology may be true or false but it has nothing to do with religion. Milton believed in astrology notwithstanding his stern Puritanism. The English papers report that Astrology is spreading like wild fire in the British Isles and astrologers, mostly bogus, are reaping a rich harvest. When all the recognised standards of social life are dispersed, when life and death is a gamble, the people want some prop to lean upon, and astrology, palmistry and other forms of reading the future obtain ready credence. A thousand years of Christianity and Science combined have not been able to root out of the European mind this hankering after signs and portents.

No one but an arrogant empiricist will dismiss these arts as humbug and its practitioners as impostors. There is unimpeachable testimony from independent observers that astrology has in their experience proved remarkably right. Sir Walter Lawrence in his "India that We Served" gives two instances in his own personal experience. His son was taken ill of typhoid and his condition gave rise to grave anxiety. Sir Walter happened to be in an Indian State and he mentioned the fact to the Court astrologer. The latter told him not to be anxious as the fever would break at a given hour on a given day. So it did punctually. In the other case, the astrologer was asked by the Maharaja what the stars portended; the answer was that there would be war between five nations. The prediction proved true when a few days later Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia plunged into the late great war. Some superstitions are results of experience crystallised into a popular adage. There is general belief among the people that sleeping in the shadow of a tamarind tree brings on fever. Burton records that in order to test the belief he once camped under a tamarind tree and next day he woke up with high fever. A bat crossing one's path is considered inauspicious. Many educated people do not like a cat to cross their path though they would not turn back on that account from a journey. A superstition which has all but died down, was that it was inauspicious to meet a widow when you are going out. A single Brahmin coming towards you when you are starting on a journey was likewise inauspicious but to see a corpse being borne to the cemetery was rather an auspicious sign. Many of these beliefs have disappeared and are disappearing in the light of knowledge. No Synod need start a crusade against them. Ceylon Methodists must be finding time hanging heavy on their hands to think of nothing better to engage their evangelical enthusiasm.

CHINA AND INDIA.

In the speeches made to welcome Generalissimo and Madam Chiang Kai-Shek as well as in their replies, stress was laid on the ancient cultural connections between India and China as a bond uniting the two countries. The intercourse between India and China was continuous from the second century B. C. This was interrupted in the 10th century A. D. It was not resumed till the beginning of the last century when the East India Company coerced China to admit Indian opium into her territories. The opium trade was not given up until the twentieth century had passed its first decade. The present visit of the Generalissimo and his consort may be regarded as a resumption of the ancient connection under happier auspices.

India's contact with China did not begin with the introduction of Buddhism in about the 1st century A. D. It existed for at least two hundred years prior to that event. The first contacts of China were with South India. For a careful account of them we are indebted to Professor K. Nilakanta Sastry's "Foreign Notices of South India" published by the University of Madras. The Professor devotes a chapter to "Kanchi and China in the second century B. C." Kanchi (modern Conjeevaram) became a great Buddhist centre but that was not until the fifth century of the Christian era. In the second century before Christ, as Pan Kou, a Chinese writer, whose date is not later than the 1st century, recorded, from the time of the Emperor Wu (146 to 86 B. C.), there was trade between India and China, chiefly in pearls, precious stones and perfumes. From the 6th century A. D., Buddhist monks, the most prominent of them from Kanchi which had become a great centre of Buddhism, went to China, learnt the language and translated into Chinese numerous books on Mahayana Buddhism which were written in Sanskrit. There were Brahmin temples in Canton and an inscription in Tamil was also discovered there. Professor Nilakanta Sastry refers in a footnote to a Tamil inscription in Japan and the influence of Sanskrit on the Japanese language. The name of Bodhisena, a South Indian Brahmin evangelist to Japan, is commemorated in an inscribed stupa built ten years after his death in 750 A. D. He became the head of the Buddhist ecclesiastical order in Japan and was known as Baramon Sajo (Brahmin Bishop). The first Indian missionary to China did not go there of his own accord. He was brought to China by the emissaries of Emperor Ming Ting (1st Century A. D.) who had a dream of a Golden Man and ordered them to fetch him. They found two Buddhist monks in Central Asia and brought them to the Chinese capital. They had a vast amount of manuscripts with them which were loaded on a white horse. The Emperor built for the newcomers a monastery which in honour of the horse was called the White Horse Monastery, writes Professor J. B. Pratt, whose "Pilgrimage of Buddhism" has the most complete account of the progress of Buddhism in the several countries of Asia as well as of the development of the religion in India before it was carried abroad. The Buddhism which was taken to Ceylon, Burma and Siam was the earlier or Hinayana Buddhism. That which went north to China, Japan and other countries, was the Mahayana.

There has been some discussion among scholars as to the date of the Bhagvad-Gita and the relation of the teachings of the Gita to Buddhism. It is of interest to note that the Japanese scholar, T. Suzuki, thinks that there is an abundance of similar thoughts and passages in the Bhagvad Gita and Asvaghosa. In passing it is further interesting to note Suzuki's

statement of the Buddhist attitude to war. He writes in his "Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism:" "The Bodhisatva (the emancipated one) does not hesitate to go to war, in case the cause he espouses is right and beneficent to humanity at large." Professor Pratt writes of Bodhidharma, also a South Indian, as the Indian apostle who had the greatest influence on Chinese Buddhism. He it was who started the dhyana school of Mahayana which remains the most influential sect in China and Japan. Here is an account of Bodhidharma's interview with the Chinese Emperor:

The emperor of the day was a devout Buddhist and eagerly asked his renowned visitor how much merit he might expect from the princely donations he had for many years been making to the Buddhist Order. To this the blunt answer was, "No merit at all." The sacred books which had been translated with so much care, the patriarch said, were worth nothing. The astonished emperor then asked which of the holy doctrines of Buddhism was most important; to which the enigmatical saint responded, "Where all is emptiness, nothing can be called holy." Finally, to make sure of the authority from which such strange assertions came, the emperor asked, "Who are you who thus reply to me?" The philosopher-saint responded, "I do not know."

The emperor could not understand the saint's answers. So leaving the capital, Bodhidharma crossed the river Yan Tsi, and on Mt. Su (in the Siao-Lin temple near Lo Yang) he sat down cross-legged in meditation, with his face to the wall, for nine years." The Chen school (Japanese Zen) which Bodhidharma founded spread rapidly. He nominated as his successor a Chinese monk who was his disciple. The fifth in the order of succession died without nominating his successor and there has been no patriarch of the school since. But the sect has maintained its preeminence by the weight of its intellectuality, among the educated classes in China and Japan.

The Indian monks, as noticed by Professor Pratt, brought with them many things besides their religion. Chinese astronomy in particular was thus enriched by India. It seems probable too that the method of writing the numerals in accordance with the decimal system was introduced into China by Buddhist missionaries. More than all Indian influence was felt in the moulding of the Chinese alphabet.

TRAVANCORE DIRECTORY.

Travancore Directory, Part I, issued under the authority of the Maharaja's Government is a useful book of reference. It has an almanac which contains information not only useful for secular reference but also important for religious and astrological reference, giving as it does details of the position of planets and stars worked out with special reference to the local latitude and longitude. Complete information regarding the several Government Departments and public institutions is also included. The second Part of the Directory is a quinquennial publication containing information of a fairly permanent character. Each of the Parts is priced Rs. 1/8. Copies can be had from the Government Central Press, Trivandram.

Singapore Renamed Shonan.—The Japanese Imperial Headquarters announced that Singapore has been renamed Shonan, which means "Bright Father (Feather?) of the South," states the Domei official Japanese news agency.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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JULY 22, 1931.

Near Aden.

An Englishman, born in Bombay or Kirkee, now employed in the P. & O Engineering, and going to England on a 7 months' holiday, tells me that it is the German drug called "Vasano" which has kept him going in this weather which would have disabled him from leaving his bunk on any other occasion. As it is, he feels his mouth dry; and such sweetness as the mouth has, is due to doses of coffee. Mr. Jones knows the cause of *mal de mer*: the disturbance of the level of liquids in the semi-circular canals in the ears which irritates the nerve-ends and which disturbs the adjoining nerve-ends connected with throat and stomach, and so bringing on a feeling of nausea. The captain of the ship, finding me alone and deep in Greek, two nights ago, sat beside me and engaged me in conversation; but had not heard of this suggested origin of sea-sickness.

A passenger from Sydney, originally a medico and now in business, who seems to be travelling every year to London, took coffee with me last night, showed me the book he was reading—it was Sir James Jeans' volume on the "Universe about Us." The discussion of its contents led me to references to the numbers of the *Nature* I had on the ship, and the last of them (June 20) had reviewed the third edition of the book. That number dealt with Sir Arthur Keith's challenging Rectorial address at Aberdeen on the Place of Prejudice in Evolution, also a report on the success of malaria germs in thousands of G. P. I. cases, also a lecture at the Royal Institution by Prof. Macbride on Habit as the Driving Force of Evolution, which incidentally gives new experiments suggesting that acquired characters are never inherited in one generation; but that protective measures continued for nine generations have culminated in immunity to the 10th.....

JULY 25, 1931.

Near Suez.

Dr. Lunze, a German chemist, tells me that the Doctor of the ship uses Vasano against sea-sickness—how different the doctor on the Franconia refusing to prescribe for your benefit! Mr. James, of the P. & O. who first put me wise about the Vasano, says the Doctor of the ship injects *after* sickness, whereas he was treated on shore for *prevention*; he imagines that the operation of the drug is by way of deadening the nerves. He is advised not even to read, since optic nerves would not easily function if the nerve ends are dulled. Dr. Lunze wanted a specific against the heat; and Dr. Arnott and I started on a discussion of the prospects of human eotogenesis and the benefits to the human race and to women from incubators—the population and eugenics questions alike yielding to this treatment; but, "at the cost of beauty, of mother-love," Dr. Arnott exclaimed.

JULY 31, 1931.

Near Marseilles.

I am going through Rabbi Ebn Ezra's aged survey of my young past; my conclusions are not his, except that both Rabbi and I agree in present unconcern about what I was and might have been in the past; and I am too old and too unbelieving in survival after death to worry about the necessarily short future that I can reckon on to await me. The reality is the present intense dissatisfaction, with the rider that, if nothing matters, the present too and its dissatisfaction, too, ought not to matter; and the further rider, that "ought" is the device of the impatient

lower faculty to checkmate the "dulling of Deceit by coldness and delay" by the intellect. Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all, as Shakespeare's Hamlet said; and, as Carlyle improving supplemented, Nescience doth make dotards of us all.

By the way, a new book published and reviewed in *Nature* makes out Shelley as the Newton among poets, immensely sensitive to the science of his time, as Prometheus seems to show. What a deprivation to me that he is not a twentieth century poet, to poetize the new outlook revealed by stars and atoms. Poetry, not in touch with this revelation, now sounds stale, flat and unprofitable. There is in the work of Dirac with which I am now wrestling, even a mysticism which evolves out of symbols designedly without meaning initially, a meaning for the Universe, verifiable by confrontation with observation and experiment, as the old Mysticism was not verified.

But let me return to life on this steamer and not stay digressing into somewhat obstreperous inner thoughts. There was no mail for me at Malta, so that I could fall to the periodicals accumulated and refresh my mind with the new descriptions of countries previously visited where I did *not* observe facts to which my attention is now drawn. For example, there are new facts about the febleness of the English administration in Burma and a new friendliness towards the British in India. The Bengali gentleman mentioned in my previous letter is Mr. [Sir N. N.] Sirkar, attorney-general of Bengal. When he read the *Spectator* article on the new conditions in British India, he shook his head, pointed to the latest bulletin reporting the murder of the Alipore judge—I riled him by chaffing that I should have expected him to sympathise—and declared his conviction that the young people were getting out of control. I protested that he should not malign youth since his place was with the young. Said, he was 55. Well, I answered, was there ever the time and place and the young one not mar-plotting?

He reports a conversation between Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Dholpur who gravely assured the former that European aeronautics are borrowed from the Shastras without acknowledgment. Mr. Sarkar took his M. A. in Chemistry, and says he is a regular reader of *Nature*. I tried to interest him in the new discoveries of the origin of science in Egypt; in the more than suspicion that Hypocrites, the Father of Medicine, was like Homer and Shakespeare and Zoroaster only the generic name for the epoch and school with which the literature arose; in the scientific studies of the questions of population.

The things that most awoke (interest) were the French mind on the colour bar in Algiers, the Italian plan to employ the unemployed and the Country Life in England. The *Natures* too are full of new and gripping matter; Sir Arthur Keith's bellicose anthropology, Elliot Smith's tale of the *pre-tribal* man as a good angel, the new facts about Cosmic Rays, Ozone in the air, or Vitamins, or the astonishing disclosure that accidents and casualties in the Chemical Industry are fewer than in other industries, explained by the fact that most accidents are due to temporary lapses, and that the chemical industry being a scientific industry, such lapses are provided against by forethought as they are not in other industries. The railway industry is similarly exempt as the motor traffic industry is not.

A young engineer from Adelaide, who has lent Jean's book to Dr. Arnott, explained an interesting experiment by which "Cosmic Rays" were made audible by megaphone.

AUGUST 2, 1931.

Marseilles.

I was engrossed with three *Illustrated* weeklies, and three new *Spectators* that I got at Marseilles. It is a new experience—this reading in bulk of news and comment; and produces a new impression of events. Our experience of South American revolutions, never ceasing, is brought back; the conservative Republic emerging from Spanish elections; the economic throw-back in Russia; abolishing equality of wages; the continuing fall in the prices of commodities which fall cannot be staid even by the French acceptance of the Hoover plan; the surrender of Mr. Lang, the Premier of South Australia; the Macmillan Report, the Civil Service Commission Report, the Whitley Commission's Report; two divergent views about the Indian Mutiny; the differing views about the colour bar and mixed marriages; the effect of the heat wave in the U. S. in slightly stimulating the trade in cold drinks; the effects of the Cinema on international relations; the attribution of world misery to birth-pangs of a new order (that was the view of Anatole France also 10 years ago); the real d'Artagnan; the justification by Joad of Dr. Renier's charge against the English of not being human—of hypocrisy, *e. g.*, in the matter of cruelty to animals, there was a free fight at the meeting of the S. P. C. A. on whether hunting should be stopped; the economic perplexities revealed by the new Census—*e. g.*, industries needing juvenile labour in the centre of London, not getting enough and juveniles in the outlying regions not getting employment; the dissensions between the Holy Father and Il Duce; and endless other topics have got into this slow-moving little head of mine without being reduced to order or system..... Mr. Fateh, a Mohammedan gentleman from Rawalpindi, also looked me up, and said he would never submit to being treated as other than an equal of the British; and he greatly resented the differential treatment accorded to Indians, not only settlers, but even visitors in South Africa.

There is also on the ship, Mr. Green, originally principal of the Nagpur Technical School, since doing business on his own, and friend of Sir Sohrabji Mehta and Sir Manokji Dadabhai..... I told him that Sir M. Dadabhai and Sir Akbar Hydari had been invited to assist at the Federal Structure Conference in London. Of course, I got the information from the new batch of periodicals, where I also gathered Mr. Gandhi's views about Great Britain's duty in case of a Russian invasion, and Great Britain taking over the Indian National Debt, just as she had released Ireland from her share of the U. K. debt; also Mr. Gandhi's view of the costume he would wear when in London; and Mr. Gandhi's opposition to Pandit Malaviya going to London in accordance with the invitation to him. I also read Mr. Lloyd George's speech about Sir John Simon, straining at the gnat of the Land Tax, when he had swallowed the whole camel of Tory Protection. I felt some sympathy for this view, though I favour the political instincts of Sir John Simon, and do not favour Mr. Lloyd George's instincts at all. There is a gentleman from the U. P. who says things are worse in his province than elsewhere, largely owing to the depression which is overwhelming Indian agriculture, chiefly, the fall in the prices of wheat.

The Burmese rebellion is attributed to the same cause. Sir Montagu Webb thinks that Indian buyers of Manchester piece-goods were really distressed by the fall of textile prices, and wished to repudiate further shipments to which they were committed and Mr. Gandhi adroitly played into their hands.

The Principal of Roorkee asked me to agree with him that Cynicism is the disease of this age. I could only explain that Cynicism is the reaction against unthinking optimism, and quite justified and even a duty, when sincere and resulting from weighty thought. If it is to be called a disease, even though sincere and weighty, it is a disease in the same sense as the pearl is the disease of the oyster. Am I not being carried off by analogy, he dissentingly asked.

AUGUST 7, 1931.

I had yesterday's *Times* daily at Plymouth, and this morning's at Tilbury; I was quite surprised to see therefrom that Swedish efforts of the last decade have brought Sweden to the forefront among industrial countries. At Plymouth, I had the three weeklies, and again, I was surprised to see that the London Conference had given Germany no real help, and that Lord Reading whose wife died a few years ago, is to marry again.

The barber of the ship asked me if I did not find passengers on the ship a different class of men from what they are on shore. He had complained before Colombo that they would come for his help in the Fancy Dress entertainment to stick on a moustache or a beard, but would grudge the 6 ds. he would charge for stuff and amenity. They would ask him to predict the weather a fortnight ahead; would ask for Eno's Fruit salt one morning and the next morning they would ask again, hoping that the salt which was not available the previous day, had been now obtained, though no new port had been touched meanwhile. But he said, the White passengers that joined the ship in Bombay were the limit, spoiled by the service and toadyism they received in the East, they did not leave behind them their new-found manners when they came on a European ship, and were a perfect nuisance. I met passengers whose name I still do not know who discussed, over coffee, the Indian situation or the depression in business the world over.....In the discussion on the ship my attitude was negative. "I don't know and you don't know and nobody don't know." What we do know is the fallacy of propositions widely asserted. Whatever democracy has proved, it has not proved more incompetent or more corrupt, or more irremediably perverse than monarchical and oligarchical contemporaries or predecessors. As in Australia, so in Britain, financial extravagance has not been the monopoly of the Labour party. Protection cannot bring Britain out of her difficulty which is the sore strait of the Export Industry and its high costs which would only be aggravated by Protection. Currency manipulation would be equally impotent to help Britain's plight.

In fact, it appeared to me that we went heedlessly through the last War, did not make peace in 1916 when Germany was chastened, and when Wilson offered America's help to see that a General War never happened again. We insisted on a knock-out blow to Germany even if it cost the last man and the last shilling. Our bluff has been called, and we deny our last shilling. Our trading organisation was so delicately adjusted that the knock-out of Germany put it out of gear, and it could not function in the old way, and we had not begun to learn to find any new way. To justify our folly, we plunge deeper into mire.

AUGUST 12, 1931.

London.

I see that the U. S. Immigration Department ill-treat 200,000 new-comers and return to their country, 20,000 annually. The Police there extract confessions by tortures, which it is a torture to read about. The Soviets force prosperous peasants—the Kulaks—to work on timber in Siberia

amid hardships which prove unendurable and fatal. In Britain, the Commissioner of Police has been dismissing for two years a number of policemen for blackmail. And yet Mr. Fateh thought that Indians were ill-treated in South Africa only on account of their colour.

AUGUST 18, 1931.

London.

I am up-to-date with the Gandhi negotiations but I am more interested in the floods which have left 20 million people destitute in China, on which Famine and Pestilence will supervene; much of which could have been averted if embankments had been efficiently maintained and preventive measures taken instead of forgetting them during the luxurious indulgence of patriotism and Civil War.

Europe and America are beginning to develop hysteria about the industrial and financial situation; a Cabinet Council sat up till half-past ten at night to discover how to balance the Budget whether by retrenchment of expenditure or fresh taxation or both. Expenditure cannot be retrenched without dismissing men and reducing salaries, and teachers and panel doctors are up in arms against any reduction on their class. All shout for medicine—for the other fellow.

PROSTITUTION IN EUROPE.

The General Secretary, International Abolitionist Federation, writes from Geneva:

By ordinance dated September 15, 1941 (effective one month after its publication), a "Regulation" of prostitution has been established in the Netherlands. Prostitutes are compelled to carry with them a legitimation card and to submit to medical examinations as often as the police shall order. Trespassers shall be liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 6 weeks or to a fine not exceeding 500 Dutch florins.

A previous ordinance dated October 1, 1940 had already established compulsory treatment for certain categories of diseased people.

Any control of prostitution had been abolished in 1911, after having been suppressed by many town councils during the two previous decades. Treatment for venereal diseases was not compulsory. Results so far as public health was concerned had been splendid. The rate of venereal diseases in the Dutch army fell from 60 per 1000 in 1891 to 14 per 1000 in 1912. In 1935, for the whole population 71 new cases of venereal diseases were recorded by 100,000 inhabitants, as against 292 in Germany and 815 in France.

France is the country where the Napoleonic system of regulated prostitution originated and was still in force before the war, except for a few cities which did abolish it. A circular letter, dated December 24, 1940 from *General Secretariate for Family and Health* at Vichy, ordered the *Préfets* to replace local regulations by a general one. This new regulation which consists of more than 60 articles gives a legal status to brothel-keepers who previously were only tolerated and endows them with the monopoly for exploiting the prostitution of others. Prostitutes must in principle become brothels-inmates. The *Préfets* may nevertheless organize public solicitation.

In Belgium where prostitution was also regulated (except in Brussels and Antwerp), an ordinance was already taken on June 25, 1940, at the request of the military authorities. This ordinance was modified twice and finally replaced by a new ordinance on January 3, 1941, which prohibits prostitution outside brothels, thus compelling prostitutes to enter houses of ill-fame. These houses are no more tolerated but authorised.

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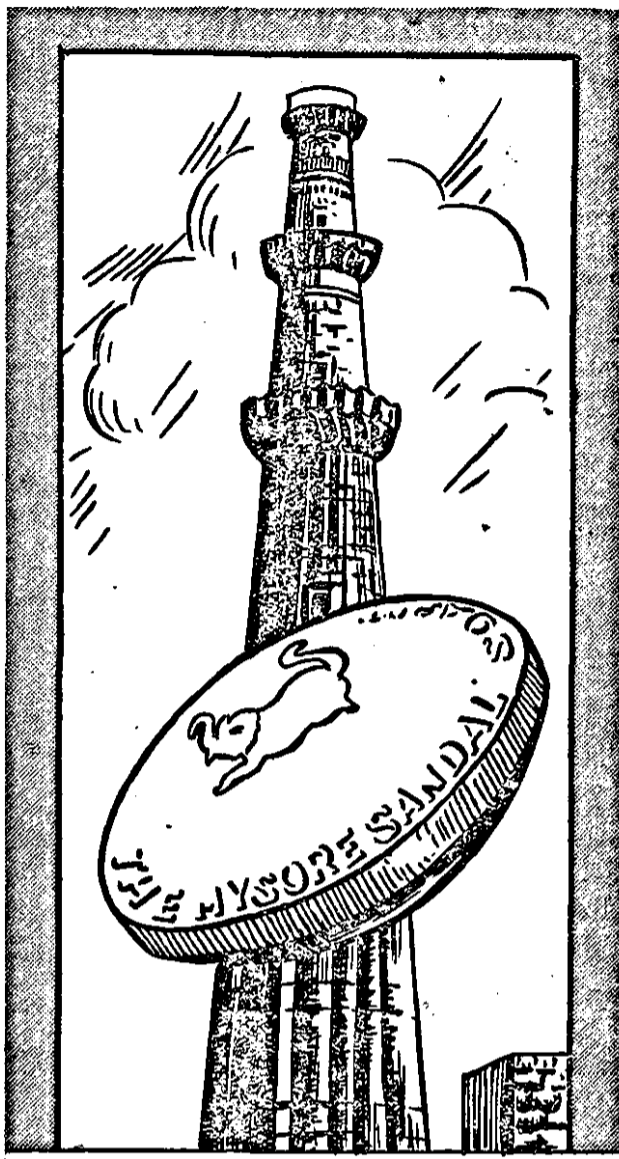
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Editor: S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY FEBRUARY 28, 1942. No. 26.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Women in Soviet Russia.
Stalin's Russia.
The Non-Party Conference.
Chinese Leader's Farewell
Message.
Lord Beaverbrook and
Mr. Arthur Moore.
Renter and All-India Radio.
Polish Children for India.

Tirupattur Conversion.
The Singapore Debate.
Cabinet Changes.
Some Reminiscences.
Calendar Reform.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Secret Sessions for Central
Legislature.

NOTES.

Women in Soviet Russia:—The *New Republic* of November 17th is a special number with articles from several writers on different aspects of life in "Russia Today." The articles are written in a spirit of complete detachment. The political system, of course, comes in for adverse comment as involving a suppression of free thought in different spheres. The Soviet from the first attached great importance to university education. In the recent decree conscripting women for war work, two classes are exempted, mothers with infants and students attending Universities. But the insistence that academicians and scientists should adhere to and follow the philosophical doctrines of the Communist Party, of historical and dialectical materialism, Darwinism in biology and Stalinism in Sociology and economics, is a drawback. One achievement, however, stands to the supreme credit of the Soviet system. Roger N. Baldwin writing on "The Question of Liberty" observes:

Women in the Soviet Union enjoy, by constitutional right and in practice, equality with men. All professions and careers, including government posts, are open to them. The Soviet Union has women ambassadors, sea captains, flyers, industrial and farm managers, judges and people's commissars—to a degree probably greater than in any other country.

This testimony from one who is not an indiscriminate admirer of the Soviet system as fostering civil liberties, has a high value. The present war has been described as a war of democracy against totalitarian rule. This means nothing as there are a variety of democracies and totalitarian governments. A truer line of distinction will be the status assigned to women. There is no truer test of civilisation than this. Judged by it, the Allied and Axis states align on opposite sides. The U. S. S. R., the United States, India, China and Britain with their aspiration for equality between the two sexes, have a natural and abiding point of communion while Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and militarist Japan

are united in a different ideal of women's place in society.

Stalin's Russia:—Some commentator speaking on the visit of the Chiang Kai-Sheks to India, has observed that it has thrown into the shade the fall of Singapore. This is not strictly correct since the Chinese visit was not a subject of debate in the House of Commons nor the cause of Cabinet changes. Even if it were true, it does not necessarily follow that only that which occupies the limelight really matters. Whilst all these events are occupying the attention of America and the British Empire, in Stalin's Russia there is going on a steady resistance to Nazi onslaughts. Taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by a Soviet celebration, the leaders of the democracies fell over each other to send messages to M. Stalin. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, also sent his best wishes. M. Stalin, however, seems to have paid scant attention to these messages. In fact he went out of his way to tell his Red Army that Russia was fighting alone. "Germany," said M. Stalin, "has allies fighting for her. So far we are not in that position but we have succeeded in holding our own." In the debates in the House of Commons Mr. Churchill and his supporters repeatedly asked whether Britain could afford to open up a second front in Europe in the light of events in Singapore and Burma. The question on a perusal of M. Stalin's speech seems rather to be whether Britain can afford not to open up a second front in Europe. We had thought that the campaign in Lybia was intended as a symbolic second-front and that the American loan to the Soviet State was also intended as a gesture of goodwill and help to Russia. M. Stalin evidently does not think it enough. Russia's value as an ally has greatly increased today and M. Stalin would not be the shrewd politician he is reputed to be, if he does not press home the advantage with his allies no less than against the enemy. His war aim was surprisingly limited and realistic to an uneasy extent. He seeks only to plant the Red Flag "everywhere where it had flown before." His reference to the clique which governs Germany as something different from the German people and the German State, and his suggestion that one way out of the war would be by ending the Hitler clique, seem to give a special meaning to Mr. Churchill's remarks on the possibilities of peace in his House of Commons speech. Instead

of the old story of destroying Nazism and the German spirit of aggression, Mr. Churchill enlarged on the possibility of winning the peace without any spectacular victories. He marked this conflict out as a war of tendencies rather than one of incidents. Have M. Stalin and Mr. Churchill any reason to believe that the Hitler regime is nearing its end and that peace is in sight? Their two speeches certainly convey that impression whilst the sensational progress of this strangest of wars makes one prepared for any development—even an early peace.

The Non-Party Conference:—Speaking at the Non-Parties Conference last week-end, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru mentioned that the British Prime Minister had sent a reply to the Conference's representation, informing him that on two of the points raised by them effect had been given to Sir Tej's views by inviting the Government of India to be represented, if it so chose, on the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council. Mr. Churchill added gratuitously that whoever was selected for these responsible posts would be welcomed unreservedly. The other points raised by Sir Tej Bahadur were under consideration, as they raised issues of far-reaching effect. Sir Tej Bahadur did not dwell much on these evasions except to remark that time is fast slipping away and that a decision is urgently called for. But in his concluding remarks he showed that even he was losing patience. "We do not want," he said bitterly, "to be handed over as bales of goods to others. We want to defend ourselves; hence our demand." The Rt. Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar in moving the main resolution was equally emphatic in his language. His Majesty's Government apparently do not realise the gravity of the situation or the restraint with which Indian leaders are acting in these crucial days. In a significant article the *New York Times* whose sympathy for Britain is beyond doubt, remarked that the days when China and India were suppliants at the White Man's door are over. So far as India is concerned, this is truer than the writer could have ever imagined. Continentalism has never appealed to our leaders and Europeans have been warned time and again not to indulge in slogans which would have far-reaching repercussions. Unfortunately, the gravest of these warnings have passed unheeded. Even during this war, the foremost leaders of Europe and America have had little in mind except the saving of Europe and of Western civilisation. Even after Japan's entry into the war, Indians are asked by the unthinking men in control who unfortunately continue to repeat their lessons of the nineteenth century, to be "Indians first." If the advice is taken, it would have grave results. The work of nearly two centuries would be shattered in a few days. Fortunately, however, the Indian mind is an evolutionary one. It prefers to build on existing foundations. It has been a tragedy that the Imperial Government has failed to see this clearly. For this the

men on the spot are in large measure responsible. In the Central Assembly last week, official speeches, notably that of the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, threatened political non-conformists with repression. If it was believed that this kind of "leadership" would serve a country at war, the mistake must by now be well realised. Even countries with no tradition of democratic rule have thought it necessary to placate political opponents when threatened with war.

Chinese Leader's Farewell Message:—In his farewell message to India Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek appealed to the Indian people to give their support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter; and he also appealed to "our ally, Great Britain" to give Indians real political power "without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India." Great disappointment was caused by Mr. Churchill's declaration that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India and it might, therefore, be argued that the Chinese Leader's appeal to Indians was without point. Evidently the Generalissimo had mentioned it in order to introduce his advice to Britain without violating the courtesy due to his official hosts. All the more reason, therefore, that the fact that His Excellency had spoken in this manner conveyed the impression that his message presaged a change of policy towards India on the part of the British Government. Apparently the hope was not altogether well-founded. The Government of India did not feel itself strong enough to prevent the Generalissimo from giving his advice and the home Government did not feel itself in a position to give effect to it. Speakers at the Non-party Conference expressed the view that the official reception given to the Generalissimo and his wife was not all that it ought to be. Whatever benefits may accrue from the visit, they will be entirely independent of its official character. Outstanding among the events of the visit was the stay at Shantiniketan. The Generalissimo made a gift of Rs. 50,000 to the institution and a further donation of Rs. 30,000 for a Chinese section was also announced. The speeches made on the occasion have done more to bring to Indiaq minds the unity between China and India than any of the other incidents of the visit.

Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Arthur Moore:—Some days back the *Statesman* published a signed article by its Editor, Mr. Arthur Moore, denouncing Lord Beaverbrook, lately British Minister of Production, as being responsible for the fall of Singapore. Mr. Moore spent some time in England last year and during his visit he interviewed leading politicians, among them Lord Beaverbrook. He had pressed on the late Minister for Production the urgency of sending munitions to Malaya. The Minister, however, held that the defence of the British Isles was the

most important part of his duties and, when the Anglo-Indian journalist became importunate, the British Minister who is also a Press Lord, roundly said that he would be mad to act upon the former's suggestion. Mr. Moore returned and resumed his duties some months ago but he did not say a word about his talk with Lord Beaverbrook until Singapore was occupied by the Japanese. Mr. Arthur Moore can contain himself no longer. He felt it his duty to speak out and denounced Lord Beaverbrook as the evil genius of the Churchill Cabinet. Until then Lord Beaverbrook had been applauded in England and the United States as a man of great driving power and his association with the Prime Minister was regarded with general satisfaction. The dissatisfaction felt and expressed in the British Press and Parliament, did not touch Lord Beaverbrook. It was, therefore, with surprise that one received the news that Lord Beaverbrook had left the Cabinet and refused the invitation to be on it in some other office on the ground of ill-health. Mr. Arthur Moore can, therefore, claim that alone he did it. The *Times of India* also recalled twice in one week that its special correspondent after a visit to Singapore some time back had suggested the possibility of the place being attacked from the unprotected land side, but since it accepted the general view that Singapore will be attacked only from the sea, no special credit can be claimed for what after all was a casual observation.

Reuter and All-India Radio :—All-India Radio broadcasts of news have been prefaced for some time past with an announcement to the effect that, as Reuters are part proprietors, no item of news should be published without the permission of that news agency. Recently a question was asked in the Legislative Assembly regarding the publication of some items by Indian newspapers. In one case the newspaper was said to have apologised and in the other there seemed to be a doubt as to whether there was an infringement of copyright. The first question which arises, is why the Government of India should be expected to take notice of the infringement of Reuter's copyright. The interpellator is an old member of the Assembly and he should have considered the point before putting the question. The Government also should have assured itself of its responsibility before it answered the question. Far more serious is the absurdity of expecting a working journalist to keep, in two water-tight compartments of his brain, the news which he gathers by the ear and the news which he reads in print. Government are acquiring railways and telephones throughout the country and they may also acquire Reuters' interest in the All India Radio news service.

Polish Children for India :—An unspecified number of Polish children are to be evacuated from Russia to India and the Viceroy has made a grant of Rs. 50,000 for the purpose from the

War Fund at his disposal. No information is vouchsafed as to why these children are to be sent away from Russia which is now an ally of the Polish Government and on whose side Polish troops are fighting the Nazis. News about the result of the Russo-Nazi struggle has of late been uniformly favourable to the Russians. Russia is a huge country with a sparse population compared to India. The population problem in India was very much to the fore twelve months ago when the Census was taken. We have already too many communal minorities and the prospect of adding another to them is by no means pleasing. We are not told whether the children to be brought over to India are Polish Jews, Christians or Muslims. If the children are exclusively or in large part Muslims—the head of the Polish Muslims visited India some time back—they may not find difficulty in being absorbed in the Indian Muslim community. But if they are Jews or Christians we shall have a new communal problem added to our existing ones.

Tirupattur Conversion :—The Tirupattur correspondent of the *Indian Express* (Madras) reports on February 18 : *

To protest against the alleged action of the local Swedish Mission Hospital authorities in having converted to Christianity a Brahmin girl, by name Sitalakshmi Ammal, who had come to the hospital for treatment, a huge procession was organised on Monday evening. The procession terminated at the local car stand where a public meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. K. Vijayan Servai. Messrs. Sethuramasami Pillai, President Panchayat Board, Tirupattur, V. R. Subbayya Pillai, Thondar Manickam, Chakkarai Rowther and Bairavaratnam spoke criticising as highly unjustifiable and high-handed the action of the Mission Hospital authorities in having converted the woman patient to Christianity without the knowledge of either the parents of the girl or of her husband. A resolution condemning the action of the Mission authorities was also adopted. As a protest against the action of the Mission Hospital authorities, all the Hindu shops and some Muslim shops remained closed on Monday.

Two features of this report are noteworthy. Firstly, the grievance is against a Scandinavian mission society. The Danish and Swedish missions have a distinguished record of service in South India and many of their missionaries have won a permanent place in the affections of non-Christians, mainly because they have identified themselves with the leading social progressive movements of the country. In the second place the protest is one which is registered by several communities. These factors would seem to suggest that the agitation is not just a mob reaction. But important details are lacking. The girl's age has not been given. Nor are we told how she first came in contact with the mission.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, February 28, 1942.

THE SINGAPORE DEBATE.

More than anything that has happened so far—and some things have happened quite as serious—the surrender of Singapore has shaken the faith of the British people in their rulers' capacity to guard their freedom. This is largely due to the highly exaggerated propaganda for years past regarding the invulnerability of Singapore. The American press in its comments on the attack on Pearl Harbour and the loss of the two British battleships, heartens itself by referring to the Singapore naval base as a bulwark which may be expected to stand against every possible contingency. Mr. Winston Churchill in his statement in the House of Commons on Tuesday had no better explanation to offer for the debacle than that it was impossible for British reinforcements to be sent in sufficient quantity to Malaya, having regard to the many demands upon them from several fronts nearer home. This is no doubt the right explanation but surely he did not discover this only after the fall of Singapore. The British Premier was certainly aware of it when he pledged Britain to declare war against Japan within an hour of the United States doing so. Japan did not wait for the United States to take the initiative and launched her attack when her emissary, Kurusu, was in Washington trying to arrive at an eleventh hour settlement. This, of course, amounted to a breach of faith and has been rightly condemned as an act of treachery. But this is not a new thing in modern war. Russia, when she occupied the eastern half of Poland two years ago notwithstanding a non-aggression pact between the two countries, was similarly accused of treachery and of stabbing Poland in the back. Moral rules have not the same meaning between nations at war as between private individuals. This is deplorable but it is the brutal fact. The surprising thing is that the United States whose President had been making several violent speeches against the Axis Powers, had not been preparing to implement the presidential fulminations, hoping, evidently, that the speeches themselves were enough to intimidate the latter.

The responsibilities of the United States in the Pacific are trifling and largely sentimental compared to those of Britain. The British Government should not have been led by the United States in her policy in that quarter as she has been since the last war with the exception of a short period in the Chamberlain regime. The other reason for British failure in the Pacific is the persistent under-rating of Asiatic efficiency in politics and in war. This is also the weakness of British policy in India. We only hope that they will not wait as in the case of Japan until there is a

rudé awakening. Another reason is the overweening confidence of Britain and the U. S. A. in the vastness of their material resources. Material resources are in themselves useless without men in sufficient numbers and with a strong faith in the rightness of their cause, to handle them. A small nation with great fervour for the cause which it is fighting for, has often defeated bigger nations without that impetus. *Punch* several years ago had a cartoon which depicted a big boy as having been thrashed by a small one. When asked how that happened, the big one's answer was, "He was more angry than I was." Mr. Winston Churchill pleaded that it was impossible for him to defend the distant parts of the Empire in view of nearer and more immediate dangers. He did not seem to realise the predicament of large populations which have not been trained to defend themselves, have, indeed, been forbidden the possession of arms, and which have been bidden to look for protection solely to the Imperial Government, when left in the lurch on the plea that the latter could not spare warships and air planes. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief concluded his statement in the Council of State the other day with the assurance that the situation was well in hand. How many times of late have we been told this!

India, of course, figured in the debate. There are four hundred million Indians. There should be no difficulty in drawing upon this huge population to augment the man power at the disposal of Britain to such an extent as to cope with any possible combination of powers. Only about a million men have so far been enlisted. They could easily have ten, possibly twenty, millions. The answer to this familiar complaint was given some days ago by the Vice-Premier, Mr. Attlee. He said that they had not the equipment necessary to put a larger number of Indians in the field. This is rather a lame excuse seeing that Britain and the United States have undertaken to equip the Chinese and to supply the needs of the Soviet army. Mr. Attlee also said that this was a long term policy which should have been thought of several years before. Surely even if there was the equipment you can not convert millions of persons into an efficient army overnight. This is said to have been, and has probably been, done in China but the Chinese are called upon to defend their own independence, their culture and their spiritual heritage. Of the six nationals fighting in the Far East, Australians, Britons, Chinese, Indians, Japanese and Siamese, all except Indians, are led by commanders of their own nationality. That single fact carries with it a poignant significance. The Generalissimo in his parting message expressed the hope that Britain will give political power to Indians to enable them to develop and to defend their spiritual and material resources. The British Government has throughout its connection with India nursed the illusion that the masses are deeply attached to it and that, therefore, it can safely

ignore the educated and politically-minded classes as an unimportant and microscopic minority. The Congress for over twenty-five years relied on the Queen's Proclamation as the Magna Charta of India and used to begin and end its sittings with three cheers for the Queen-Empress. It was despised and denounced by the bureaucracy and its satellite Press. Tilak challenged this smug belief and was thrown into prison. Gandhiji did the same on a nation-wide scale and did not wait to be sent to prison but courted it. The electorates which were deliberately devised so as to exclude politically-minded people, returned at its very first opportunity non-co-operating Congress members in large majorities in seven provinces including the Frontier Province consisting of over 80 per cent Muslims.

Of the four Muslim provinces two have repudiated the Muslim League. Bengal, the largest of them, has recently formed a Hindu-Muslim coalition Government leaving both the Congress and the Muslim League high and dry. The Punjab, the other province, has a Government which, according to the oft-repeated declaration of the Prime Minister, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, was emphatically not a Muslim Government but a Government of all the three chief communities of the Punjab. The claim of the Muslim League to represent the majority of Muslims must be estimated in the light of these hard facts. In spite of them, Sir George Schuster read in the course of the debate in the House of Commons a letter from Mr. Jinnah—perhaps the same which Mr. Jinnah repudiated some months ago—claiming to speak on behalf of the community of Indian Mahomedans and demanding the division of India as the indispensable requisite for their salvation and declaring that they would never submit to a Hindu-dominated central Government. One would like to know what Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek's response would be if the 20 million Chinese Muslims asked for a Chinese Pakistan. The partition of Ireland remains a running sore in Irish politics preventing Eire from offering her valuable co-operation to Britain in this war. Sir George Schuster could not answer a member who interrupted him with the pertinent question, whether Indian Muslims would accept the somewhat nebulous scheme which he adumbrated for immediate adoption in India. The suspicion that the British Government was contemplating a division of the country as desired by Mr. Jinnah, would irrevocably close the door to any accommodation with the vast majority of the population, including those who are striving, against much discouragement, to persuade British statesmen to concede what they may not be much longer in a position to withhold.

CABINET CHANGES.

The changes in the British Cabinet announced during the last few days are more remarkable for their departure from long-standing practice than for their promise of greater efficiency in resolving the grave situation with which the Empire is confronted. The outstanding change is the relinquishment by the Prime Minister, while remaining in the House of Commons and retaining the position of Prime Minister and the portfolio of Defence, of the Leadership of the House. Mr. Churchill said that when he succeeded Mr. Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister he had intended to leave to Mr. Chamberlain the Leadership of the House of Commons but that it was found not to be acceptable and, therefore, he had to undertake the Leadership in addition to his duties as Prime Minister. Mr. Churchill had also taken charge of the Minister of Defence. So far as we can recall, there has been no instance of a Prime Minister continuing to sit in the House of Commons leaving its leadership to other hands. The anomaly of this arrangement is so obvious that it is surprising that it seems to have completely escaped notice. The Leader of the House must necessarily be thrown into the background by the Prime Minister sitting next to him. The House will naturally turn to the Prime Minister for the lead in important matters in preference to the titular Leader who will himself be embarrassed. In the present case, the Leader of the House, Sir Stafford Cripps, is not an old colleague. He had only a few days ago refused to accept the portfolio of Production because it was offered to him shorn of some of the powers held by Lord Beaverbrook. In his own way, he is as important a public man as the Prime Minister himself, and holds strong opinions about public questions in complete disaccord with those of Mr. Churchill. The position of Leader of the House of Commons resembles no other so closely as that of a snake-charmer. So long as the latter keeps up his droning and moving his knees in tune therewith, with his eyes steadily fixed on those of the reptile, he is safe. The moment he stops he should promptly hold out the round basket for the serpent to curl itself in and close the lid. Mr. Churchill has shown himself possessed of the capacity to charm the House of Commons out of its moods of depression. On the other hand, in the last war as in this his war strategy has not been conspicuous for its success. It would have been, therefore, more in the fitness of things if, so long as he is Prime Minister, he had remained Leader of the House and handed the Defence portfolio to a colleague whose occasional absence from the House would not excite notice. Except in one matter, namely, that both Sir Stafford and Mr. Churchill were dissidents in their respective parties, there is no common ground between the two. For a parallel we must hark back to the time when Mr. Balfour as Prime Minister was trying to hold the Free Trade and Imperial Preference wings of his Cabinet together for a short while.

SOME REMINISCENCES.

Apropos of the superstition about the inauspiciousness of encountering a widow referred to in last week's *Reformer*, its disappearance has not come about without effort. The following for which I can vouch from personal knowledge, is an extreme instance. But hundreds of persons, imbued by the same spirit of sympathy for the sad plight of Hindu widows, have by deliberate intention marked their disapproval of the sentiment against widows in various ways.

The instance is of a friend who revolted against the prejudice and was determined to show his defiance of it in as public a manner as possible. One of his devices was to get ready to go to his office half an hour earlier than necessary. He would sit at home ready to start. Meanwhile his little son had a standing instruction to watch for the appearance of a widow—the Hindu widow thirty years ago could be noted at a distance from her shaven head and white sari—and to report instantly to his father.

One day I was talking with my friend when the lad ran in breathless and reported "she" was coming. My friend at once broke off our conversation, jumped to his feet and snatching his umbrella, almost ran out of the house. I followed him and on catching him up asked him what had happened. He pointed to a widow coming towards us, all unconscious of the stir she was causing. He explained that in order to prove that the superstition against meeting widows was as absurd as it was cruel, he had for sometime past made a practice of leaving his house only when a widow appeared on the horizon. I was moved to laughter and tears at the same time, at the earnestness of my friend and the original way he had devised for demonstrating his conviction. The same feeling and emotion and respect crops up as I recall the incident. My friend's name was N. K. Ramaswami Aiyar, a strange blend of earnestness and eccentricity.

In the early volumes of *The Reformer* will be found several interviews with "fallen women"—devadasis and brothel women—which Ramaswami Aiyar undertook in order to obtain firsthand information about the lot of such women in furtherance of the movement for their reclamation which *The Reformer* was then promoting. Every evening after returning from Court—he was a lawyer but cared little for his profession—he would visit some brothel, put questions to the inmates, carefully take down their answers, and translate them into English for publication. His frequent trouble was that the women would not believe him when he told them that he had come to them to have an interview. Some of them laughed in his face. Others resented his call merely to get information. In one case a policeman who was in the house, pushed him out by the neck into the street. In another he had persuaded a young woman to give up her profession, offering to give her employment in his own home. When he informed his wife of this and suggested that the woman may be given some work about the house, she was furious. But he managed to persuade her that his was a work of philanthropy, and invoked my testimony to that effect. He found, however, in a day or two that he had "oversimplified" the problem of the rehabilitation of fallen women. The young woman found it difficult to accommodate herself to the way of life in a family and one night disappeared and was not seen again. Ramaswami was not discouraged. He continued his mission for several days afterwards.

What finally decided him to give it up was an interview with a cultured, aristocratic

devadasi. She was a woman of refinement. The western brothel system coarsens and bestialises its votaries. The Indian family system had no such effect. Several devadasis were cultured women with a high degree of self-respect. The Abbe Dubois in his book on Indian Life and Manners contrasts the refined manners of the Indian devadasi with the western prostitute carrying her degradation on every feature. The Christian missionary has regarded the western system as proof of the superiority of Christianity which passes by, drawing the hem of its garment from the vice and sin which exists around it. He is contemptuous of Hinduism which throws its ample cloak over vice and sin holding that they are the result of ignorance, that a religion cannot save itself by merely disavowing responsibility for the evils which flourish under its august nose.

This, however, is a large question which it will take me far to discuss here. To return to Ramaswami Aiyar. He came straight to me from the devadasi whom he had been interviewing. I remember the day for it was the anniversary of my father and I had not then adopted my practice at present of remembering my ancestor by making a small gift to some charity, which I feel is the better and truer way of performing shraddh. Ramaswami was a bit excited as he stepped into my room exclaiming that he should be relieved from this mission of interviewing fallen women.

I had not asked him to undertake it and, therefore, he did not need my permission to give it up. But I asked him what had happened to make him take this sudden decision. He said that the devadasi whom he had gone to interview that day, had turned the tables on him and he felt that if he persisted in this work there was greater chance of his becoming a fallen man than of his rescuing fallen women. The lady was very polite and courteous. But she could not see any difference between a lawyer—she had asked him what his profession was—pleading for a client who engaged him for a fee and a woman who was brought up to give her favours to a client on the same footing. In the one case it was the brains which were hired; in the other it was the body. Was the body more important in the scale of creation than the mind—the flesh more important than the spirit?

She did not stop there. She held, and Ramaswami was utterly convinced of her sincerity, that hers was a divinely ordained function and that she was doing the will of God in following the ancient custom of her family. Ramaswami told me that he had no answer to this line of argument. And that was why he could not undertake any more interviews.

A curious thing about Ramaswami was that he was an aggressive atheist. Wherever he went he took with him a bundle of tracts by Bradlaugh and Annie Besant which he would distribute to all whom he met. In November 1894 Mr. (afterwards Sir) N. G. Chandavarkar had come to Madras to preside at a meeting of the Hindu Social Reform Association. He was entertained to a dinner at the Victoria Town Hall. Prominent among the hosts present was the late G. Subrahmanya Aiyar, the renowned Editor of the *Hindu*, then in the heyday of his power. Ramaswami briskly went up to him and handed him one of his tracts. Subrahmanya Aiyar had a grim humour. Without looking at the tract, he asked "What, Ramaswami Aiyar, does this tract say?" Ramaswami replied with a swagger, "It proves definitely, Sir, that there is no God." Subrahmanya Aiyar looked at him quizzically and

said, "Suppose there is no God, what then?" Ramaswami gasped, "What then?" "Yes," rejoined Subrahmanya Aiyar, "granting that there is no God, I ask you what follows." Ramaswami mechanically mumbled "Nothing." "Why take all this trouble for nothing?" blandly rejoined Subrahmanya Aiyar. Ramaswami was flabbergasted. I never understood the meaning of "flabbergasted" so well as from the look on Ramaswami's face. He expected an argument and had his weapons ready. But this concession and query, he had not bargained for. It was a fine display of intellectual Ju-jitsu and Ramaswami did not distribute any more of his tracts that day. Later, he became an intensely orthodox Hindu.

K. N.

CALENDAR REFORM.

The World Calendar Association New York has formulated a scheme for reforming the Calendar. The defects of the present Calendar are said to be that it is always different from year to year; the quarters are of unequal length; in leap years the first half year has 182 days, the second 184; each quarter begins and ends on different days in the week; each month begins and ends on a different week-day, the months have a varying number of days, each year begins on a different week-day. This calendar is said to be unbalanced in structure, unstable in form and irregular in arrangement. In the Calendar proposed by the Association, the quarters will be equal in length, each quarter will begin on a Sunday and end on a Saturday, contain 3 months—13 weeks—91 days; month-dates will always fall on the same weekdays, each month will have 26 weekdays—plus Sundays. Each year will begin on a Sunday; year end days and Leap Year Days, the extra Saturdays, will be world holidays. This revised Calendar, it is claimed, is balanced in structure, perpetual in form, harmonious in arrangement. The revised scheme is commended on several grounds among others that it will be beneficial to trade and industry. It will obviate mid-week holidays which are injurious to business. A cafeteria owner had reduced his daily quota as he did not expect many customers on Washington's Birthday which fell on a Saturday. He had more customers than he expected and less food to sell to them. The same man had the same experience in reverse on Lincoln's Birthday which fell on a Monday. He expected a rush of customers but he had only a few and he was left with a lot of perishable food which was unfit to sell the next day. An industrialist stated his grievance with the present Calendar thus :

When a holiday comes there is not only a natural lag in an employee's efficiency directly before and after the lay-off, but there is also a considerable added expense in relighting the fires, so to speak. Steam pressure is ordinarily kept up for overnight lay-offs, but it is not economical to do this when the plant is closed an entire day. There are other disadvantages, including the difficulty of making pick-ups and deliveries, which midweek holidays create.

Life insurance agents, it seems, are also inconvenienced by the instability of the present Calendar. Moreover Christian Holidays will come at more convenient, because of fixed dates under the revised scheme. The 25th December was fixed as Christmas Day in the 4th century. Before that it was celebrated in different places in about 135 different days of the year. Says George Kent: "Think of our wandering Easter, our hopping Thanksgiving, our Christmas which in 1940 landed us plop in the middle of the week—on a Wednesday." With the World Calendar, he writes "these dates would be fixed, pegged down and known. These things

would be regulated, stabilised, lifted out of the brain which should be reserved for celebration, and rendered automatic and to shine before us everlastingly as a symbol of order and security." Another writer in the journal of the Association thinks that the present world confusion is a reflection of the confusion of the Calendar and the revised World Calendar would end all wars and bring heaven upon earth.

All this seems to us very wide of the mark. If Lincoln's, Washington's or any one else's birthday is worth celebrating, it should be celebrated at least approximately on the dates on which they were born. Otherwise, it need not be celebrated at all. There is no sense in celebrating Washington's birthday, for instance, on a day on which some one else and not he was born. The complaint of too many holidays and of their falling on week-days, is far more true of India than of any other country in the world. We have Hindu, Muslim and Christian holidays; in parts of the country there are in addition Parsi and Jain holidays. Too many holidays besides cutting into work are the cause, in the case of Hindus and Muslims, of communal conflict. Pope Gregory's feat in making Christmas fall on the 25th December, merely to avoid it falling in mid-summer, can not be repeated in India. Here Rama's or Krishna's birthday is celebrated only on the day on which tradition holds them to have been born. The Euro-American Calendar is an entirely arbitrary calendar and can be altered by Act of Parliament. In India for official and secular purposes the Gregorian Calendar has become universal, but for social and religious purposes the old communal calendars are strictly observed and no ruler has ventured an attempt to change the dates of Divali and Dassara though probably they have ceased to correspond to seasons to which they were originally appropriate.

A World Calendar should correspond to natural phenomena. The Indian Calendar is based on this principle. The Hindu year is luni-solar or solar. It begins at the vernal equinox. It consists of four seasons. It is divided according to the passage of the sun into the Northern, or the Light, and the Southern, or the Dark, half of the year. The month likewise is the period between one new moon and the next and is also divided into light and dark halves. The seven-day week is a foreign introduction. Names of week-days were unknown until about the third or the fourth century. The seven-day week derives from the account of creation in Genesis and does not correspond to any natural phenomena. The first of January when the year begins is nine days removed from the winter solstice which is a natural beginning. The adoption of the vernal equinox as the commencement of the year would fit in with Indian ideas. There is need to have a uniform calendar for India in the place of the many that prevail. The Kali Yuga is accepted by all Hindus but within it they have several eras, the Samvat and the Saka, the Bengal and the Quilon eras, and the Muslim era commencing from the flight to Medina. On the top of all is the Christian era which involves the anomaly of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, Jews and Parsis having to acknowledge Jesus Christ as their Lord every time they date a letter. A year which begins with the vernal equinox will be free from this anomaly. As in discussions of religion, sociology and economics, the failure to take the highly developed system of India has resulted in the failure of "the World Calendar" to be true to its name. In his article "Time and The Eastern Man" in the second quarter's journal of the World Calendar Association, Dr. Albert Parry refers to the Japanese

and Chinese modes of reckoning time but almost completely ignores the Indian system from which both were derived. Proposals in the past to reform the Calendar have fallen through. The League of Nations had a proposal to have a year of 13 months of 28 days each but this was not accepted by all its members. This would have been less than the solar year by a day which will have to be inserted somewhere. Soviet Russia has adopted a five-day week.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

AUGUST 20, 1931.

London.

Earthquakes terrify animals beyond men; in New Zealand I had heard of horses rearing, and then dropping dead of fright; in England, the brooding birds flew out of their nests.

AUGUST 22, 1931.

London.

Cuba's President is in great danger, so much that the U. S. A. who have conferred independence by Treaty may be obliged to interfere. Among the safeguards for India might very well be borrowed the Cuba-U. S. arrangement.

I have learnt some instructive odds and ends. With profound insight it has been laid down, that the interest of the child-pupil is not in the subjects taught, but in the soul of the teacher, who is obliged to be theatrical in order to give a perpetual reminder of his soul to the child—an operation which is very trying and fatiguing. It has been observed that the duration of a starling's song is from 1 minute to 19, average 2'2 minutes. The sleeping posture has been photographed, and found to be frequently changing; the average duration of a posture is 8 minutes. If that be so, people awake who remain immovable to be mistaken for asleep, would be detected as humbugs, when this is generally known.

AUGUST 29, 1931.

On a Mediterranean Cruise.

Mrs. Green spoke of an Indian missionary, Dr. Waters, who backed Gandhi; but Mrs. Green did not know and would not express an opinion. I agreed, and quoted from the "Light of Asia," the first words of Buddha's first sermon:

Om Amitaya! measure not with words
The Immeasurable; Nor sink the string of thought
Into the Fathomless; Who asks doth err;
Who answers, errs. Say nought.

And the conversation got diverted on to Religion. She and her husband were believers; they believed the tale of Jonah and the Whale; but their son poo-pooed. I declared my sympathy for the son, and surprise at his daddy, explained that the missionaries had done their work too well in India, not only exploded our ancestral beliefs, but also the will to believe anything. Mrs. Green was all agog to hear, and agreed that the professionalism of bishops, like that of everyone else, tended to make them humbugs; their pay to defend predetermined beliefs kept them from seeing and showing evidence that went against those beliefs. Mrs. Green wanted to uphold Consistency; I suggested that we are blunderers all, all the time, and a hankering for consistency fixed us in the bog of blunder, preventing even the will to find a way out.....

Mr. Butt was grateful, gave a clasp when I stated that to Eton and Oxford some things are

"impossible" and other things "are not done" which disqualifies them from sympathy with alien thought.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1931

Between Cadiz & Arossa Bay.

And one thing leads to another; we talked of the Cosmic Rays investigation at Pike's Peak demonstrating that creation is proceeding before our eyes, if we would only see; Creation's chorus did not stop on a Sabbath 6,000 years ago. And our will and ability to see are not limited by our natural eyes; the telescope, the microscope, the spectroscope enlarge our vision, instead of new eyes. Animal evolution progresses by growth of limb; Man alone by tools, develops fast, laying aside tools when he does not want them.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1931.

Mr. Butt is keenly interested in politics of the advanced school, has no sympathy with Miss Bondfield and her doles, esteems MacDonald for making a stand against his extremist crowd, was a pro-Boer, admires John Morley, is a great admirer of Napoleon, thinks the last great War was the first just war into which England entered, was anxious to compare his views with mine on Indian politics. I told him that British statesmen had mishandled the problem—even Lord Irwin. Eton and Oxford had given them standards of "impossible" men and "things that are not done." And the Eton-bred were thus cut off from understanding other standards for which they had no use; and then they sentimentalise about the right of a free people to stew in their own juice. Mr. Butt had a good reason at home in his son trained at Oxford, to understand my views.

As our way lay through green and water and heights which reminded Welshmen of Wales and Englishmen of England, our conversations took another course—Prohibition, Bernard Shaw's plays; Mr. Nicholson who seems fond of the theatre and of Shaw, firmly guiding the conversation. Miss Fisher did not agree with the Superman that women mark out their chosen husbands and that men had no choice.

I happened to speak of my first experience in England in 1884, and the female suffrage movement of that day, and how my enthusiasm for it was touched. Did I retain the enthusiasm still, Miss Fisher asked.

I said it was the same as lowering manhood suffrage; I felt that too many votes had depreciated the individual vote, that voters did not care to vote, that those who voted, did so either by class or club or for some slogan unconsidered by themselves, voiced by loud-voicers from considerations other than the voter's benefit. What was needed was that the deep sentiment of workmen or women should get voiced; what resulted was that some accidental conviction of mind which had nothing to do with thought, got bellowed out. I would not revert to the days when the pulpit exhorted the "lowly" to respect the duties of the class in which Providence had been pleased to place them; but I would no more glorify the American constitution which permitted Al Capone to rule Chicago with the aid of the whisky-drinking class. In England women voted with their class or kinsmen, in America they had imposed Prohibition (which I too had favoured) and its consequences. Then, what did I think of Prohibition? and what ought we to do? There was no denying that liquor had proved a vast evil and needed regulation; regulation by Prohibition was worth trying out, and then

reversing if it did not work. The American constitution makes reversing difficult, and so Prohibition stays even if it should eat up America. Prohibitionists, like anti-vivisectionists, do not seek Truth but propaganda; they pick out scientific pronouncements in their favour and ignore the rest. I was stirred by Sir Victor Horsley's experiments showing that protoplasm perishes with the slightest alcohol, and the lower premium charged by insurance companies to total abstainers. It now appears that Sir Victor did not draw the right inference from his brilliant experiments. During the last decade, Insurance pronouncements seem to be more cautious; the wine-drinking French troops during the War showed more staying power than the abstainers; for special assaults drink had to be served out; the experiments which seemed to show that alcohol, even the slightest quantity reduced efficiency had been conducted in select occupations, like typography; and we had better await the Report of the Licensing Commission now due. Meanwhile, Legislation speaks loudly. We know the effects of American Prohibition. We know the successes in Melbourne and Scandinavia through other forms of regulation. Life is trial and error.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1931.

London.

X—— and Y—— come in for criticism about the treatment of their debtors which is not fair. They lend to people who cannot obtain credit from banks; a loan to such people is attended with great risks, and recovery has to be enforced by prompt foresight of failure of debtor. The debtor is not interested in preventing such enforcement; the other creditors are interested and X—— and Y—— have to be awake to avail themselves of the priority, while the law gives it to them. A ten per cent uniform voluntary cut may be similarly unfair. People who have had large rises, have less occasion to resist cuts than those whose advancement has been discouraged.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1931.

On End Mediterranean cruise.

The cry of equality of sacrifice in difficult times, needs a deeper interpretation than the merely arithmetical; and its unfairness has been pointed out in the present crisis in Great Britain. Teachers and Government officers who have received no rises proportional to the Boom, are in no position to accept a voluntary cut in depression. The King has informed Parliament that his establishment, having been recently cut to the bone, cannot submit to a reduction greater than £50,000 without the dismissals of old and worthy men and curtailment (of ceremonies) incompatible with the dignity of monarchy. Mr. McDonald informs Labour that the out of 10% in the dole leaves beneficiaries 1½% better off than last year, owing to fall in the cost of living. Capitalists who have kept businesses going even at a loss, may claim relief in taxation as participation in equality of sacrifice.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1931.

Today's wireless brings news of Mr. Gandhi's receptions in England and France, the interception by the French Police of a bouquet presented by Frenchwomen which the police suspected to conceal a bomb and were amazed to find that it did conceal, not a bomb, but a pair of trousers.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1931.

When a "principle" like Swadeshi outs across other received "principles" such as each one

looking after his own interest, and devil take the hindmost, conflicts and confusion must arise; each interest wishes the other fellow to receive the attention of the Devil and itself to receive the benefits of Swadeshi; monopolise them if possible.

Said Mr. Vintner to me at breakfast; "Do you mind passing the sugar?" With pleasure, I replied, I have been a member of the Indian Sugar Committee; and when the President asked for suggestions of a motto for the Report, I put in: "Sugar, Sugar, I say Sugar. Who dares to laugh at Sugar?"—William Pitt. This was at the time of the glorious war, and Pitt's Government had proposed a tax on sugar to defray the cost of glory, and the House had roared with laughter. A moment later Mr. Vintner looked for butter but found it without asking me. I said he need not have ignored me; nobody had laughed at butter.

The wireless reports Mr. Gandhi's telegram to the Viceroy to reopen negotiation, and the difficulties of Ministers to reconcile their own extreme followers and the Opposition parties on the subject of Economy. Miss Q—— agrees with the Viennese doctor, that women (and not women only) will not change their opinions unless you agree with them.

SECRET SESSIONS FOR CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

At the request of members of the Central Legislative Assembly, the Government of India have agreed to hold a secret session of the Legislative Assembly and in order not to place the elder statesmen of the country at a disadvantage, to hold thereafter a secret session of the Council of State. Whilst the demand from members gives the idea that the leaders of the public want to tell the Government something in private which the exigencies of the war situation and the Defence of India Rules prevent them from publicly saying, the announcement that the Commander-in-Chief is going to address the House on the war situation and the amendment of the Defence of India Rules to prohibit reports of the session appearing in print, imply that the Government has something to tell the representatives of the people which cannot be said out openly. We do not know whether at least out of curiosity the Congress will let its members attend the session. From whichever side the confidence is to flow, there seems to be no point in holding a secret session in India. Britain, it must be remembered, has now a national government and all parties have by agreement sunk their differences. The only time to ventilate their grievances or for people's representatives to influence policy is in secret sessions of the House of Commons. Here there is no united front and the Legislature has no power to direct or control foreign policy or military defence. In the circumstances a secret session can only add to general panic by impressing on people that the realities of the situation are far worse than those in authority would like to admit. Possibly the Government conceded the demand as a harmless one. It will be the cause of much avoidable mischief. The politician is not generally the most reticent of human beings. The limitations which a secret session naturally places on the press and which is now doubly underlined, will merely restrain the press from printing something which a thousand readers will know vaguely or certainly. At a time when public confidence in its sources of information should be strong, it is being undermined.

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PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMARSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MARCH 7, 1942. No. 27.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

China and India.
Perplexing Numbers.
President Linsen's Message.
General Wavell Back in India.
Soldiers in Bombay.
Fines and Administration.

A Vedantic View of
Non-violence.
China and India.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Women's Position in Turkey.
The Example of China.
The Man-Power of India.

NOTES.

China and India:—We welcomed the visit of the Chinese Generalissimo and Madama Chiang Kai-Shek as a striking exhibition of constructive imagination towards counteracting the catching slogan of Asia for Asiatics. The visit does not seem to have progressed exactly as the hosts would have wished it to do. This is due to the fact that the term "India" as understood by the Chinese leader meant the people of India, while it meant, as used by the New Delhi authorities, the British Government in this country. Owing to this, the exhortation in the Generalissimo's parting message that China's Ally, Britain, should give political power to India to enable her to develop spiritually and materially on her own lines, evoked more enthusiasm in Great Britain and the United States than in official and semi-official circles in this country. This is further brought out by the Press communique announcing the creation of a special officer to ensure full co-ordination between Chinese and Indian war efforts:

It has been accepted in principle that there should be reciprocal appointments of Chinese and Indian representatives to Delhi and Chungking with the local rank of Minister on the lines of existing arrangements between Delhi and Washington. This arrangement, which will come into being as soon as possible, will establish close liaison in all the three capitals—Delhi, Washington and Chungking—and help in the co-ordination of the common war effort. In addition, in order to provide the machinery required at the Indian end of the activities of the Chinese Government in connection with Lease and Lend supplies, the Government of India have decided to establish a post to be known as the China Relations Officer in Calcutta. The post will be under the superintendence and control of the External Affairs Department and will be held at the outset by Sir Edward Cook, late Governor of the Bank of Egypt. Sir Edward Cook will assume charge in Calcutta on March 2, 1942, and his office will be in the Calcutta offices of the Reserve Bank of India. His residence will be No. 1, Penn Road, Allpore, Calcutta. Mr. E. F. Lydall, I. C. S., of the Indian Political Service, has been appointed Secretary.

The appointment of two non-Indians to the newly created posts of special relations officer to ensure full coordination between China and Indian war efforts, is inexplicable. Here

was a splendid opportunity to demonstrate to India and China that Britain wishes the two great countries to develop closer relations as two sister Asiatic nations with a long tradition of cultural and commercial intercourse. That opportunity has been missed and, what is more regrettable, it has been allowed to become a fresh cause of difference in the relations between the people and the Government of India. The "Indian representative" is not an Indian while the Chinese representative will be a Chinese in fact. Nothing would be more impressive as a proof of the British Government's desire to identify itself with India not only in words but also in deeds than a self-denying ordinance not to appoint Englishmen in preference to Indians to high political and administrative appointments at least for the duration of the war. Here, on the other hand, we have a retired Englishman hunted up for the post of Indian representative. The irony may not be apparent to New Delhi but it will not be lost on Chungking.

Perplexing Numbers:—Anyone who has had to study up facts about China during the last few days, either in connection with the visits of the Chiangs or for the China Day celebrations today, must have noted the extreme difficulty that exists in getting at the true figure for Muslims in China, which is obviously not regarded as an important factor in Chinese studies. For the best authorities fail to give anything about the religious divisions of China. We have ourselves seen three different estimates—20 millions (Edgar Snow), 40 millions (*Times of India*), 90 millions (Mr. K. Chandy in his article printed elsewhere this week). We have no particular predilection for any of the three and the Indian public is free to take its choice. In India itself nobody is allowed to forget the number of Muslims and their differences from the rest of the Indians. But there is a similar obscurity about the number of Momins who place their number at forty-five millions, more than half of the total Indian Muslims, are protesting against the Muslim League's claims to speak for all Muslims of India, and had at a recent Conference at Delhi expressed their support of the cause of Indian freedom. The *Bombay Chronicle* which reports the function, has a curious editorial comment which reads:—

The All-India Momin Conference which claims to represent over 55,000,000 Muslims in India, has sent

a cable to the British Cabinet repudiating "the Muslim League's claim to possess the sole right to speak on behalf of the Indian Muslims" and supporting the demand for India's freedom. The Momins' claim to represent 55,000,000 Muslims is certainly highly exaggerated. When conflicting claims are being made by various associations about their representative character, it is best to rely most on the people's representatives in the Legislatures, either the present ones or, preferably, fresh ones returned after a general election. It is good that the Momins support the demand for the country's freedom.

We do not know why the *Chronicle* should inflate the Momin population by 10 millions and then say it is highly exaggerated! It goes on to warn its readers against accepting any views as correct except those voiced by representatives in the Legislature or by men elected at fresh elections. It is a notorious fact that the present electorates are deliberately demarcated to weight reaction. The Momin Conference in fact asks for separate electorates against the other Muslims, on the very ground on which the Muslim Leaguers demand excessive representation from other Indians. What has suddenly won the Bombay Congress newspaper over to championing the present system of representation or to withhold from Momins what it allows to the League? In the present state of politics in this country, the only explanation we can offer for a Congress organ's anxiety to maintain League influence intact, is that a pact is brewing between the two parties, in other words that the one has acquired a "vested interest" in maintaining the other's prestige.

President Linsen's Message:—The fact that China has a President, has been obscured by the striking personality of the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. Similarly in Soviet Russia M. Stalin bulks more largely in the world's eye than President Kalinin. Herr Hitler has obviated this dualism by combining in himself the role of titular and actual head of the State. President Linsen in a message to India says :

I take the greatest pleasure in sending you my heartiest appreciation, as well as that of the entire Chinese nation. China and India are two great nations both having had a long civilisation. The long-standing friendship between our two countries is built on reciprocal cultural relations. Just as individual friendships are perpetual, so international relations built on culture will last for ever. Henceforth, because of developments in modern means of communications, our contact will become even more closely cemented. I sincerely believe that relations between your great country and mine will grow ever closer and more cordial.

President Linsen's message was broadcast to the Indian people on China Day which is celebrated today at the call of His Excellency the Viceroy. The significance of the Viceroy on this occasion arises largely because he is accepted as the mouthpiece of the Indian people. Would Sir Edward Cook likewise be regarded as an "Indian representative"? The Government of India must make its choice. It must be Indian in fact as in name or make it clear that it is Indian only in name.

General Wavell Back in India:—General Wavell who was relieved about three months ago of the Commander-in-Chiefship of India to become Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies in the South-Western Pacific, has been renominated to the Indian Command. The announcement followed a few days after his safe arrival in India. A long and rather laboured communique explains that Sir Archibald's services were urgently needed in India in order to coordinate war efforts with China. This need has not arisen now. It existed before he was transferred and made his headquarters in the Netherland Indies. The only change that has occurred is the invasion of Netherland Indies by the Japanese. The authorities do not seem to realise that frequent changes of this kind have a disquieting effect on the public mind and are not conducive to the establishment of personal confidence which in the Army even more than in the Civil Services is essential to efficiency. They are also disadvantageous as showing that the authorities are not sufficiently in touch with the situation to be able to look beyond a few weeks and are guided largely by circumstances which they can not control.

Soldiers in Bombay:—The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 2nd March published a report of a meeting of Muslim women held at the Municipal Marathi School at Dongre on the previous Saturday. The following is taken from it:—

At the end of the lectures, an elderly lady said that they were not afraid of air-raids but they were disgusted at the behaviour of some European soldiers especially at their behaviour towards women and asked for protection. The meeting passed this resolution moved by Mrs. Lukmani and supported by Mrs. Kajiji: "This meeting of Muslim women of Bombay condemns the behaviour of some European soldiers in Bombay, especially their behaviour towards women, and calls upon Government and the Municipality to take effective steps to put a stop to such behaviour, and protect the honour of Indian women."

Another meeting of women in Bombay adopted a similar resolution. Several letters have appeared in the Indian Press from correspondents denouncing the conduct of soldiers who were assumed to be Australians. In private talk all sorts of allegations are freely made and not all who make them can be called irresponsible panic-mongers. It is no exaggeration to say that public feeling is much agitated and that the effect of months of propaganda has been ruined by the misconduct of a few soldiers. In Poona too there seem to have been similar complaints. Gandhiji has devoted the leading article in the *Harijan* of the 1st March to this question. Some of his remarks are made in ignorance of the circumstances and may be misunderstood to mean that the women who were victimised, failed to shame their violators by their dazzling purity. The case of a single man seeking to violate a woman materially differs from that when five or six men combine to ravish a woman who happens to fall into their hands. Men in such circumstances lose all trace of humanity and descend below the level even of beasts. Appeals are made to the authorities

who must, if they are worth their salt, be well aware of what is going on under their eyes and are either unable or unwilling to interfere. Gandhiji recommends women to migrate to villages where they will be comparatively safe from the dangers to which they are liable in Bombay and Poona. A simpler course will be to shut up women in their houses or in purdah. We have repeatedly referred to the emancipation of women as the brightest spot of British rule. Their re-committal to the purdah and other old safeguards, will mean the liquidation of the greatest asset of the British connection. We do not expect that things will be allowed to go so far. The situation demands the personal and particular attention of His Excellency the Governor. The responsibility of the Indian community is far greater. The attitude of persecution of the victims of this kind of violence must give place to one of protection and sympathy. The shame of such deeds is wholly that of the criminal and not a trace of it attaches to the innocent victim. As we go to Press we have glanced at the report in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the debate, unfinished, on a resolution on the subject moved by Mr. S. C. Thakar and seconded by Mrs. K. M. Munshi. Mrs. Munshi is said, besides other reported instances, to have given her own personal experience while travelling on the train. The Commissioner of Police explained that he had received only one complaint of the molestation of two school girls, "except from prostitutes." The Commissioner surely knows from his experience of India that women who are violated will not come forward to publish their wrongs. The one case which came to his notice, must have occurred in circumstances which prevented reticence. Then, a woman being a prostitute is no excuse for her being molested. This is a dangerous argument in more than one way. It is so easy to set up the plea that the woman who was outraged, was a prostitute.

Fines and Administration :—There have of late been some irresponsible letters to the editors in the press, advising drastic fines for anything that causes the least irritation. Wednesday's newspapers also reported that several persons had been fined for not taking cover when the siren went off for an A. R. P. practice. The result of the penalties was that, on a mere rumour on Wednesday evening that there was to be a practice which might last for three hours, the streets of Bombay were deserted after six. From the point of view of the A. R. P. organisation the public action was a grand demonstration of the sensitiveness of the Bombay public to air raid warnings. Nevertheless, the Government had to issue a communique on Thursday declaring that for the rest of the week there would be no A. R. P. practice. There is a tendency to forget the two main purposes of such practices: The first of these is to train the organisation to swing into operation at a given signal. The other is to educate the public.

The second object, as Wednesday showed, has been achieved. Naturally in spite of the appeal to seek the nearest house, people hesitate at a time of practice to disturb the privacy of nearby householders. In fact, in certain areas it is as necessary to instil in the minds of residents the desirability of admitting persons as to tell the people to take shelter in the nearest house. We would suggest that the wardens be instructed to direct passers-by where to seek refuge. It is unfortunate that the first practice, announced as conducted under the military, should have resulted also in the first convictions. Probably the two are unconnected. That is all the more reason why the civil authorities should have taken care not to create any cause for prejudicing the public against the military.

A Vedantic View of Non-violence :—The *Prabuddha Bharata*, principal journal of the Ramakrishna Mission, vigorously denounces "Non-violence as a political and moral dogma." "We must not," it says, "make a fetish of non-violence and with a proselytising zeal enforce it on our fellow beings. That will be the worst form of violence as it will undermine their personalities, which have to be developed through a process of education along the lines most suited for each." Hinduism, declares the Editor, is openly against such a democratisation of ideals. He lays the blame for departing from the Hindu plan to Buddhism. But Buddhism has not been a social or religious influence for over a thousand years. Besides, Buddha has nowhere condemned war. With his background of hereditary rulership Buddha was always careful to avoid upsetting the social order. At the request of contemporary rulers, he forbade the admission of soldiers to the Sangha. More important still, Japan, China and Burma, which profess Buddhism, are at the present moment actively engaged in warlike operations just as the nations professing Christianity are. The only difference is, and it is a significant one, that while Japan has two religions, Buddhism for peace and Shintoism for war, Christianity is made to serve both purposes by the Church, a religion of peace at peace-time and a religion blessing war at times of war. The non-violence of India is not due to Buddhism. For a thousand years when India was ruled by Buddhist sovereigns, she enjoyed peace and prosperity within and freedom from aggression from without such as she had known at any time before or after. It may urged with equal plausibility that it was the cessation of Buddhist influence which brought on India the inertia which the *Prabuddha Bharata* deplures. The fact is, between the religion which a people profess and the course of conduct which they follow, there is always a gulf. The significance of this editorial in the *Prabuddha Bharata* is that Hinduism is entering on the dynamic phase of which Swami Vivekananda was the puissant exponent.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 7, 1942.

CHINA AND INDIA.

Having grown up for generations in a political atmosphere in which the Government of India has rarely indulged in emotional outbursts, Indians must have been surprised at the Viceroy's announcement that all India was to celebrate "China Day" on March 2, later postponed to March 7. To many of us the decision seemed rather out of place and a rather officious imitation of popular demonstrations of political parties. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that, if Government had to choose an occasion for celebration, there could have been none fitter at the moment than the visit of the Chiang Kai-Sheks to India. If "China Day" stimulates study of present-day conditions in China as the historic visit did interest in that country and in the ancient historical ties that bind India and China together, much would be gained. At the moment, however, there seems to be little effort to understand the deeper lessons of China and a tendency to draw superficial inferences from hastily improvised data. The one lesson Modern China has for us would seem to be the lesson of an Asiatic Power reduced to semi-colonial status, striving in war as she had done in peace, to industrialize herself. This will probably be the last aspect to strike writers on the subject. On the other hand, we are asked to admire the manner in which China has solved her communal problems and to imitate her in tolerance and appreciation of the other point of view. We shall learn nothing if we search abroad for the wrong things. The history of modern China must give the impartial observer the impression that in internal politics the great Chinese leader has more points in common with Mr. Savarkar than with, say, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is China's good fortune that the ambitions of rival imperialisms left her with at least the shadow of independence and that, when one power sought to establish itself there, the national spirit had awakened in Asia. Indians who look for political inspiration from China, would do well to bear in mind that the British system does not encourage the growth of Chiang Kai-Sheks, and Sun-Yat-Sens in India. Those who hold up Chiang's example are curiously enough the men who cling to the British system.

There is a tendency in some quarters to trace the troubles of India to some defect in the Indian character, some more than ordinary inheritance of original sin. And this explanation is eagerly grasped at by persons who hesitate to face the consequences of a more searching inquiry. But of China itself where we have been assured by Madame Chiang Kai-Shek that religion is a personal matter, another picture can be presented—a picture which might cause the Duke of Devonshire to ask as relevantly as he does today of India, to which China the British

should promise help and material aid. Let us not forget that there is also a "Chinese" Government at Nanking. And a slight difference in the emphasis laid by the best Chinese minds of the day on the history of China, can make out a case against Chinese unity and nationalism. Until 1911 when China became a Republic, the Empire of the Manchus made a marked distinction between the Muslims and the Chinese. Mr. Owen Lattimore, explorer, contributing a chapter in Joseph Barnes' "Empire in the East," observes :

Islam ranked within the Manchu Empire as a nation rather than a faith..They were ruled or rather administered from the Manchu court at Peking in a manner which made it perfectly clear that their standing within the Empire was different from and higher than that of the Chinese...It was the general policy of the Empire to limit contact between them and the Chinese in order to prevent their being assimilated by the Chinese.

The setting up of a republic reversed this process, when contact with foreign powers in the twentieth century necessitated Chinese solidarity. The fall of the Manchus may not incorrectly be traced to failure to recognize the needs of the times. If today it is difficult for the foreign student to distinguish between Muslims in China and the Chinese, the credit goes to Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen and his successor, Chiang Kai-Shek, in putting through a policy of nationalization of minorities in one generation. It was a policy which entailed hardship, but it was ruthlessly put through. Mr. Edgar Snow, in fact, is not very confident of its success. He writes in an illuminating chapter in *Red Star over China* :

Although theoretically the Chinese consider the Hui or Muslim people one of the five great races of China, most Chinese seem to deny Muslim racial separateness, claiming they have been Sincized. In practice, the Central Government decidedly follows a policy of absorption, even more direct (though perhaps less successful) than that pursued towards the Mongolians. The Chinese official attitude towards the Mohammedans seems to be that they are a "religious minority" but not a "national minority." However, it is quite evident to anyone who sees them in their own domain in the North-West that their claims to racial unity and the right to nationhood as a people are not without substantial basis in fact and history.....In many districts they (the Mohammedans of China) are a majority, and in some very big areas they outnumber the Chinese as much as ten to one. Generally their religious orthodoxy seems to vary according to their strength of numbers in a given spot but in the dominantly Mohammedan region.....the atmosphere is distinctly that of an Islamic country.....The pilgrimage to Mecca is an ambition of all and is frequently realized by rich men and ahuns (mullahs), who thereby strengthen their political and economic power. To most of them Turkey, not China, seems to be still the fatherland, and pan-Islamism rather than pan-China the ideal.....Owing to their law.....the children of mixed marriages tend to grow up regarding themselves as a species different from their Chinese relatives.

Mr. Snow's description of the Chinese Communist Party's policy towards these Muslims may help to explain to Indians the attitude of Mr. M. N. Roy whose experience has been largely gained in Communist China, to Pakistan. Mr. Snow gives the programme of the Chinese

Reds which includes the formation of an autonomous Mohammedan Government and the union of the Muslims of China, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang and Soviet Russia. The Chinese Muslims do not trust Red promises. "Years of maltreatment by Chinese militarists," writes Snow, "and racial hatreds between Chinese and Muslim, had left among them a deep and justified distrust of the motives of all Chinese." The Chinese Generalissimo's policy differs widely from this and he has the support of China at the moment. The strongest of recent rebellions in 1923 involved Chiang Kai-Shek against leading Muslim Generals, whilst in 1932 the Soviet Government from Moscow intervened to restore power to a Chinese leader against a Muslim insurrection set on foot or supported by Japanese influence. The Chinese Generalissimo must have been perturbed by the anomalies of British policies in India. He is too shrewd a man not to realize what the application of such theories would mean to China.

The present war finds all races in China fighting against the Japanese aggressor. But it would be idle to pretend that China is enjoying today the fruits of a policy of conciliation. In missionary journals much is made of the fact that Chiang Kai-Shek is a Christian. It is argued that this proves conclusively that China sees no difference between religion and religion. How true is this? Missionaries at the Tambaram Conference remarked on the continuing necessity for foreign missionaries because the Chinese were better approached by foreign Christians than by Chinese Christians. Mr. G. J. Yorke, Reuter's correspondent in China in 1934, has recorded in "China Changes" that

Europeans are accustomed to regard the Chinese as a tolerant race. This is not always the case. No people are so easy to incite if approached through superstition or promised immediate gain. Christians and the sects from which they are converted, have been persecuted and massacred for centuries. No educated class in the world has shown more pride and bigoted opposition to change than have the Confucian scholars. They have every excuse, it is true, since Christianity struck at the root of their ethical system of which the collapse was hastened by the belief that material benefits would accrue from conversion. The somewhat hazy protection which missions receive at the moment, is due to the fact that Madame Chiang Kai-Shek is a devout Christian while the General is sympathetic to Christianity. Still, destruction of property and loss of life, such as occurred in 1927 and 1928, will be repeated if the present chaos continues.

Mr. Edgar Snow completes the picture by pointing out, in a comparison between Chiang Kai-Shek and the Communist leader Mao Tse-Tung, that the Generalissimo is a social conservative while the Communist Chief is a social revolutionary. Word for word the indictment of China's cultural classes by Mr. Yorke can be duplicated for India. What is said here of the Confucian scholar has been said of the Brahmin. What will interest Western students is that it can be said with equal truth of the culture classes of

Western Democracies or of Christianity. Pride and bigotry are only called into action when one has to defend one's values. The challenge of Communism and Nazi-Fascism render superficial the past judgments of the West on India and on China.

All this, it might be said, merely proves that China is in nearly the same boat as India. There is another example, the Philippines with 450,000 Muslims in their population of 12 millions. *The Reformer* six years ago reproduced an article from *Current History* where Mr. Thomas Steep said,

Many Moro petitions to Congress had somehow disappeared when they reached Manila and did not reach Washington.....In 1926 Colonel Carmi Thompson of Ohio arrived at Zamboanga. As he was the personal representative of President Coolidge, both Moros and Filipinos prepared to receive him. To avoid overcrowding the dock it had been agreed that the townspeople were to stay inland, the Moros on one side of the street and the Filipinos on the other. When Col. Thompson stepped out, the Filipinos stampeded the dock and began yelling for independence. The Moros who had remained where they promised, whipped out their barongs, loudly proclaiming that they were ready to cut Filipino throats. Only the intervention of the small available force of American troops prevented serious trouble.

The Philippines are a closer parallel. But differences there did not prevent the United States from giving independence to the Filipinos with the result that they are the only peoples in the Pacific to resist Japanese aggression effectively. The question is somewhat simplified there by the fact that the majority of Filipinos is Christian and the process of absorbing the non-Christians can be carried on under a cloak of respectability. The *Dyanodaya* of Poona expresses it in the following line:—"The well known missionary of the Philippines, Dr. Laubach,..... told of the work that has been done in the Philippines among the Moros, cut-throats and murderers." It is a commonplace that men and nations like to be regarded as proficient in just those things where they are weak. The British with their many good qualities aspire to be known as specially gifted in solving racial and national differences. But Joseph Chamberlain's scheme for an Empire Federation fell through and in Ireland British efforts to bring the Irish into the British system failed with disastrous consequences today. South Africa, with the acquiescence of Britain, pursues a policy of ignoring the majority in its territories. Had the Chinese Generalissimo sought a solution for China's problems in the manner imposed on others by democratic imperialisms, today China would have been swallowed up by Japan. We do not question the great achievement of Chiang Kai-Shek. We merely point out that his great gifts would have been undeveloped in British India. It is not our problem that it is unique but the method by which we are expected to solve it. India can only solve it if she sees that the Chiang Kai-Shek solution is not feasible in India today and that British precepts are based on a myth.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH

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SEPTEMBER, 18, 1931.

M—smelt reference to Browning in something I had remarked; expressed her difficulty in following him even "Saul" which she admired, she had not understood altogether. I told her that if it was "Sordello" she had tried to read, her confusion was matched by that of Mrs. Carlyle who, according to her husband, finished reading that poem and then did not know whether Sordello was the name of a man, place or book.

Mr. Vintner, whose wife, also at our table, Mrs. Vintner, writes novels, is interested in Einstein..... He doubted if the Seville Cathedral was the second largest in Europe as reported and he had missed much of its renowned appeal, probably because it had been renovated too much and too often..... hearing me quote Browning, he asked me if I knew any moderns—*s. g.*, Mr. Noyes. I had read about Noyes and his poetic reinterpretation of Science, but I did not gather that he had imbibed the emotion desirable from the Finite Infinities, and the Bounded Ages which today's Physics contemplates. All other emotions—of Love and Beauty and heroic antics and heart-searchings and gloom—pale before this cosmic emotion. Patriotism and war cries and self-sacrifice bounded by local and temporary aims, and Eternal Verities, dwindle into children's babble in this vista of Ages and Climes opened up by Astronomy. Shakespeare, Browning, Ibsen, Shaw talk of things important if we wish to remain glued to our emotional perch but if we have real enterprise we shall permit ourselves to be carried where the wind or tide listeth. I told him how Mr. Tod, sitting with me in a charabanc in Australia, invited me to a discussion of Clive Bell's books of which I had read only reviews, which I had found stimulating but with which I had disagreed. Clive Bell would consider that green soothed the human eye, because it was beautiful; I feel that because green soothes the human eye, therefore it is felt as beautiful. The first is Romance; the second is fact. Mr. Vintner sympathised with this; but declined to scrap Shakespeare at the bidding of my Cosmic Emotion. I retorted that that will not depend on his Will but on how much he gets immersed in the New View. He had not felt the appeal of the Seville Cathedral because he was disprepared for the appeal it still continues to make; Cosmic Emotion had left him only curious about the Middle Ages and Spain. The old avenues lead nowhere; Art has not begun to perceive its opportunities with the new Emotion which too will pass away when something newer comes into view.

The Universe must ring hollow to those who don't take the pains to understand it; and recent science has reduced its incomprehensibility. When the feeling of hollowness is merely a poetic guess or anatomic morbidity, scientific reason creating just a possibility and not proving a necessity, is quite sufficient; a possibility which cannot be proved an impossibility, outweighs any depressing guess which is not even a possibility in the counter-light of scientific argument. The giggling girls are of the same type as the whisky-drinking girls; they want to forget, not to learn; if they dropped conventionalty, the laugh dictated by good reason would remain. Happiness, when it ceases to be the aim, becomes the result of a rational life.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1931.

London.

Mr. ——— agreed with me that Worship is a negation of Reason, surrendering the right to think

and revise judgments which at the best could only have been blundering. The attitude of worship demoralises worshipper and worshipped alike; and he seemed to welcome a new Cosmic Emotion based on Science. Until we give the new sentiment its head, the human world will gradually fall into gloom, losing the zest for even economic recovery, and therefore augmenting the economic crisis. Man must have self-respect. The old standards decayed, Man must create new. The newest testament is outgrown, and becomes only the old dispensation.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1931.

Ilfracombe.

As for the mystic proposition of wrong never escaping retribution, I don't hold with such enunciations; historically wrongs accepted as such have not been credited with inevitable adversity to follow. Usurpations have been the starting-point of prosperous dynasties. "Treason never conquers, why what's the reason? For when Treason conquers, none dare call it treason."

From a larger point of view, we never identify a real wrong as such.....The fire of London was a benefit and, if it was the work of an incendiary, that incendiary was a benefactor, just as much as Jehovah when he sent plagues and scorpions on sinning Babylon.....

The question my dentist addressed me was how I felt about his poor country's present poverty. I said that a fellow-passenger on the "Viceroy of India" had said matters were worse than they looked; a financial Trust was investing in dollars. Dr. Gow said that, when a friend of his did so, he felt the friend was unpatriotic and selfish and told him so, and the friend had coolly stopped further argument by protesting that such affairs were not to be discussed on such lines. I expressed my sympathy both with the action and protest of the friend; at which Dr. Gow exclaimed: "Then your philosophy is: Each one for himself." "A little more," I coaxed. The Labour Government were making the Rake's progress, piling expenditure on expenditure with dwindling revenues. Nothing controlled them—Parliament, Mr. Lloyd George, the Press or Royal commissions. The one thing that moved them was the actual flight from the pound and then it almost came too late. The Englishmen who could have brought about this flight when it was not too late, would have been real benefactors.....The pound is already at less than 16/-. A momentary filip will be given to the export industries of both India and England; but this filip will last only as long as the pound is continually depreciating.....England has brought this on by conceit, by her repugnance to new ideas without examination; and now she may plunge into Protection which will hurt her exports, and barely curtail her imports. Sir John Simon puts his finger on a vital point when he shows that the continued rise in imports, and continued fall in exports makes the latter incapable of paying for the former. Gold does not circulate freely—a half of the world's stock is in the U. S., and a quarter in France—therefore, gold must take flight from England. But, it is pointed out, the growth of England's imports is in food and raw materials. England's population quadrupled in the 19th century, and not more than a fourth of her food can be raised in Britain. England must have larger and larger imports of food; must manufacture more and more to export to pay for imports, must buy larger and larger quantities of raw material. She has no option. The curtailment of imports is a dream. But she faces the fact that she cannot sell all she makes.

What is she to do? Buy she must; and sell she must; the stock of gold in England may not last one

year's discrepancy between exports and imports; tariffs curtailing imports will not help much because the semi-manufactured articles on which tariffs are sought to be put, are the raw materials *s. g.*, of shipping. Even protectionist Germany permits her shipbuilders to import their requirements free of duty. But we must do something, cried a fellow-traveller from Bristol to Dufferin yesterday. "Something intelligent," I answered. A display of mere strength like the extinct mammoth's or mastodon's or dolocosaurus, can only lead to extinction. Intelligence may discover that, since England must buy food and raw materials and has not gold to buy them with, and cannot procure the requisite gold by selling goods, she might find a solution in barter between goods. Just as Mr. Hoover exchanged American wheat against Brazilian coffee, so it is possible without tariffs, and without favours and by establishing commissions of experts to make Mutual Trade Treaties, restricting England's purchase of food and material to those nations who will, in return, purchase all their requirements of manufacture in the first instance, from England—cheapness and quality being guaranteed through commissions of experts. As all the word is suffering, particularly agriculture and mines, there will be the necessary willingness to accept the way out found by intelligence.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1931.

Torquay.

I had hoped to be in London now, finishing my coach tour through Midlands, Chester, the Wye Valley, North and West Devon, Cornwall, back again to London from Torquay. But this tour on the country-side roads was not to finish as it ran. Yesterday, at St. Anstell between Newquay and Plymouth where I had to change the coach and fell on the kerb and sprained my ankle.....I walked in difficulty and pain to this hotel.

So human horses and ponies and cattle and poultry, the gulls above, blackbirds in fields below, looked, that I recalled a passage assigned for paraphrase in 1876 :

Nature from all creatures hides the book of fate;
All but the page prescribed—their present state;
From brutes what men, from men what angels know;
Or who would like to be down here below?
The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed today;
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?
If England had the foresight of today, when
she insisted on the knook-out blow to Germany,
would she have talked as she did?

OCTOBER 7, 1931.

The refractoriness of events! They happen as led by innumerable factors; we anticipate events as if the few factors we bother about are the essential. Even when we successfully predict an eclipse, we fail to set down the settings of the eclipse; when God Almighty set in train devastating volcanic processes, did He perceive that at some stage volcanic products might be things of beauty to men, or of use in agriculture? Certainly the aesthetes who introduced new birds or mice in a district, forgot the havoc they ultimately engendered. And Julius Caesar, when he contemplated an Empire for himself, failed to foresee assassination for himself, and the idiots and hare-brained men whom his system would and did make predominant, bearing Caesar's name. And so the Lenins, Sun-Yat-Sens and Gandhis. Vanity of Vanities; all is vanity; but there is a grade of vanities. All must be vanity; since complete insight never inspires individual or group contrivances. But, with the evolution of our race by selection, greater and greater insight animates men or some men. There are degrees of vanity as of insight; all contrivances

have the quality of a house of cards; but some look to the future, the others to the past which has no future. If Gandhi showed any insight greater than the average which filled him, so that acts would flow from him all unconscious, and not squaring with our "preserved" morality which would, therefore, call him a hypocrite, Gandhi could still be for me a greater man than the average...My fear is that neither the Kaiser nor Mr. Gandhi has a particle of this deeper insight; that their creed is the picked-up crumbs from vanished and inappropriate banquets which those who don't take trouble to achieve insight, hanker for and acclaim and whose sparkles will persist till "refractory" circumstance will discover the unfitness, and new live fitter creeds get a chance. Heroes usually have cloven foot. How otherwise? We are all wrapped in the blanket of the Infancy of Mankind; and we all let on to have arrived at very near Perfection. When a child sees cards tumble round it, it cries and then takes to a new sport; we are all children.. Myself a child, I now observe MacDonald and Lloyd George and Baldwin and Henderson all behave like little children in a crisis where if they were not so preoccupied with their prepossessions, they would quickly discover the needed Pathway to Reality—and though this infantile choice of those who strut about as great, may mean explosions for the present and near, it will not drown Earth and Man.

OCTOBER 13, 1931.

London.

A part of my depression had arisen by the *Times* article on the Russian Kulaks, their exile to Siberia and hard labour, because they had not accepted the collectivisation of farms. Those who escaped, exile by accepting collectivisation, get rotten black bread, are brigaded in work assigned, and have no will of their own. A second article this morning deals with the Five Years' programme in Industrialisation but does not relieve gloom. Their engineering, when not foreign, their transport system, their inability to raise the necessary coal, make mock of their grandiose designs, and large scale machinery. The one certain thing is present—suffering beyond what human nature can bear; and there is a similar account of the muddle in Manchuria. I even remembered from the *Spectator* articles on New Medicine, how much of a superstition was the prevalent Medicine when I first visited Europe in 1884, and how much of what they took to be Superstition was on the way to the Truth of today. That recalled the dictum of Sir James Frazer (of "The Golden Bough") that Superstition derives from the same fount as science; and both are prone to error. What divides them is that science corrects its errors by continued examination and verification; while superstition and religion consign to Hell the re-examiners and re-examinations. Dogmatism is the mark, not of a superior mind (though some superior minds have it), but of the mind which still misses what should be obvious, that there are no facts, that the seeming facts have a large intermixture of inference with pure observation (the will of the wisp looks an observation, but is a hallucination), only that as the premises multiply or are modified the inferences have to vary also. Any effort to fix belief is to miss the teaching of life; partisan fights at Elections or Conferences can lead to the Pathway to Reality only occasionally and that by accident; and the British Constitution by compelling resort to an Election when the need was a calm examination by experts who exist, discloses its inherent stupidity, the unintelligence of its structure; and that is what our political doctors want to fasten on India! Do we not need a New Political Medicine?

WOMEN'S POSITION IN TURKEY.

To the list of countries listed in *The Reformer* last week as following the principle of sex equality, must be added Kemalist Turkey. F. Seymour Cole who avows that he had the good fortune to grow with the new Turkish Republic and that five thousand of Turkey's youth have passed through his hands in different schools, writes in the course of an enthusiastic appreciation of "the Turkish Renovation" in the February *New Review* :—

The girls remember that it was their Ataturk who told them to "Come forth in the light of things, let Nature be your Guide," and freed them from those clinging prejudices of the harem, the mashlak, and the charchaf, and told them to take life in their own hands and fashion it to serve the country by perfecting themselves in whatever career, vocation or other station of life they may adopt, and to develop the vigour and strength of their bodies by carefully applied physical culture. He further freed them from the contamination of all fanaticism; he suppressed all religious influence at school and kept it purely laic, leaving it to their fathers and mothers in the home.

Soviet Russia, Chiang Kai Shek's China and Kemalist Turkey are all one party states. They are not democracies in any sense of the term. Yet they are among the most forward in according equal rights to women. Democracies have granted equal citizenship to women only after a severe struggle on the part of the latter whereas the three totalitarian States have accorded them that right voluntarily and freely. Democracy, therefore, cannot be said to be the highest ideal of nationalism. We need a new and different classification which carries within it the implication of equality between men and women.

The mistake of King Amanullah who tried to reform Afghanistan was that he left untouched the authority of the priesthood. Kemal Ataturk ensured the success of his reforms by eliminating this influence. At the same time he recognised the importance of religion. Mr. Cole's observations on this aspect of Turkish renovation deserve special attention as it is often represented that Turkey has ceased to be a Muslim country. Mr. Cole writes :—

Another of his reforms was the foundation of a new school of theology from which all the future aspirants to theological teachings must graduate. But as a solid proof of the fact that the entire soul of Mussulman worship is still fervent and sincere, one has only to enter any mosque in any part of Turkey at the hours of prayer to see the numbers of the faithful performing their daily devotions, or to observe the sundry individuals interrupting their work to kneel down and turn towards the West (Kiblay) in prayer; all this culminating in the great religious Fetes of Horkay Sheriff and Kadir during Ramazan which terminates with the joyous feast of Bayram, celebrated by a four days holidays. And the greater public part of the population faithfully observe the rites of the above mentioned religious ceremonies.

Kemal also reformed the Turkish Calendar and fixed the festival of Ramazan on an astronomical basis.

THE EXAMPLE OF CHINA.

(K. CHANDY, KOTTAYAM.)

It is now clear that within a few days there would be an announcement from the British Cabinet which would enable Indian leaders to have greater power in the government of India so as to improve and accelerate the war efforts of India. Whatever the announcement might be, it is certain to fall within the 'framework' of the political ideas which I have been advocating for

more than a dozen years—ideas, which according to a distinguished Indian now in very high office under the British Cabinet, might have solved the deadlock long ago. I am concerned in this article with what has seemed to me to be a much greater need of India, namely, greater social integration between the different religious communities. It is because no Indian leader was willing to advocate these radical reforms that I took up the easier task of recommending team-work between Hindus and Mahomedans, in the hope that it might lead, in time, to such social solidarity as exists in China.

No Indian paper, so far as I know, has commented on the fact that the Chinese Generalissimo and his wife are adherents of a religion which has only a small membership in China, whereas among those who are following them unto death and the loss of all possessions, are ninety million Mahomedans and many more millions of followers of Buddha and Confucius. Has any paper considered adequately why this should be so: and why it is that no Mahomedan or Hindu has been able to get the allegiance of all Hindus or of all Mahomedans? The Generalissimo's wife has clearly indicated the reason. It is that in China there are no religious communities as in India, but only a single Chinese community, the members of which follow different religions. She said, "We have no clear-cut religious section as in India. Religion has more or less become part of life. We are all Chinese. We are all one."

This conception is very different from that of Hindu consolidation by removal of untouchability and caste distinctions in the Hindu community. It is this very idea of Hindu consolidation with its consequence of a majority in voting strength which has led directly to Pakistan. Jinnah would not even have thought of it, if between the last war and the present war, Hindu leaders had taken steps towards consolidating Hindus and Mahomedans, each retaining their own religion and culture.

I have repeatedly asserted that this conception is not beyond the scope of Hindu religion; and the example of China shows that it is not beyond the scope of the Mahomedan religion. What is lacking is simply foresight and leadership, and also insight.

To cite a single instance, during nearly half a century, the late Sir C. Sankaran Nair and the founder of *The Indian Social Reformer* (happily still with us) are the only two Hindus I know, who grasped the idea—and were glad to accept it—that the Syrian Christians were, and to a great extent still are, a Hindu caste, and a part of Hindu society, although their religion is Christian. Others, however eminent and intellectual, could not understand it. I am no scholar, but I imagine that in the early centuries in Kerala, the code of Manu was not sacrosanct and that the natural genius of Hinduism absorbed within the Hindu fold the adherents of another religion, as most of them were converts from the highest castes, and others were immigrants with a fair complexion.

I do not know whether Manu is going to bar India's political progress for all time. But of one thing I am sure, India could never be a great united country and will not have the importance of China at the council table of the nations, unless Hindu Indians and Mahomedan Indians cease to be sections as Madame Chiang said, but become Indians following different religions as in China. There is no need to speak of the followers of other religions. We are like Mussolini among the Axis Powers, whatever Hindus and Mahomedans decide, we must, perforce, follow. I wonder whether for the glory and the good of India, Nehru

and Jinnah, or Nehru and any other Mahomedan whose voice would be heard, could make a joint pilgrimage to China and study on the spot how it is that there are no religious communities there, but only religions; and how the same high state could be brought about in India.

This is an old man's dream. Whether it would ever be fulfilled or whether India for all time is going to be a home of spiritual culture but with no political importance, the next few decades would show. I will not be alive to perceive in what direction Hindu and Mahomedans would be moving; but I could assure them, as one who has frequently been right in political diagnosis, that there is no middle course open to India. India cannot have Hindu consolidation with a permanent Moslem minority or Hindu and Mahomedan states on the one hand and along with it political greatness and national independence.

What the next few months will show, I do not know. I have no wish to be under foreign rule; and I do not also wish to be under party control, even if it is the Congress party. The best friends in India of the Allies at the moment are Congress leaders who have been in jail, such as C. Rajagopalachari and Pandit Nehru because it is their voice which carries most in allaying panic and showing the folly of defeatism. Nevertheless, I do not wish to standardize my mind or become one of the elect by spinning daily. And it seems to me that India would be served best at this moment of crisis, not by Congress getting into power although the Congress contains our ablest and most selfless politicians, but, through the Congress and non-Congress, Hindu and Mahomedan, leaders working together as a team against aggression from outside and panic and disorder within. It is a thankless and an immeasurably difficult task. The sands have almost run out; but I trust that God will be merciful; and that our leaders will not fail us. I have no doubt also that in this hour of peril the Britishers in India would help to the uttermost.

THE MAN POWER OF INDIA.

(BY J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

The wealth of Asia, the fragrance of the spices of the East Indies, the oil wells of Burma, the varieties of raw materials and the minerals of India—these have always excited the people of the West to seek dominions, possessions and economic advantages in the East, the result of which has been constant strife and jealousy between themselves. If Europe and America were to forget the attractions of the East and to dispossess themselves of their acquisitions there, the frequent causes of bloodshed and wars would go.

Not only for the development of their other possessions, but also for other purposes the man-power of India has attracted their attention. In modern war huge armies are required, and, therefore, the man-power of a belligerent has an important ultimate bearing on the result of the war. Questions and statements regarding the full utilisation of the masses of India and of the neighbouring countries and islands to it are, therefore, often found now in the papers both in England and America. "Placate the Indian politicians in order to get the Indian millions for the army"; "Let India supply the fighting men while we supply the equipment"—such are the suggestions made in America.

While it is but natural that such questions should constantly occur to the minds of the strategists and politicians in those countries in

the hour of their great danger and in their anxiety to save their possessions, it is rather surprising that some politicians and publicists in India are also to-day referring to the Indian masses as no more than bargainable commodity of which they are making an offer in return for what they call "the political emancipation of the country." Liberty and freedom are, no doubt, things worth any sacrifice, and people have fought and died in defence thereof. But to purchase freedom by offering the lives of millions to the ruling power is a thing not to be found in history nor in any code of human ethics and justice. It can only occur as a ray of last hope to people who have lost all confidence in themselves and who feel despondent in their powerlessness and helplessness. In such a state of mind the inhumanity of treating human masses as barter in a political settlement perhaps does not strike them; and even if it did, they would, in their eagerness to justify themselves, overlook the pathetic fact that the masses concerned little understand the transaction in which they and their lives are involved. What do they know and how are they interested in the causes and in the issues of the war? And how are they to be benefited from its ultimate result one way or the other?

It can not be that the above questions do not arise in the mind of the leaders, who talk lightly of Indian masses as things in their hand, which they would be glad to offer as the price of a political prize, and therefore it is so very surprising that they do not perceive any internal qualms when placing the lives of the Indian masses on the counter before a bargaining customer. It is no less surprising also that, instead of listening with interest to the lustful references to Indian masses and of deriving the idea, therefrom, of making a political bargain with their lives, they do not take such references as an insult to the masses of India. In no other self-respecting country in the world are the people thus treated like cattle to be yoked in service for convenience or to be bartered away for a political gift. Masses in other countries fight and die for a national cause, which they feel to be the defence of their home and hearth, of the prosperity of their family and environment; but do the illiterate millions of India, who till the field and struggle for living, feel the same urge, the same throb in their heart, when their services in the war are sought?

While the above bargaining is going on with clever political moves and with considerable skillful propaganda, a high-placed Indian in America is proudly broadcasting to the people of that country that Indian troops raised on volunteer basis are fighting on various fronts on the West and on the East. Many Americans, no doubt, who are unaware of the difference in the conditions of the masses of India and America, will take him literally and will be impressed by the war enthusiasm of the Indian people. But there will be others also there, who have some intimate knowledge of India and of its simple village folk, who will wonder at what the Indian representative of the Government really means and who will also feel curious to know if there are any limits, which an Indian's service-loyalty cannot over-reach. To what extent the lure of high Government service can take an Indian and what demoralising effect has such service on him are not unknown, but yet there are forgetful people, who at times feel like rubbing their eyes at mere repetitions of performances in the past by men in high post.

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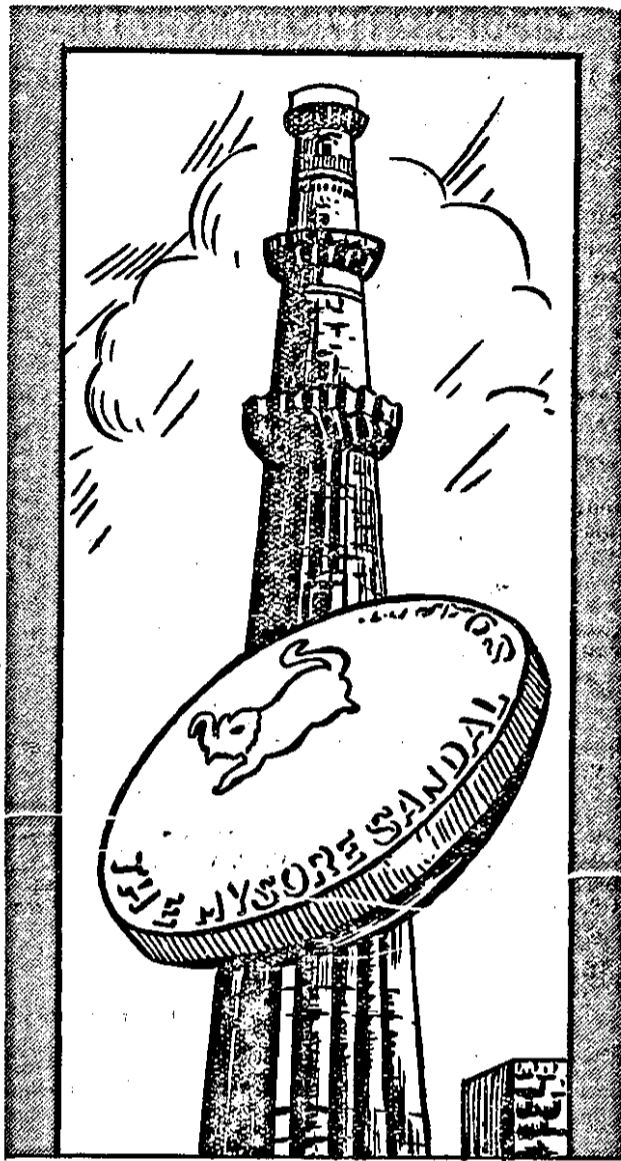
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Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MARCH 14, 1942. No. 28

"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*.

CONTENTS.

War and Industry.
Mr. Amery at Oxford.
The "Scorched Earth" Policy.
Futility of Destruction.
Netherlands Indies.
Hindu-Muslim Relations.
Dr. Deshmukh's Bills.
The Momins.
Diffusing Responsibility.
Hongkong Atrocities.

Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission.
Food Crops and Cash Crops.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
The Task Before Indians.
Bombay Seva Sadan Society.
Society and Prostitution.
Bhangyis and Eclipse.
The Situation in the
Philippines.
Oxford Pamphlets.
Some Aspects of Hyderabad.

NOTES.

War and Industry :—War and Industry are, as regards their ends, poles asunder. War aims at destroying; industry at creating. War industry, that is industry for producing weapons of war, is a contradiction in terms. When the European war began there were eminent industrialists who publicly hailed it as a God-given opportunity for India to develop her industries. They were all men eminent in the business world, some of them eminent as well in other walks of life. *The Reformer* exposed repeatedly the illusion under which they were labouring with little effect. Today one of these business men has himself deprecated loose talk about the war as an opportunity for developing industries. The President of the All India Organisation of Employers, Sir Sri Ram, addressing his fellow employers at New Delhi last Sunday, observed that there was a lot of facile and superficial talk about opportunities which the war had opened for industrialisation. Sir Sri Ram, however, did not touch on the real cause of such talk. He pointed out that industries required machinery and blamed Government for not providing facilities for the import of machinery. Most of the Federation's resolutions ended on the same note. Supposing the Government had allowed the free import of machinery, where would it have come from when all the machinery-manufacturing countries are engaged up to their capacity in making guns and bombs and ships and military planes? The right attitude for industry on all occasion is to stand up for peace and against war because war and industry, as we remarked, are the antithesis of each other. In passing we do not fully share Mr. G. D. Birla's suspicions about the American mission which is about to come over to investigate what is being done in this country to stimulate production with a view to assess how far its Government can accede to Sir Shanmukham Chetty's drafts on the Lease and Lend facilities offered by the United States. When we first read the news we thought it was a good thing

for India and we are confirmed in this view by the gingerly invitation with which, reading between the lines of their reply, the Government of India responded to the American proposal. The record of the United States in Asia is in this respect different from that of Europe. Indian industrialists may find that the Americans are helpful and not detrimental to the industrial development of India by Indians.

Mr. Amery at Oxford :—Mr. Amery's address on India at the Oxford Union last week displayed his usual intellectual perspicacity and moral pusillanimity. He is the first Secretary of State for India to avow, while in office, Seeley's doctrine that the British did not conquer India and that they were ruling India with the acquiescence of the people of India. But he shrank from accepting the logical corollary which Seeley had drawn from this, that the attempt to rule India without such acquiescence would be, merely from the financial point of view, ruinous to Britain. Mr. Amery said that those who objected to the Army expenditure of India as extravagant, had no right to find fault with the British Government for the inadequacies of the arrangements to meet aggression. Obviously the position is quite the other way. The elementary national services such as education, public health and industrial development, have been starved to find money for the Army. When war broke out in Europe, Indian troops were sent to distant fronts on the specious plea that thereby India would be saved from the horrors of war. In spite of this facile optimism, war has steadily come closer and closer to India. The whole defence policy has been shown up by events to be based on illusions. India is now called upon to make sacrifices a tenth or even a hundredth part of which would, had it been devoted to nation-building activities, have found her in a stronger position to face dangers. Mr. Amery despaired of making good the omissions of the past in the face of war. It is obvious that a man with his mentality is not the man to deal with the Indian problem. In fact, the Oxford speech has all the appearance of being intended as his apologia for quitting the Indian Secretaryship.

The "Scorched Earth" Policy :—Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas did well in bringing up at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Commerce in Delhi the question of the

suitability of the scorched earth policy to Indian conditions. There have been wild rumours originating in reports from the invaded countries in the Far East. People are talking as if the only alternatives may be either being blown up by the enemy or ourselves blowing up whatever is likely to be of use to him. In Malaya and Netherland Indies large stocks of rubber and petrol have been destroyed. The machinery of production of every kind of serviceable article has been demolished. The latest communication from Rangoon also mentions demolition preliminary to its evacuation by the civil government. Would a similar policy be possible in India? If possible, would it be suitable? Sir Purshotamdas evidently thought it possible and, therefore, denied its suitability to conditions in this country. In Russia which has the credit of having originated this policy a century and a half ago to repel the Napoleonic invasion and which has followed it to resist Nazi invasion, Sir Purshotamdas pointed out, the factories were all owned by the State. In India, he said, most of the factories are private-owned. This is not an argument which would weigh much with the advocates of the scorched earth policy. In times of war, they would urge, all citizen rights are in abeyance except so far as they are consistent with military requirements. In Great Britain today Government can order any person to do the work which it wants him to do. Of course, the British Government derives its authority from the British people who can dismiss it if they find its rule intolerable. The Government in India is not in the same category. This, however, is a distinction which the Indian Government will not acknowledge.

Futility of Destruction:—The main and the most important reason against the scorched earth policy, is its utter futility. No doubt, Napoleon was forced to retreat from Russia but, it was the severity of the Russian winter rather than the scorched earth policy of the Tsarist Government which forced him to do so. It is not the scorched earth policy which is today throwing back the Nazi invaders but the active resistance of the people. Similarly in the Far East, the destruction of rubber and oil has not prevented the Japanese from over-running Malaya and the Netherland Indies. In Russia itself the adoption of the scorched earth policy against Napoleon only served to prolong the agony of the Tsarist regime for over a century until it was overthrown by the Communists and the dynasty disappeared in a welter of blood. Germany which felt the full impact of the Napoleonic conquest, reacted to it in a far different way. The deliberate destruction of industries built up as the result of long years of preparation and at large expense, to spite the enemy, will arouse an amount of public resentment altogether disproportionate to the advantage it will secure as a measure of war.

Netherlands Indies:—The Japanese conquest of Java this week eliminates the Dutch as a factor in the international situation in the Southern Pacific for the time being. Very little is known

in this country about the economic and political conditions of the Netherlands Indies. An illuminating article in the current *Indian Review* is, therefore, very opportune. Mr. Gowtama Row, though he does not avow it, writes evidently from firsthand knowledge. The Netherlands Indies is about the size of Europe with a population of seventy millions, mostly Malays and Muslims. Mr. Row describes the Dutch system of Government as a type of benevolent autocracy which has been developing on to a type of responsive democracy. He notes that it is mostly free from embarrassing control by the home Government. Sanitation, public health and the fight against tropical diseases, which Mr. Row collectively groups under nation-building activities, are well attended to. Roads receive much attention but railways are less prominent in the programme of the administration. The Dutch, relying largely on the British Navy for support, have concentrated effort on aerial communications. The K. L. M. lines are the most efficient and reliable in the world. Education above the primary stage is largely technical. Racial prejudice is not marked and the Dutch mix and inter-marry with the natives. There is one sentence in Mr. Row's article which rather rubs out this rosy picture. The standard of life, says Mr. Row, is "naturally very low." This is explained by the fact that the aim of the administration has been "the exploitation of the natural resources of the country for trade rather than with the definite object of developing the Indies' life." The Dutch were very suspicious of the natives, writes Mr. Row, "and it was very sad that they sought to defend the Indies with an army 50,000 strong, distrusted, ill-armed, and unmodern." The only naval base, Sourabaya, had no repairing facilities for large ships.

Hindu-Muslim Relations:—Bhagalpur (Bihar) has been to the fore in recent months. It came into prominence two months ago owing to the ban placed on the holding of the annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha by the Provincial Government. More recently it was the scene of a Hindu-Muslim conflict in which some persons were killed and several injured. Last week, in the same town, according to the *Searchlight* of Patna, Holi, the Hindu spring festival, was jointly and peacefully celebrated by leading members of the two communities, at Bansi Kunj, in the garden of Rai Bahadur Bhansidhar Dhandhanian. Several prosecutions arising out of the recent riots have been dropped, according to the same journal. There can be no better proof of the artificiality of Hindu-Muslim tension in this country. Imagine Orangemen and Roman Catholic Irish jointly celebrating High Mass a few days after the customary scrap in Belfast!

Dr. Deshmukh's Bills:—Some months back Dr. G. V. Deshmukh introduced in the Legislative Assembly a Bill to enforce reciprocity in relations, principally the acquisition of citizen

rights between India and the British Dominions and colonies. The Bill was circulated to the public for opinion. When the Assembly met, the Government spokesman regretted that no opinions had been received in response to the invitation to the public. Dr. Deshmukh interpreted this to mean that there was no opposition to the Bill. We daresay he is right. The principle of reciprocity is unexceptionable. It has been accepted as between the Dominions which, however, led by General Smuts refused to agree to it in relation to India. The true meaning of the absence of any replies from the public to the Government invitation, is that in the general view the passing of a Bill of this kind at this time will have no significance. No one can prophesy what the Dominions will be at the end of the war and how they will stand in relation not only to India but even to the mother country. The issue of exclusion of Asiatics from the Dominions is in the way of being decided by other than legislative means. Besides Dr. Deshmukh's Bill omits to refer to the admission of Indians to foreign countries. This issue also is in the way of being decided. The Indian Legislature, although it is officially open, is not functioning in its full authority. These remarks apply more or less to the marriage and divorce bills of Dr. Deshmukh.

The Momins:—Interesting particulars about the Momins is given by the Bengali sociologist, Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, in his recent publication, "Villages and Towns as Social Patterns" which is a veritable storehouse of information. Dr. Sarkar remarks that among the Muslims the Momins correspond to the non-higher castes of the Hindus. In inter-human relations, Momin reactions and attitudes are more or less identical with those of the Hindus of non-higher castes. Dr. Sarkar concedes their claim to be about 50 per cent of the total Muslim population of India. Of their politics, he writes:

It is the exponents of the interests of the unpropertied and the demands of the depressed classes and the Momins that can effectively demonstrate the so-called Hindu movements and Muslim movements to be, generally speaking, self-centred, unpatriotic, oligarchic and plutocratic.

Dr. Sarkar sees the next step to be on principles of socialistic class-struggle. He has not taken note of the alliances that now subsist in ideas at least between the Muslim movement and the non-higher caste Hindus and between the Momins and the Congress. This Momin question is assuming importance, and in a manner which provides a strange commentary on political methods. In answering a question in the House of Commons on Thursday, Mr. Amery told Mr. Sorensen that the Momins were some four or five millions. When Mr. Sorensen persisted and said that he had many messages from India giving the figure as 45 millions, Mr. Amery said that there was no discrepancy and hinted that the telegraph had committed an error. In adopting this method, the Secretary of State for India has beaten his own record. Few Ministers of the Crown have, we believe, resorted to

evasions and excuses or pleaded lack of information on inconvenient questions as often and as blatantly as has the present Secretary of State for India. Two notorious instances are the Jayprakash letters and the restrictions on export of newspapers from India. Now he resorts to a palpable falsehood for surely the Secretary of State knows the repeated claim of the Momins to be fifty per cent of Indian Muslims. What is parliamentary democracy worth if men in power can avoid responsibility by deliberate misrepresentation?

Diffusing Responsibility:—*The Reformer* has from the commencement of the war held that undivided responsibility for the administration must rest solely on the Governor-General in whom power is centred, and that diffusion of it among a number of Indians nominated for the purpose would not materially alter the situation in favour of the security or liberty of the people. This was rather painfully brought out in the Legislative Assembly this week when a member from Berar, Mr. Deshmukh, moved the adjournment of the Assembly to call attention to certain complaints about the conduct of soldiers in Poona. Sir Gurunath Bewoor Joint Secretary in the Defence Department, objected to the motion on the ground that it was not definite and concerned Law and Order which was a provincial subject. The President ruled that the motion was in order as bearing on Army discipline but as objection had been taken, he called for members who were in favour of the motion being debated. There was not sufficient response and the motion fell through. If the responsibility rested on the Governor-General, complaints such as those which Mr. Deshmukh wanted to discuss, would have been dealt with with greater promptness and vigour. Lord Curzon's action in the case of a famous regiment in Rangoon, produced a tremendous impression on the public mind.

Hongkong Atrocities:—Official statements after the fall of Hongkong relating to the treatment of prisoners of war by the Japanese were of a reassuring character. It was, therefore, with as much surprise as shock, that we read the long blood-curdling catalogue of atrocities perpetrated on prisoners and the civil population by the Japanese. A similar indictment of German treatment of people in the occupied areas in Russia, was broadcast not long ago by Moscow. The question, therefore, has no racial implications. Both the German and the Japanese authorities should realise that humane treatment of prisoners of war, will be a great asset in their favour whenever peace terms come to be arranged and that inhuman and brutal treatment not only prejudices them in the eyes of the world but lowers the national morale. It is sure to provoke reprisals, and plunge humanity back into savagery. Mr. Antony Eden said that he had waited to obtain confirmation before publishing the indictment. That is right. But why should the earlier statements favourable to the Japanese have been published?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 14, 1942.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION.

For days past the imminence of an important statement on India by the British Prime Minister was eagerly canvassed in England and India. The admission of Sir Stafford Cripps to the War Cabinet with the sinecure post of Lord Privy Seal was regarded as a sign that Mr. Winston Churchill had at long last been converted to the need of adopting a bold policy of constitutional reform for India. The House of Commons was persuaded to postpone debating the Indian situation until the Prime Minister placed before it a scheme which the Cabinet was formulating. On Wednesday, the Prime Minister made his statement. He did not place the Cabinet scheme before the House. He said that the Cabinet has formulated a scheme and had thought of presenting it for consideration by Parliament but on second thought had decided first to ascertain whether and how far Indian interests will be prepared to accept it before calling Parliament to pronounce upon it. This scheme will, he told the House, be taken to India by Sir Stafford Cripps who would consult the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief on the political and military situation, will get into touch with Indian party leaders and the Princes, with a view to "satisfy himself on the spot by personal consultation that the conclusions upon which we are agreed and which, we believe, represent a just and final solution, will achieve their purpose." Sir Stafford, the Prime Minister added, "will strive in their (Government's) name to procure the necessary measure of assent not only from the Hindu majority but also from those great minorities amongst which the Muslims are most numerous and on many grounds pre-eminent." The British Cabinet, he explained, has adopted this course, as they were apprehensive that their proposals may be rejected by the essential elements in the Indian world and might provoke fierce constitutional and communal disputes. The apprehensions felt as regards the reception of their scheme are not reconcilable with Mr. Churchill's description of them as "a just and final solution" of the Indian problem.

From our study of the methods of British Cabinets which are remarkable for their inflexible continuity, we may make a guess regarding what is really behind Sir Stafford Cripps' mission. When it was announced that he was to be Leader of the House with the Prime Minister also sitting in it, we pointed out that the position was unprecedented and was likely to prove unworkable and embarrassing. Mr. Winston Churchill has many brilliant qualities but foresight is not among them. To leap before looking has a strange fascination for him. It must be said that, as soon as he finds that he has made a mistake, he with equal readiness adopts the nearest way of disavowing it without much

regard to the feelings of others concerned in it. Sir Stafford Cripps would not be sent on a roving mission to India if he was as important or indispensable as he was hailed to be when he was nominated Leader of the House of Commons. If, again, the Prime Minister thought that Sir Stafford was the only member of his War Cabinet who could deal with the "several elements" in India with an assured prospect of success, he would have invested his emissary with the authority of the Secretary of State for India and Sir Stafford will visit India, as the late Mr. Montagu did, as Secretary of State for India. The Prime Minister may yet do this and we trust he will. That will certainly enable Sir Stafford Cripps to enter on his mission with more advantage than as Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons. To come to India and arrive at a decision in consultation with the various "elements" with every prospect of its being vetoed by Mr. L. S. Amery on the grounds advanced by anticipation in his speech to the Oxford Union, is to set before him a sissypian task. The chances of his success in the mission, by no means overwhelming, will be appreciably increased if he comes as the Secretary of State for India and as the member of the Cabinet accredited with the responsibility and authority of the Cabinet in that position. We do not wish to enter into personal issues. But it is necessary to point out that Russia's entry into the war was not due to Sir Stafford's diplomacy. He was in London when Hitler declared war on Russia. A day or two before that, the *London Times* had declared that Sir Stafford Cripps was a failure as British Ambassador as the Soviet Government never gave him their confidence. And we may be sure that he would have been persuaded to remain in Moscow, had the British Government felt that his presence there would strengthen the alliance consistently with the conditions attaching to it from the British Government's point of view.

What would be the effect of his mission? The various "elements" in India will begin from now to adopt means calculated to make the most forcible impression on Sir Stafford. He has declared before taking office that India ought to be granted Dominion Status with the right to secede from the British connection if she so desires. Part of the purpose for which he is deputed to India, may well be to make him aware of the complexities of the Indian problem. It would not be surprising if by the time of Sir Stafford's arrival, Hindu-Muslim tension demonstrates itself in acute unmistakable forms. Dr. Ambedkar will be getting ready to welcome the Lord Privy Seal with concrete examples of the dangers which would necessarily follow if power was left in the hands of the Congress. Mr. Jinnah will present the visitor with a large scale map of Pakistan. The Viceroy will perhaps point out how the

strain of membership of his expanded Executive Council has told on the health of members. Mr. Savarkar may threaten to start satyagraha if Hindu Mahasabha leaders be not adequately represented in all the effective parts of the new scheme. Sir Stafford Cripps will not face a hot weather in this country and he will return to London impressed with the uniqueness and the complexity of the Indian problem. The war will take its course.

Food Crops and Cash Crops:—Since the beginning of this century cash crops grown for export, principally cotton, have steadily been displacing food crops. The great famine which ushered in the new century, provided a favourable opportunity to push forward the policy of making India the source of raw materials for the manufacturing countries. *The Reformer* has for years been pointing out the folly and the short-sightedness of growing cotton for Japan to enable her to send it back as cloth to compete with Indian cloth. Gokhale was interested in the question and at his instance an officer of the Finance Department was deputed to investigate it. Mr. Datta reported that there was no shrinkage in the area under food crops but he did not go further and examine whether there was substance in the complaint that cash crops had ousted food grains from the more fertile lands relegating the latter to the margin of cultivation. Relying on Burma which was then, and was expected ever to remain, a part of the Indian Empire, India grew careless about making herself self-sufficient in an essential article of food. The blame for this rests equally with Government and the business community. The separation of Burma and the natural desire of the Burmese Government to make the most of their advantage, soon opened the eyes of Indian leaders to the fatuity of the policy of neglecting food crops. The war with Japan shutting down the principal market for Indian cotton has accentuated this grave situation. The President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce in his address placed as the first item last week in his list of urgent measures the rapid increase in the production of food crops. The Government of India has also awakened to this need and the Board of Agriculture has suggested regional self-sufficiency in respect of food, as the end to be worked up to, in view of transport difficulties. All regions are not equally placed in respect of rainfall and irrigation, and unless the whole country is redistributed so as to equalise these advantages, regional self-sufficiency will be a cry in the wilderness. The sounder project will be to regulate production in the country as a whole but this will again require the strengthening of the powers of the central government at least to prevent the repetition of the action of the Punjab Government which recently prohibited the export of wheat outside the province.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

OCTOBER 15, 1931.

London.

My last coach journey to London passed by different styles of houses in the same neighbourhood. Mrs. Military Officer at Jubbulpore discussed these houses. I told her of the timber shanties with corrugated-iron roofs which you and I had seen in Canada, and which were thrust upon owners in Australia and New Zealand. And then the experience of the hurricane at Belize, Honduras, where the hurricane which had always passed it by before, this time destroyed all the timber buildings, the bricks-and-stone Government buildings alone surviving the shock. How can foresight avert destruction?

OCTOBER 18, 1931.

Bournemouth.

Thought is worried that the Universe must come to an end millions of millions of years hence by Matter dissolving into Radiation, as Sir Arthur Keith is worried that the suspension of war must put an end to Nature's method of Race Progress, and as Dr. Mayo of New York, observing that every other hospital-bed is occupied by a mental disease patient, is worried that man's adaptability to conditions of life is breaking down. They do not seem to worry about the floods and Manchurian question in China, or the sufferings in Russia entailed by the Five Years' Plan and the collectivisation of farms, or the drought in the Canadian Prairies and the storms which shake-out everything or choke with dust, or the locust-raids which have eaten up all the maize that was in Kenya.

Romancers prate about the blessings of the Natural Life but figures given in *Nature* and *Speculator* do not seem to show that present-day backward races in Africa have either sufficiency of food or immunity from disease or a low death-rate. Infant mortality is 500 in a thousand, the bulk of which is due to pneumonia. So much for the open-air life of the Noble Savage.

Bertrand Russell reports that Chinese prophets deplored the new-fangled boats and bridges that were then coming into use, which Rousseau could not have dreamt of doing without and that reversion to Nature today would mean the extinction of 90 per cent of the population.

Millions of millions of years need not concern us; events foreshadowed are based on guesses. Provisionalism carries one through; and such things as in China, Russia, Canada, Kenya have always been and men have not worried.

OCTOBER 20, 1931.

Nature contains an article on population which completely upset my view that since population now doubles in 100 years, that will at least continue to happen in the future, and, if so, in 4,000 years there will be no standing room even for men in the world. The facts pointed out are that increase of population arises from the surplus of births over deaths; that recently both birth-rate and death-rate have fallen enormously, particularly the death-rate of infants; the result is that the surplus of births over deaths has greatly fallen, from 12 per thousand to 3 per thousand in England, and will be extinguished if the fall in births continues, which will not be compensated by any fall in the death-rate and that a stationary population involves consequences in such policies as "Back to the Land," and Unemployment. The cause of this state of things is twofold, (a) birth control which diminishes births, and (b) the fall in the death-rate which increases the number.

of old and infant, and reduces the proportion of parentable adults and, therefore, of births. It also changes the quality of the population. Statistics show that the continuing large growth in the population of the world arises from the reduced mortality of the backward races benefitting by contact with civilisation, and they, too, in time will have to adopt birth-control.

OCTOBER 22, 1931.

Isle of Wight.

The first day's party of five in the car was cosmopolitan; an English gentleman, an English lady, a German gentleman, a German lady and myself; the chauffeur was an islander who had left the island for the mainland at Watford where he had stayed for 3 hours. At tea the Englishman interested himself in the curios in the tea-room, and with glee told the ladies how his friend had brought for £10 a work of art which he alone knew was worth £500. When he turned to me with a wink, I explained that I am inartistic, but was interested in the state of mind of the man who considers himself clever to do an art dealer, but would no doubt have denounced the dealer who had done him with a false piece as a swindler. The Englishman hastened to express his agreement with me in disapproval but I was expressing no disapproval, I was only indicating the inconsistency of mind.

The Germans and I fell upon a discussion of War Guilt; and it was touching to see the German endorse my verdict that the Germans alone or Germans and Austrians could not be saddled with war guilt; Russia and even France cannot escape responsibility, Sir Edward Grey's hands were obviously clean in spite of the conversations with France and Russia about possibilities of War; but Russia was out to pay off old scores in the Balkans and Sazonoff and Isvolsky apparently played sinister parts; Poincare had gone to Russia in 1912; and the German Chancellor at the last moment did waver and warned Austria.

The island is sheer loveliness; no bays or sea-views are like these and the sea is so calm, and the sun shines and the sky is blue, and variegated colours on the water.

OCTOBER 26, 1931.

London.

On the astonishing crowding of theatres and pleasure-cruises while England is in the state asserted, Q. T's explanation was shrewd that, while the unemployed get doles and the employers obtained credit, signs of distress would not be visible unless looked for. Others stated what they had heard about the appalling distress in the U. S. A., the door to door canvas for domestic service in England, where formerly domestic servants could not be obtained; still, as Q. T says, there is no starvation. Three per cent of the population in India habitually live on charity.

We discussed the *Times'* article showing dissatisfaction in Australia with the Federal structure; but I suggested that that should be no guide about India; with 6 million people, Australia has 7 Parliaments, governors and railway systems. That makes it expensive and unsystematic. India's conditions are different.

OCTOBER 28, 1931.

The elections have been won by those who asked for the Doctor's mandate and Labour ex-ministers have been rejected by their constituents. May those on whom the choice has fallen, prove worthy.

NOVEMBER 8, 1931.

The *Times* yesterday showed that collectivisation of farms is not the full success it was deemed to be, that Russia can not keep up grain-supply so that wheat prices which had fallen because of Russian dumping, have gone up considerably improving the purchasing power of agricultural countries and trade prospects.

The *Spectator* has an article, "Mortmain—the dead hand of past opinions on living action." People have come to believe in Provisionalism without knowing it; science has become skeptical about its own metaphysic. Commonsense Morals are being challenged and here is "the dead hand." A Greek said: "Nothing is fixed; everything passes away; even the passing away passes away." So I declare: "Every creed is provisional. No creed is certain; even Provisionalism is provisional."

Yesterday discussing troubles in Kashmir, Q. T said English officers are timid, they have allowed communal questions to come to a head instead of finding solutions going along. He instanced the questions of Mahars with whom the Brahmin would not sit together in the same schools, and perhaps not on the same Council. As a district officer, he had solved the questions that arose and a Mahar was kept on a District Board, though he wanted to resign after the election. I should like to know how the depressed classes have fared in Mohammedan States, say, Hyderabad. When I was in the twenties, politicians used to make great play with a theory that the British Land Assessment system so impoverished the peasant that seasons of drought meant widespread famines which were infrequent in pre-British days. Were they? Could they be, seeing what they are in China and Russia today and noting their frequency in mediaeval Europe?

He pointed out, too, what I never knew, that villages, villagers, travelers in carts were still looted. Government was helpless to defend those who will not resist when attacked.

NOVEMBER 27, 1931.

K. said Indian delegates at the Burma Conference privately protested against Burma accepting any safeguards, as that would prejudice India which wants to repudiate safeguards. Mr. Gandhi had advised them to the same effect; but K. is for safeguards.

Q. T is becoming more definite in his views: the great need of India has been a resistance on the part of the people to sub-officials and to their apparently irrepressible corruption; British officers in India are too few and too ignorant of the ways of these subs and are led away by them; the trouble can only be cured by people putting up a resistance to it; and that sort of resistance was already beginning. Jajmal Bajaj joined Gandhi on account of his own resistance to demands made upon him; and Mr. Gandhi deserves all credit for making such resistance and going to prison respectable. But now they go to extremes and betray poverty of constructive ideas and they should be resisted too. Q. T had asked Gandhi why he was not discontinuing agitation, and bickering on small points when the main things were won. Q. T told me not to be too apprehensive of repudiation of debt, and other sins; they only bark, and barking dogs never bite. I am not so sure that it is a correct presage of the situation as it will develop. The unexpected usually happens.

About spiritualism he had fortified himself for discussions by reading up a large literature on cognate subjects at the British Museum. He has read of, and personally experienced, many queer things; but queerness is not necessarily of spirit origin; and men and women without qualifying equipment ought not to pose as investigators.

THE TASK BEFORE INDIANS.
(BY RAMAN K. DESAI, AHMEDABAD.)

The Batavia Radio is silent. For many months I relied on it for light European music at all hours and its national anthem with its tone of dedication was a delight. But its light music even in the last dire days—only the day before its last it ventured on Ballet Russe—reminded me with a foreboding of that other Radio, Paris, which continued its frivolous airs into the last days of June 1940. In contrast, I thought of the talks, the deeds of valour, battle-music on the Moscow Radio last October. No one who listened to the adventures of the Soviet explorers who went out northwards through the Arctic in search of the shortest route to America from Russia, will ever forget the recital. There was something lacking in Java and just as I missed native Javanese music, so in the stories of Dutch Imperial bravery there was no mention of the deeds of 4 crores of native residents. When this Dutch Empire vanished, its well-equipped army of a lakh of men overwhelmed by about double the number of Japanese soldiers, were the crores of Javanese only spectators?

The Dutch have a long history of valiant fights against religious persecution and political aggression. But with their narrow Calvinistic outlook on life, their racial exclusiveness—the Boer in South Africa is a typical product—they have never admitted the native population to political, educational or social equality. Among the last things Batavia did was to close the doors against Asiatic refugees from Malaya.

Recently 26 nations signed a pact; strangely enough, India was one of them. In international affairs, ever since votes were needed in the League of Nations, India has been termed a Nation by the very persons who would deny its nationhood in domestic Imperial affairs. What is of moment to us is: Have we been pledged to restore the Dutch Empire as it existed last week or is the slogan to be what Elmer Davis thundered last Sunday: "Those who are for us in this war are those who are with us, irrespective of creed, colour or race"?

No dispassionate observer will believe in the heavy odds which the garrisons in Malaya and at Singapore, still less in Java, were supposed to have encountered. Mr. Churchill mentioned 26 divisions, about 5 lakhs of men, against a lakh in Singapore and another one lakh in Java; for a defending force, these are not heavy odds. Major Gordon-Bennett showed how Japanese cyclists captured British artillery and used it against Singapore. The truth of the matter is that the local populations took no part in the military activities, there was no Home Guard to delay the progress of enemy forces, waylay them, fight guerilla action, inform the authorities of enemy movements.

After Dunkirk, there was no heavy material in England, according to General Auchinleck; rifles were rare among the men trained for the Home Guard and yet the spirit of the people was such that they trained themselves to destroy tanks by hand-grenades, if necessary fight with bare hands, as the Spaniards fought before Madrid for 8 years. There is evidence that military authorities, more narrow-minded in England and in India than anywhere else, did not quite approve of these amateur efforts of patriotic Englishmen but the fact remains that Hitler was halted. These people would have disapproved of Carnot's army of the revolution in France.

The same mind is reflected in Mr. Amery's latest speech at Oxford; he had nothing but contempt for men who argued that Malayans would have fought if a measure of self-government had been extended them. He went on to argue that self-government for India could not bring forth vast increase in the

munitions output. According to these men, the Japanese menace is first and last only a problem of material; if the local people hold their morale and are zealous, well, it is satisfactory but actually not quite necessary. Victory belongs to the British by Divine Dispensation and the courage and fervour of natives are not only unnecessary but excessive zeal may even embarrass peace proposals. Even though Rangoon has fallen, not the slightest attempt has been made to pacify the Burmese who failed to provide even the excuse of communal divisions.

One would have thought that the clear lesson of recent catastrophic events, in the light of the Spanish fight for long years and the Chinese resistance for 5 years—namely, that the people can fight harder in these mechanical wars than the mere military machines—would be learnt by now by Delhi and Whitehall. But these our masters would rather take the chance of perishing by the sword than place India among the allied nations at the peace table hereafter.

What then shall we do? We are the orphans of the storm. We have done our best with the government; far-sighted men have staged a fight in Parliament, and, if nothing comes of it, we must organise ourselves to protect our people against internal commotion. Our cities may be bombed but nothing is to be gained, and everything we value may be lost, by fright. The real danger is not of invasion but disorders in the country itself. We are not allowed to arm ourselves against invasion but we can and must organise ourselves against local bandits. We need not have faith in the military leaders—they have not justified themselves—in order to have faith in our own ability to keep order in our towns and villages. We must tell the authorities pointedly that the scorched earth policy in India can only mean disordered starving industrial labour with consequent problems which must aggravate war difficulties. At the same time it is foolish to act on the assumption that currency will collapse, banks fail, property become valueless. These assumptions create conditions which breed the very dangers panicky people try to guard against. Hoarding of silver, stoppage of commerce, flight of men and capital invite internal disorder. We must form volunteer guards to protect our people and our property—and, for the rest, we who claim to be a religious people, with a belief in Divine will for good, can surely face this world and the hereafter with dignity worthy of members of an ancient and glorious race.

BOMBAY SEVA SADAN SOCIETY.

The thirty-third annual report of the Bombay Seva Sadan Society is a gratifying record of progress. The Society was founded by the late Mr. B. M. Malabari and Dewan Dayaram Gidumal as an institution in which the ideal of social service should be implanted in women belonging to the leisured classes. The Society is particularly noteworthy for the co-operation in its activities of women of all sections of the Bombay population. The main activity of the Sadan is the training of women for social work in several departments. It conducts a training college for women teachers. Free board and lodging and scholarships are provided for deserving students who cannot afford to pay fees. Mrs. D. N. Sirur was elected President in the place of the late Mrs. Faiz Tyabji and the Working Committee counts among its personnel some of the prominent society women of Bombay. The immediate needs of the Sadan are a permanent endowment fund for the Training College estimated at Rs. 8 lakhs and further help for the maintenance of free Ashrams for Sevikas.

SOCIETY AND PROSTITUTION.

(BY S. C. GUHA, EDITOR, *Indiana*, BENARES).

I observed that the Muslims, particularly in Bengal, were busy at the last census operations in exaggerating their numerical strength. They seemed to have actually claimed the entire stock class of prostitutes with their children as Muslims. When, however, a controversy arose, the unfortunate class was rather left uncared under any head. Most of these unfortunates originally came out of the Hindu fold and still bear Hindu names, follow Hindu customs more or less and offer prayers and even actual pujas to Hindu gods, particularly their favourite Kartikeya, the bachelor war-god.

My second thought was the very old one of the problems of reclaiming the fallen sisters to any society, Hindu, Muslim, Christian or other. It is observed that Indian society, in general, is rather particularly cruel to the unfortunate women who had left society for one reason or another, often in disgust or protest, and yet wanted to come back after a time. And none of the religious groups is particularly anxious to have these unfortunates back.

If we go deep into the causes why so many of our sisters should go astray and abandon society and family relations, we find that society itself is primarily responsible for it. The reason in ninety per cent of cases is economic and created mainly by society itself. For the remaining ten per cent too, I am inclined to blame society more than the unfortunates themselves. Generally speaking, man is no less responsible for the utter degradation of woman; for he has the upper hand over her in many respects. And to selfishness, cruelty and revenge man is no less susceptible than woman. In the circumstances, so long as a thorough or perfect readjustment is not possible, I wonder why we should not go in for a sociological planning and try to ameliorate our social conditions: and if we cannot take up the whole matter in a comprehensive way at once, we can perhaps begin with one or more striking aspects. The problem of reclaiming the fallen sister is one such. To tackle a delicate problem like this is a very hard task and may turn out to be a thankless one. But it is time now that we should make a real effort to mend matters.

I am a Hindu; but in the event of my community failing to reclaim these unfortunate sisters I do not mind if they could be taken back by a sister community such as Muslim, Christian or other.

In an article in the *Modern Review* January, 1942 Sri Jatindra Mohan Datta has suggested a proper sociological survey of the Hindu unfortunates, by giving the result of an experiment conducted in course of the last census operations. The experiment began with a certain questionnaire to which as many as 79 replies were received from one particular ward or locality in Calcutta, which was taken up for an initial study. The result is recorded in three categories, according to (1) the castes—Brahmana, Kayastha, Vaidya, Sadgopa and the miscellaneous rest, from which the unfortunate sisters originally came; (2) Civil condition, such as Unmarried, Married, Widowed; and (3) Age. Although no definite conclusion can be drawn out of such a cursory small undertaking, as the writer has himself pointed out, it may be worth while to study his figures.

In the first category the writer has shown according to four definite castes and a fifth one as a miscellany comprising other castes, first, the number

of prostitutes coming out of each caste or group, secondly, percentage of prostitutes according to castes, thirdly, percentage of prostitutes according to the total Hindu population of Bengal (presumably taken from the last census of 1941), and, lastly, the proportion of volume (or say, multiple of a unit) of supplies by a particular caste to the profession as a whole, stating the disproportional representation of particular castes. The cause of such disproportion is probably not real, as the writer has suggested, because of the human tendency to claim respectable parentage. The second and third categories would perhaps require no elucidation.

1.—CASTE DISTRIBUTION.

Castes.	Number of Prostitutes.	Percentage of Prostitutes.	Percentage to total Hindu population.	Relative incidence (col. 3 to col. 4.)
Brahmana ...	13	16.4	6.5	2.5
Kayasta ...	41	51.9	7.0	7.4
Vaidya ...	2	2.5	0.5	5.0
Sadgopa ...	8	10.1	2.7	3.8
Other castes ...	15	19.1	88.3	0.2
All castes ...	79	100	100	

2.—CIVIL CONDITION.

Unmarried ...	3	being	3.8%	of total.
Married ...	15	"	19%	" "
Widow ...	61	"	77.2%	" "

3.—AGE.

	Below 15	15-20	20-25	Above 25
Unmarried	3
Married ...	2	5	8	...
Widow	39	19	3
Total ...	2	47	27	3

Although widowhood and the consequent helplessness as to remarriage among the Hindus account for more than three-fourths of the cases, the married women furnish not an inconsiderable quota, thus pointing out to social maladjustment in marriage. As to age, 15 to 20 seems to be the most dangerous period when women come out of the social fold. The fact that two married women go astray at the early age of below 15, points again to social maladjustment in marriage.

The enquiry was only partial, as the writer has himself said. The questionnaire, in my opinion, should have contained many more queries such as: How many years after becoming a widow had one left the social fold, and also if one would like to revert to the society if possible; and if so, what particular form of society she should welcome, whether marriage was desired; and in order to earn a livelihood if one was prepared to take to some honourable profession; etc., etc. The published books on the subject, especially those of England and America, giving details of investigation and results, would be of great help.

The writer of the article in the *Modern Review* has finally stated his belief that a sufficient case has been made out for further sociological survey by competent scholars. Certainly so; but we should like to add further that side by side with investigation by scholars, competent sociological workers should take up relief work at once if possible.

BHANGIS AND ECLIPSE.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

On Tuesday (March 3) morning about 5, I was awakened by the sonorous announcement that the eclipse was ending. I had in the bustle and excitement of events completely overlooked the occurrence of a lunar eclipse in the small hours of Tuesday morning. To assure myself that I had heard aright, I turned towards the window, and found it quite dark. It was full moon and ordinarily, the room would have been flooded with silvery light at that hour. The voice did not stop anywhere, but passed on repeating the announcement. I went out for a walk and on my way back saw a patriarchal old man, with a new black blanket covering his shoulders, pausing for a few minutes at each door chanting in the same voice I had heard in the morning, "Vastradan," in pure Sanskrit accents. I noticed that from the window of a house which he had passed, came a soft woman's voice calling him back and I noticed that the verb used was the honourific *ya*, which may be Englished as "Pray come." She evidently wanted to make him a gift. In Hindu society in its integrity there was a status for every person which did not depend on King or Kaiser. The Mahars were the final authority in disputes on village boundaries. When a person was performing his hereditary function, he was respected as the custodian of social tradition to whatever caste he may belong. The same respect was accorded to old people. A person of eighty, enjoins a shastra, should be respected even if he was a sudra. The other noteworthy feature is the filtering of the traditional culture to the lowest castes, though they were forbidden to read the sacred books and were in fact illiterate. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was surprised at a *nayadi*, the lowest caste in Malabar, speaking familiarly of *vairagya*, which is a keyword in Hindu metaphysics. It may also be noted how Hindu social life in all ranks was linked to the cosmic system through the movements of the sun, moon and stars.

Yours etc.,
SCRUTATOR.

THE SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The war in the Far East has disclosed the existence of a number of Indian scholars and writers who are able to give first-hand information of the conditions in the different countries involved. Dr. D. N. Roy, Principal, Jessore College, formerly Head of the Department of Philosophy, Philippine Government University, Manila, in the course of an article in the *Assam Tribune*, says that from what we know it seems the Commonwealth Government has virtually ceased to function. The only effective resistance of which we hear is from the Batan Peninsula where lies the American stronghold, Fort Corrigidor. Dr. Roy thinks that it is not altogether impossible that, if reinforcements arrive in time, General MacArthur's gallant army may be able to turn the tide of Japanese victory as Soviet Russia has that of the Nazi. As regards the plan of the Japanese for the Philippines, Dr. Roy observes:—

"They have been in quest of a Filipino Quisling to get him to exhort his countrymen to cease resistance and accept Japanese overlordship. Curiously enough they have succeeded in discovering a very suitable man in Sr. Emilio Aginaldo, the erstwhile General of the Philippine Revolutionary Army which under his guidance forced an end in 1896 to the three centuries of Spanish domination and established though short-lived, the

Philippine Republic. Sr. Aginaldo is no doubt a very powerful man who in the first presidential election of the Philippine Commonwealth Government, was a strong rival of President Manuel Quezon. The strange thing is that this man as the former hero of the Philippine Revolutionary Army that challenged and fought for more than a year the American forces under Admiral Dewey toward the end of the 19th century, is highly appreciated and honoured by the American nation and even enjoys a fat pension as chief of the war veterans from the American Government. How this man could be won over to the side of the invaders is a mystery. It seems likely then, unless there is a fortunate reversal of the war situation in the Philippines, that the Japanese are going to set up soon a sort of puppet government in the country following the manner of Manchukuo and Norway with Aginaldo as its ceremonial head or rather its figure-head."

OXFORD PAMPHLETS.

The Oxford University Press which started the wartime fashion of issuing pamphlets on every conceivable subject, has done some more pioneering. It initiated an essay competition among university students throughout India on subjects discussed in many of its pamphlets on "World Affairs." Prize-winning essays in the three sections, graduates after 1937, degree students and intermediate students, have been printed in another pamphlet (Indian Students Look at World Affairs, 4 as.) which, curiously enough, costs more than the Oxford Pamphlets did or even do now. The subjects have been well set, with "Hitler's Germany" for the lowest class, "Blockade in Modern Warfare" next, and for the graduates, "India in the British Empire." The impression left on one after going through the essays which are, indeed, well written, is that the student is prepared to accept anything on the outside world but has his own views on India. The essay on India is in striking opposition to the views propounded by writers in the Oxford pamphlet series, the other two are faithful reproductions of facts given in some of the pamphlets.

The World Affairs series has had two useful additions, "American Foreign Policy" and "Norway and the War," both of which are reprinted in India from English issues. This is a promising experiment and the Oxford Press is to be congratulated on launching on it. However, the price ought not to be marked in pence but in annas and there seems to be no justification for making the Indian copy more expensive (4d.) than the earlier English pamphlets (3d.) Mr. Hardy sees Norway's future as in association with Britain and America. That also is the feeling in the Norwegian ruling class, since the King and the Government prefer to work in exile than to submit to German rule.

SOME ASPECTS OF HYDERABAD.

With this unpretentious title, the Information Bureau in Hyderabad has compressed in about a hundred pages nearly all the information which would give a stranger a comprehensive idea of the natural, historical, artistic, administrative and economic aspects of the Hyderabad State. The booklet has two maps, one of the State and the other of Hyderabad city, and is embellished with portraits of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, His Highness the Prince of Berar, the Nawab Bahadur of Chattari the present and Sir Akbar Hydari, the late Prime Minister.

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INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 29.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MARCH 21, 1942. No. 29.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

The Acid Test.	The Viceroy and Indian Princes.
National War Front.	Europe and Asia.
Wavell's Press Conference.	Sir Stafford Cripps.
Indian Defence.	The Strategy of the Scorched Earth Policy.
Evacuation and Discrimination.	Rescue Work.
Soldiers in Bombay.	Letters of B. J. Padshah.

NOTES.

The Acid Test:—In estimating the political situation in India an important factor which should not be lost sight of, is that, while in nearly all other countries involved in this war the political system is continuous with and is moved by the same forces as the social system, in this country the two systems operate independently each in its orbit. If a man pays his taxes and does not commit any of the offences defined in the penal codes, he has no interest in the machinery which controls the external relations of the country. Government looks after inter-national matters which are expressly excluded from the purview of the Legislature. Only when there is a war, is the public called upon to identify itself with the Government in repelling aggression. Naturally this requires special measures and the only measures within the competence of the administration are punitive. Do this or that or you will be fined or sent to prison, sums up practically the whole of official propaganda. Sir Stafford Cripps is said to be bringing with him a "just and final" plan devised by the British Government for the Government of India, but unless the plan eliminates this discontinuity between the political and social systems and brings them together in organic unity so that what is felt in one part may without special effort pass on to the other and, indeed, to the whole body politic and social, it will be no contribution to the permanent solution of the British Indian problem. The Congress and the Muslim League may accept it—we are glad that Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan declares that there is a possibility of their doing so—but how far do these two bodies represent the living, moving, forces of Indian life in its deeper layers? As between the two, the Congress certainly penetrated to a deeper stratum than the Muslim League. The Congress has boldly grappled with some social problems—notably those arising out of the position of the depressed classes including prohibition—

but the Muslim League has carefully avoided infringing on the domain of conservatism; no doubt to avoid arousing its antagonism. The Hindu Mahasabha has done somewhat better. It has associated itself with the Congress activities for the redemption of the depressed classes and, indeed, its president, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, has been one of the pioneers in this movement. His method has gained more acceptance from the scheduled castes than the Congress methods. The acid test of the vitality of a political movement is how far it aims at removing social abuses. It is only this test which would show whether a political party aims at anything more than the transfer of power from one set of hands to another. A political party, a considerable number of whose leaders are indifferent if not opposed to necessary social reforms, is merely the froth on the surface of life.

National War Front:—In the leading article today we comment on the points in the Viceroy's address to the Chamber of Princes which relate specifically to the Princes and their States. The address covered much other ground. It contained an appeal to the Princes to join the National War Front announced in His Excellency's message some days ago. This message unfortunately attracted little notice at the time because it was delivered when people were expectantly waiting for the Prime Minister's announcement. At the last moment it was found that it was to be a message from the Viceroy on a subject unconnected with constitutional matters and interest slackened. Lord Linlithgow, therefore, did well to repeat the objects of the National Front as defined in his message. These are to "maintain public morale, to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it, and in particular to counteract fifth column activities of all kinds, including talk, thought, writing, and rumours likely to encourage a defeatist outlook; to indicate faith, courage, endurance and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form whether within or without the country until their menace is finally overthrown." To this comprehensive list we would add, even after they are finally overthrown, to prevent their resuscitation in any form, overt or covert. While we join in the Viceregal appeal to the Princes and people of India, we have an appeal to make to

His Excellency. More, infinitely more, potent for mischief than any fifth column activity in this country, is the racial arrogance of some Englishmen two instances of which came prominently to public notice within the last few days. They both relate to the belief which this class of men seems to entertain, to the effect that by buying a single ticket they have the inherent right to exclude any Indian from travelling in the compartment with them. One of these cases happened some days ago at the Nagpur railway station to an Indian who tried to put his son in a compartment occupied by an Englishman. A more recent case is thus reported in the *Leader* of Allahabad of the 15th March :

The refusal of a European passenger to allow a seat in a first class compartment to an Indian passenger, who happened to be a U. P. I. C. S. officer, created a scene which necessitated the detention of the 1 Up Calcutta-Delhi Mail for about 45 minutes this morning. It is alleged that when Mr. S. S. Khera, Director of Industries, U. P., who was proceeding to Cawnpore, entered the compartment he was forced out by a European passenger who was occupying the compartment and the door and windows of the compartment were closed and bolted from inside. The station authorities were informed as also the Government railway police and crowds of people assembled in front of the compartment when attempts were made to get the door opened. It is said that eventually a window was opened through an effort from outside and the passenger then opened the door and at last Mr. Khera was allowed a seat in the compartment, there being no vacancy in any other first class compartment. It is thought here that the European passenger was an officer of the Central Government.

In both cases the Indians affected belonged to the Indian Civil Service but that has nothing to do with the point we wish to impress upon the Viceroy and all the heads of Government in this country. One or two crimes which shock the public conscience, have less effect in fostering a rankling sense of offence in the public mind than exhibitions of arrogance and insolence on the part of Englishmen to their fellow subjects. This is always so, but particularly now when the public mind is excited and amazed at the happenings reported almost daily from the different theatres of war. The first duty of the Government is to eliminate all sources of irritation from among Europeans in this country. The most important condition in maintaining Indian morale is the exhibition of the highest standards of behaviour by men of British nationality and the prompt and condign punishment of such of them as wantonly make themselves and their class obnoxious to the people of the land in which they live and whose salt they eat. The instant deportation of one or two persons of this kind will not be too strong a measure having regard to the poisonous effect which their behaviour has on the population, Princes included.

Wavell's Press Conference:—General Wavell, Commander-in-Chief, addressed a Press Conference at New Delhi last week-end. The procedure which was first initiated by Sir Claude Auchinleck during his short tenure, has been

widely welcomed by the press, and it has been suggested that the Viceroy might well follow this example. The Wavell Conference, however, was rendered useful by the speech made by the Commander-in-Chief on the occasion. Obviously nothing can be profitably said on the political aspect of the Indian question until Sir Stafford Cripps finishes his work and at this stage superfluous pronouncements and opportunities for discussion are best avoided. Sir Archibald Wavell's speech was a markedly candid exposition of the state of affairs which had led to reverses in Malaya, at Singapore and in Burma. Although he emphasised the futility of holding post-mortem on these defeats, he made it clear that the authorities fully realised their lessons. The one weakness on the Allied side, as his speech showed, was over-confidence. It was this which gave the quality of surprise to Japanese speed in movement and it was again over-confidence which drew the Allied forces into engagements with the enemy on ground unfamiliar to them. In this connection, it is regrettable that extensive propaganda should have been indulged in since the outbreak of the war to show the special training received by Allied forces in jungle warfare, particularly in Malaya, propaganda which perhaps came in the way of the strategic avoidance of conflicts on unfamiliar ground. There is, however, one point which we wish General Wavell had not even touched on, the difficulties of the enemy. He said that, when the military position looked serious and difficult, consideration of these proved the best tonic. We have unfortunately derived in the past too much comfort from this sort of thing. It would even seem that the Empire suffers from an excessive development of the bureaucratic tendency to consider on any new proposal the hundred odd reasons for not doing the thing rather than how to get over difficulties in the way of the reform. Some of the things which the public were told would prove wellnigh insurmountable obstructions, have been overcome by the enemy.

Indian Defence:—The fact that necessary defence equipment had to be withheld from Allied troops in order to help Russia, is little satisfaction for the losses we have sustained. It is easy, however, to be wise after the event. Immediately what is necessary, is to have Indian troops who have distinguished themselves in other theatres of war, back in India to defend their own country. At the moment there is no tendency, as there is no reason, to overrate our strength and underrate the enemy. On the other hand, many of our highest officials seem to think it necessary to warn the people against pessimism. Nor have all these warnings been as happily worded as Sir Archibald's appeal :

There are three principal factors in the defence of a country's towns and cities against air attacks. Firstly, guns and aeroplanes, secondly, A. R. P. arrangements, and, thirdly, the spirit and morale of the people. Of the three the last is the most important.

At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the maintenance of the last two through adversity depends greatly on the first being assured in adequate supply. The war, as has been so often emphasised, must be seen as a whole to understand incidents in a particular locality in their true perspective. Yet even with this view it is not heartening to be told that equipment was lacking in our particular area because of the needs of more distant zones of conflict. General Wavell's candid review—and he is the only one who could have made it with authority—comes as a refreshing breeze after the over-confident assertions of lesser men. In so far as his speech was an appeal to the people of this country, it will not pass unheeded. The remarks he made on the spirit shown by Indian troops with all their difficulties were heartening. General Wavell referred to the Indian coastline calling for different methods from those adopted in Britain—namely, through mobile reserves within striking distance of threatened points instead of beach defences. For the success of this measure the closest collaboration is needed between the reserves and the civil population. In this country where military matters have assumed a quality which takes them out of any vulgar questioning into the region of experts, this is a hard task but it is essential.

Evacuation and Discrimination:—In the discussion in the Central Assembly on reports of discrimination shown in leaving Malaya, Mr. Bozman, Secretary of the Overseas Department, expressed his inability to give definite information on the subject. This is in the nature of things inevitable as there is no sign of order emerging out of the chaos which came over Malaya. There are, however, the statements made by Mr. Mallal, a prominent barrister of Malaya, and by Seth Jumabhai, President of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce, which have been widely published. Nor should the Malaya Governor's indictment of the hurried departure from Penang of those who should have stayed at their posts, be ignored. Mr. Bozman remarked that the stories told by several evacuees were remarkably consistent and that there was sufficient evidence to warrant a thorough and searching inquiry into the facts when circumstances permitted it. He said that he had forwarded this view to the proper authorities. It will be some time before an enquiry can be made. The question of treatment is the one aspect on which some reliance can be placed on evacuees' reports because it is purely personal and within their experience. But, as General Wavell pointed out in another connection, it serves no useful purpose to dwell on the mistakes of the past. Mr. Bozman indicated that the authorities were well aware of the dangers which accompany any suggestion of discrimination and that the Government of India had upheld a policy of equality. Mr. Bozman, however, made a curious conclusion, if the

report of his speech is correct :

If immediate military requirements had involved at some places certain restrictions about which he was not now in a position to inform the House, it was possible there might have been some real or apparent temporary discriminations for that purpose only. That was a matter on which he was engaged in making every enquiry.

So far as Europeans constitute a factor in military considerations, it is by their presence not by their being evacuated first. The Indian public would have appreciated it if the subject had been dealt with by Mr. Aney, Member in charge of the Overseas portfolio, instead of being left to the Secretary.

Soldiers in Bombay:—The following account of the precautions that have been taken to prevent rowdy behaviour by soldiers in Bombay City appeared in Bombay newspapers on Tuesday morning :—

The Provost (military police) staff in Bombay has recently been largely increased, and, in future, whenever large numbers of soldiers are allowed shore leave, there will be sufficient military police on duty to intervene immediately, if necessary. Additional pickets under responsible officers, composed of men from the units on shore leave, will also be placed at vantage points throughout the city. It is further stated that an out-of-bounds line has been drawn from the docks along Carnac Road to the Marine Lines Station, and troops are not allowed in the city north of that line. They are, however, permitted to go along Marine Lines and up Malabar and Cumballa Hills to the Breach Candy Baths. All drivers of public vehicles have been instructed not to take soldiers across the out-of-bound lines. Warnings will in future be given to troops passing through the port of Bombay before they are allowed to land on shore leave that they must behave themselves and that if they misbehave their shore leave will be stopped. Orders have also been issued that off-licence liquor shops should be closed for the sale of drink during the periods when large numbers of troops are on shore leave and that the hours during which public bars are open for the supply of drinks should be curtailed.

The measures adopted by the Government are in the highest traditions of British Indian administration. Their being made public will remove the feelings of disquiet which had found expression in the protest resolutions adopted unanimously by the Municipal Corporation on Thursday March 12th and at women's meetings. Not the least effective measure is the warning to soldiers to be given in future. Incidents can easily grow out of acts committed in ignorance. In replying to the Central Assembly discussion on the subject, Sir Gurunath Bewoor referred to the fact that many soldiers passing through were strangers to our ideas, customs, manners and habits. But this strangeness does not affect the generality of soldiers coming in. The difficulties confronting the foreign visitor are not so much the effect of our ideas and customs as of certain preconceptions of our status which have to be shaken off. He cited the precautions taken in Bombay and remarked that Bombay's lead was to be followed in other cities. In this connection, we would observe that in the note in *The Reformer* of March 7 the reference to Gandhiji's article in the *Harijan* was a digression and it was not meant to suggest that cases of rape had occurred in the province.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 21, 1942.

THE VICEROY AND INDIAN PRINCES.

The address with which His Excellency the Viceroy opened the annual session of the Chamber of Princes on Monday, contained naturally much which was of a conventional character regarding the Princes, their traditions and their generous contributions in men, money and materials towards the successful prosecution of the war. As soon as the war began, the Princes, in pursuance of their treaty obligations as well as their loyalty to the Paramount Power, hastened to place themselves and the resources of their States at the entire disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor. There will, therefore, be prompt response to His Excellency's call to them to emulate the example of some States in the Eastern States Agency and voluntarily delegate authority to the Political Department of the Government of India to make decisions on their behalf in matters affecting the military situation. The proviso that such decisions should be communicated to the Princes "immediately afterwards," may with advantage be made applicable before decisions are finally taken in regard to measures affecting their territories. Social and economic conditions in the States vary much, more than in British India where a common system of administration, education and political ideals has produced a large measure of uniformity. With the best intentions in the world, the Political Department of the Government of India may decide on measures which cut across some cherished sentiment or interest. The effect will be to produce discontent leading to loss of what is vaguely called morale. In England and other countries which are ruled by men who share in a large measure the sentiments and prejudices of the population, and are accustomed to the same ways of life, this difficulty does not exist. But this is not the case even in British India and, unless the States authorities are consulted before taking decisions, communicating to them decisions after they are taken will be like locking the stable after the steed has been stolen. The State authorities will be able to suggest how a particular end can be achieved without needlessly treading on the corns of the people and arousing thereby their antagonism instead of enlisting their willing support. The Eastern States are comparatively minor ones and what is feasible to them may not work equally well in the important and advanced States of Peninsular India. The course we suggest will have the further important advantage of preparing the ground for the resumption of the proposals of federation when the time comes for framing the future constitution of India. The existence of an emergency should not be allowed to deviate Government, whether here or in England, from established principles governing their relations with the States. It is

in such times that particular attention should be paid to their due observance.

The reports of the Viceroy's address are unfortunately fragmentary. It is not clear, for instance, what His Excellency had in mind in the passage referring to the scheme for the safeguarding, during the initial stages of a young ruler's responsibilities, of standards achieved under periods of minority administration. It is the fact that good work done by a minority administration has in some cases been nullified by young impetuous Princes. But the true remedy for this contingency lies in the proper education of Princes during their minority and not to interpose a transitory stage before their assumption of full powers on the attainment of majority. Virtually this amounts to extending the minority administration for some years after the Prince has ceased to be a minor and has attained his legal majority. The discrepancy between a Prince's political and legal status will be a source of irritation. Besides, at the end of the extended minority, there will remain the same difficulties which are intended to be obviated by the extension. The few cases of dissipation by young rulers should not be allowed to outweigh the many cases in which they have conserved and improved upon the results of minority regimes. It should not also be assumed that all minority regimes have been equally beneficial to the state morally as well as materially. The idea of amalgamating small States into large units is on the same footing as the idea of eliminating small and uneconomic holdings in land. It is the small peasants and Princes who are most jealous of their dignity and status. These men will be more amenable to be "mediatised" by the Paramount Power than to merge their interest with that of a neighbouring small State. The Viceroy, in exhorting the Princes to move with the times, used, with explicit reference to its gravity, the word "survival." It is the first time that the Crown Representative in India contemplated even distantly the possibility of the States being overwhelmed by the sweep of world events. Some time back *The Reformer* commented on the close alliance between Great Britain, the United States, and Soviet Russia, and the possibility of its repercussion on the position of the States in the post-war settlement. Lord Linlithgow's reference to Sir Stafford Cripps' mission to India and his expectation that the Princes will accord him a warm welcome and assist him in the fulfilment of his mission, imposes on their Highnesses an obligation more difficult than any that they have been called upon to bear so far. For the first time in his term of office, the Viceroy referred in this address to his "successor" which, we take it, means that Lord Linlithgow is looking forward to an early relief from the heavy burden he has been carrying for the last three or four years.

EUROPE AND ASIA.

Behind and beyond the national rivalries struggling for predominance in the war, lies the age-long rivalry between Asia and Europe. Meredith Townsend writing in the first decade of this century held that the conflict between the two continents can not be peacefully solved. What is more, he thought that a peaceful solution can only be achieved at the expense of what is best in the Asiatic and in the European. "It will not be," he wrote, "unless the races draw nearer, the first consequence of which to both continents will be a decline from their present tone. The Italianised Englishman is bad enough, but the Asiaticized European is intolerable, and the Europeanised Asiatic is a Pasha." But many of his assumptions have been falsified by events during the last forty years, including the basic one, namely that all Europe will stand together in the effort to conquer Asia and hold her in subjection. How short-sighted Townsend's generalisations were, is seen by the fact that they were scattered to the winds by the last great war within a few years of the publication of his "Asia and Europe." In that war Asiatic and European nations were found on either side—Japan with Britain, Turkey with Germany. In the present war likewise, Asiatic and European nations are fighting as allies—China with Britain and the United States, Japan with Germany and Italy. Townsend was a firm believer in the immutability of race and colour distinctions. Townsend, moreover, was greatly impressed by the victory of Japan in her war with Russia at the beginning of the century. He, like others, Europeans and Asiatics, never in his dreams believed that an Asiatic Power, and one so small as Japan, could dare to wage war with a great European Power which Russia then was. His belief in the inherent immutability of race and colour differences and the rude shock of the Japanese triumph, led him to the conclusion that Europe can not dominate Asia permanently. He wrote in his preface to the fourth edition of his book (1911):

If history proves anything, it proves that the colour prejudice, whether well founded or not, is incurable, that even similarity of creed will not bind together races radically distinct in colour from each other and that the strange destiny which has filled the three ancient continents with men of three separate colours, has its root in some law of the mind which never changes, or some decision of Providence from which there can be no appeal. Asia, strengthened by the leadership of Japan, will, as I believe, recover the independence which it will in all human probability once more misuse.

Even when he wrote, Townsend's mid-victorian determinism in religion, ethnology and anthropology were becoming out of date. In the forty years which have since elapsed, most of the old dogmas have become discredited and the possibility of nations of different race and colour living in peace and co-operating to establish a new and brave world, has steadily come to the front. Some fifteen years after Townsend, Upton Close in his "The Revolt of Asia" struck a different note. Upton Close (Joseph Washington Hall) had some advantages or disadvantages in forming an estimate of the forces at work in shaping the relations between Europe and Asia as compared with Meredith Townsend. Townsend's background was exclusively that of the Anglo-Indian journalist whose main task is to find reasons for the most unreasonable measures of the Government. He is not a guiding factor in anything. If occasionally there is an appearance of initiative in his writings it is almost certain that he has received a hint from official quarters that

he may take the credit for something which they have already decided upon. Townsend, when he describes the average European's attitude to the Asiatic, is describing his own attitude. Upton Close is, to begin with, an American who had lived in China and the Far East for many years not as the trumpeter of an American bureaucracy but as student and researcher in the intricacies of Asiatic politics. He has no axe to grind. He criticises the American attitude to Asiatics on some crucial occasions as he does the British or Japanese attitude. The one thing which emerges prominently from his careful study of the causes and conditions underlying "the revolt of Asia," is that the leader in this revolt was not Japan but China backed up by Soviet Russia. Japan was a partner with the European Imperialist Powers in despoiling China. Russia under the Tsars was the worst of them. But the Soviet Revolution changed Russo-Chinese relations basically. The Soviet Government renounced all the concessions which tsarist Russia had extorted from China. When the European Powers hesitated to help China in the Revolution of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, Russia came forward with offers of help of every kind.

Jaffe offered him (Dr. Sun) men and methods. He convinced Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen that the rule of the best could most likely be established through a one-party control of the state, such as existed in Russia. He strengthened Sun's Pan-Asianism, and converted him to fervent anti-imperialism. Russia, he showed, had called the bluff of the Powers, fought off the entire world, and driven every imperialist influence out of her borders. China could do the same, for the Powers were a "paper tiger." Russia would support China as she was supporting Turkey.

The Chinese leader accepted the offer minus Communism. In tracing the causes which have helped the "revolt of Asia," Upton Close has a sly hit at British diplomacy which "is able to send an ultimatum one day and compromise on it the next, or suddenly to make friends with an enemy whom an hour earlier the interests of God, King and morality demanded should be fought to a finish." Unlike Townsend, Upton Close does not think that the White Man can have no place in Asia once he is ousted from his position of dominance. "We have come to the end of the White Man's world domination," writes Upton Close, "We have come to the beginning of the White and Coloured Man's joint world, when each shall have control in his own house and a proportionate say in the general convocation of humanity. We are passing from the era of Empire by conquest into the era of Empire by attraction, service and business that asks only a fair field and no favours."

Eight years elapsed before another writer of distinction took the relation of Europe and Asia a stage further. Townsend had regarded race and colour as acts of Providence which cannot be combined. Upton Close demolished this position and showed that in the political and economic spheres joint control by White and Coloured men had become necessary and was possible. The Revolt of Asia can have only that end. Paul Cohen-Portheim in his "Message of Asia" probed deeper into the antithesis of Asia and Europe. Harold Nicholson in a recent *Spectator* referred to Cohen-Portheim as the most international person he had ever met. "Being born of a Jewish family in Vienna, he had decided to become a European. He could read and write French, English and German with equal ease. He had a theory that for the intelligent European of the post-war period there should be no such thing as a foreign country. With a little application, the unfamiliar could always be rendered intimate and

the whole of Europe, if one were sufficiently energetic, could become a series of acquired tastes." Mr. Nicholson was recommending Portheim's first book "Time Stood Still" recounting his mental experiences during the time he was interned in England as an enemy alien. It is indeed one of the most moving books of the war period. In later years he outgrew his ambition to be a European. He enlarged his outlook to cover Asia. In his "Message of Asia" he shows that the cause of disunity is the failure to grasp the unity underlying all phenomena. The great pre-occupation of India through the ages has been the search for this Unity which is the Reality, the sole Reality. Portheim became fascinated by the Hindu philosophy of Advaita. The concluding sentences of "The Message of Asia" is an almost literal translation from the Sanskrit. He had overleaped the barriers of dualism:

All antitheses are but apparent, from the most superficial to the most profound.

One the religions and the nations, East and West and North and South, art and science and Nature.

One the body and the mind, the male and the female, good and evil, life and death, Man and God.

One the self and the not-self.

Life is becoming and death is becoming; humanity is a process of becoming God, but God is becoming, and also being, which is reflected in becoming. God is awareness, equilibrium, harmony: the rest which includes all motion within itself,

Spaceless, timeless, eternal Being.

Portheim returns to the same point in his "Spirit of France." The European spirit, he describes, as the spirit of materialism, utilitarianism, and purblind rationalism. The Asiatic spirit was the spirit of universalism, unity, emotional intuition. He goes on:

The merely European spirit is dead, and the Asiatic influence has reached as far as Western Europe. I have never represented the destruction of the European spirit as a desirable thing, but only an alliance between it and the East, for it is my opinion that the greatest epochs of European history have always been brought on by contact with the East, and that the one-sided development which began with the Renaissance has come to an end with the twentieth century in the world war.....The Asia that can help Europe in this task (of creating a new civilisation) is the Asia of the Bhagavad Gita and the Buddha, of Lao-Tse and Confucius, not the Asia of today, which has almost forgotten its own wisdom and is imitating much of what is worst in Europe.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I am inclined to agree with almost every word of what you say in your editorial on Sir Stafford Cripps' visit. I do not wish to attribute motives, but I cannot help feeling that Churchill has played a master-stroke of Parliamentary strategy in sending Sir Stafford out to India. It is at once a test of Sir Stafford's powers of persuasion and of India's willingness to adjust party differences in the interests of the Motherland. Let us only hope and pray that all parties concerned including the British rise equal to the occasion and add a fresh chapter to our chequered history.

Khar,
March 15, 1942.

Yours etc,
VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

THE STRATEGY OF THE SCORCHED EARTH POLICY.

(BY RAMAN K. DESAI, AHMEDABAD.)

The scorched earth policy had its dramatic origin in the fires at Moscow where Napoleon had hoped to shelter the Grande Armee for the Winter. It had a spectacular revival, with solid reasons behind it, in the Ukraine last autumn. Apart from breaking a potential enemy on his eastern borders, Hitler's aim in invading Russia was to exploit the wheat, iron, coal and other resources of the Ukraine, making Europe self-sufficing, and totally ruining attempts at the economic blockade of Germany. The economic reasons for this invasion were interlocked with the military reasons and the Russians preferred to destroy the economic weapons which might fall into Hitler's hands. When the Dnieper Dam was blown up, the intention was not only to prevent the German Army from crossing the Dnieper but to lay waste as well the entire industrial area power-fed by the Dam. And behind all this lay the conviction that, if the Germans were delayed a little while, the tide must turn. This was the conviction under which the great Clemenceau roared in the dire days of 1918 that he would fight in front of Paris, in Paris and behind Paris. Marshal Petain left the industries of Paris intact; his convictions were always feeble. In 1918 Clemenceau superseded him, but France had neither Clemenceau nor Foch in 1940.

There are thus definite principles behind a scorched earth policy. Firstly, the economic resources destroyed must be of military value to the enemy. Secondly, the temporary denial of such resources must be a deterrent to the full war efforts of the enemy. Thirdly, those who adopt the policy, reasonably expect to launch an offensive which would win the war. Conditions in Java make the principles clear in practice. Oil and rubber and tin were of vital importance to Japan. The destruction of these resources must impede Japan's struggle, and from other bases Java may some day be rescued.

What are the conditions in India? Despite all proud assertions, our country is not rich in natural sources of wealth. We have no doubt coal and iron conveniently situated for manufacture but in all minerals vital for war we are deficient. Our cotton and jute and sugar industries are not vital to the enemy, their destruction would not deter his war effort. Further, while this is not the place to discuss military strategy, it must be stated that, if our eastern frontier collapses, our defence problem would be rendered very difficult. If India falls, the Allied grand strategy is finished. Even if China fought on, it would not serve as a base for further operations. Assuming that Britain holds on she could hardly hope to win the war outright.

On none of the counts above would the scorched earth policy in India be justified. I disagree with the contention that industries based on private enterprise must be distinguished from State-owned industries—this may be an argument for compensation but it is no argument against the policy. But it is perfectly obvious that, if the policy is unjustified, its adoption would not only waste the savings of several generations but can only leave behind a starving embittered proletariat which, far from helping the war, would cause internal disorders. This weapon in the hands of inferior men becomes an infantile gesture, of a class with cutting off one's nose to spite one's face, of the literal adoption of the naive advice on fire-alarms, just break the glass in case of fire.

But this is not to say that nothing can be done to prevent the Japanese onslaught. If the outcome

of the War depends on India, then the gates of India shall be defended. The enemy can be stopped at the Irrawady and can be struck down landing on the shore of India. All this talk of the Japanese outnumbering the garrisons at Malaya, or Java; the enemy possessing superior equipment and natural advantages, is eyewash. The truth appears to be that the Japanese came in small parties, lightly equipped. Their one supreme advantage was political not military. The local populations were suspect, not armed and they were not given a cause worth fighting for. The supreme lesson of the defence of Madrid, China's resistance, General McArthur's stand along with the Filipinos, is surely this, that in a mechanical war machines are not enough. The tribesmen on our borders have resisted for decades with barely any arms. Rifles can surely be manufactured in thousands in India and our men in millions can guard every inch of the country. But no persuasion can make Indians fight to save the Dutch whose last act at Batavia was to reject our stricken kinsmen, for those Europeans who left our women and children behind at Penang. The cause for which this country will fight is the ideal of a free catholic united India which since the days of Asoka and Akbar has obsessed us. When that cause is ours, the scorched earth policy will not be needed for then the enemy will be rolled back relentlessly as indeed he would never have ventured thus far if that cause had been ours till now to fight for.

RESCUE WORK.

(By S. C. GUHA, EDITOR, *Indiana*, BENARES.)

Of all uplifting social service that of reclaiming fallen sisters is one of the most difficult nature. Even Mahatma Gandhi, I am told, called such an attempt "playing with fire" when about the year 1920-21 Sri Saratkumar Ghosh (afterwards Swami Purushottamananda Avadhut) of Barisal made an attempt to follow a scheme of social reform.

In this connection it may be useful to relate one or two illustrations where culprits are quite capable of reformation.

(1) A married girl of a Brahman family had left home out of sheer economic causes and was supporting dependants by her earnings. After a time, however, she preferred to adopt the honourable profession of investment. She purchased in Benares a couple of tri-cycle 'rickshaws' (light vehicles) to be let out on daily hire, and she at once left the brothel. A rickshaw is priced at about Rs. 75/-, and can bring the owner about a rupee a day. After meeting the expenses and the necessary wear and tear, the net income on one is about 12 annas per day. The owner referred to, must be now making a living out of the profit.

(2) An unmarried girl, also of Brahman parentage, had conceived, as a result of contact with a non-Brahman young man, who was, however, able to remove her away from the family but had ultimately to leave her. Afterwards, she found a respectable paramour in a Muhammadan officer who, having a wife, would not take her home, and his services were subject to frequent transfer from city to city. The poor woman had no other way than to blame her lot as an unfortunate fallen person.

These two women can both read and write in their mother-language, and one has a bit of knowledge of English too, and was aspiring to continue her studies as a private pupil and appear at the Matriculation Examination. If such souls could be afforded opportunities of education or training they would not have been lost to society.

I do not, however, see why an experiment should not be undertaken by competent persons. I would like to relate in this connection a bit of forgotten history, not story, during the nineties of the last century, when in the small town of Nalchiti in lower Bengal a more or less successful attempt was made by a few village Hampdens. The small town of Nalchiti in the district of Barisal had been enjoying municipal amenities from the introduction of local self-government in Bengal. At the time we speak of, Sri Vanamali Ray (who had rather an official position as Sub-Registrar) was the Chairman, and his enthusiastic lieutenant, Sri Ambikacharan Sarkar, was the Vice-Chairman of the Municipality. They were both held in great respect for their high moral character, public spirit and humanitarian work and were loved by one and all of that town and surrounding villages. That small town had rather an unusually large number of fallen women, most of whom, however, had cottages of their own. The elderly women usually attended popular religious discourses like Harikathas, Kirtanas and yatras or religious dramatic performances almost in the open. The rapt attention with which some of these women heard the praises of the Lord and gradually began to make endowments for religious *akhadas* attracted the notice of the two leaders of the town, and it struck one of them that the community of those women with children could be elevated a bit in a proselytising way. With the hearty support and co-operation of the other he began an experiment at once. They went from door to door and called all the women as mothers, and inquired if they would like to take up honourable profession for themselves as well as for their children. The poor women were moved and taking them as god-fathers took the opportunity as god-sent: they were glad to accept the advice of the city fathers. They opened, with the help of children and friends, grocery and stationary shops, pan-supari stalls, bidi or country-cigarettes manufactories, took up tailoring, carpentry and smithy callings and were then known as a class of *vairagis* (Vaishnava wayfarers) who would paint their noses and foreheads with *tulsi* mud. Gradually they began to join one or another of the *akhadas*: there were at that time two or three *akhadas*, attached to each of which was maintained a common kitchen or mess which anybody could join on payment of proportionate messing charges; and these Vaishnavas considered themselves as belonging to only one caste of *Vairagis*, quite ignoring the so-called high or low origin. I remember the names of two *akhadas* of that city as Jagannath's and Madanmohan's. They were like small *mathas* where offerings were regularly made to Vaishnava gods. A festive occasion was the Rathayatra of the Lord.

Gradually, grown-up children came to be married in families of equal status; and in the course of a few years almost all were observed as living in regular families. Of course a few of the younger women who had left their parents and relations and had not established other relations, continued their shameful profession. It was soon found that some of the families assumed honourable surnames, such as Das (Servant of God), Biswas (the faithful), Bepari (trader), etc. In the first decade of the present century, I as a small boy saw with my own eyes a large number of such uplifted women who kept up the tradition of mendicant Vaishnavas by begging from door to door on Sundays handfuls of rice in all humility, by uttering "Jai Radhe Krishna!" Even today do I remember clearly that, as my hand was small, I was allowed to offer two to three handfuls instead of one to them. Thus the unfortunates got rid of the shameful profession, began to elevate themselves, and they were regarded as quite

a new caste with no complex ingrained in their mind, and were no longer regarded as outcastes.

The two noble souls could not continue the experiment for a very long time, for one was transferred and, when the other was unanimously elected Chairman of the Municipality, he had to leave that city as a result of local intrigues. Both of them died early in the present century. The seed they had sown grew to be a great tree bearing fruit to-day. Many a human soul was thus reclaimed to society.

In view of the result obtained by the above experiment conducted by only a couple of individuals, is it not desirable that similar social service should be taken up by competent groups or even individuals? Women desiring honourable profession may very well be encouraged to train themselves for useful social work, such as midwifery, and other womanly professions. The Chittaranjan Seva-sadan of Calcutta and Kamla Nehru Hospital of Allahabad, and similar other institutions of the country may very well absorb a large number of young women desiring to take to the professions of nursing, midwifery and even full-fledged medical practice. The Oriental systems of medical treatment, such as Ayurveda, Unani, etc., should also afford fresh opportunities. There are Homeo and other pathies and special treatment of women's and children's diseases. Those professions should attract a large number. The calling of Photography and fine arts including music, painting, etc., for which women have always shown special aptitudes will be there. *Natya* theatres, cinemas and the like have already absorbed a larger number of women.

That women are capable of performing great things needs no proof today. The writer of these lines was struck by the patriotic fervour and power of organization observed in the fallen women in the city of Barisal during the swadeshi movement when they conducted, of their own accord, several batches of prabhat-feris (early morning chorus songs sung in procession through the streets to rouse the slumbering people to duty) and picketing of foreign goods.

If it is a fact that the cause of the unfortunate exodus from society on the part of woman is 90% economic, or say, socio-economic, I should suggest a few womanly callings other than those already mentioned which they should be encouraged to take up. Some may very well be monopolised. The following list of trade, manufacture or other profession may be considered:

Manufacture of Jams, Jellies, Pickles, Chutnies, Fruit-juice, Syrups, Butter, Cheese, Condensed milk, Bottled fish, Bottled fruits, Perfumed oils, Spirits, Vinegar, Tobacco, Cigars, Jarda, Surtis, Kumkum, Ink, Alakta, Lime, Chalk, China-clay, Ornamental Leather goods, Rubber goods, Cork goods, including Hats, and Caps, Wood pulp, Tiklies, Woollen yarn, Cotton twists, Sutlies, Mats and mattings, Hosiery goods; Sweetmeats, Biscuits, Lozenges, Chocoolates etc., etc.

Eradicating Social Vice:—Social vice was very largely the result of economic conditions and it was therefore necessary that the Association should pay attention to this aspect of the evil, observed His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay, presiding over the nineteenth annual general meeting of the Bombay Vigilance Association at the Secretariat in Bombay on Tuesday evening. The President welcomed the formation of two associations similar to the Vigilance Association in other parts of the country and said that suggestions should be made to those associations to make efforts to cut at the evil at its very sources.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

DECEMBER 1, 1931.

S. S. Bayano-

I am on my way to the West Indies; have been on this boat for two days. A wireless bulletin has only two items, the fall further in the pound which must alarm because the *Times* says it should not alarm; the second, the Prime Minister's statement closing the Round Table Conference. The passenger list shows two ladies, and doctors, barristers, engineers; a barrister sat at my table on the first day, is 6 feet 4½ inches, had his schooling in the Indies, read at Oxford, is going to one of the islands; another was an engineer, going to Trinidad to run a sugar factory.....Near to where I sit, are a couple who have lived in Ceylon in Government service. The gentleman had a general discussion on the Ceylon constitution.

At the end I observed that the Democratic machinery is too simply conceived to answer the main object of a Real Democracy—to have at the head removable people, accustomed to think and keeping acquainted with the real wishes of the people. The English Constitution is visibly breaking down; the people have given the required mandate, and, in spite of the would-be doctors, the pound is falling. Had the pound stayed, that, too, would have been in spite of the doctors who have done just nothing. The wheels cannot keep going without an international circulating medium and the tariffs only block the wheels.

DECEMBER 2, 1931.

The tale today is the usual—the pound has fallen to under the equivalent of 14/- and the Round Table Conferences have ended their sittings. My table-mates asked me if this fall is not the result of supply and demand; that, I said, and a decline of confidence outside England. The value in gold of a currency not in gold depends on the confidence of the gold-holders in the stability of a currency not regulated by gold. The decline is a measure of the leaking in that confidence.

I meet the same people, most of them going to Barbadoes, but I met today at tea a lady in the Salvation Army ministering with her husband also at Barbadoes. She was on leave and is returning to duty.

DECEMBER 3, 1931.

A tablemate, himself born in British Guinea, working in a bank, was going to Barbadoes; there, too, negro descendants of slaves predominated in the population; sugar was the prevailing industry, gold mining and bauxite made some show; people from India tried to raise rice which proved a success, and they raised more for export; and a pig-headed Governor prevented export; he was removed and his successor lifted the embargo—too late. The rice industry and the East Indian raisers were already ruined. The colony made a mess of self-government and it is now a crown colony. Opportunities let slip do not recur; did not the Labour Government let go their opportunities for good? How about the Conservative predecessors and Conservative successors of Labour, I asked? Sir Austin Chamberlain discouraged attention to the League Council's desire to do something to relax tariffs on the unanimous recommendation of an International Tariff Congress; that was an opportunity missed; the National Government might have referred the currency muddle to three bodies of English economic experts already organised; they preferred to "monkey" with the matter themselves; yesterday's bulletin gave 18/7 as the value of the £, though today it has risen to 14/-.

The barber this morning, being told of your good time and mine, gallivanting in Canada and the States and Morocco and Sahara and Spain last year asked me what land I liked best. "I love my home-town best," I replied. "England?" he asked. "England," I replied, "my home town, though, is Bombay, India."

The young banker from British Guiana says that there are in British Guiana remnants of aboriginal Indians now dying out but none in Barbadoes; if Columbus saw any, they must have come over from the other islands for the time being... The Salvation lady rejoices that there is only one class on this steamer. Americans profess the same, but provide different luxuries for different payments, the classes come in somehow

DECEMBER 5, 1931.

As I was reading the Wireless, and fretting over the platitudes of Mr. Baldwin's speech exhorting to unity and courage and the lesser platitudes of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, I was accosted by a voice "How do you do?"—it proved to be that of the lost Yorkshire man.

I told him of the glories we had in England and London, the best landscape painter colour is Turner, an Englishman, for a reason; the moisture in the air gives a beauty of sky and colour, not to be seen elsewhere and I went on till the eternal "Give me London" came out... Our table discussed the rupee today which is quoted at 1-6 $\frac{1}{2}$ and asked me to rejoice over its strength! It was not difficult to show that, as it was pegged to sterling, it could not weaken in terms of sterling; but its quotation was 9 francs in September and is now only 6. The table discusses these questions without my assistance; being deaf, nothing comes across me... But today they turned to me to confirm their hope that France by hoarding is doing herself an ill turn. I said yes, like all misers who hoard, who will not buy and will not lend, simply can find no use even in an emergency like the present for what was accumulated only for use in an emergency. I am much mistaken if I have not overheard nations thinking loudly—the Swedes, *e. g.*, whose main exports are to England, who have therefore, gone off gold, to maintain their parity with sterling in which alone they are interested: If America and France will not release gold to us either by buying our goods, or lending their gold, to help us to pay our debts and recover our credits, what if we peg all our currencies to sterling, on the joint security of the nations, and make our currencies reliable paper? Then nations may get proper prices in their own joint currency, trade among themselves, offer to pay their debts and recover their credits in a reinsured sterling. And the wheels may go round again as we would all like to see them. If France and America refuse to receive their debts so, they would boycott themselves out of international fellowship. The nations would say: What if we so small, were greater and grander far than they? Dr. Le Bas, my ship-doctor, is from the Channel Islands, says their income-tax is only 6 ds. in the £, and that was put on after the war, says English millionaires settle there to evade British death-duties, says the inhabitants are of French origin who came with William the Conqueror, but have not the least French sympathy. Why should they? They conquered England, not England them.

DECEMBER 7, 1931.

The doctor expressed his interest in an article in *Nature* on the use of oxygen by Everest-climbers. The purport of the article was that those unacclimatised to mountain air were speeded up, *e. g.*, in Alpine climbs, by oxygen; but that there is no evidence that the acclimatised ones profited in

the least degree and there is reason to believe that the oxygen apparatus used is too leaky and heavy to help at Everest. The doctor said that it was in analogy with race-horses—the backward ones acquire speed with oxygen; the winners are not helped the least bit.

DECEMBER 8, 1931.

The head of the Salvation party to Trinidad and the Yorkshireman who is a Jew, proud of his race but with a passed faith in religion, urged the claims of India to consideration by Britons who never, never shall be slaves. I asked one of them whether he had ever been inside University self-government, where half the people remain to hear each other's speeches, and the other half walk away weary of debate. Philosophers and scientists cannot be interested in talking-points, and nations usually have tired of government by pointless discussion. I said, "We will not rest till we get what we ask; but we do not know what to ask for and the British do not know what to give. The post-Mutiny situation in India has worked itself out and a substitute has to be found. It will not be found without seeking. It will not be found in traditionally emotional words."

DECEMBER 10, 1931.

My longing for beauty spots, I said, did not mean my surrender to the romance of Romantic Art but was purely in accord with present Anatomy, including brain functions. Man's anatomy is not permanent, has changed and will change, and accord may turn to discord. The eternal necessity philosophers attribute to Aesthetics or Ethics, rests on the impression of the Universe having no greater life than 6,000 years each of past and future. When eternity meant no more than this period, not very much larger than we can assign to pre-dynastic Egypt, men were in a hurry for Salvation and Causes and Beauty. Now, it is no more than a phantasy..... My companion warmed up. If Man, he said, was the aim of this vast Universe, there has been a Much Ado about Nothing—the insignificance of Man—an accident in an accident—and his theatre of operations, the vastness of the emptiness outside with a sprinkle of fires far too hot for Man and of darkneses of cold spaces separating the stars.

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

The head of the Salvation Army deputation remarked that England's condition has been authoritatively described as immensely better than 40 years ago—triple money wages, double real wages, immensely better houses, more regular work. I acknowledge it but the abyss might still yawn for us if we do not look out. Australia and England have lived on their capital to maintain and improve their standard of living, and by national hatreds the international wheel was being brought to a stop. If we turned to the colliery districts, whole areas were ruined; families had been displaced for years who have no chance of returning to work; tradesmen ruined because buyers have neither money nor credit; banks fail or withdraw because business has stopped; ships which brought in provisions and carried back coal abroad, have ceased to ply, because colliers cannot buy provisions and foreigners will not take coal. The dole has bankrupted local municipal bodies. We must get down to business; no romantics or heroics about united front and courage. Call in the economic doctors. They, poor empirics, know little more than the patients; but they will tell what they know without the beating of drums. We may hear something of which we can make something. There is no salvation, except by accident, in the Doctors' Mandate.

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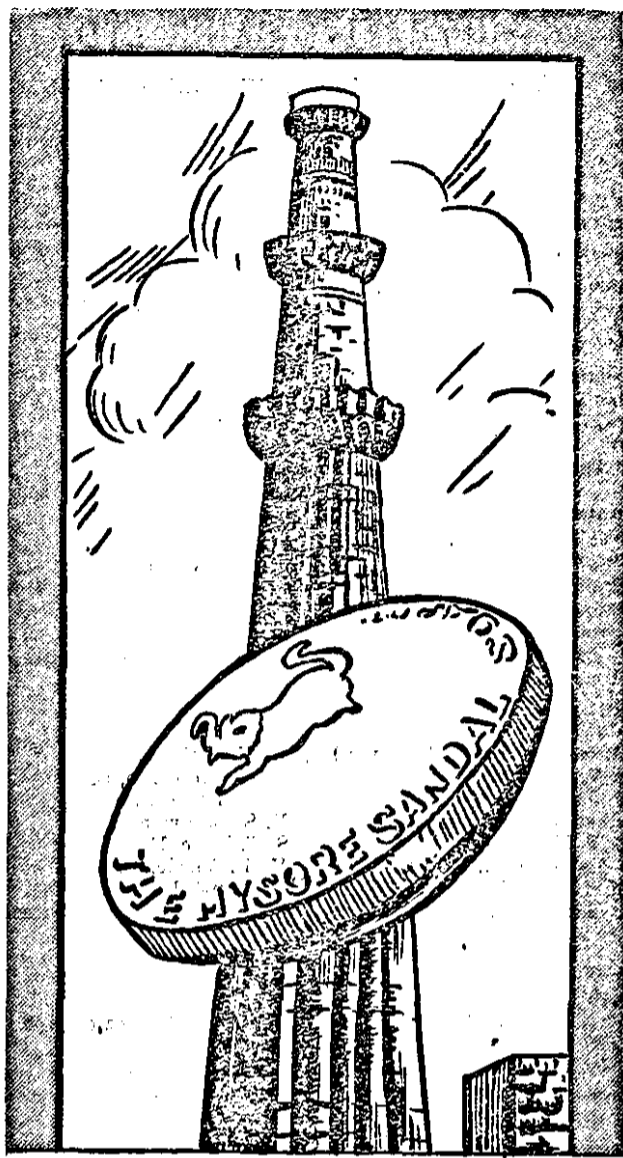
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Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MARCH 28, 1942. No. 30.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

<p>Sir Stafford Cripps in India. Evacuees and Relief. Communal Relief Measures. Bombay Legal Aid Society. German Missionaries as Fifth Columnists. Ceylon, the Prodigal Son. An International Conjunction. Suppression of the Mathrubhumi. Maharaja of Kashmir's Lead.</p>	<p>Empire Federation or Independent States? Indian Women's Auxiliary Corps. Oxford Pamphlets. Letters of B. J. Padshah. The Times of India's Backsliding. Archbishop Roberts on Protestant Intolerance. Indian Politics.</p>
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NOTES.

Sir Stafford Cripps in India:—Sir Stafford Cripps arrived by air at Karachi on Sunday. He reached Delhi on Monday. He stayed with the Viceroy until Wednesday when he shifted to a residence arranged for him in the vicinity. During his stay in Viceroy's House he met the Governors of Bombay, Madras and Bengal, the Executive Council and the Commander-in-Chief. Of Wednesday, the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, called on him and was presumably informed of the Cabinet scheme which Sir Stafford has brought with him. The President of the Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, called on Sir Stafford the same afternoon and he too has probably been apprised of the contents of the scheme. The President of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Prime Ministers of Bengal and Sind are to see him. Leaders of the Sikhs are also being invited to confer with him. Sir Stafford's stay in India is limited to a fortnight and he is anxious to be able to carry back an agreed settlement. In the leading article on March 14, we indicated the difficulties which Sir Stafford will have to surmount. A happy augury for the success of his mission is the important statement of the Maharaja of Kashmir to which we devote the leading article. A great boulder has been put out of the way of Sir Stafford's mission by this spontaneous and timely suggestion to his brother Princes to come into line with the Central Government to which His Majesty may decide to transfer the jurisdiction now vested in the Crown. This encourages the hope that the Muslim leaders also will adopt a similar helpful attitude. The Scheduled Castes under Dr. Ambedkar's guidance will, we are sure, do everything to facilitate a settlement. There is no need to keep the scheme a secret any longer. To do so will indeed be distinctly prejudicial. On Thursday, the two local dailies published two versions of the scheme conveying contrary

impressions. The publication of the full scheme will prevent the confusion which such unauthorised versions are likely to cause. Sir Stafford Cripps in his first Press Conference in Delhi said he was a friend and admirer of India. What is it which evokes his admiration? If he analyses his feeling and discovers what is at the root of it, he will realize what it is that the scheme of reform should preserve and promote. The Indian problem, as it was recognised by the founders of the Indian Empire, had both simplicity and unity. They made no distinction between community and community, caste and caste. Nowadays British and some Indian statesmen have lost the gift of seeing the Indian problem in that way. Although its origin may be traced to the third quarter of the last century, when Britain came under the influence of German philosophy, the habit of seeing India only as a disunited and distracted country, found statutory expression only about forty years ago. We do not expect Sir Stafford Cripps to restore the older vision to British statesmen, but, if his scheme merely perpetuates the present squint, it will fail to serve the true interests of India though it may be accepted by the major and minor political parties.

Evacuees and Relief:—In the face of threatened danger all talk of "India First" has disappeared from quarters most vociferous in commending the slogan. Government itself is not inclined to discourage communal and sectional relief. This is an attitude which cannot meet the needs of the times. We do not see why the relief should be allowed to filter through communal agencies even if it is to be through non-officials. A great deal of the facilities enjoyed by these committees arises out of official backing and it should not be difficult to give the right lead to them. The *Times of India* which has been reading periodic homilies on uniting in a great cause, does not think that such unity extends to rendering relief to those who have suffered in the war. Unity for it is a one-way traffic, leading into battle. In palliation of discrimination, it came out with the following astounding passage on Wednesday:

As regards the complaint that Government are providing luxurious accommodation for European refugees, it is officially pointed out that arrangements for the reception of evacuees are for the most part in the hands of non-official agencies who divide themselves, where necessary, into sub-committees for different communities. It is only natural that residents of

India should feel obliged to make their own suffering fellow countrymen their first charge; this applies to India and European alike.

The *Times of India's* remarks are cryptic and seem to convey a double meaning. In the first place, they apparently contain a hint to Chinese evacuees not to expect too much. This in itself is deplorable when we are relying on Chinese troops for our eastern defence. But it is peculiarly obnoxious when one thinks of the relief extended to non-British Europeans in the past. In this context we have yet to learn why Polish children are being brought to India (*Reformer* February 28.) Government, if it wants public cooperation, should take the public into its confidence. Secondly, they justify, as among Indians and Europeans, all manner of discrimination. The defect of such arrangements are only too obvious. In a homogeneous community, the men who enjoy greater prosperity in tranquil days, are brought in to help out the needy in times of distress. Things are different where the ruling class is distinct from the ruled and, unless a determined effort is made, all sorts of differentiation will crop up.

Communal Relief Measures :—At no time do measures contemplating the relief of sections of the community seem more ill-conceived than now. The general population realises the futility of entering on schemes to save one sect or caste or community, when the need of the hour is to inculcate a feeling of unity among all peoples. It is unfortunate that there are some leaders who have yet to grasp the changed feeling in the country today and persist most ill-advisedly in old worn-out methods. An example of this is the decision taken at a representative Parsi meeting to co-ordinate the efforts of various Parsi associations, to store food for two months and to guard it against looting. It is noteworthy that it never occurred to anyone at the meeting that, if the practice becomes general, there will be acute food shortage in no time and that Government would perforce have to commandeer stocks to relieve the artificial famine. This is bound to take place and, if the public is not to be taken by surprise when it happens, it would be well if Government clearly discouraged such efforts from the very outset.

Bombay Legal Aid Society :—The Reign of Law is a blessing but too many laws which have no moral principle behind them but only the convenience of the Executive Government, may easily become a nightmare in the life of the citizen. Modern life steadily tends in that direction. To be honest, to obey the moral law and to go about one's daily task without consciously infringing the freedom of one's neighbours, will not prevent the citizen from falling into the clutches of law. Many offences have no moral justification and the unsophisticated person cannot without the help of lawyers thread his way through the pitfalls of modern life. Legal advice like medical advice must be bought at a price which is often beyond the means of the mass of people. A

Society like the Bombay Legal Aid Society is, therefore, an indispensable social amenity in modern life, like hospitals which give free medical aid to the indigent classes. The Report of the Society for last year—the twenty-third—shows that the philanthropic objects of its founders are well served by a group of professional lawyers who are sincerely interested in bringing justice to the doors of the poor. Among the typical cases helped by the Society, were securing relief for a family left destitute by the death of the bread-winner in a motor accident, to a woman brutally treated by her husband, saving a poor widow from the unscrupulous application of the terms of a hire purchase agreement. The Society has several branches in Bombay city which make it easily accessible to those in need of its advice and assistance. In addition to the valuable work which it is doing, the members may devote some attention to the defects in the legal system which make justice prohibitively costly for the common people. The Head Office of the Society is at Hammam House, Hammam Street, Fort, Bombay.

German Missionaries as Fifth Columnists :—The part played by Christian Missions in European imperialist expansion is well known. So valuable was this function held to be that even Governments anti-clerical at home, like France and Portugal, maintained their missions abroad. Turkey and Japan sensed the danger and brought foreign missions under State control. The Dutch had never admitted missions into Java. Germany has most exploited missions to advance her imperialism particularly in China. Now comes the news that German Lutheran—not Jesuit—Missions in New Guinea are assisting the Japanese invaders. They had prepared secret landing grounds for aircraft in readiness for use by the Japanese. The most interesting part of the news is that native children taught by the missionaries are acting as guides for the Japanese. One missionary who was a German air-ace in the last war, donned his Luftwaffe uniform and has been actively assisting the Japanese. The Commander of the famous submarine "Emden" in the last war, had become a clergyman and was last reported to have offered his services to the Nazi Government in this war. Lutheran missionaries in New Guinea are also said to have aerodromes, planes, radios and fast boats between Salamana and Madang.

Ceylon, the Prodigal Son :—There has been, so far as is known, no official statement of the result of Mr. Senanayake's mission to negotiate with the Government of India to come to the help of Ceylon which is suffering from a lack of food-stuffs. But it is understood that Government have agreed to do their best to help Ceylon. This has been severely criticised in some sections of the Indian Press which recall the recent attitude of the Ceylonese Government on the question of status of Indians in the Island. This, however, is hardly the time to rake up old quarrels. India can simply not afford to let

Ceylon starve and the Government of India's decision must meet with the cordial approval of all who realise the close inter-relation between Lanka and India, which is far greater than the relations between India and China of which so much is being heard. Mr. Senanayake's mission has its closest analogy in the return of the prodigal son in the Bible parable. The criticism of the Government's decision is the counterpart of the grousing of the brothers who had stayed at home and helped their father, at the forbearance and favour of their parent towards the returned prodigal. Sweet are the uses of adversity and it may be hoped that the present calamities which are bringing together nations hitherto divided by sharp differences from one another, will bring Ceylon to realise that she is a part of India and has everything to gain by associating her fortunes with India's in the closest possible relations.

An International Conjunction :—The *Brahma-vidya*, Bulletin of the Adyar Library, for February is an Olcott number. It opens with a reprint of a speech delivered by Dr. Annie Besant in 1907. Dr. Besant gave an account of the first part of the career of Olcott as an American scientist and administrator, followed by his meeting Madame Blavatsky in New York and the new direction which it gave to his life. The two together came to India and founded the Theosophical Society. The central purpose of the Society was to proclaim and bring about the recognition universally of the unity of all religions, the removal of the antagonism of races white, brown, black and yellow, to promote the sense of human brotherhood. Like all human institutions, the Theosophical Society made mistakes and some serious ones too. But for all that, no fair-minded person can fail to admit that it has been among the formative forces of modern India. It succeeded in producing a spirit of comradeship among people of different faiths and races and nationalities, some of whom were instrumental in later life in awakening the Indian mind to its responsibilities not only to India and her people but to all nations. Men and women who have at one time or another in their lives come under the influence of the Theosophical movement, can usually be distinguished by their catholicity, their freedom from caste and race prejudices, their world outlook and their tolerance of beliefs which they do not share. In the course of her address, Dr. Besant explained why this country was selected for the Headquarters of the Society. Because, she said, Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott agreed that it was in India that the religious problem of the world must be solved and the race problem also. All races and religions have been represented in India from ancient times. A synthesis of these can, therefore, be best worked out here. This Russo-American combination was reinforced by a British element in the person of Dr. Besant. American, Russian and British working in and through India hoped to achieve and, to a not inappreciable degree, achieved the synthesis

which they sought. We have, once again on a wider plane and on a larger scale, the same identical combination, Russia, the United States and Britain in close alliance and India in it. The ends consciously conceived relate to the prosecution of the war. But there is a cosmic purpose behind human endeavours unknown to human agents. Would it be extravagant to perceive in this combination an instrument which has been shaped by historical and spiritual forces to bring about international peace and harmony on the basis not only of the religious unity which was the impelling motive in the foundation of the Theosophical Society, but also their political economic and industrial, co-operation in the spirit of unity?

Suppression of the "Mathrubhumi" :—An associated Press message dated Madras March 25, conveys the news that the Madras Government have suppressed the *Mathrubhumi* which is a daily newspaper of standing in the Malayalam language published at Calicut. The reason given is that in the issue of February 22, the *Mathrubhumi* published "a prejudicial report." The Madras Government has not only prohibited the further sale of the particular issue of the paper but also of any subsequent issue. There is a Press Advisory Committee in Madras, the Chairman of which is also the Chairman of the All India Editors' Conference. In pursuance of the understanding between the Government of India and the Conference, the local Advisory Committee should have been consulted before action was taken against the *Mathrubhumi*. The presumption is all the more justified because the Madras Government has enjoyed with the Bombay Government, the reputation of loyally abiding by the understanding. The offence of the *Mathrubhumi* must have been indisputably serious to pass the vigilance of the local Committee. But why suppress the paper for a single offence? The mere mention by the Home Secretary that he could suppress the *Daily Mirror* has raised a storm of criticism in the British Press which recalls that the collapse of France was due, among other reasons, to the suppression of the freedom of the Press. Free criticism is not less but more important in India than in Europe. The population being overwhelmingly illiterate, the influence of the Press is limited. Indian Governments have always had to fear rumours more than writings in the Press. The Press in India is the channel by which rumours are brought to the surface and prevented from working underground to the detriment of the peace of mind of the public. Suppressing the Press in India has as much effect in steadying public opinion as breaking the thermometer has in bringing down fever. The matter requires explanation and we hope it will be soon forthcoming. The orders issued by the Bengal Government regulating the size of headlines reduce Government control of the Press to an absurdity and that the Bengal Advisory Committee has acquiesced in it is the worst feature of the situation there.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, March 28, 1942.

MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR'S LEAD.

Whatever the differences as regards internal politics between British Indians and Indian ruling Princes, the latter have on critical occasions come to the help of the former with signal effect. Such an occasion was when the question of the appointment of Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council was under consideration. No less a person than King Edward VII with the Prince of Wales, later King George V, agreeing with him, raised very strong objections to the idea and yielded sullenly only when he found the Asquith Cabinet unanimously backing the proposal which originated with Lord Minto's Government in India. The organs of the bureaucracy in this country and in England adopting their usual tactics put forward the Princes of India as the stalking horse and declared that the Princes would not like to have Indians in the chief executive government which would deal with States' affairs along with its functions pertaining to British India. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner who was then in London in a speech at an important gathering, emphatically repudiated this insinuation as a calumny on the Princes. Speaking on their behalf and on behalf of the Indian Army, His Highness declared that so far from opposing, they would welcome the association of Indians as members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Lord Sinha was appointed and one of the first persons to call on him was His Highness the late Maharaja of Gwalior.

A similar service to the cause of Indian freedom has now been rendered by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir in a statement on the attitude of the ruling Princes to the Cripps's mission. The Princes, it will be remembered, after welcoming the idea of a Federation, hung back from accepting the logical corollary, as the Maharaja of Kashmir aptly called it, of the transfer of the functions now exercised by the Political Department of the Government of India to the Federal Government. The Crown Representative was, therefore, created for the special purpose of maintaining relations with the States. The argument used was that the Princes owed allegiance to the Crown of England and the Crown cannot delegate it to an Indian Government along with the administration of British India. This argument was so incompatible with the consistent support of the Princes to the national movement, that it was suspected that it was not their own spontaneous idea but had its inspiration from quarters interested in isolating the Princes from the main current of Indian nationalism. The Maharaja of Kashmir in his statement published this week on the Cripps' mission, has blown this mischievous doctrine to the winds. Deprecating the tendency even during recent

weeks on the part of the States to give prominence to the credo of relations to the Crown, His Highness observes:

These relations have so far been maintained through and effected by a department set up by the will of the Crown; the policy and practice of the department being determined by the Crown's functionaries. Logically, therefore, it would seem that the Princes cannot object to having dealings with a Central Government of India which the Crown may constitute. Nor have they reason to assume that they would not get a square deal from such a Government.

The importance of this courageous and patriotic declaration at this juncture can not be over-estimated. We have no doubt that the Maharaja of Kashmir's views will be endorsed by other leading Princes. British India in the past has always stood for the safeguarding of the integrity of States from encroachments by the Political Department of the Government. Whatever politicians may say on the platform, there is in their hearts a soft corner for the States where, as Ranade held, the heart of the country beats. The Maharaja was perfectly right in his confidence that a Central Government of India constituted on a national basis, will give a square deal to the States. If anything, we should feel an apprehension the other way. The co-operation of the States and their rulers will be of immense advantage and will ensure as nothing else can the success of the national government. The States will, of course, be duly represented in the Central Government. Their experience and their character as the repositories of Indian tradition, will naturally give them a weight in the national counsels far exceeding the mere number of their representatives.

But there is one point about which there should be no misunderstanding. Referring to readiness of the Princes to surrender some of their rights to the Federal Government, the Maharaja of Kashmir observed that "in the India of the future the matters committed to the Central Government would be far fewer than those recited in the table of Federation matters appended to the Act of 1935." It is possible that His Highness has some inside information about the Cabinet scheme which Sir Stafford has brought with him. We earnestly trust that the British Government has not irrevocably committed itself to withhold from the Central Government the powers which are necessary and essential and indispensable to secure India from foreign aggression and to secure to India internal peace and prosperity. History shows that without a strong and controlling Central Government, India has never had either of these. In the United States, in Canada, in Australia, the States had to surrender their powers to their Federal Governments in the present crisis. This crisis is not a passing phenomenon. It will last for a long time and during at least that period the Central Government must retain unified control.

EMPIRE FEDERATION OR INDEPENDENT STATES?

In a short booklet of some eighty pages entitled "Decision," Mr. Lionel Curtis* considers the future political structure of the world and, strangely enough, looks to the model of the British Commonwealth for inspiration. We should warn at the outset that Mr. Curtis who pleads for realism and is generally very precise in his language, tends to use the phrase "free association" loosely. To talk of different nations associating freely in the Commonwealth is absurd. In direct contradiction to this, is Mr. Curtis' outspoken denial of the right of the Dominions have no power to make war or determine foreign policy. After quoting Mr. Menzies of Australia in 1938 to the effect that the Foreign Secretary of His Majesty's Government in London decides these issues, Mr. Curtis observes: "My conclusion is that the official and universally accepted doctrine that the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminster have, in fact as well as in law, given Dominion governments, legislatures and electorates control of the issues of peace and war, is a dangerous illusion." How far this view is an illusion has been demonstrated by Eire and probably the course of the war will reveal further instances. It is certain that the example of Eire will not be a force working for Mr. Curtis' Empire Federal Parliament even for the limited issue of war and peace. The Australian Premier's controversy with Mr. Churchill over the appointment of Mr. Casey, the Australian Minister at Washington, to a post in the Middle East, and the negotiations of that Dominion with the United States of America which immediately resulted in General McArthur of the Philippines being appointed to the Commander-in-Chief's ip in the Southern Pacific, are indications of further developments towards Dominion freedom from the control of London. The only consideration which could have strengthened Empire ties, would have been a foreign policy and a conduct of the war which commended themselves to opinion in the Dominions. Not even the best optimist can claim this for Britain.

Mr. Curtis tends to ignore the subject of colonies and the colonial system within the Empire. This is proving a crucial issue and the weakness of British colonial policy has been laid bare at Malaya and in Singapore. Even if the Scandinavian countries and the states of Eastern Europe join a Union with Britain and America, what will be the relations of these units to colonial areas which have greater familiarity with British methods of administration? What position will India and China hold in the Curtis' scheme? Mr. Curtis' plan obviously is intended to counter the very forces whose existence he denies, the desire on the part of the Dominions to determine foreign policy and decide war or peace. He remarks that, while in the past Britain was in a position to take on full responsibility for conducting war and, therefore, was the sole judge of when to enter on hostilities for the Empire as a whole, now she is not in that position and something must be done to bring in the views of other units who have also to contribute towards the war. For all his pre-war confidence in the Dominions' rushing to Britain's support in case of war, Mr. Curtis' booklet conveys the impression that he is rather shaken in his confidence by the events of 1939-40-41. There are many factors which must make an imperialist feel it necessary to secure Dominion support to British foreign policy in advance in any new world order, even if it involves the sacrifice of Britain's absolute power to take the Empire into war.

INDIAN WOMEN'S AUXILIARY CORPS.

Lady Linlithgow broadcast from New Delhi on March 19 a fervent and eloquent appeal to the women of India to join the Women's Auxiliary Corps which is intended to be constituted. "Among the duties for which women will be enlisted," she said, "are switchboard operators, telephone orderlies, wireless operators, clerks in offices or units, store women in the ordnance, hospital and other units, dispensers, plotters in the Observer Corps, mess sergeants in reinforcement camps, drivers of staff cars and ambulances, etc." Her Excellency spoke to the women of India as a woman and a mother who had herself sons in the Army. She expressed her faith in the women of India and recalled how in ancient times India like Great Britain had warrior women who fought side by side with their men. In Britain there has been no warrior-queen after Boadicea. In India, in the last century the Rani of Jhansi was leading an army. There is no work which the women of India, as women of other countries, can not perform which men can, and that is the reason why *The Reformer* has always been against differentiating between the sexes in education and in opportunities for public service. But women, no more than men, cannot without training perform unaccustomed tasks and we are sure that adequate training will be provided for the members of the Women's Auxiliary Corps before they are entrusted with the duties listed above. This observation is rendered particularly necessary by the admissions that in this, as in the last war, Indian troops had been sent to the front with inadequate training and knowledge of the conditions ahead of them. Her Excellency expected that there would be criticisms of the scheme and that adjustments might have to be made. Criticism includes appreciation of good points as well as recognition of defects in things criticised. Criticism which overlooks the former, is not true criticism. In the scheme outlined by Lady Linlithgow we note with appreciation that the members of the Corps will not have to serve out of India. The absence of this condition in the revised, not original, plan for the Women's Medical Service, was noticed as a drawback and it has been wisely avoided in the case of the contemplated Auxiliary Service. Her Excellency said that care will be taken that women are not given work which entails their working alone at night or on long journeys. The former is an obvious precaution provided for in factory legislation. Other conditions of service, mentioned by Lady Linlithgow, show that they are drafted with forethought so as to safeguard the members of the Corps from the difficulties of a new situation in unaccustomed surroundings.

We should like Her Excellency to reconsider the decision to exclude women who are already employed in the Censor's Department with the Royal Indian Navy or the Nursing Service as not eligible for the Women's Auxiliary Corps. The emoluments in these Services are, we believe, more attractive than those offered in the Auxiliary Corps and women who are already employed in them are not likely to apply for enlistment in the Corps. So far as the Censor's Department is concerned, there have been complaints that undue preference is being shown to Europeans, and the Joint Secretary for Civil Defence in a recent reply to a question in the Legislative Assembly said that Government think that the work can be as well done by men. Compared with the duties enumerated for the Auxiliary Corps, work in the Censor's Office is a soft job and opportunities of working there should be as freely open to all castes and creeds as work in the Auxiliary

* Oxford University Press, 6 d.

Corps. This, however, is a comparatively minor matter. Lady Linlithgow herself referred to the objection which has already been raised that there is no lack of man power in India. "This is true," remarked Her Excellency, "but the bulk of man-power available lacked education and in many cases women have better qualifications than men for the posts which can be equally well filled by either sex. The fact that the Army is short of some thousands of clerks is a proof that recruitment of men in India is not filling Army needs for educated personnel." The proportion of educated Indian women to educated men has been rapidly increasing but it is still far behind the number of men which itself is small in relation to the population. There are hundreds of men of the Matrioulation standard without employment. The impression that the women of India have a different outlook from that of their men, which prevails in some quarters, is a mistaken one. There is not and has never been, a feminist movement in India. For nearly a hundred years past men have been labouring against conservatism, strongest among women themselves, to remove the restrictive customs and barriers which through centuries had kept them from participating in public life. At a reception given to her by American women in Chicago nine years ago, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi testified to the helpful attitude of Indian men with particular reference to Katherine Mayo's calumnies. "She began by emphasizing that the men of India had always stood by their women in the movement of social reform, had warmly supported the extension of the franchise to them, had elected her to the Vice-Presidentship of the Madras Legislative Council and supported her Bill for the abolition of the Devadasi system." (Our Trip to America p. 73) Similar acknowledgments have been made by other Indian women leaders. The attitude of Indians to Army Service should be considered as a whole and not as distinct for men and women.

Her Excellency observed that the shortage of nurses was still acute in the Army but there were many women who by temperament or for other reasons were not suitable for this profession, and it is for these that the W. A. C. was being formed. Training can greatly modify temperament. Every profession entails much drudgery but natural aversion to this is overcome by training, and a high ideal makes drudgery drive service. Shortage of nurses is a more serious matter in a profession in which casualties are sought and women are more fitted for training as nurses than for several of the occupations mentioned by Her Excellency. The use of the word "Trades" rather detracts from the idealism which has always a greater attraction for women than for men. No doubt there is a payment provided but emphasis should be more on the opportunities for service than on the pecuniary attractions of the work for which the members of the Corps are wanted for.

OXFORD PAMPHLETS.

The Oxford University Press writes:—

"In your notice of the pamphlet 'Indian students Look at World Affairs,' appearing in your issue of 14 March, you mention apparent discrepancies in prices. We should like to point out that the price of the English series of Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs was raised from 3d to 4d in England on 15 May 1941, and the same rise was made effective in India from 1 September 1941. For the convenience of booksellers we are pricing the later numbers of Oxford Pamphlets printed in India in sterling as Nos. 1-50 have sterling prices."

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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DECEMBER 12, 1931.

Bridgetown, Barbados.

Barbados proved all that one had hoped—Bridgetown the capital with its 14,000 inhabitants, with its Spanish style of buildings and squares, with its Trafalgar Square and monument to Nelson in memory of his connection with the island and marriage there; with the pervading West Indian (Negro) atmosphere not without consequences, for example, passengers complained that fifty people asking for stamps were attended to by just one man, the rest of the staff looking on, and, when the stamps were given, they did not adhere and there was no gum in the establishment; negro shops, drivers, workers, churches, missions, schoolmasters, residents of green luxurious villas, doctors, lawyers, etc. I remarked to our driver that with their beautiful teeth dentists should starve here. Not at all, he retorted; opened his young mouth and showed side-gaps of teeth.

I saw no Europeans or smartly dressed women in the streets; but my companions who had been shopping for two hours while I motored out alone in the countryside, said in the shops they had seen some. There ought to be more since there is the Bridgetown Club exclusively of Whites. I was led past a lunatic asylum in the country where lunatics worked in the fields, a leper asylum, a poor house, a police station and a police court.

The bulk of the island is countryside. Sugarcane fields and factories adjoining, potato fields, cotton fields and factories, adoes and sorrels, flowers such as bougain-villiers and a sky-blue flower with white eyes—all adorn the scene. There are only occasionally cattle worth seeing; they seem to rely on goat's milk. The common people in the country went barefooted but their clothes were spotless white. "There is no poverty here," my companions remarked; but it could be pointed out, as Dean Inge says, that poverty in the tropics does not look so cruel and that earnings are low and people complain of heavy taxation. But there are no contrasts, there are no multi-millionaires; well-to-do people might make no more than £ 8,000 a year. The bulk of the population of the island are negro descendants of old African slaves; if there were any aboriginal Red Indians, one does not hear of any now. The negroes are mainly labourers, earning per day 9ds. to a shilling on sugar plantations; but quite a number of them are lawyers, one is Attorney-General, and quite a number are trained at Oxford. The Whites who are not in Government service, are in business as sugar planters or refiners. They have not done well recently, they have broken up the plantations into smaller units, hoping to improve their prospects. Many are descendants of prisoners of war, doing badly and known to negroes as "poor Whites" much as similar ones in the U. S. are known as "White trash" to U. S. negroes. Negroes in Barbados join the Salvation Army, they do not wish to go back to Africa nor express any desire to civilise Africans, but the Army has established a settlement on the Gold Coast, West Africa, to conduct its work.

But though vegetation is green and men are free, the real jewel of the place is the sea. The countryside is lovely, the breezes kept us cool as we motored on, but we could not escape the impression of meanness in the habitations of timber and apparently a low standard of comfort. The planters and their labourers alike are West Indians, said the chauffeur.

It was only when we went on the cliff that we got a view of the sea with many colours such as one sees only in pictures of coral islands, and white sand which might be the powdered debris of coral.

My two companions were an Englishman settled in Spanish South America, probably Argentine, who has burnt maize and crops because they were not saleable and labourers left grass on the ground even though offered the whole in lieu of the wages of cutting; and a woman whose address, I presumed to tell her, must be London, England.

Describing something, I don't know what, I praised it for reasons which seemed to praise all revolutions. And she commented that no revolutions can be good. I said I did not know about that. Governments are medicines anyhow, and every medicine bottle has a label—To be shaken before taken. And what would become of our seasons if the earth did not revolve round the sun? Their Mightinesses must have their beards shaken and pulled to be reminded how much they are common clay. The Englishman said that the late Argentine President certainly needed the reminder.

DECEMBER 13, 1931.

Port of Spain, Trinidad.

This island has four times the population of Barbados, and its capital, Port of Spain, has four times the population of Bridgetown. There are more industries—oilwells and asphalt—and the population is less exclusively West Indian.

The foreign White element dominates and contributes to efficiency and splendour—the arresting Botanical Gardens, the Queen's Park, the Racecourse (there is one in Bridgetown too), the Spanish and Italian and English shops, the Hospital, the oilwells and sugar plantations and refineries run by American, English and Scotch capital, management and engineering, the attractive numerous residences and clubs, the variety and beauty of trees planted—all betoken an energy and growth beyond that of the "West Indian" concentrated Barbados.

A chief feature is a settlement from India. Twenty years ago sugar planters here recruited labour from India for their plantations. Thence it spread into factories and also into towns for trade and domestic service. It earns little enough, a shilling or two a day in the fields, and between a shilling for boys and two to four shillings for grown-ups in factories. Yet this small wage causes heart-burning in the natives. They keep their costumes. I spotted endless people by saris, beards and features. A number of town shops bear on their boards such names as Aziz, Fakir, Mohammed. On the countryside, their streets are named as "Calcutta Street No. 1." The banyan tree has been imported from India and buffaloes to draw carts. In the market whose hum was very agreeable after the silences of the ship, figures in sari might be seen at the stalls as well as in the marketing crowd. Their countryside quarters are, if possible, more squalid than the Barbados countryside. Yet they send two representatives to the Legislative Council, and compel attention to their marriage law, both Muslim and Hindu, in a discussion that is now rending the island on the subject of divorce. This discussion is called the serpent in the Garden of Eden. For the island is one long garden of palm and sugarcane and sugarcane flower and coconut and what not, under appropriate sky-light and unferocious sun. There is a magic in it. I am glad to have seen it. The Indians grow rice for their own consumption; the Chinese established in the laundry and restaurant businesses, similarly cultivate for home consumption and not for marketing.

DECEMBER 14, 1931.

My two companions on the Barbados trip specially cultivated me today. They got me to tell them about the star known as the Companion of Sirius, how it came to be seen through the telescope, how calculations showed its density to be 2000 times that of steel, and how this unbelievable density was verified by the spectroscope which, according to Einstein, should show a very considerable spectral shift for Calcium atoms on a star of such density. The exact amount of predicted shift was found. The Englishman from Argentine has taken considerable interest in observational astronomy, and he came to me for information about the Southern Cross. Finding that I took no interest in identifying mere points of lights, he drew out of me a popular account of Relativity, of what is the precise significance of the fourth dimension, and of the Curvature of Space rather than pull by suns and stars as the true account of planetary orbits. His great puzzle is, how what men find to be inconceivable, they can discover to be true; and my explanation was that our decision about inconceivabilities are mere generalisations of probably pre-human experience which in some cases further experience shows to be unwarrantable. We never had first-hand experience of space. We could only know of small spaces and distances as far as our eyes could reach.

DECEMBER 18, 1931.

Canal Zone.

The party spent a good day on the Canal Zone in the Panama State, in Cristobal and Colon.... My companions took note of trees and flowers and fruit—the bamboo, the coconut, the papau, the wild banana sometimes in flower and sometimes in fruit, the hibiscus, the guava, the sorrel, the pineapple.

The Americans have energised the station immensely. The population in the American Zone is 55,000; what was swamp not many years ago is now green and garden and residences. The houses are timber built on piles, but they are kept fresh-painted and adjoin fine roads. The population is mainly coloured; but more white people appear than in other places, mainly Americans—administrators, the military contractors, railway and canal men. There are some men from India; there are 23 shops of Indians. They don't seem to be happy. The majority do not spend more than two or three years in the region. They dislike the climate, rains, heat, fever, eczema. There are, too, Sikh labourers at the docks. The coloured people's earnings are about 10ds. an hour, those of the whites about 7 to 10 times as much.

American efficiency is not to be disputed. They have achieved the Canal in the face of French failure; we were led through abandoned French lines of houses. General Goethall succeeded in stamping out fevers which had killed out the French and their labourers.

However, there are comedies as well as efficiency. A street divides the American Zone from the Panama Republic from which the Zone was filched for the sake of the Canal. Boozers have only to step across the street to get all facilities legally for drink. Gamblers may step across from the other side to discover all the facilities they need. And the American Zone has been sliced in gold (white) quarters and silver (coloured) quarters and American offices have gold and silver entrances. Even at the Post Office, when I went to a window to buy stamps the man who served, looked hard at me and then grumblingly gave me the stamps and change. A fellow passenger was misdirected from pillar to post in search of post-

cards. I read up the boards at each window to help him and found out that at the window where I was served, the board read, "Golden Entrance for Stamps." At the adjoining window round the corner where the same man served, the legend was, "Silver Entrance for Stamps." The Republic which first propounded the Rights of Man, is obliged to draw this line. The bulk of the coloured people are not Indians (aboriginal) or descendants of negro slaves. They are the more recent immigrants from Jamaica and other islands. On the Panama side, also, there are no Red Indians except casual traders coming in tiny canoes from mountains. The coloured folk are newcomers. Colon not long ago was burnt down; all the prosperity it feels is the touch of the American Zone. Sindhi merchants keenly feel the present depression in trade which hardly pays expenses.

I wish I could have a connected view of the colour question in the island and in the South American Republics. Stephen McKenna in his book "By Intervention of Providence" slurs over it with the reminder that there is a negro question in Barbados as well as in the United States.

THE TIMES OF INDIA'S BACKSLIDING.

I was distressed at the light way in which the *Times of India* dealt with the behaviour of some soldiers which had aroused public resentment in Bombay to an unprecedented degree. The *Times* is the only paper which is read by the soldiers passing through or stationed in Bombay and a stern rebuke from it would have been timely and done much to put down rowdyism, horseplay or whatever is the right word. I have, besides, a rather personal reason for feeling distressed at the failure of the *Times* to do its plain duty. I have been closely associated with the *Times* under four editors over a period of twenty years. Nothing moved me so deeply as the letter which I received on my retiring from the editorship of *The Reformer*, from S. T. Sheppard two years ago. "It is very pleasant to me," he wrote, "to remember how much help and good counsel you willingly gave me, sometimes when my staff was sadly depleted and I found it difficult to carry on. We first met in 1907 and I remember Stanley Reed introducing us quite clearly." He concluded in his characteristic manner of taking things as they came. "I must just make my salaams to you before the Germans get me with a bomb. They have already wrecked my flat and I don't like it." Bennett, Lovat Fraser, Stanley Reed, Sheppard—they were men of different temperaments. But in the conduct of the *Times*, they were all equally strong on one point, the behaviour of Englishmen towards Indians. A few months before Bennett retired, an incident in the local train to Bandra created a sensation. A military officer, finding a first class compartment in the evening fast train full, thrust himself in and sat deliberately on the lap of a Parsi lady—Mrs. Pestonji Padshah. There was an angry scene and the next day the papers were full of it. The *Times of India* came out with an editorial which I should wish Mr. Francis Low to read. It said, if I remember, that an Englishman who did not know how to behave to an Indian lady had no business to set foot in this country.

The *Times* has a great tradition of public service to uphold. Under Bennett it powerfully backed the late Sir Gokuldas Parekh's agitation, against excessive land assessments. Lovat Fraser's brilliant articles on the conditions in Bombay mills initiated factory legislation and gave an impetus to the trade-union movement. In Stanley Reed's time the *Times'* policy

closely reflected nationalist aims and aspirations. Sheppard had a holy horror of make-believes and he steered clear of many of the shoals which beset Anglo-Indian journalism. Sir Vithal Chandavarkar said in the Indian Legislative Assembly the other day that the gulf between Government and the people was never so wide as it was now. This is even more true of the relations between the English community and the Indian people. The opportunity for an English-edited newspaper of the standing of the *Times* to bridge the gulf is immense. It should not be thrown away through hasty, ill-considered comments on events which gravely perturb public feeling.

* * * * *

The announcement of the strong measures adopted by the Bombay Government to prevent soldiers' horseplay or rowdyism or by whatever name it should be called, has had a magical effect. It checked the headlong exodus of people from Bombay. What is more it seems to have stopped a similar headlong descent on the Share Bazaar. A friend who is in touch with the share market, remarked on the curious fact that, while the Calcutta and Madras markets remained depressed, the Bombay market alone exhibited signs of rapid recovery. It did not occur to him to connect the Government announcement with the movement of the share market. The papers generally attributed it to favourable war news. But there was nothing remarkable in the war news—only a lull which probably portends a coming storm. Even in Bombay, Indian opinion reacts more swiftly to social than to economic factors.

K. N.

ARCHBISHOP ROBERTS ON PROTESTANT INTOLERANCE.

Nothing is more common in the propaganda against Hinduism and Hindus than that they persecute converts to Christianity while, by inference, in Britain conversions to other religions are regarded with sympathy and admiration as signs of spiritual freedom. Here is a bit of his personal experience from Archbishop Roberts of Bombay in the course of a dialogue on the propriety of Popes being elected exclusively from among Italian cardinals. Says the Archbishop,

When I became a Catholic, I was so glad that *somebody* continued Christ's authority on earth that his nationality became relatively a trifle. But it worries *you* and lots of others like you in England and elsewhere too. For me, the universality of the Catholic Church has done its work as a mark or sign of the true Church, uniting us with Christ in one belief, one worship and one obedience. But you see the Papacy through 400 years of State propaganda—English variety—on "Italian Mission" lines. If you were to become a Catholic as I have done, you'd be thought, as we converts are thought, to have done something "un-English," foreign, queer, in bad form and often bad for business. You might even lose friends whose "tolerance" would have been proof against any other change of religion. People usually charitable would begin to look for signs of "deterioration" in you.

Y. Y. Can that really be so?

M. F. I've seen it and felt it over and over again. It has made quite real for me the words of Christ and His apostles about the clash between His claims and the world's, great enough to call for "hatred" of father or mother, wife or husband opposing a call of conscience.

INDIAN POLITICS.

Our India by Minoo Masani. Oxford University Press, Rs. 2-12-0.

The Choice before India by J. Chinna Durai. Jonathan Cape. 8s. 6d.

India: the road to self-government by John Coatman. Allen and Unwin. 5s.

Akhand Hindustan by K. M. Munshi. The New Book Company. Rs. 4.

Perversities by G. L. M. Rs. 2.

Minoo Masani's little book on India is a valuable primer for all who wish or have got to know something about India, more so for those who feel they must write something on India—and a remarkable number seems to be feeling the urge nowadays. Mr. Masani has a happy knack of imparting knowledge without seeming to do so and, surprisingly for one who has been in politics himself, he brings an air of comparative detachment to his presentation. C. H. G. Moorhouse's illustrations fill a very useful purpose in visually representing facts in a way no amount of words could possibly achieve. "Our India" is one of the few books on India worth reading and it is fortunate that somebody thought it worth writing. Mr. Masani would do well to develop his great talent for this form of writing—children's books which interest the elders as well. There is a great need in India for such literature built round Indian subjects.

It is with some reluctance that one turns from what, in its own way, is a classic to the worst form of pamphleteering—Mr. Chinna Durai and Mr. Coatman in their contributions to the Indian theme, do nothing more than this. Mr. Chinna Durai is an Indian settled in Britain who does not understand the difficulties which Indians here have in arriving at the conclusions which he no doubt sincerely holds, on the question of Indo-British relations. He does *The Indian Social Reformer* the doubtful honour of quoting its writings to prove that the demand for independence here is not one that has gone deep into men's hearts, even Congressmen's hearts. But he dismisses with supercilious contempt the very real conditions which obstruct the achievement of the enthusiasm for Britain he wants to see in India. Mr. Chinna Durai does not realise that remarks which are merely bad taste on English tongues, offend grievously when repeated by Indians for the benefit largely of British audiences. For example, he argues, citing in his support "a Congressman," that the demand for independence was bargaining, "like the Indian shopkeeper who, wanting to sell his goods at ten rupees, states the price of the same to any possible buyer as thirty rupees." Mr. Durai gives several extracts from anonymous, mysterious Congressmen whose views are the reverse of what the Congress officially stands. We do not deny their existence but are their views worth quoting in a book which sets out to be a serious study of Indian politics and a contribution to unity? The country is not going to be saved by men who are afraid to speak out in public what they will not hesitate to whisper and insinuate in private. Mr. Chinna Durai, in spite of a certificate on his nationalism from "a Congressman" printed in his preface, belongs to the group of Indians who air reactionary views in a London exile. Their opinions are of value only in so far as they flatter a section of retired Anglo-Indian officialdom, a section which is ceasing to count even in India in these days when Empire communications are somewhat uncertain.

Mr. John Coatman sees Indian political development as a steady progress to self-governing institutions and Dominion Status. Mr. Coatman was too long a protagonist of Government of India policies to have now acquired the necessary long view for a

constructive study of India. But it was a surprise to read even in one of his books the following passage:

Early in 1919 the Government of India introduced certain Bills into the Legislature which had been framed in accordance with the Rowlatt Report. These provided no more than the usual administrative precautions which are invariably taken at such crisis. But an Eastern country like India is the very home of rumour, and with the passing of the Rowlatt Bills the most extraordinary caricatures of their contents gained publicity, chief among these being stories to the effect that marriage and funeral processions would now become unlawful assemblies and so liable to dispersal by the military or police. The effect of such rumours was inflammatory to a high degree, and strengthened the wave of unrest and violence causing the murder of a number of isolated Europeans... The trouble took on a violent form in Amritsar, an important commercial town in the Punjab and headquarters of the Sikh community, and it was here that the deplorable episode of Jallianwala Bagh occurred in which a large number of rioters were killed by machine-gun fire. This affair gave a new edge to nationalist agitation and helped to precipitate the widespread and long drawn-out Non-Co-operation movement. But the tragedy proved to be the culminating point of the immediate post-war disturbances, for thereafter the forces of law and order were able to prevent any substantial political disturbance until the start of the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat movements of the next year.

That any responsible publicist should come out with a defence of Jallianwala today and during the present crisis in Indo-British relations, is shameful. It is the more so when that defender is an Englishman who once held an important post in the Government of India.

Mr. K. M. Munshi has in "Akhand Hindustan" collected several articles from *Social Welfare* on the subject which he has made his own. We regret that he has reprinted along with other contributions his remarks on Sikh songs and the quotations from them which we had objected to, when they first appeared. Things like this afford, not the best reason, but the best justification for Pakistan and force one to feel that the redoubtable ex-Congress ex-Minister would better serve the cause he favours by imposing a self-denying ordinance on himself to abstain from speaking or writing on the communal question. Fortunately nobody appears to regard Mr. Munshi's contribution to internal socio-political problems very seriously. But it is a pity that he should waste his undoubted talents on a cause which will thrive better on neglect, certainly Mr. Munshi's neglect.

The Indian journalist rarely indulges in humorous writing. Not probably so much because he is not attracted by the ambition to be a second Mark Twain or another Yaffles, but because the Indian newspaper office does not create an atmosphere congenial to the growth of the funny bone. Besides, the public is often, too often, prone to regard anything in print as serious, if not sacred, and one never knows where or when an innocuous joke might hurt some great politician or, worse still, one's immediate or remote boss. Humour in any profession, besides is perforce brought to it by outsiders not by its practitioners. We see that, where journalists have refrained, an Indian businessman has ventured. Mr. Gaganvihari Mehta has followed up his "From Wrong Angles" with "Perversities." We wish, however, that Mr. Mehta had left these articles, poems and definitions in the newspapers in which they first appeared and given us something more than topical humour which has ceased to be topical. Some of the reprints are markedly like Stephen Leacock's writings whose humour is a mannerism, and has a cloying effect.

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INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDEA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY—APRIL 4, 1942. No. 31.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Sir Stafford's Press Conferences
The Editors' Conference.
Americo-Australian Romance.
Schools for the Blind in
Bombay.
The Press and Rumours.
Patriot and Traitor.
The War in Burma.
Sir Stafford Cripps.

The Churchill-Cripps Scheme.
Stray thoughts on Cripps'
Scheme.
Allahabad Railway Incident.
Towards Permanent Peace.
The Nehru Marriage.
Uchoha Jivitearani.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
British Offer to India.

NOTES.

Sir Stafford's Press Conferences:—A great deal of interest has been roused in Sir Stafford Cripps by the Press Conference which he initiated and held thrice a week. It ensured for one thing that the Indian public had its eyes fixed on the official Ambassador from Britain's War Cabinet all the time. Occasionally little tit-bits about Sir Stafford taking off his coat and so on, enlivened the monotony of exchanges between diplomat and pressmen. But the Conferences achieved very little in any other sphere. In fact the general disappointment felt at the proposals is proportionate to the great expectations roused in the public mind, and sustained by these Conferences, before their disclosure. This was borne out on the day the scheme was revealed by an unfortunate breeze at Sir Stafford's Conference when a pressman yielding to a pessimistic impulse, questioned the bonafides of Britain and Sir Stafford retaliated by an equally unseemly outburst against those who distrusted either Britain or the Government, and threatened to wind up the Conference. A more statesmanlike attitude on his part would have been an appeal to the offender to withdraw his remark and to the pressmen to expunge the unhappy episode from their reports. Otherwise Sir Stafford's conduct of the conferences has been exemplary. He has, for example, by his appreciation of the reporting of the conferences, accepted responsibility for what he is reported to have said there, thus giving up the advantage of future repudiation. Nevertheless, his conferences are no more than a courtesy to the press in India. We cannot think of any of the political leaders who have conferred with Sir Stafford, relying on his statements at the press conferences when they could get direct elucidation of the points of his scheme. Sir Stafford himself, we are sure, has said no more at the meetings than he did at his private discussions. On the other hand, the representatives of the press did not avail themselves of

the opportunity to elicit information as wisely as they might have done. No one seems, for instance, to have asked what exactly the assumption of responsibility by Britain for the conduct of the war meant. Did it mean that the whole financial burden of the war was to be borne by Britain or did it suggest that British troops in decisive numbers, adequately supported by munitions and machines, would arrive soon in India? This is the more surprising since it is asked today by many of the Indian newspapers. The fact is that New Delhi is not to Indian journalism what Fleet Street is to the British press. The number of unnecessary questions, like the one about the applicability of the Atlantic Charter, was perhaps inevitable.

The Editors' Conference:—The suppression of the *Mathrubhumi* and the headlines order of the Bengal Government show that the postponement of the Standing Committee Meeting and the open session of the All-India Editors' Conference early this March was a tactical error. In not enabling the editors to meet Sir Stafford during his visit, the Conference has lost another opportunity. The press conferences have not influenced the policies of the Indian newspapers to a more sympathetic treatment of the British scheme; nor have they touched the views of Sir Stafford himself. We do not deny that they have been pleasant occasions but, in so far as they left untouched Indian opinion, they were no more than that. They could, perhaps, have been rendered trebly effective if personal contact had been first established between the makers of press policy and Sir Stafford Cripps. And with the Indian press Sir Stafford had this advantage, that he need not have held separate meetings with its representatives.

Americo-Australian Romance:—A Reuter's message last week referred to a controversy which has arisen in Australia over the marriages of American soldiers with Australian women. The United States has assumed the defence of Australia and has sent troops to that continent. It would seem that the immediate result of this influx has been a crop of marriages of American soldiers with Australian women. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane, Dr. Duhig, has publicly protested against such marriages. "These men," the Archbishop remarked, "did not come to Australia to marry. They came to fight." Dr. Duhig wanted such

intermarriages to be banned but other Church leaders, while being opposed to such marriages at short notice, did not agree to the suggested ban. Marriages in the United States are made and dissolved with lightning rapidity, and the American soldiers, perhaps, thought that they would be acquiring the right spirit to fight Australia's enemies by marrying Australian girls. The Archbishop of Brisbane seems to regard marriage as a form of molestation or a sort of horseplay which the Church should not tolerate. If Australian women are forbidden to marry American soldiers by the Church, the Church not the parties would be the loser. Apart from this, there is romance in the chain of events, which has brought the United States to the defence of Australia. Both nations branched off from the British but under contrary circumstances. The Pilgrim Fathers went to America voluntarily to escape religious persecution in the mother country. The founders of the Australian Commonwealth were sent away from the mother country as dangerous criminals whose presence was not safe for British citizens. The impress of their different origins is recognisable in their present populations. One cannot be a week in the United States without feeling that Freedom of Conscience has still at least a slogan value. As for Australia, Padshah in one of his letters quoted Mr. Tod, nephew of Lord Sydenham, a former Governor of Bombay, that the convict strain has not entirely been expunged in either Sydney or Tasmania. (Letter from off Melbourne, *Reformer*, January 24, 1942).

Schools for the Blind in Bombay:—The reports for 1940 and 1941 of the Dadar School for the Blind, conducted under the management of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, and the report for the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind at Tardeo for 1940-41 have just been released to the public. The Dadar School was founded in 1900 by the American Mission; it was taken over in 1939 by the Society for the Protection of Children for a period of years and will be handed back to the Mission in April this year, as the Society finds itself unable to continue shouldering the responsibility for securing funds for the school "in addition to its primary duties." It is a co-educational school run on public philanthropy as is shown by the statement that out of 37 students in 1941 only one pays fees. The Tardeo School which was founded three years later, is restricted to boys. The School works under a committee of management on which official and municipal representatives serve; and Mr. J. B. Petit has been its Secretary for the greater part of its existence. It is a free school which relies on public donations for its funds. The Dadar School teaches its pupils in the primary classes with Marathi as its medium of instruction and English as second language. In 1940 it sent one of its pupils to the Hume School and the

sound basis of its education is shown by the fact that the student in competition with sighted scholars stood first. In 1941 another pupil was sent to the Hume School for secondary education. The Tardeo School teaches through Marathi and Gujarati up to the seventh standard. It had 81 students in 1941. The Dadar School provides religious instruction in their own faith to its students and it is interesting to note that, in the years after the Society took over the work from the Missions, there has been an increase in the number of Christian scholars. At Tardeo the education is purely secular. The two institutions devote a great deal of their work to industrial training and sports. Each of them serves different sections of society and the different attitudes adopted in them to secondary education show that on the lower economic scale it is felt necessary to extend protection for a longer period. The tuition fees at Dadar are Rs. 60 per year and its finances were supported by a loan of Rs. 5,000 from the Society in 1941. Calculating on the basis of the annual expenditure the cost to the institutions are Rs. 500 per pupil at Dadar as against Rs. 200 at Tardeo. The work of these bodies is an essential service to the life of the city and public support should be forthcoming in greater measure. Donations may be sent to the Honorary Treasurer of the Dadar School and to the Honorary Secretary of the Victoria Memorial School at Tardeo.

The Press and Rumours:—In last week's *Reformer*, we pointed out how the freedom of the Press has a special importance in India over and above that which it has in Britain and other self-governing countries. In these countries the government is a continuation of the society and there is no break of gauge to impede the free movement of hopes and fears from the one to the other. This is not the case in this country. Even eighty years ago when English education and nationalist ideas had made little headway, and British officials were more conversant with the languages of the country and moved more closely with the masses, the British officers of the Indian Army, where the intercourse was closest and more intimate, were taken completely by surprise when their regiments mutinied although, as Lord Roberts shows in his "Forty One Years in India," there was for some years past much discontent in the country, which had infected the troops. Rumours were widely current, many of them unfounded but some well-founded, especially the one about the greased cartridges. This was pooh-poohed as a malicious invention of disgrumbled elements in the population, but Lord Roberts admits that it was the fact that the cartridges were so greased though the officers were unaware of it when they assured their men that it was a fabrication. There was not much of an Indian Press in those days. Again, Lord Roberts notes that for more than six months before the disaster at Maiwand, rumours were afloat of Ayub Khan's determination to advance on Kandahar.

"But," he adds, "little attention was paid to them by the authorities at the place until.....they were informed by Wali of Kandahar (their nominee) that the British occupation of Kabul had had the effect of bringing about a reconciliation between the various chiefs at Herat." The news of the disaster at Maiwand was known in the bazaar of Peshawar several hours before the Government of India received information of it. Commenting on this, Sir Walter Lawrence in his "India Which We Served" concluded that there were means of communication among Indians independent of and more expeditious than official ones, the telegraph and the post, assisted by special messengers in those days. The means of communication nowadays are far more swift and efficient, still the official world and the social world have few points of contact and newspapers alone can supply in the present conditions that serious deficiency. A close study of newspapers conducted by Indians, will reveal to the official world many things which are hidden from it, and for this it is essential that the papers must be free to write as they feel. The danger of such writings, arousing public sentiment against the authorities is much less than the danger of the authorities remaining in complete ignorance of what is going on about them.

Patriot and Traitor:—On Sunday (29th March) a message was published in a roundabout manner through Reuter that Mr. Subhas Bose was killed in an aircrash off the coast of Japan where he was due to attend to a Free India Conference. The news had all the appearance of being unconfirmable and it has since been contradicted. But it evoked from Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad among others, fervent tributes to Bose's patriotism and from the *Times of India* a denunciation of Bose as a traitor. As both are responsible sources, the contrast represents the deep gulf between the British and Indian points of view.

The War in Burma:—If the experiences of Malaya and Singapore led the London *Times* to conclude that the British colonial system had proved defective, the progress of the war in Burma must give additional reason for disquiet in Imperial minds. The periodical reports of parties of Burmans fighting under Japanese leadership have culminated in a curious passage in the Burma communique issued on March 31 by New Delhi. The paragraph reads:

A considerable mixed force of Japs and Burmans crossed the river at Tondo and attacked Shwedaung... on March 29. An Indian frontier force advanced to clear Shwedaung and heavy fighting ensued, during which 800 casualties were inflicted on the enemy and 70 prisoners taken, all of them being Burmans. The enemy, however, managed to maintain road blocks at Shwedaung. On March 30 an attack was launched to clear this road block (these road blocks?) and open the road.....Our operations in this area are considerably hindered by the lack of air reconnaissance and by the fact that the local population as a whole appear actively to support the enemy.

For years the policy of dividing the people of India into "martial" and "non-martial" has been a matter of grave concern to Indian nationalist opinion. But the military policy of the Government was not affected by these protests. There have been several incidents, however, since the outbreak of the war which might well have shaken official complacency. The Indian forces in Burma are in an anomalous position. At least the British and Chinese troops who are with the Indians, sharing the burden of the Burmese campaign, can tell the Burmans that Britain's and China's influence as national powers, will be cast in post-war reconstruction on the side of Burmese independence. The Burmese know too well the position occupied by India in the international sphere.

Sir Stafford Cripps:—We are glad Sir Stafford Cripps has decided to prolong his stay in Delhi. There is an astonishing amount of goodwill to him personally in the country of which he himself is not fully apprised and a reluctance to let him return empty handed to Britain especially as it is feared this might prove a turning-point in his public life. The country intuitively has recognised in him a nowadays rare type of Englishman who appreciates India for her own sake and not for the contributions which she makes to the national and individual incomes of British. The scheme which he brought with him, betrayed a surprising indifference to deep-rooted Indian sentiment. The nearest analogy that can be thought of would be the offer to Englishmen by an alien power to revive the Heptarchy—with power to each of the seven units to secede—as an inducement to fight to destroy Bolshevism. The appointment of an Indian to be Defence member can have but a prestige value so long as India has to take her foreign policy from Great Britain. To acquiesce in the latter and to make much about the former is swallowing a camel while straining at a gnat. On the point of Indian unity, the Congress has not given a clear lead and that to some extent accounts for the fundamental flaw in the War Cabinet's scheme. If this is corrected, as it can easily be as we indicated in the leading article today, the scheme will lose its sting and Sir Stafford will have the satisfaction which would be shared by the largest section of the Indian people, of effecting a settlement paralleled only by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's settlement of South Africa. The decisive factor in that case was the positive attitude of the British Government which brought round the opposition of Englishmen in South Africa including the Governor-General, Lord Selborne. Mr. Churchill as Colonial Secretary, piloted the South Africa legislation in Parliament and he knows this. The unity of India should not be left an open question. It has not been one prior to some three or four years.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 4, 1942.

THE CHURCHILL-CRIPPS SCHEME.

On Monday the scheme which Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him was published. We reprint the document elsewhere. Its purport may be summarised in a few sentences. Immediately, there will be no constitutional change. Indian leaders are required to co-operate with the British Government in organising the country's resources in men and material for the prosecution of the war. The British Government, on their part, pledge themselves to convene, on the cessation of hostilities, a constituent assembly to frame the future constitution of India. The Constituent Assembly is to work on the basis of the autonomous provinces under the Government of India Act of 1935. That Act made it obligatory on the part of the provinces of British India to enter the Federation contemplated between British India and the Indian States. They have already done so. Our objection to the scheme of the Act was that British India as a single unit and not as eleven independent provinces should have been recognised for the Federation. The Churchill Cripps Scheme removes this obligation and leaves each province free to decide whether or not it would join the proposed Union. More than that, it offers inducements to the provinces to choose to remain outside by giving them not only the right to retain their present constitutional position but also offering to give them a new constitution with the same full status as the proposed Indian Union. The Provinces are also given the right to form their own Unions with such other provinces as they may choose. The States are given the option of joining one or other of the Unions or Provinces or to remain outside any of them. The only item which concerns them is the offer or decision—it is difficult to say which—to revise their Treaties, in what respects there is not the faintest indication in the published document. This part of the scheme is one for the dismemberment of India camouflaged under the specious guise of self-determination.

The feature of the scheme which hits one in the face at the first perusal, is that India's immemorial and fundamental unity is to be renounced for ever. India's unity is inwoven in the texture of Indian thought and culture in every phase of life. From ancient times India has been defined as the land between the Himalayas and the three seas. North and South, East and West, have from the earliest times integrated into a single spiritual unity which is rooted in the depths of Indian consciousness. Political institutions in India have never enjoyed the pre-eminence which they enjoyed in Europe. In a letter to Sir Thomas Munro dated August

20, 1800, Colonel Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) observed: "They (the people of this country) are the only philosophers about their governors that ever I met with—if indifference constitutes that character." Sir Thomas Munro in reply explained the indifference of the people to change of governments as being due, among other reasons, to "the whole of India being not one nation but parcelled out among a number of chiefs, and these parcels continually changing masters, makes a transfer to us to be regarded, not as a conquest, but merely one administration turning out another." British administrators themselves encouraged this belief; for instance, Elphinstone in his proclamation to the people of the newly annexed Peishwa's territories, declared that the British were here not to change their laws and institutions but only to administer them more justly and efficiently. The true reason, however, for the indifference to political changes was that the people were more jealous about social and spiritual values than about political power. This has been to some extent changed by the effect of English education and Western influence. Indians now feel that spiritual and cultural values can not be preserved without political power. Nevertheless, there still persists among the masses the old feeling of indifference to change of rulers noted by Colonel Wellesley. The establishment of British rule in this country would have been impossible but for this indifference of the Indian people.

We have quoted this passage from Munro's letter because the present scheme definitely aims at throwing the country back into the condition depicted by him as the main cause of the political indifference of the people and their readiness to accept a change of rulers. Early in their administration the East India Company felt the want of unity was an impediment to good Government and passed the Regulating Act bringing the whole country under one Governor General. Later on it was found that an independent Burma was a menace to British rule in India and it was annexed. Lord Curzon wanted to reduce Madras and Bombay to Lieutenant-Governorships in the interests of efficient Indian administration. Since his time there has been a reversal of policy. Walter Bagehot has described civilization as a winding and a slow unwinding. This has been the case with British rule in India, only the unwinding process has been quicker than the winding process. In 1903 Lord Minto pulled off the lynch-pin which held the wheels of the British regime to the axle by according weightages in communal electorates based on religious beliefs. Sir Samuel Hoare carried the process a long step farther by cutting up India into eleven separate and independent provinces with the Crown as the sole link between them. The partition of India as a possible solution of the Indian problem was envisaged in the Peel Commission Report on Palestine. The present Prime Minister, Mr. Winston

Churchill, was the strongest opponent of the partition proposal which he likened to the legendary judgment of Solomon when two women claimed the same child. The parallel is more true of India whose unity extends in unbroken continuity to a far more remote antiquity.

The scheme is evidently an adaptation of the policy followed in bringing into being the South African Union. It is not an unsuitable precedent. With a few changes it can be made acceptable to Indian sentiment and more effective as a constitutional measure. The provinces of the South African Union had no relation to each other prior to the Union. The provinces of the Government of India Act of 1935 formed parts of a unitary Government and, even under it, were federated without the option of contracting themselves out of it. They are already united and it is unnecessary and improper to effect a complete severance of the ties which bind them to each other in order to give them the opportunity of deciding that they prefer to remain either isolated or united with such provinces as for the time being attract their fancy or offer them the most inducement. The States are in a different position and should have the right to choose whether or when they will join British India. Even the advocates of a Constituent Assembly in India did not contemplate letting the provinces adrift in the hope of their finding a way to be united or to be divided. The second feature of the South African precedent is akin to the first. The South African Union is practically a unitary government differing in this respect from the Australian Commonwealth. The foresight of the framers of the Constitution has been proved by the part of South Africa in the present war. The Constituent Assembly, it may be urged, is free to decide for a unitary government but the conditions, as proposed in the scheme, exhibit a strong bias against their doing so. The scheme throughout is weighted in favour of separatist tendencies. Sir Stafford Cripps objected to the suggestion to have Swaraj as the designation of the Indian constitution on the ground that the word would not be understood in other countries of the world. Soviet, Comintern, Kuomintang, Swastika have passed into international parlance and Swaraj too will do so without difficulty. It has a spiritual as well as a political significance and is, therefore, particularly happy as a description of Indian self-government. It was used by His late Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught when he inaugurated the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms at New Delhi. *The Reformer* has throughout looked forward to the British period being embodied in the historic continuity which is the outstanding feature of India's evolution through thousands of years. The fulfilment of India's mission demands that all the three streams of culture—the Indian, the Arabic and the European—Hindu, Muslim and Christian—should blend into a harmonious

pattern. The Churchill-Cripps Scheme virtually eliminates the third stream from the confluence which will be the starting-point of India's freedom.

STRAY THOUGHTS ON CRIPPS' SCHEME.

In the statement issued by Sir Stafford Cripps as the just and final plan devised by the War Cabinet to grant India self-government, it is declared that, during the war and until the new constitution is framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. In what sense is "responsibility" used in this passage? Does the responsibility of the British Government include financial responsibility? Or does it merely mean "control," the main financial responsibility remaining with the Government and the people of India along with responsibility for organising the resources of India? If it means the latter, would not "power" express the sense intended better than "responsibility?" The British Government will have the power and the Government of India the responsibility, that is, the obligation to carry out the orders of that Government. Power and Responsibility are complementary terms and it is better to use them with precision. Much of the world's trouble is due to the inexact use of language.

Sir Stafford Cripps is a great friend and admirer of Russia as he is of India. In his broadcast on Monday he made a passing reference to Russia. It is to be wished that he had made more use of his knowledge of the Soviet system than he has in framing the Indian scheme. Because Russia offers a nearer analogy to India than almost any other country in the world. The Slavonic village community had many points in common with the Indian village community. The trend of religious thought is monistic as in India.

A constitution based on the village communities, with adult suffrage and indirect election to a College of electors, such as Lord Morley originally envisaged and was embodied in a Bill drafted at the instance of Dr. Besant, would have admirably suited Indian traditions and conditions. Did Lenin give the Russian provinces liberty to keep out of the Soviet Union? The constitution gives them liberty to go out of it if they wish. But it is practically impossible for any of them to contract out chiefly because the Defence system embraces them all and holds them in a tight grip. Where is the counterpart to this central unifying force in the Churchill-Cripps Scheme? Without it, it can but pave the way to a dictatorship as the next step towards unification without which India cannot live and thrive.

The other great ally of Britain is the United States. Abraham Lincoln declared again and again that he was not fighting the South to abolish slavery but to preserve the Union. Would Sir Stafford say that he was wrong? President Wilson used words without forethought and when they were interpreted in the natural sense, as in the Japanese amendment for equality between races, he ran away from his own principles. Self-determination was the worst of them. The Versailles settlement flagrantly violated the principle in many cases. It ran right across the precedent of his own country. Would President Franklin Roosevelt be prepared to let the States

decide to leave the Union on the principle of self-determination? Again, would Sir Stafford Cripps suggest to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek that he should allow the provinces of China to exercise the right of self-determination as soon as hostilities cease? Not quite two years ago China was held up by British statesmen as a warning to Indians who demanded Independence. Today Indians are exhorted by the same statesmen to follow the example of China. The Chinese fight because there is a China to fight for. Would they fight with equal fervour for a conglomeration of provinces? The Cripps' scheme is likely to be a damper, not a stimulus, to Indians to throw themselves into the present war.

The answer, of course, will be, the case of India has no parallel. It is unique. Quite so. Conditions in no two countries are exactly alike. But this is not remembered when India is asked to lend her full support to the war, she one of the poorest countries in the world along with the two richest countries.

Why was Sir Stafford so anxious that the world should know of his scheme at the same time as India? If the object was to impress the United States rather than to satisfy Indian aspiration, it would seem that it has attained some success with the New York Press which is not the American people.

K. N.

ALLAHABAD RAILWAY INCIDENT.

We quoted in the course of an editorial note in *The Reformer* of 21st March a report from the *Leader* of Allahabad of the 15th March, of an incident at the Allahabad railway station. Mr. Thomas Catling, representative of the Far Eastern Bureau of the British Ministry of Information, writes with reference to it in the *Hindustan Times*:

What actually happened was as follows:—On the assumption that the compartment in which all four sleeping berths had been reserved for me and my party was ours for the journey, and especially as our beds were still down and a lady in the party—who is the widow of a Wing-Commander recently killed in Java and who herself was injured before escaping from that island—was lying down, I declined to admit a number of passengers. One, however, insisted that he was entitled to enter the compartment during the hours of daylight. This being contrary to what I believed and had previously experienced in travelling from Colombo to Calcutta, I insisted on having confirmation from the station officials. The Station Master did not give a clear confirmation of this, but asked me "as a favour to him" to admit the passenger and I did so. The lady was present during the whole discussion. The other members of my party were Mr. T. G. Donovan Bayley and Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan. Both are members of the Far Eastern Bureau of the British Ministry of Information.

The circumstances stated in the above letter remove it from the category of cases of Europeans refusing Indians admission in the compartment in which they are travelling. If Mr. Catling had explained these, especially the presence of the unfortunate lady, to the Indian gentleman, instead of, as reported, barring and bolting the doors and windows against him, there would have been no incident and no cause of unpleasantness. In a situation of this kind, the Indian passenger who was of Mr. Catling's party, could and should have intervened to prevent unpleasantness. He seems to have thought that he had no concern in the matter though the scene in the station is said to have delayed the train and collected a crowd round the compartment. The Station Master's part also requires explanation.

TOWARDS PERMANENT PEACE.

(By K. CHANDY, KOTTAYAM.)

I shall not say one word now which might be harmful to the success of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission. But as a self-elected representative of the untold millions who do not belong to any party, I shall be failing in my duty if I omit to mention one important factor concerning the psychology of Indians.

It is this. Even should the leaders of three or four important parties fail to come to an agreement, it does not mean that the door is closed. The temper of Indians is such that if any team consisting of leading Hindus and Mahomedans agree to take charge during the war, Gandhiji would not start Satyagraha against them, and Jinnah would not revolt; and, if they succeed in working together, a trail would have been blazed for successful co-operation under a settled constitution.

How Sir Stafford is going to deal with the question of the States, I do not know. Twelve years ago, my suggestions, if adopted, would have installed a Federation including the States. I hope that some way would be found to give them their legitimate place in a free and united India.

Now concerning a few ultimate problems. Although it is the want of imagination of the United States and of Britain which has led to this war—of the former in leaving the League of Nations and of the latter in alienating Germany, Russia and Japan from the League—the acts of barbarity of Germany and of Japan after this war started show conclusively that this poor world of ours, which has always suffered on account of its political leaders, could, nevertheless, not have a peace which is worth having unless and until Germany and Japan both become convinced that they could not possibly win the war, however long it continues—with its daily toll of young lives lost or mutilated and the accumulation of a generation destroyed in the twinkling of an eye. I pray that God would be merciful to the crown of creation, which is making itself a crown of thorns, and shorten this hour of tribulation.

That day will arrive. I hope it will arrive in 1942 and not later. It is desirable, meantime, that Roosevelt, Churchill, Sir Stafford, General Chiang Kai-Shek and others on the side of the Allies should formulate the ideals of a new world order in such a manner that even the sensible people of Germany and Japan might realise that failing their own immoral and non-realizable ideal, what is proposed is worthwhile for them. The days of agony might thereby be shortened.

Non-violence is clearly the highest ideal; but even the Congress has found that it could not serve in times of crisis. If men had been so constituted that the strong are also the merciful, no problem would arise. That is not the case. Hence the need for a working compromise. The Atlantic Charter has apparently not satisfied our enemies; else they would have laid down arms. It is impossible for the wise men of the world, or for an international person like His Holiness the Pope, to lay down the main lines of a charter of human freedom and human development which must satisfy all reasonable human beings. When any national government is overwhelmingly strong, or has overwhelming support, there is no opposition to it worth considering, although there would always be individuals who resent its policies or individual acts. Is it impossible for the wit of man to devise a similar scheme of world government of overwhelming force and with overwhelming support, in which the people of Germany and Japan would also have their legiti-

mate place and legitimate influence? No Woodrow Wilson on the side of the Allies has yet done so.

It is a fact that his fourteen points helped to shorten the war—although his country afterwards rejected him, and the League betrayed his ideals.

That is the crux of the problem. Could a solution for it be obtained only after untold suffering and destruction which even a hundred years of peace could not repair?

Wiser heads than mine must find an answer. I could only point to the urgency and the inevitability of the question.

Whether a world government comes into being, or separate organisations as Wells suggests, it is necessary, if there is to be peace, that bombing and fighting planes, and perhaps tanks too, should be under a central organisation, and that world economy should cease to be national and become international.

How racial discrimination, which is one of the prime causes of Japan's entry into the war, is going to be solved, I do not know. It is a very difficult question. Varnashram itself was originally a matter of colour. It seems to be as easy for the lion and the lamb to live together in amity as for the Western races in America, Africa and Australia to give equal rights to coloured races. Logic does not appeal to men—for instance, an Australian is now the supreme political head of Indian forces in the Middle East, while the Premier of Australia is fighting for a white Australia.

It is necessary at the Peace Conference, and subsequently, that injustices of this kind should be minimised steadily until they are totally wiped out. The Eastern races will not hereafter agree to a restricted or subordinated status.

The question of the immediate defence of India against Japan is one of strategy and high policy. But ultimate defence, if independent nations remain after this war or ultimate internal security if they don't, is a problem within the purview of this article. During the last war, when college classes were emptied, a few very eminent university professors of Oxford and Cambridge who were world experts in their particular subjects (in lectures they spoke as final authorities) came to India and I had the privilege of entertaining some of them at Bangalore. I told one of them—this was 25 or 26 years ago—that England protecting India was a mistake, and that Indians should be taught to protect themselves. As a great historian and student of politics, he entirely agreed with me and said that no one had told him that view. Writing to one of the most prominent Congress leaders who believes in defending India by force, I said that, during these 25 years, the Congress had done nothing to prepare India for self-defence (just as it has done very little to consolidate Hindus and Mahomedans).

I keep no collection of my contributions to the papers. Quite by accident, I have come across one of them, which has escaped being lost. It is an article published in the *Hindu* of 4th May 1932. I shall close these remarks with a very few quotations. None took any notice at the time, but they are very apt now and for the future.

Lord Irwin says that an Indian National State would be a hollow phrase unless founded upon unity between the communities and identity of purpose between British India and the States. If the words "and unless defended by her own citizens" are added, the essentials are all included.....

No Indian leader has definitely made the pronouncement, as far as I know, that the only way in which India can satisfactorily defend itself is by forming national regiments to replace, regiment by regiment, the present communal regiments, and that,

unless young Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs are willing to enlist in such regiments, there is no likelihood of India escaping defeat by a foreign army. Self-respect demands that a nation of 350 millions should defend itself.....

If any political leader had advocated a need for orientation in political thinking, viz., of considering government as an organism of which minorities also are an integral part, the minorities would have lost their dread of majority rule.....

If leaders of majority communities had taken pains to educate and persuade minorities on such lines, and thus created confidence, the temper of the minorities would have been different.....

The idea gained ground everywhere from speeches and writings of leaders that each community was determined to make its position strong in the State.

Whereas, when government is considered to be an organism instead of a shifting balance of disparate atoms, cultural and religious interests as also weak organs requiring protection must necessarily get listed in a schedule of the constitution (for such protection).

I was beating the air, but not fighting windmills. Where reasoning failed, I trust that the imminent threat of incendiaryism involving Hindus, Moslems and the States alike, would prevail.

Not one word in this article will hamper the present negotiations, or confuse the immediate strategy of defence. But in order to make assurance doubly sure, let me add that, during this war and for sometime after, the communal constitution of our regiments must continue; in the matter of civic guards, however, I heartily endorse the view expressed by the Dewan of Travancore that communal civic guards for defending communities should never be allowed.

THE NEHRU MARRIAGE.

I am pleased and a little amused by the accounts of the ceremony specially improvised for the marriage of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter. The lucky young man is a Parsi, domiciled in the United Provinces. The up-country Parsi retains the adventurous qualities of his race.

The Kashmiri Brahmins to which class the Nehrus belong, are the Hindus who lived closest to the Parsis in the days before the two branches of the Indo-Aryans separated, according to Rajendralal Mitra, on the cow-killing and liquor-drinking questions. I have not Rajendralal Mitra's "Indo-Aryans" at hand and do not remember if it was the Indian branch or the Iranian branch which objected to the two practices. It was perhaps the latter. If so, it is strange that their present-day descendants are opponents of Prohibition.

The Vedas and the Avesta with the help of a few phonetic rules may be transliterated. The marriage, therefore, is an intermarriage between two closely related communities and both families are said to have known and seen much of each other.

Married happiness depends to a large extent on the amount of things which husband and wife can take for granted in each other. Where both husband and wife are born in the same religious and cultural environment and are brought up in it, there is not much which has to be explained to each other and this, especially as one advances in years, is a great economiser of energy, mental and physical. But this is a digression.

It was at first given out that the marriage would be registered under the Special Marriage Act—the original Act which requires both parties to declare that they do not profess any of the old established religions, including Islam. Perhaps the registration did take place.

A sentence in one of the reports to the effect that legal considerations played a minor part in settling

the appropriate ceremony, might suggest that it did not. The ceremony followed, appears to have been the ancient Vedic ceremony including the hom and the saptapadi, the sacred fire and the seven steps around it by the couple; but it seems also to have included some invocations improvised by the Mahamahopadhyaya who officiated, embodying patriotic and national ambitions and aspirations.

From the little that was given of this in the reports, I cannot feel that they could have in any way enhanced the grandeur of the Vedic verses. The sentiments of the Vedic mantras are the loftiest conceivable. They invite the bride to become mistress of the household in every relation of life and most of all in the spiritual relation.

Apart from the sentiments, the words of the mantra have in themselves an inspiration. For thousands of years, millions of marriages have been contracted under their sanction and they have helped in the evolution of an ideal of wifehood unsurpassed by any race or religion. The poet Kalidasa cannot think of a more apt analogy for the mystic union of Siva and Parvathi than the intimate and inseparable union between words and their meaning. Some months ago Srinivasa Sastry wrote in a letter that he was reading the Ramayana as he found the Sanskrit words soothing to his nerves. Happening to mention this to B. G. Kher, I was surprised to hear that he too had been reading the Ramayana every day and he had the same experience.

We read in the old legends that the hero, when fatigued, touched mother earth and was instantly refreshed. Even so the Hindu when tired in mind and body, gains refreshment from the ancient classics of his race. For centuries these old texts had been preserved in the memory of the race without the help of writing. That itself is one of the wonders of human culture. I do not like tampering with these immemorial documents even from high patriotic motives.

RECLUSE.

UCHCHA JIVITSARANI.

This is the title of a book in Marathi, brought out by Messrs. B. B. Keskar and R. N. Naik. It contains seventy-two speeches of the veteran social and religious reformer, Rao Saheb V. S. Sohoni. The book contains a brief sketch of the life of Mr. Sohoni, which describes in adequate terms the varied work of the author in the field of Education, Social and Religious Reforms. Mr. Sohoni is a well-known accomplished writer and speaker both in English and Marathi. He has, off and on, edited the English and Marathi Columns of the *Subodha Patrika*—the organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj and most of the speeches appearing in this book were originally published in that Journal. The speeches deal with a variety of subjects, mostly Ethical, Social and Religious. The language is chaste and simple and the arguments cogent and logical. The book should find a place on the shelf of every student of contemporary religious and social thought. The biographical sketch will be found inspiring by school and college students. The book is profusely illustrated and is priced at Rs. 2/- and can be had of the publisher, Mr. B. B. Keskar, Anandi Bhuvan, Vile-Parle or from the Prarthana Samaj, Girgaon, Bombay 4.

RIGVEDI.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright)

DECEMBER 19, 1931.

Almirante, Panama.

Almirante is a settlement entirely tributary to the United Fruit Company who have their cocoa factory and store, who have their own railway bringing bananas from the interior. They are loaded on to a pulley-system machine which carries by a chain pockets upon pockets in one row full of bananas dropped into the ship's hold; the emptied pockets being returned to their original place along another row, to be loaded again. This sort of thing has gone on the whole day, in sunshine and in rain.

There are no roads and motors, what we saw was by walking alongside of rails..... Among my companions was Lady Lewis two of whose sons were killed in the war. She was grateful for my statement that in India and in, I believed, the rest of the world, the military are the pioneers of progress. Progress is the result of persistent application of intellect to problems where drift is death and where the game is Kill, or Be killed; War becomes the medium of this persistent application of intellect. Efficiency in war requires roads, science, transport. Indian cantonments enjoy better communications and sanitation than their neighbouring old towns—Kirkee is healthier and more advanced than Poona. It ever was so. Caesar killed Gauls but civilised the survivors; and so also he and his successors in Britain. But the warriors help civilisation not by ruthlessness but by intellect; by the use of it not by disdaining it.

Captain Z—and his daughter also joined in. Captain Z—went to South Africa during the war and settled there for some years and then returned to England. He mentioned Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's work there as something which was admired more even after Mr. Sastri left than during his stay. I asked what were the prospects of General Smuts. He said that Smuts was the best hated man there. Botha was different; he knew the Christian name of every burgher and was popular. This accords with what I had heard: that Smuts is disliked by his own colleagues; he is too conscious of his superior education and intellect and cannot conceal his contempt for others. Captain Z—said that Botha was no real soldier; he hated to kill. I asked if the mark of genius is not to economise with material. If the enemy can be put to flight, why risk the lives of his own men in the unnecessary killing of foes?

DECEMBER 23, 1931

Kingston, Jamaica.

Kingston, they say, has a population of 50 thousand, one-third White, but the Whites stay indoors—at their offices or in bungalows. It is the coloured population that is most visible, in the streets, in the trams and buses and cars, in the shops as buyers as well as shop-keepers. There is an East Indian population, coolies and shop-keepers, but then again they have to be looked for. The leading pharmacy is a negro concern. I have been shaved only by coloured hair-dressers, and driven by coloured chauffeurs. Half the bungalows one sees are occupied by coloured people. The Christmas messages in the local newspapers are by coloured members of the Legislative Council. They bear European names as our Goanese do; but their photographs give away their negro or negroid origin. Such traffic as there is conveys coloured beauties in silk or other dainty light clothing. The English assistant at the shipping office told me that as lawyers,

doctors, these coloured people of Jamaica would get on anywhere... There is a trade depression. There is bustle in the shopping quarters and comfort about bungalows and squalor all round..... In one quarter, I was told that unemployment largely arises out of Jamaica people, working in Cuba, having been sent back owing to Cuban depression. They are supported by their relatives in Jamaica.

The United Fruit Company who own hotels and fleets of ships, own them all in the service of their banana business, their main concern. Recently they bought extensive banana properties and then banana prices fell. They try to recover from their mistake by retrenchment which means laying off employees, who luckily are taken over by a rival concern, the Jamaica Producers' Association who have done very well.

I have seen today a lot of white people in the offices' quarter; almost smartly dressed, flannelled Chinamen and Chinese ladies in silks. The Chinese seem to be digging themselves in. I read a sign, "Jamaica Curios," "Proprietor—Daliani." I thought it was a Sindhi name. Taking my usual afternoon walk, an Aryan face accosted me with a good-evening. I answered in Hindusthani. He turned out to be from Dehra Dun, a cultivator in employ.

By the way Trinidad has passed the Divorce Law only exempting Hindus from its operation. The Hindu member of Council who supported it and denounced Captain Cipriani for opposing it, was ousted by the Captain who was suspended from the service of the Assembly in consequence.

Mrs. Ramsaran has earned the distinction of being the first East Indian lady from British Guiana to be called to the bar.

BRITISH OFFER TO INDIA.

The following is the draft declaration brought by Sir Stafford Cripps for discussion with Indian leaders:—

"The conclusions of the British War Cabinet set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps has brought with him for discussion with Indian leaders, and the question as to whether they will be implemented will depend upon the outcome of those discussions which are now taking place.

"His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect; in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs.

"His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following declaration:

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of Indian States in the constitution-making body.

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to:—

(i) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(a) The constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities:

"Immediately upon the result being known of provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of provincial legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about 1/10th of the number of the electoral college.

"Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for, and retain the control and direction of, the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India."

In a statement accompanying the document Sir Stafford said:

"It is in form a declaration by His Majesty's Government as to the future of India and as to the immediate problem of Indian Government and defence. I am giving it to you for publication today as a proposal which has been submitted to the leaders of Indian opinion by the War Cabinet and its publication is not the publication of a declaration by His Majesty's Government but only of a declaration they would be prepared to make if it met with a sufficiently general and favourable acceptance from the various sections of Indian opinion."

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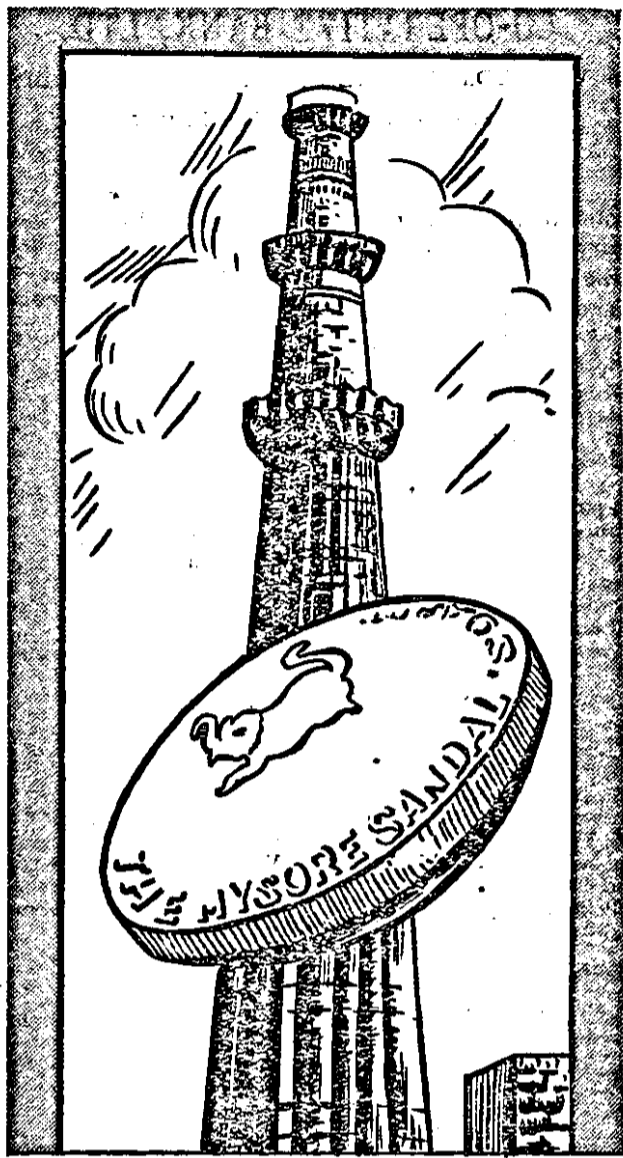
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Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY APRIL 11, 1942. No. 32.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

<p>Palestine and the Jews. A. R. P. Service, Volunteer or Full-time. Mr. Jinnah and Hindus. Lord Halifax on the Indian Situation. Hindustan Aircraft. Quinine and the Dutch East Indies. Not Seen by Oripps. Library Conference.</p>	<p>Kashmir's Lead. The New Delhi Negotiations. "Asia for Asiatics." Some Historical Misconceptions. Fifty Years of South Indian Epigraphy. Letters of B. J. Padshah. Full-Time A. R. P. Service in Calcutta.</p>
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NOTES.

Palestine and the Jews:—In an informative and highly controversial article in *Foreign Affairs*, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the distinguished leader of the Zionist movement, discusses the future of Palestine. The article throws some light on the recent discussion in the House of Lords when the British Government was charged by the Opposition with pursuing an anti-Semitic policy in Palestine. Dr. Weizmann's thesis is that, great as has been the contribution of Palestinian Jews to Britain's cause in the war, it would have been even more had the officialdom of Palestine responded to the enthusiasm of his people and had the Jewish community been encouraged with the hope of setting up a National State. Of the present problem, Dr. Weizmann writes:

To the Palestinian administrator the Arab presents no problems. He is a "native" and the methods which have proved their efficacy in various backward British dependencies can be applied to him with their usual success. The Jew does not fall into the same category. He has come to Palestine to construct there a modern civilization, and has brought with him a number of new, complex and baffling problems. He is "difficult", critical, always anxious to be trying something new, and he does not fit into the time-honoured framework of administrative routine which has proved serviceable in Nigeria or Iraq.

Dr. Weizmann, like most people who are devoted to a cause, lacks perspective. It is obvious that the "time-honoured framework" has not proved very serviceable in Iraq; that it has failed miserably in Malaya which was always regarded as politically apathetic, and in Burma where the people were felt to be unconcerned in politics. What one gathers from his article is that the Jews in Palestine have higher ambitions than that of using British domination, as did the Indians in Burma and the Chinese in Malaya, merely to establish themselves as a commercial class. Dr. Weizmann's own demand that Palestine should be handed over to Jewish rule—"if any Arabs do not wish to remain in a Jewish State, every facility will be given to

them to transfer to one of the many and vast Arab countries"—reveals the ambitions of the Zionists most of whom carry over to other countries the political thought they have imbibed in Germany or in Poland. The prospect of being reduced to a minority in territory which is now theirs, is hardly likely to make the Arabs more friendly to the Jews. Dr. Weizmann uses to the fullest advantage the difficulties which Britain has experienced in the Arab States, to strengthen his claims for the Jews as a community whose loyalty to Britain can be always relied on. He has not a very high regard for the Arabs. Nevertheless, he does not exclude from his vision the prospect of the future Jewish State forming part of an Arab Federation, under proper safeguards. The most moving part of his article is the paragraph where he contrasts the prosperity of the Hebrew colony in Palestine with the utter failure of the other experiment, made under the best auspices with a benevolent Government and with ample funds, in Argentine.

A. R. P. Service, Volunteer or Full-time:—The Bengal Government has taken a step forward in the matter of organising the A. R. P. services on efficient lines. The organisation which was hitherto run on a voluntary part-time basis, is being built anew on a paid full-time staff. We print the communique elsewhere as it marks a landmark in A. R. P. organisation which other cities might well take from Calcutta. Nor is it any use waiting till danger "approaches nearer." The work of training up the paid A. R. P. personnel will have to be gone through. There is, however, one feature in the communique which seems rather inadequate: the concluding paragraph of appreciation of the volunteer body which has helped to build up the organisation. After all they are all trained men, many of them of a far higher degree of intelligence than the best paid workers that one could get. Why should they be left alone at a time of emergency with the pious wish that they will help with constructive criticism? Let Government by all means have its unified control and its disciplined men. But let those who have been public-spirited enough to offer their services before the building up of the new system, also do what they can to help with their special training. One other point, the setting up of a paid service renders it the more necessary to guard against the danger of the workers being out of touch or unamenable

to public opinion. It would be a grave mistake if some of the A. R. P. men from Singapore and Malaya and Burma are put into top positions in India under the paid system. If trouble arises, Indians would like to see their Government avoiding the blunders of those countries.

Mr. Jinnah and Hindus:—In his address to the Working Committee of the Muslim League last week-end, Mr. Jinnah enlarged on the danger of Hindu domination while a day or two later addressing Allahabad journalists, he assured them that his Pakistan project was not actuated by ill-will to the Hindus who, he was confident, would bless him or at least his memory for bringing about a blessing which they now regard as a curse. The inconsistency between the two positions is easily explained. At any rate, we do not find ourselves obliged on that account to doubt or disbelieve Mr. Jinnah's profession of total absence of ill-feeling towards Hindus. The question, however, is not one of sentiment but of reason. Mr. Jinnah's argument, we take it, is; you, the Hindus and Muslims can never agree, therefore, the best thing for you is to part and for each of you to go your own way. If it was a law-suit between two partners, a settlement of this kind will be natural and effective. But Hindus and Muslims in India are not partners in a trade or business. They are both members of the body politic bound to each other by the closest ties which have developed by their living together for over a thousand years. Hindus have obligations to Muslims and Muslims to Hindus, and neither can repudiate them even if the other side is willing to let them do so. Mr. Jinnah claims that Indian Muslims are a nation. The Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, in announcing Sir Stafford Cripps' mission to India called them the most important of Indian minority communities. There is nothing inconsistent in the two categories. On the contrary, as a national minority Indian Muslims come within the formula of the League of Nations. But they are more than that. Indian Muslims are not as the Sudeten Germans or the Greeks who were domiciled in pre-Kemalite Turkey. The Muslims of India are Indians in every respect but religion which they share with Afghans, Arabs and Persians and Egyptians. Religious belief by itself does not constitute nationality or all Europeans would be a single nation. But the point is too obvious to require being laboured at greater length. All Indians will cherish the name of Jinnah as a great Indian nurtured in nationalism who gave way to a temporary aberration in advocating Pakistan which is the denial of the whole past of Indian Islam.

Lord Halifax on the Indian Situation:—Lord Morley, when he was Secretary of State for India, bitterly complained against retired Anglo-Indian officials for their proclivity to deliver themselves on controversial questions affecting India with an air of omniscience while, as a matter of fact, the conditions had completely

changed since they shook the dust off their feet and settled down in some London suburb. It is more than a decade since Lord Halifax laid down the Indian Viceroyalty. In the interval many things have happened to change the face of Indian affairs. The Government of India Act of 1935 gave rise to fresh agitation in this country. It had to be suspended on the outbreak of the war with Germany but, even if there had been no war, it would have had no different fate. The war with Japan came on the top of the war with Germany and as a consequence of it. In the first few months, Japan has ousted Britain from Malaya and is trying hard to oust her from Burma. The one lesson of both countries noted by the most superficial observer, is that the success of the Japanese was largely assisted by the apathy of the native populations. The one feature of Indian conditions which marks them out from those of the two countries, is that in India there is an educated and politically minded class which by tradition and conviction favours the evolution of Indian self-government with the consent and concurrence of Great Britain. This group has been ignorantly alienated by bureaucratic opposition. It was derided as a microscopic minority and the masses were supposed to be devoted to the *ma-bap* sardar and contemptuous of the Babu politician. Tilak, first, and Gandhi, afterwards, have completely exposed the hollowness of this assumption. This was quite clear even in Lord Halifax's time and is not a new development. Nevertheless, the ex-Viceroy had the temerity to tell Americans that, if the organised political parties rejected Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals, the British Government will be obliged to do its own duty with the support of millions, numbering one-half of the total population including 90 million Mahomedans. This opinion of the ex-Viceroy is not shared either by the British Government or by the Delhi Government or by the Government of the United States either; or there would not be so much anxiety to avoid a breach with the Congress leaders.

Hindustan Aircraft:—A New Delhi press communique announces that Hindustan Aircraft Limited has been taken over by the Government of India for the period of the war at least. The capital of the company was held jointly by the Government of India, the Mysore Government and Mr. Walchand Hirachand and his associates. In taking it over, the Government of India have allowed the financial interest of the Mysore Government to continue but active management will remain with the Government of India for the war period and a year or two longer "in order to facilitate the operation of the factory as a Government concern." The meaning conveyed by the communique is that the Government of India feel the necessity of aircraft production in India and that they also realise the difficulties in the way of private enterprise achieving this object, during a war. Neither of these are new developments and there was no reason why

Government should not have shown the enterprise, initiative and energy for all of which Mr. Walchand is praised in the communique, and a little forethought. The dual arrangement contained in the transaction seems to us to be unnecessarily complicated. The terms arrived at with the Mysore Government would surely have been equally appropriate to Mr. Walchand and his associates. The assurance that the agreed solution is "in the best interests of all concerned," is satisfactory so far as the business element in the enterprise is involved. But the Governments concerned should be more communicative to the public.

Quinine and the Dutch East Indies:—In July 1940 the Government of India "approached the authorities in the Netherlands East Indies and an agreement was concluded by which practically the whole amount of quinine required over the next four years will be shipped from Java in the next six months" (*Indian Information*, July 15, 1940.) It was further stated that this in addition to the stocks then held would be sufficient to meet any emergency. The news was preceded by an account of other steps taken to combat malaria. The question was asked in the Bengal Assembly last week whether, owing to the fall of Java, there was any danger of a quinine famine in India and whether the Government could extend the cultivation of cinchona. The Minister in charge, Mr. Burman, in his reply said that the situation was serious but that cinchona cultivation could not be extended at a moment's notice. The stocks secured by the end of 1940 should be, on the statement of Government itself, sufficient to carry us through till the end of 1944. The position of the Dutch East Indies has never been so secure even in July 1940 as to have permitted the Government of India to rest on its achievement. Even if a year and a half have been wasted, there is still time to conduct all the investigations which Mr. Burman wanted time for. Though no direct information has been vouchsafed about the arrival of the stocks by 1941, yet the failure on the part of Government to take steps to extend cinchona cultivation may be assumed to point to complacency born of large stocks. Cinchona cultivation has been tried in Ceylon and in India not without success though the cheaper prices of Java quinine made it unprofitable to persevere in its cultivation. Had the Government of India not been moved to buy up Java stocks in 1940, probably we would have been well on the way to producing a sufficiency now. For the *Leader* of Allahabad observes that, on the outbreak of war, the principal quinine officer of the Government of India had urged the necessity of organizing quinine production on a national basis, and the Java windfall must have slowed down action. The same issue of *Indian Information*, announced that pyrethrum, an essential ingredient of insecticides, was successfully being grown in India and that an efficient insecticidal spray would be available at a

comparatively low price. We have not heard anything more about it.

Not Seen by Cripps:—The remark let fall by Sir Stafford Cripps at a press conference that the more questions one asked the more questions one wanted to ask, applies to a wider field than asking questions. The more persons he sees, the more want to see him and, although the impression is general that none who sought interviews have been refused, there is gradually growing evidence that Sir Stafford has retained his right not to see those whom he did not think it necessary to see. The principles underlying his selection may not seem very clear but, since the protests of the Shiah community and of the All India States Muslim League have appeared in the press, it is undeniable that a line has been drawn. Probably Sir Stafford excluded these two organisations on the ground that the greater includes the less—that Shiah leaders can settle their differences with the Muslim League at the plebiscite and that the Muslim League in the States must have problems which it shares either with the League in British India or with the States' Peoples' Conference whose representative Sir Stafford has met. Incidentally, it is not clear whether the States Muslim Leaguers are more chagrined at not meeting Sir Stafford or at the privilege being extended to the States' Peoples' Conference. But since they seem to feel it as a grievance, it might be conceded to both the groups, now that the hurried pace of Sir Stafford's visit has settled down to the more leisurely timing of British Indian politics. The States' Leaguers are in a peculiar position, in so far as they require special consideration both in those States where a Muslim ruler governs a Hindu majority and a Muslim minority, and in States where a Hindu ruler governs a Muslim majority.

Library Conference:—The All-India Library Conference held its fifth session during Easter week-end at Bombay on the invitation of the Bombay University. Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner to the Government of India, had been asked to preside, fittingly enough since education and books have always gone together. But the Conference had to carry on without his help as he was not present during its sittings in Bombay. The organisers showed more foresight in asking Mr. K. M. Munshi to inaugurate the Book-in-India Exhibition which was held in connection with the Conference as in these uncertain days it is wise to rely on local talent which is available and willing. The good old days when libraries used to be housed in cool, comfortable and dark rooms where retired gentlemen took their rest, are disappearing. The resolutions adopted at the Conference show that the modern librarian is a very energetic member of society who seeks all the relief of legislation, organisation and even publicity as earnestly as other sections of society. Like other professions, librarianship is overrun with amateur workers and one of the resolutions asked for trained men being employed in Government colleges and institutions.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 11, 1942.

KASHMIR'S LEAD.

The Prime Minister of Kashmir, Sir N. Gopaldaswami Aiyangar, in a speech in the State Assembly last Saturday explained in detail the implications of the Maharaja's statement which was noticed in *The Reformer* of March 28. Sir Gopaldaswami had returned from Delhi only on the previous day after participating in discussions with other States Ministers. Sir Gopaldaswami expressed his gratification at the warm reception which His Highness's statement has received not only in Kashmir but throughout India. He did well to dispel the fear that the Cripps' scheme might lead to the establishment of several Unions. He said that the object of the scheme was avowedly only the creation of a single Union held together by a common allegiance to the Crown. The alternatives indicated in the statement issued under the authority of the British Government, will, Sir Gopaldaswami said, on examination be found to be unworkable. Sir Gopaldaswami was speaking specially with reference to the States. Mr. Jinnah in his address to the Working Committee of the Muslim League at Allahabad said the same about the alternatives in their application to provinces. The best and most straightforward course would be to leave out such illusory provisions, and declare unequivocally for a single Union.

The word, Union, itself is a misnomer. The unity of India will be symbolised by the Crown and not created by it. India is held together by geographical, historical, cultural and spiritual bonds and the Crown would be the symbol of an ancient, fundamental, existing unity. The word, Empire, would be more appropriate for it than the word, Union. Imperialism in the form of economic Imperialism has become odious to mankind. Even the Imperialist nations hold their noses when talking of it. But there have been other Empires and another Imperialism of an ennobling kind. Such was the Empire of Asoka. The advantage of the word "Empire" is that it admits of differences of culture and constitution within it, whereas "Union" presupposes a certain dead level of uniformity in all its constituent parts. Sir Gopaldaswami made it clear that Kashmir will adopt an elective system for returning representatives to the proposed Constituent Assembly. We notice that, as regards the powers of the Centre, the Kashmir Prime Minister's observations do not indicate the expectation that they would be far less than in the Act of 1935, which the Maharaja's statement did. Reading over the schedules to the Act, there are three and only three items which can be omitted from the Central subjects without impairing the capacity of the Centre to serve the country as a whole. These are the Aligarh and Benares Universities and the Lunatic

Asylum at Ranchi. On the other hand, all the powers now exercised by the Centre as a measure of war emergency, should be added to the list. War and peace are not two disparate conditions in the life of a State. A constitution which has to be completely upset at the outbreak of war is an unreal constitution. The true constitution will be such as can be easily adapted on the advent of war or peace. Sir Gopaldaswami rightly observed, "The wartime Government of British India would presumably be remodelled so as to pave the way for this development"—a radical change of the theory of Paramountcy.

Sir Gopaldaswami lent the full weight of his position to the demand for an Indian Defence Member in the interim arrangements. Special importance attaches to his support as Kashmir has one of the best equipped and highly trained State armies and Sir Gopaldaswami clearly contemplated the association of State armies with the British Indian under a single control in war time. He said:

Defence is an all-India matter and the Indian States are as vitally interested as the rest of India, as to who holds this portfolio and how it is administered. If India was going to be successfully defended against the threatening invader, the ordinary man in the street should be made to feel that it is a people's war and that he should contribute his best to winning the victory over the enemy. This achievement could be effected only if the appeal was made to them by their own leaders who, in addition to taking power, have, on their behalf, shouldered the responsibility of conducting the war to a successful conclusion. Deeply interested as they are in the victory of the Allies; not merely the patriotic but the correct and wise attitude for the Indian states to make public in this connection, is that they are no mere indifferent, spectators of this controversy between Sir Stafford Cripps and Indian political leaders but that they support the need at this juncture for a wholehearted acceptance of what the leaders of all political parties in the country and independent, thinking statesmen have unanimously demanded. There should really be no difficulty in the new Defence Member and the Commander-in-Chief working in unison in the conduct of the war.

This is a powerful plea for having an Indian Member of Government in charge of Defence. We have ourselves rather underestimated the importance of this insistent demand by British Indian leaders. In the light of Sir Gopaldaswami's weighty observations, the necessity for the change must be accepted as urgent. The suggestion made by Sir Gopaldaswami that in the interim arrangement the status of Political Adviser to the Crown representative should be raised to an equality with a Member of the Executive Council and that the incumbent should be one who has not only full knowledge of the requirements of the States but is also in close touch with the changed personnel of the Council which will be entirely Indian, is obviously the logical corollary of the change over to a national regime. The object in view can be best achieved and can, indeed, be achieved only by appointing an Indian well-conversant with States administration and enjoying the confidence of the leading Princes as well as the

people of the States. It is not difficult to find persons combining these qualifications, from among administrators and leaders of public opinion in the States. The closer intercourse which the Kashmir proposals are calculated to establish between British India and the States in the political and administrative sphere, will help the evolution of a new political system combining in itself the continuity and authority of a monarchy with the receptivity and responsiveness which the association of the popular element in the councils of government is calculated to impart. The British "limited monarchy" leaves the King without the power of doing not only wrong but also good. This is due largely to the fact that George I was a Hanoverian, ignorant of British ways and even of the English language, whom the English ruling class tolerated and distrusted. Therefore, the British system does not get the full benefit which monarchy is capable of yielding.

THE NEW DELHI NEGOTIATIONS.

There are several indications to show which way the Cripps-Nehru straw is blowing. A significant suggestion occurs in both the Liberal statement on the Cripps scheme and in the memorandum issued by the No-Party leaders, Messrs. Jayakar and Sapru. The British proposals should be rendered acceptable by the War Cabinet by omitting all reference to the political structure of India after the War. In effect this would be reverting to the Congress demand for a provisional National Government. If this seems the substance of the settlement now being transacted, a great deal of confusion prevails about the negotiations carried on by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress President with Sir Stafford-Cripps, directly as well as through Mr. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's representative. On Thursday afternoon it was most definitely stated that an agreement had been arrived at between the two Congress leaders and Sir Stafford Cripps and that the Congress Party had decided to participate in a National Government. On Friday morning, it appeared that things were not as promising as had appeared earlier, and the impression is that the Congress Working Committee, since it deliberated for four hours over what the Pandit and the President had brought from Sir Stafford, did not see eye to eye with these leaders who, it might be safely assumed, would not bother overmuch in running about between Cripps, Johnson and the Congress Working Committee unless they themselves felt personally attracted by the possibilities of settlement. Gandhiji's leaving Delhi resembles nothing so much as retirement in the light of subsequent events, and, if the Azad-Nehru combination does not succeed, it seems that the Congress will repeat itself in harking back once again to non-violence and Gandhiji in the absence of achieving a provisional National Government,

Mr. Savarkar, on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha, has offered cooperation through the Bombay Governor, and will be given two seats in the Central Government. The reactions of the Muslim League are not yet available but it may be inferred that the leaders of that party also will form part of the Government if the future political structure of India is left nebulous. Further details will be forthcoming during the week-end.

Press reports have been consistently discouraging. Sir Stafford Cripps was receding more and more into the background and Mr. Johnson, President Roosevelt's personal representative, was taking a large share in the negotiations. A message to the effect that Pandit Jawaharlal had prolonged consultations for nearly two hours with Mr. Johnson and that after it Mr. Johnson saw Sir Stafford for ten minutes, conveyed an impression that British and American opinion was diverging. This would have had a far-reaching effect on the war effort. However, it is now evident that American opinion has been an important factor in the negotiations.

Opinion in the United States, if it was accurately reflected in the reports of editorials cabled out to India during the past week, has been out of touch with White House. These were generally impatient of any delay in considering the proposals and sought to hustle Indian parties to commit themselves to the solution. Obviously the impatience was dictated by the war and would have shown itself whatever the scheme. As the week wore out, however, opinion seemed to be steadying itself in the United States and a more detached attitude was shown. The cables had little effect in India as Indian political opinion has never looked to the United States for any useful intervention. Mr. Johnson's part in the peace manoeuvres at Delhi is not definitely known at present but the indications are that it is an important one. In itself, this is as surprising a development in Indo-British relations as any that has occurred even under the stress of war.

"Asia for Asiatics":—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru does not believe in Japan's sincerity in professing as its aim "Asia for the Asiatics" because of Japan's record in Korea and Manchuria. He would apparently endorse such a slogan if he were confident of the sincerity of its protagonist. The slogan has little appeal for thinking men. But this does not mean that they stand for "Asia for Europeans." As repeatedly declared, *The Reformer* does not believe in any continental slogan of the kind. There are not too many men of goodwill in any part of the world and if it is only by all of them, wherever they may be, working together that even a small advance can be made towards the goal of human brotherhood. Moreover, as events are proving every day, countries and continents are not isolated but have to share one another's burdens.

SOME HISTORICAL MISCONCEPTIONS.

In his learned address in opening the Exhibition of "The Book in India," held in Bombay under the auspices of the All-India Library Conference last week, Mr. K. M. Munshi made some observations which call for notice. "The early Aryans," he said, "scorned to inscribe or engrave the immortal Word on transient material. They preferred to rely on human memory, which they converted into an undying vehicle for the transmission of culture. But the fact that the Vedas were not reduced to writing need not lead us to the conclusion that the art of writing was unknown in the Vedic days," Mr. Munshi did not adduce any evidence of the existence of the art of writing in Vedic times. Human memory is not and was never a more permanent or reliable medium of transmitting knowledge than writing. The composers of the Vedic hymns would certainly have preferred to reduce them to writing if writing was known in their time. An elaborate technique for memorising the Vedas with the proper intonation, is still practised in the schools for training purohiths, but it is fast passing out of use and can be preserved only in gramophone records. That the memorising method persisted long after writing became common, does not show that writing was considered less permanent as a means of record than memory.

Babu Bhagvan Das published some years ago a book of about 20,000 verses called "Pranavavada" taken down to dictation from a blind Pandit. Some ten years later an ancient manuscript of the work was found in the Travancore State Library where other ancient manuscripts have since been discovered. In a famous essay entitled "Literature without Letters" Max Muller showed that there were great literary compositions before writing was invented. There is a tendency to overrate the importance of literacy in modern times. Illiteracy is regarded as synonymous with ignorance. It is forgotten that great Empires were founded by men who could neither read nor write. Jesus Christ surprised his contemporaries by displaying knowledge of the Hebrew scriptures without having learnt to read and write. Gautama Buddha was highly educated after the manner of his time but we do not read that he wrote anything during his long ministry. The authors of the "Vedic Index" take 500 B. C. as the limit separating the Vedic from the later periods but evidently writing was not known until a much later period. Also, the spoken word has a power which written words do not have.

Mr. Munshi's reference to the period between the 13th and 15th centuries as a tragic one when a wave of vandalism destroyed hundreds of libraries and hundreds of thousands of manuscripts, has provoked a mild protest from the *Bombay Chronicle*. But historical facts cannot be denied and there was much vandalism under the early Mahomedan rulers who were actuated by zeal for the spread of Islam by the destruction of Hindu temples which had also often great libraries. With the establishment of the Moghul Empire this intolerance disappeared except for a brief but acute recrudescence in the reign of Aurangzebe. Literature and arts were patronised, Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Prince Dara Shikoh himself translated the Upanishads. Dr. Murray Titus in his sympathetic and comprehensive study "Indian Islam", in the Religious Quest of India series, writes:

With the coming of Babar and the founding of the Moghul Empire this hope (Islamization of India) seems

to have been very largely set aside for the more practical and reasonable policy of government for the good of the people. The intolerant spirit, begotten of the older Arab influence, gave place to a more kindly spirit of tolerance and appreciation of the indomitable Hindus, the people of the country. In this period even the Afghan, Sher Shah, in his interregnum, showed that a new spirit had been awakened; and Akbar carried it to the fullest extent of realisation.

Dr. Titus adds that Aurangzebe alone among the Moghuls showed a determination to revive the old policy but even he was forced to recognise the limitations of his task. While Aurangzebe's misplaced zeal called forth opposition from Hindus, there was no revolt against the Moghul Empire as such. The Emperors who succeeded Aurangzebe, were recognised and, even when Mabdaji Scindia captured Delhi, he acted as the Emperor's Minister and the Peishwa himself accepted the position of Viceroy under the Emperor.

Lord Roberts in his "Forty-One Years in India" speaks of the Hindus as having ousted Mahomedan rule. "Mahomedans looked back to the days of their Empire in India," he writes, "but failed to remember how completely, until we broke the Mahratta power, the Hindus had got the upper hand." In his own account of the causes of the Indian Mutiny, however, Lord Roberts mentions the deprivation of the Emperor of his Sovereign title and ousting him and his family from the Palace at Delhi by Lord Dalhousie. As soon as he arrived in India, Dalhousie had obtained the sanction of the East India Company to the abolition of the title of King which had been conferred on Bahadur Shah, and his removal with his family from Delhi, under the impression "that the Princes of India and the people had become entirely indifferent to the condition of the King or his position." It took two years for the sanction to be received and, meanwhile, Dalhousie realised that his estimate of the King's hold on the Indian people required modification. He decided that no action should be taken during the lifetime of Bahadur Shah and contented himself with a document, signed and sealed by the Heir Apparent, that he would have to give up the title and leave Delhi on the death of his father. Lord Roberts points out that this was bound to be regarded by the family as humiliating and oppressive.

The *Modern Review* for April exposes another strange misconception on the part of the Hon. Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Labour Member of the Government of India and for some years High Commissioner for India in London. In a book in the "British Commonwealth Pictorial Series" Sir Feroze Khan writes that in 1757 the defeat of the French General, Dupleix, by Clive at Plassey made England the paramount trading power in India. Dupleix, the *Modern Review* points out, left India in 1754 and the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Dowlah, was the potentate whom Clive fought and defeated at Plassey in 1757. This should more properly be called a school boy howler than a historical misconception. In a chronological summary, Sir Feroze entirely omits the Mahratta and Sikh movements. This is writing history "with a purpose", commonly known as "propaganda."

I do not hanker after another life. A series of futile lives should be intolerable to those who want another life to remedy the futility of this one. I am losing sense of personality, therefore of judgment upon myself. One is prepared to meet any fate if one has the assurance of having used brain and heart and limb to their fullest capacity. That assurance usually fails in retrospect.—B. J. PADSHAH.

FIFTY YEARS OF SOUTH INDIAN EPIGRAPHY.*

(By S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, CHIDAMBARAM.)

Rome conquered Greece; but Greek culture held Rome in bondage. Similarly the military conquest of India by the British was followed by an age of European discovery of the great Indian heritage in the realms of literature, philosophy and art; and in the flush of the joy of discovery European scholars laid the foundations of a great Renaissance in India and under the fostering care and the unbounded admiration of western savants for an ancient culture, India herself began to discover her greatness in the past and at the hour of despair when she lay prostrate at the feet of the foreigner, there came the message of hope and the dreams of new aspirations.

It was in the time of Warren Hastings that the first steps were taken towards this great enterprise. The need to frame a Code of Laws for the conquered—the Hindus and the Muslims—led to the study of Sanskrit and Persian literature and their Codes. In 1784, Sir William Jones established at Calcutta the Asiatic Society of Bengal and it was followed in 1823 by the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain in England by Henry Thomas Colebrooke. By deciphering the scripts in Greek and Brahmi on the bilingual coin of the Satraps of Sourashtra (1837), Jones himself laid the foundation of the study of the Asokan inscriptions and thereby of Indian Archaeology.

'Clemency' Canning saw the need for preserving the architectural remains of India and he has recorded in a minute of 1862 that "it is impossible to pass through any part of the British territories in India without being struck by the neglect with which the greater portion of the architectural remains and the traces of by-gone civilization, have been treated, though many of them are full of beauty and interest."

Owing to this urge, the Government of India appointed Sir Alexander Cunningham as the First Archaeological Surveyor and he held this office with credit from 1861-65 and again from 1870-85. In his Memorandum (1871) Cunningham stated:

During the 100 years of British Dominion in India, the Government has done little or nothing towards the preservation of its ancient monuments which in the almost total absence of any written history, form the only reliable sources of information as to the early condition of the country. Some of the monuments have already endured for ages, and are likely to last for ages still to come, but there are many others which are daily suffering from the effects of time and which must soon disappear altogether, unless preserved by the accurate drawings and faithful descriptions of the archaeologist.

How valuable his work, how great his admiration, how wonderful his knowledge and insight—these will be evident from his monumental reports.

James Fergusson worked on the Rock-cut Cave Temples of India, James Burgess took up the Archaeological Survey of Western India. Colonel Colin Mackenzie collected the legends and copies of nearly 8,076 inscriptions of South India. Sir Walter Elliot followed up his work and later made a study of South Indian coins. Robert Sewell introduced the Archaeological Survey of Southern

India and prepared a list of ancient remains and their legendary and epigraphical riches by a village-war survey throughout the Madras Presidency. Similar work for Mysore was done by Wilks and Rice.

The appointment of Dr. Hultzsch as the head of the newly created Epigraphical Department in 1887 marked an epoch in South Indian Archaeology. The Epigraphical survey of the places of the Madras Presidency together with that of some selected places in the adjoining states of Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukottai, has resulted in the course of half a century, in the collection and decipherment of over 24,000 inscriptions and about 500 copperplate grants.

Hultzsch holds a unique place in Indian Archaeology. His vast erudition, his deep interest, his thorough mastery of the technical equipment, his extensive linguistic knowledge perhaps paralleled only by Grierson, above all the soundness of his judgment, have left a deep impress on Indian Archaeological work and after his retirement in 1903, he was followed by a band of able Indian scholars, Venkayya, Gopinatha Rao and others and it is gratifying to note that we have in these Reports 'a veritable mine of information' of dynastic list, of kings and their doings, the customs and manners of the people of South India—a vast store-house of raw-materials of South Indian history.

The golden jubilee of the South Indian Epigraphical Department has been silently but rightly celebrated by the publication of two lists—one a Subject Index in which the vast Epigraphical material is arranged under each dynasty and king, and another a list of inscriptions copied by the office up to 1938 arranged according to Village, Taluk and District, together with a list of inscriptions published and a list of copper plates examined. We have, no doubt, the valuable Topographical List of Inscriptions prepared by Mr. V. Rangachariar but it stops with 1916 and the present lists supply a much-felt want and will serve as a valuable work of reference for years to come.

We wish the Department issues the already prepared Name-Index without much delay.

The list of inscriptions would have gained greater value if full topographical particulars of each monument—its location in the village, and the number of monuments in each village and the best way of approach to each by rail or road—were supplied in the list as was done by Sewell. We trust that at least a new list on the lines indicated will be undertaken in the near future.

Another suggestion that we would like to make, is that all inscriptions already published in a private journal like the *Madras Christian College Magazine* to which the reference is given in the Index, should be republished by the department—at least the bare text—as it is found difficult to procure odd numbers of these old journals for reference.

We must congratulate Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamaoharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and his able staff on their excellent idea to bring out these invaluable guides and they are indirectly a tribute to the indefatigable labours of the Department of the Director-General of Archaeology under its present head, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit—the second Indian to occupy this important post.

*1. Subject-Index to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (1887-1938) by Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamaoharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

2. List of Inscriptions copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras—(collected up to 1938.)

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

JANUARY 2, 1932.

Colon, Panama.

I was led away from the ship in a motor car to Lake Gatun where two ships were obligingly waiting to give me a chance of seeing them hauled up and down the locks by the Panama Canal's power arrangements; their waiting at the upper gates till the water in the lower filled up to the ship's level—and then the chain in front which barred the further progress of the ship, sank, the gate in front automatically opened and the ship passed on. I was alone in the car. The chauffeur told me that one of the gates weighted 550 tons, that the dam cost 18 million dollars and that, therefore, the golf-links behind it was called the 18 million golf-links.

I was given the names of trees, birds and lizards as we passed. I actually saw a lizard six feet with tail and all crossing the road. I had been shown many on trees but the lizard's hues and make-up were those of vegetation and I could not distinguish those from the green.

Among the trees I remember the bulrush used for matting, the wild date palm whose fruit falls without being gathered because not edible, the silk cotton tree whose product is not usable, the star-apple which the chauffeur ate with gusto because I would not touch anything between meals, and the breadfruit which is a savoury cooked edible.

The chauffeur corrected several of my misimpressions. I had not seen Panama city but Colon, part of the Panama Republic; that Colon was a swamp and is now a flourishing city of houses largely inhabited by workers on the American Zone who came to Colon because of the insufficiency of houses on the Zone; that hardly any business was done on the Zone except by the military, and in relation with the military who owned all property and ran every concern, such as hospitals, clubs, dairy farms, and leased land to Chinese cultivators to grow vegetables for the army; and that the gold and silver distinctions have been inherited from the construction times, being originally distinctions between Americans and aliens, coloured people from Jamaica, and apply only to Canal employees, and at the Cristobal Post Office because it is run by the Canal military. He says there are a good many Japanese barbers in Colon but not one in Cristobal.

JANUARY 4, 1932.

After Cartagena

.....the first port of the Republic of Colombia. The ship seemed destined to watch the billowing waters roar for evermore; but a pause came when we sighted Colombia a little before lunch and watched the beautifully coloured waters, with rainbow within, separated by a long narrow stretch of whiteness which I take to be coral, and the greenness on the visible slopes. We did not see much greenness on shore, but houses, streets, motor-cars, lorries, shops, offices, fortresses, cathedrals, restaurants, parks, places and public buildings, as in Spain.

The population of Cartagena is 85 thousand; of Barranquilla (the next port) 160 thousand. It is a mixed population—Spanish, Red Indian, Negro, hybrid. There is a sprinkling of Asiatics, including Hindus, but the Chinese are the most numerous.

There are horse-hackney vehicles and donkey-carts as well as buses, taxis and motors I observed

no trams. Men and women were smartly dressed as well as squalidly; there were complaints of business depression. There must be cotton factories about, for cotton from New Orleans was being unloaded from our ship when we returned.

JANUARY 5, 1932.

We touched Port Colombia this morning. As this is a Spanish-speaking community, there has been no English paper though there are morning and evening papers—the latter being called *The Times*.

We passed through a quarter where we noticed a Deutscher Club, a Deutscher Schule and a Kindergarten. It must have been the German quarter. Germans stay on for years without a holiday home, even intermarry here.

JANUARY 6, 1932.

At Santa Marta

My last port in the cruise. We sail at midnight for Kingston. All day the ship has been loading bananas.

The sea and sky are the bluest of blues. For the rest, the population is 25,000 composite (Foreign, Spanish, Red Indian, Mixed, Negro).

The ship's doctor has been a good companion all day. He could discuss South American politics, explained to me that Honduras lies between Guatamela and Nicaragua; all three have the same character of population, with the governing class almost entirely of Spanish descent, yet preferring to keep separate States, Honduras being the make-weight, giving preponderance now to one, now the other.

He quoted Father Kelly, a fellow-passenger, as having said that the Catholic Church is sometimes unwisely led. I suggested that Father Kelly was S. J., and that the Society of Jesus and the Church sometimes went different ways.

JANUARY 8, 1932.

Kingston, Jamaica

The *Gleaner* of today had columns of telegrams from India full of detail, and the opinion of London on the Viceroy's action [Lord Willingdon's suppression of the Civil Disobedience movement] and the apparent support in India of it, judging from the response made by leaders to the invitation of the Viceroy who seems to be on firm ground in basing his alienation of the Congress on the need to clear the way for the R. T. C. Committees when they arrive; and in not making the arrests punitive, even pampering the political prisoners, in Mr. Gandhi's own phrase. Even if the Government fails, it is in the interests of the country that it should give evidence that the Constitution was not a concession to threat, but a seeking, however blundering, by a nation wedded to constitutions, to find the appropriate Constitution for India. And if the Government succeeds and then gives a Constitution, there could be no pretence to exalt a policy of extortions by menace. Had there been no occasion to show firmness, the grant of the Constitution would have been like Lloyd George's surrender in Ireland; if events move and prove the worth of Lord Willingdon's policy, it will be like the free gift of self-government to South Africa by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman which proved its value by General Botha's loyalty in the Great War.

There is a good article in the *Gleaner* on the manoeuvring for position between Hitler and

Chancellor Bruning. It seems that Hitler's position is stronger than generally assumed, and Bruning is even shrewder than he gets credit for.

JANUARY 9, 1932.

...the local paper talks of a strange disease, called catarrh of the stomach which troubles nearly everybody, and which a recent visitor to Jamaica has got over by means of Jamaica rum. It looked to me like an advertisement... The statement was part of a letter from London in which great play is made of the astuteness of Germany, borrowing more than she needed, paying reparations out of private borrowing, and, when the bankers who had borrowed from France and lent to Government at 2 per cent over, expected to burst through their debtors' inability to pay, they suddenly received a thousand million, averting panic. The letter says that there is not brain enough in the National Government to put things straight.

JANUARY 10, 1932.

..... in the hotel..... I asked Mr. Fullbrooke, a great traveller, what he thought of the proposal that England and France should hand over their West Indies possessions to the United States in return for being excused their debts. He said that England cannot give up Jamaica without the consent of its people and the coloured people are too well-content to give the consent. I said that I am not so sure of the consent being withheld, seeing that the legislature calls for the postponement of the annual payment to England of £60,000 a year towards the War. The newspaper complains that England does not care a hang to retain Jamaica; she has just now withdrawn her trade commission. But the paper does not support the demand to postpone contribution; it cites an Englishman with £800 income paying £96 in income-tax when a Jamaican would pay £4. Why should a Jamaican complain of the slight increase of tax through the war contribution? I was told that all the wealth of the coloured folk and others was made during the War and after; the increase of tax arising from the war, is only a fraction of the wealth arising from the war. But there it is, people ought not to grumble but they do, and if they think England indifferent besides, they would give their consent. And then, England might wish to save the £46,000,000 a year which, at the present dollar rate, she pays to the U. S. No, no, said Mr. Fullbrooke, no debtor is bound to pay if he has not the money, and if the creditor takes care that he does not have it. Germany cannot pay France and England; France cannot pay England. France and England cannot pay the U.S.A. That is all there is to it.

JANUARY 11, 1932.

After my conversation with Mr. Fullbrooke I read in *Nature* the Presidential Address to the Agricultural Section of the British Association; it says that agriculture had been prosperous in Britain till 1890; then on the improvement of transport and construction of refrigerator ships and agricultural machinery dispensing with manpower, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the U. S. sent to the United Kingdom, wheat, meat, fruit at prices with which the British farmer could not compete. But activity had revived, and prosperity returned before 1910, thanks to science being applied to agriculture—not chemistry merely as before 1898, when Crookes predicted starvation for the world before 1932 but biology, engineering, machinery, irrigation and the rest. Then came the war and the high prices; landlords sold out to get ready money; tenants, not wishing to be dispossessed at the time of high prices, paid heavily to retain possession; the interest

charged exceeded the rents they had been paying, and they had to maintain roads and houses which formerly had been done out of the rent, and the prices of crops fell and the world communication introduced pests as well as trade; and British farming lost and is losing heavily.

As I read this, I asked, how if Jamaica's prosperity went through the same phase? The United Fruit Company heavily buying banana properties, and banana prices being halved, was very much a familiar story.

Mr. Fullbrooke was exercised about our discussion last night about England ceding the West Indies to the U. S.; and he has been consulting Jamaicans about it.

FULL-TIME A. R. P. SERVICE IN CALCUTTA.

The A. R. P. Organization in Calcutta has so long been based on a part-time volunteer staff of Chief Wardens, Post Wardens and Deputy Post Wardens. These have constituted the Officers' ranks in the Wardens' service, and under them have been employed both volunteers and paid Sector Wardens.

As the time of danger approaches nearer, it is, however, being felt that a proper organisation of the Wardens' service needs officers who must be able to give their full time and energy to the work and be available for duty at every hour of the day or night, says a Press Note. In order to be really efficient the service must function as a well-knit and perfectly disciplined organisation working under unified control. It is obvious that this cannot be achieved with Volunteer Officers, who, in spite of their keenness, are necessarily preoccupied with their own employment or professions and who can only give their spare time to A. R. P. work.

The question of reorganisation of the Wardens' service and the replacement of the Volunteer Officers by a full-time paid staff has been under consideration for sometime. After full inquiries the proposals were placed before the newly-constituted Central A. R. P. Committee, which consists of some of the leading and representative citizens of Calcutta. After careful consideration the committee accepted the principle of the proposed reorganisation at its meeting held on the 30th March last. Government now propose to implement the decision of the Committee.

The post of the Chief Warden will be abolished and the Wardens' service will be placed under the charge of a full-time paid staff officer in each Sub-Area. The volunteer Post Wardens and Deputy Post Wardens will be replaced by paid Post Wardens.

This will still leave considerable scope for citizens rendering useful service as volunteer Sector Wardens.

Government also recognise the necessity of close collaboration between the services and the public and of suggestions, and assistance in the formulation of policy and constructive criticism from the representatives of the public. The Central A. R. P. Committee will serve this very useful purpose. Closer contact with local opinion will be maintained by the immediate formation of Sub-Area Committees, which will consist of representative citizens selected by the Central A. R. P. Committee.

Government desire to record their appreciation of the services rendered by Chief Wardens and other Volunteer officers, who have helped them in building up the organisation in times of comparative safety and who have to be replaced by full-time paid officers now to meet the requirements of the situation.

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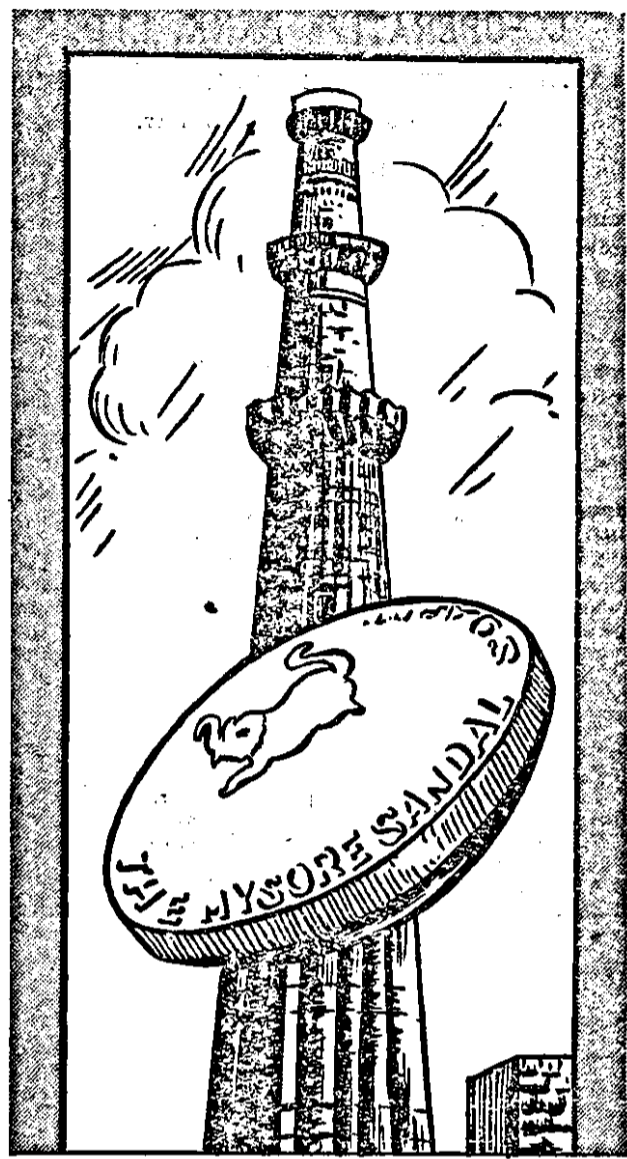
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VOL. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY APRIL 18, 1942. No. 33.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Diplomatic Representation at the Vatican.	The Cripps Plan and the Delhi Breakdown.
Pandit Jawaharlal on "Scorched Earth."	Indian States and India's Unity.
After the Cripps Mission.	The Case of Indian States People.
Press Comments.	J. B. Patil on Cremation.
Lord Halifax in the U. S. A.	Some Stray Thoughts.
Financial Aid to Evacuees.	Vichy and Germany.
Books Classification.	Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Tahmuras B. Dubash.	Japan and the Vatican.
Anand Shankar Dhruva.	

NOTES.

Diplomatic Representation at the Vatican:— Several observers have noted the growth of the Catholic Church in influence as a significant sign of our time. A symptom of this growth is the desire of non-Catholic Governments which until some years ago did not care to have diplomatic representatives at the Vatican, to have such representation. Japan and Russia are the latest to request permission to accredit representatives to the Holy See. Russia's request is said to be under consideration; that of Japan has been complied with. This has led to some adverse criticism. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Madras in a statement published in the *New Leader* refutes the criticisms. The Archbishop points out that since the Reformation Great Britain had no diplomatic representative at the Vatican until 1914 and that the Vatican sent a diplomat to London only in 1939. The United States likewise was not represented at the Vatican until the beginning of this war when President Roosevelt sent Mr. Philip Myron as his personal envoy. The Constitution of the U. S. A. requires the approval of the Senate for all nominations of Secretaries of State and Ambassadors but "personal representatives" do not need the Senate's approval. If the President had sought the sanction of the Senate for an envoy to the Vatican, he could have obtained it only with much difficulty. Even the despatch of the personal envoy was strongly attacked in the Christian Press as the thin end of the wedge towards Papacy. Another criticism of the Japanese appointment was that the Vatican never exchanged representatives with non-Christian countries. The Archbishop says that there are Apostolic Delegates in all the non-Christian countries of Asia and Africa, one in India since 1887 and one in China since 1922, and one in Japan for many years. The Archbishop denies that the acceptance of a diplomatic representative means that the Vatican approves of Japan's foreign policy. Russia, he points out, has a diplo-

matic representative in Japan which is at war with Russia's Allies, Britain and the United States. Turkey which is Britain's Ally, has the redoubtable Von Papen as Germany's ambassador at Ankara. The Archbishop denies that the action of the Vatican is due to pressure from Germany and Italy and sets forth a series of events to show that it is the natural corollary of those events in the relations between the two States. We reprint this part of his statement elsewhere.

Pandit Jawaharlal on "Scorched Earth":— Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whom an English newspaper by a freak of the printer's devil described as Bandit Jawaharlal, in the course of a Press Conference last Sunday at New Delhi, stated his views on "the scorched earth" policy. He said that, if he were the National Government, he would have burnt and destroyed everything that could help the enemy, not caring whose private property it was. But the British Government, as it is constituted today, he feared, if it adopted that policy, would carry it out in a perverted way, hampering partly the enemy and Indian industries a great deal more. He was not, therefore, prepared to approve of its adopting that policy. In other words, the Pandit has no objection in principle to the scorched earth policy. Indeed, he approves of it and would adopt it if he were the Government. In parenthesis, it may be stated here that everything in presentday war is likely to be of value to the enemy. The distinction of contraband has practically ceased. It is difficult to think of anything which can not be directly or indirectly useful to the enemy. Pandit Jawaharlal has not answered the objection to the scorched earth policy on the ground of its futility. The destruction of the Dneiper Dam did not prevent the Germans crossing into the Ukraine where they are still entrenched. The destruction of the Singapore granite causeway did not prevent the Japanese occupying the place after repairing it in a day or two. Military engineers expect such occurrences and are ready with means of meeting them. The policy has been adopted only in cases where the defenders have for the time being lost all hope of successfully resisting the enemy. The destruction of food crops in pursuance of the scorched earth policy is, perhaps, more immediately effective against the defenders than against the enemy who brings

his own supplies. No people who entertain the slightest hope of recovering lost ground, will indulge in this policy of destruction. On general grounds also, the destruction of works which had engaged human energy for long periods, is repugnant to the creative element in human nature, the most valuable in it.

After the Cripps Mission:—There is a personal side to the Cripps Mission which has assumed an undeserved importance. It was pathetic to see, before Sir Stafford's arrival in India, high British officials stressing his sincerity and goodwill to India as though all the other Britons who have dealt with this country were not of equal sincerity and friendliness. Sir Stafford himself leant rather heavily on his admiration for India to which he harked back repeatedly in his pronouncements. All these, however, are like the flowers that bloom in the spring. Equally touching was Pandit Jawaharlal's fervent references to resistance to aggression, his sympathy for Russia and for China—and equally irrelevant. On the theory when in trouble abuse the plaintiff's attorney, Sir Stafford in his farewell broadcast gave a long recital of the sins of the Axis Powers which was out of place in a statement on the failure of his mission. When Pandit Jawaharlal says that he is surprised how far the Congress went to meet the British and talks of the humiliations he has had to put up with, he is practically telling the Government that further he could not have carried the Congress with him. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan occupies an analogous position in the Muslim League. After one wistful statement commending the Cripps scheme, he has come to order under Mr. Jinnah. The mystery man in the negotiations is Colonel Louis Johnson, the U. S. President's personal representative and head of the American economic mission to India. Apparently he did not agree with Sir Stafford Cripps. There has been an exchange between Sir Stafford and Congress leaders about the part played by Mr. Johnson in the negotiations. Sir Stafford accused Congressmen of having sought Mr. Johnson's aid. Both Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal have retorted that Mr. Johnson intervened of his own accord and on his own initiative. Mr. Johnson has not deemed it necessary to throw any light on the subject though he is the only man who can do it. No doubt he has informed President Roosevelt. In a statement at Cairo, Sir Stafford has said that the defence of India is very sound and that he cannot say more without giving information useful to the enemy. This is reassuring and in the ultimate analysis is more important at the moment than any political settlement. His confidence will be of the greatest value to the British War Cabinet which is vitally interested in the military position of India. It was a significant feature of the Cripps plan that, while every vital issue, including the unity of India, was to be submitted to the chances of a plebiscite,

self-determination did not extend to India's deciding even at this twelfth hour on taking on the war commitments of Britain. India's right to decide on war or peace was the issue on which the Congress first broke with the Government throwing away its position of authority in eight provinces. But it was not raised in their talks with Cripps by Pandit Jawaharlal and the Congress President who have thus nullified the Congress agitation of the past two years. And, in this respect, the Cripps Mission has succeeded admirably.

Press Comments:—Chance comments in the press indicate that much of the verbiage let loose on the public is padding to hide dissensions within all the camps. The *Statesman* of Calcutta after accusing the bureaucracy of duping Cripps, suggests that enough consideration was not shown to the Viceroy, adding with naive subtlety that Sir Maurice Gwyer would function very well as Viceroy. The *Hindustan Times* in a thank-God-for-small-mercies spirit asks people to note that the breakdown can not be set down to Azad or Sardar Patel but to Nehru whose name, it says, is sweet to Anglo-American ears. The *Times of India* Delhi correspondent breaks the sober traditions of that newspaper by excelling the nationalist press in charging Cripps with speaking the language of Amercy.

Lord Halifax in the U. S. A. The presence of Lord Halifax in Washington and his eagerness to air his views on the Indian situation at this juncture, are worth to this country more than half a dozen experienced Indian publicists deputed to that country to tell the Americans the truth about it. Lord Halifax, to begin with, has, as British Ambassador, not been a conspicuous success. When he last came to Britain on a holiday it was expected that he would not return to Washington. But he did and that has been, indeed, a rare good fortune to India. Every time he speaks on India he, we may be sure, incites the intelligent American to a critical scrutiny of his facts so obviously irreconcilable with American political and economic beliefs. The other day he told them that millions of Indians outside the Congress are ready to enlist in the Indian Army if equipment was made available. The intelligent American would certainly have wondered why equipment can not be found for Indians while it is being sent to Russia, China and the other members of the United Nations Front. He may also ask why, when so much man power is available for the Army, it has not been, during the last century and a quarter, enlisted in industrial production. He must also ask what these men, millions of them who can be drawn into the Army if there was sufficient equipment, are doing at present, in what gainful occupation they are engaged. Lord Halifax naively observed with reference to the failure of the Cripps mission that it has demonstrated the sincerity of the British Government in promising self-government to India on the cessation of hostilities, which, according to

President Roosevelt's latest computation will be three years hence. The intelligent American can not fail to ask if offering the States of the Union the option of remaining in it or quitting it, would be an offer which he and his countrymen would regard as an offer of self-government. Lord Halifax implied that the sincerity of the British Government was in doubt and had to be established. After all, the opinion of the leaders of the Indian people will carry with impartial outsiders more weight than the *ipse dixit* of the British Ambassador who is unable to forget that he was once Viceroy of India.

Financial Aid to Evacuees:—Following close on the assurances by the Central Government that there is no discrimination in the treatment of evacuees by officials, certainly none on racial grounds, comes the disquieting information from the Nagpur correspondent of the *Hindu* of instructions issued by Delhi to provincial administrations. The message reads:

A circular letter addressed by the Government of India, to Provincial Governments, suggesting the scales of assistance to be given to different classes of evacuees has given rise to indignation among the public here. Government suggest that European and Anglo-Indian evacuees are to be given Rs. 85 per head, the maximum for one family being Rs. 500. In the case of other evacuees, the allowance ranges between Rs. 15 and Rs. 25, according to the status of the individual. All this money is recoverable from the evacuees at later date.

This is fantastic and should, if untrue, have been denied promptly. The suggestion that the money advanced to evacuees is to be recovered at a later date, is ludicrous.

Books Classification:—Dr. Bhupendra Nath Guha, Public Librarian, Allahabad read a learned paper on "India's Contribution to the Science of Classification." In it he referred to various schemes of arranging books in a large Library. The *vargas* of the old Sanskrit classical writers were not intended for library purposes. They were rather a classification of the various branches of knowledge. We are now having men specially trained for the function of Librarians. One of the ablest Librarians we have known was the late Mr. Tiverekar of the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He could not only guide one to where a particular book was to be found but he could also help one to reference on many subjects displaying a knowledge of the exterior as well as the contents of the books. Large Libraries, however, can afford to employ well-paid experts. The most difficult problem is that of the private owner who is faced with problems relating not so much to classification but to the shelving and preservation of books at a cost which is not prohibitive to middle class incomes. A house without books, some one has said, is a body without a soul. To have books in the house is the best antidote to ennui and to the tendency to gossip. People who read one book at a time, may have their needs supplied from a public library. But those whose interests extend beyond a few shelves

and especially those who require references frequently, must own their books and see that they are available to them at any moment. The first problem is how to preserve the books when one has got them. The best method known locally seems to be spray them with Flit or some substance of the kind now and then. Then as regards accommodating the books. Should they be stored in closed or open shelves? A new problem has arisen on account of war conditions. Books are deprecated as being inflammable and dangerous to keep from the Air Raid Precautionary point of view.

Tehmurus B. Dubash:—We regret to announce the death last Saturday of Tehmurus B. Dubash, Assistant Manager of the Commercial Printing Press, at the early age of 47 after three weeks of acute suffering. Tehmurus, as he was known to his wide circle of friends, was a genial spirit. He took the keenest interest in the men who worked under him and it was in the press amongst the men that he was in his element. Even when he lost his temper—and the strain of press work can be very trying—he could suddenly turn the gravity of the situation with a joke and a laugh which it was impossible to resist. There was no difficulty which he would not overcome, leaving all parties satisfied. His death is a sad loss to the Commercial Printing Press and to this journal.

Anand Shankar Dhruva:—The death of Professor Anand Shankar Dhruva leaves a void in the world of scholarship, the depth of which those who were not personally acquainted with him, and his work cannot adequately appreciate. It is almost incongruous to use the word "personal" in relation to him and his work. The great and outstanding difference between Western and Eastern ways of thinking is the emphasis on personality by the former and the total absence of it in the latter. One may notice this in the prominence which is accorded in word and picture to European generals and the almost total anonymity of Asiatic commanders who are proving themselves in every respect equal in the art and strategy of war. Professor Dhruva's scholarship had more width and depth than that of several others whose names are found more frequently in newspapers and reviews. But he was an authority to whom one turned with perfect confidence for information and advice that would be absolutely uncoloured by bias of any kind. His great work during the latter part of his life was the building up of the Benares Hindu University. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as Vice-Chancellor had to attend to the replenishing of the resources of a rapidly expanding University. It was on Professor Dhruva as pro-Vice-Chancellor that the arduous duties fell of carrying on the day-to-day work of administration, in addition to his work as Principal and Professor of the most important College. He was the embodiment of Hindu culture and philosophy of life in its finest form.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 13, 1942.

THE CRIPPS PLAN AND THE DELHI BREAKDOWN.

There have been, during the week, statement and counter-statement on the Cripps episode at Delhi. Out of these slowly a picture of what happened is forming in men's minds. It must be borne in mind that the published letters are but footnotes to the prolonged talks which went on for over three weeks between the chief negotiators. Even so, however, there are some points which are beyond reasonable doubt. The Cripps Plan, though it was said to be one whole and to be considered as such, was one which naturally fell into three parts: The most important was the plan for the future which was to be operative "unless leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agreed upon some other form"—we quote from the declaration itself. The second part was the responsibility for Defence which Sir Stafford was very definite could not be handed over to Indian control during the war even if opinion in India unanimously demanded it, and which must be borne by the Commander-in-Chief with the advice of the War Cabinet in Whitehall. Lastly, there were the proposals for an interim Government of India which were left to the Governor-General—"we have not attempted and should not attempt to take that responsibility out of his hands," said Sir Stafford at a Press conference. In other words the work of Sir Stafford Cripps, as the representative of the British War Cabinet, was to persuade Indians to accept the first unalterable part of the scheme—the only part to which the words "just and final" applied.

Sir Stafford Cripps was able to manage his part of the job if not satisfactorily at least unobtrusively. The Congress leaders who had denounced the future plans for India, practically consented to waive their objections in view of what they felt was the immediate necessity of arriving at a provisional National Government at the Centre, losing sight of Sir Stafford's repeated warning that the scheme went as a whole. The Muslim League resolution dismisses the interim proposals, firstly, on the ground that the scheme stands or falls as a whole and that the League does not accept the future plan and, secondly, because they are vague. This is more realistic. Had Sir Stafford managed to bring about an agreement on the rest of the scheme, the Congress, for one, could not have dismissed the plans for the future merely by refusing to look at them. From the Indian point of view, this would have been most unfortunate.

From the point of view of the War Cabinet, the failure of the Congress and other parties to accept its "just and final settlement" is no matter for congratulation. And Sir Stafford, while gallantly refusing to blame anyone but himself for the breakdown, has clearly suggested where

the responsibility for the failure rested. Lord Linlithgow obstinately adhered to the August offer in spite of the free hand given him by the War Cabinet to settle the details of the provisional Government; and General Sir Archibald Wavell as Commander-in-Chief could have adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the demand for Indian control over Defence. The impression given by the statements, however, is that General Wavell was not even prepared to give the negative support of saying he would co-operate with the Indian Defence Minister. On the other hand, the Congress representatives were prepared in effect to make over the functions of the War Department to the British War Cabinet, the only parallel to which must be sought in the Japanese system. When this is conceded, we are not surprised that Sir Stafford should say that the hitch did not come over Defence. It came over the Congress assumption that reservation of war issues implied popular control over other departments. Sir Stafford felt that this was unfair. He argued that the assertion of the Commander-in-Chief's authority did not mean abdication by the Viceroy and, to get out of any commitment he might have inadvertently made, brought in the inevitable minorities.

The speeches made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the necessity of presenting unrelenting opposition to the aggressor cannot repair the damage done to the spirit and morale of the people by the feeling that the civil and the military heads stand in the way of a national government. The British War Cabinet has shown a deplorable want of foresight in perpetuating such a state of affairs. If it was relying on Sir Stafford to bring about what the Viceroy and Mr. Amery had failed to do, it should have given him free scope and not tied his hands by leaving the final word on the provisional Government with the Viceroy and, through him, with the Secretary of State for India. It would have been the part of wisdom for Sir Stafford to have first arrived at some agreement with the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief at Delhi which would have eliminated bringing them into the negotiations with Indian leaders. This apparently he did not do when he met them on his arrival. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a statement which Sir Stafford Cripps has not refuted though he had the time and opportunity to do it at Karachi, charges Sir Stafford with progressive deterioration in his outlook on the relation of the provisional Government to the Viceroy and to Mr. Amery. Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow have a vested interest in the August offer. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru showed himself desperately anxious to settle with the British, that offer was instantly revived.

The tone adopted by Sir Stafford Cripps the moment he realised that the position was impossible, revealed him as a bad negotiator. In his broadcast announcing the breakdown,

Sir Stafford sought to place the blame on the Congress, suggesting that all other parties were willing to co-operate. This is incorrect. Then again, the Congress President in his last letter to Sir Stafford gave him an opportunity for reopening the whole subject. The Maulana pointed out that Sir Stafford had for the first time raised the bogey of the tyranny of the majority in his letter withdrawing the British offer. He added that, had it been raised during the talks, the problem would have been met. Surely here was an opening to resume the discussions. That Sir Stafford should have thought it a fitting answer to enter on his return journey and to indulge in easy optimism for the future at a press conference at Karachi, means either that he had himself lost confidence in his capacity as a negotiator or that he feared to continue further lest a united Indian demand should reveal publicly and more completely the intractability of the Viceroy. All this, to say the least, is not the attitude of one who is anxious to arrive at an agreement. Sir Stafford has been most vindictive in his departing speeches and has sought to stir up trouble everywhere. The fact is, Sir Stafford Cripps shared with Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow a partiality for the opinions of the Muslim League. Only he was less straightforward about it. In one of his first letters to the Congress President, he referred to "the Hindu Press" which he apologised for later and said he meant the *Hindustan Times*. Mr. Jinnah followed this up faithfully by a piece of studied discourtesy to the *Hindustan Times* representative at a Press Conference which had been called by the League. Mr. Jinnah has also taken his cue from Sir Stafford's last interview and declared his utter dislike of the Congress scheme because it would mean the "tyranny of the majority." It would be well if either of them would explain what exactly is the "tyranny of the majority" and why and how it is worse than the "tyranny of the minority." How, again, is one to avoid both in any system of Government? We have not heard the last of the Cripps Mission. It is possible that in the near future a drastic change might come over Indo-British relations and a fresh settlement more akin to the realities of the situation might well be reached. Even in Moscow, it should be remembered, the Russo-British collaboration for which Sir Stafford Cripps had worked, came finally after he had left Russia and was made possible by forces beyond his control.

INDIAN STATES AND INDIA'S UNITY.

The *Reformer* did not expect that Sir Stafford Cripps would be able to break through the thick crust of reaction which surrounds the Indian administration. But it did not expect that he would succumb to surroundings to the extent that he did in his farewell broadcast. As a matter of fact, however, his mission has been a notable success

in one important and unforeseen direction. It has been the means of evoking from important Indian Princes and administrators declarations pledging themselves to support the scheme, as they understood the Cripps scheme to be, of a single Union for the whole country. The Maharaja of Kashmir gave the lead in a resounding statement which was warmly welcomed throughout the country. His Prime Minister, Sir N. Gopaldaswami Aiyangar, further elucidated it and made an important suggestion which would bind the States with the Provinces in organic unity. Sir Gopaldaswami said that the Cripps' scheme was for a single Union and that the alternatives suggested would prove unworkable. The Dewan of Travancore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, speaking at a largely attended public meeting in Trivandram on April 8, used significantly strong language in condemnation of any partition of India. He said:

I feel the intolerable ignominy of a divided, bisected and trisected India and feel that the essential unity of the country is a priceless heritage, improved by the settled policy of England in the past, namely, "Keep India united." I am sure India will continue to be united.....I may say without breach of confidence that the attitude of most Indian States, including Travancore, has been that no State would be unwilling to have whole-hearted transfer of power and dominion and influence to Indian hands.

The Dewan of Baroda, Sir V. T. Krishnamacharya, speaking at a Study Circle on the 10th April, declared that His Highness the Gaekwar's Government gave their whole-hearted support to the British War Cabinet's proposal for the creation of a new Indian Union. He deprecated the fear felt in some quarters that under the scheme India might be divided into two or more unions. He gave his reasons in the Dhara Sabha for his optimism. He said:

In the first place, there is the fundamental cultural unity of India. Through long ages, India has evolved a distinctive culture which is the joint creation and common heritage of all races and religions in it—Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Parsi. This is an integral part of our life. Secondly, there is the political unity steadily achieved in the last 150 years, which is Britain's priceless gift to us. In this period, we have evolved a sense of common citizenship which is one of the most powerful influences cementing our national life. Lastly, there are the economic links which bind all parts of the country inextricably together. It is not merely that we have a common railway system and single postal and telegraph and currency systems. Provinces and States have evolved economic organisations which supplement one another and are inter-dependent. The great agricultural provinces, for example, find markets for their surplus produce in other provinces. The industrial areas obtain their raw materials, their coal, etc., from other parts of India. The banking system again is not limited by administrative boundaries. Such ties will not be lightly set aside. In the future, under a policy of intensive industrialisation, these links will become yet closer and their cumulative effect will be to make every one work for securing the acceptance of arrangements which will enable a single union to be established.

No one who bestows serious thought to the question can doubt for a moment that, for the reasons mentioned by Sir Krishnamacharya

and many others, the partition of India can bring only disaster to all the parts and to the country as a whole. The age of small States is past and today only States which have a large enough area and population to admit free cultural and commercial intercourse without barriers of any kind, have the best chances of prosperity and security. But there are, it must be admitted, leaders who are carried away by their emotions and, notwithstanding the many practical difficulties, they may undertake to work the unworkable alternatives. If His Majesty's Government had given a firm lead for an India one and indivisible, all the other difficulties would have been overcome or overlooked for the time being. Sir Akbar Hydari's death has deprived the country at a critical moment of his powerful support for Indian unity. We have no doubt that His Exalted Highness the Nizam and the Nawab of Chattari, his present Prime Minister, will throw their great influence on the same side. It is a great advantage that Sir Stafford Cripps has not been able to mention the Princes of India among those who, he thinks gratuitously, will oppose a national scheme. This may be regarded as a result of his mission for which we may feel grateful.

THE CASE OF INDIAN STATES PEOPLE.

Mr. D. V. Gundappa of Mysore is an experienced and responsible publicist. His memorandum submitted to Sir Stafford Cripps entitled "The Case of the People of the Indian States," therefore, calls for special attention. To the average British Indian, it seems that the people who speak on behalf of the peoples of Indian States, do not appreciate, not at least sufficiently, the fact that Indianisation of the services which as yet, after over half a century of agitation, is only partially accomplished in British India, is a completely accomplished fact in Indian States. In British India, there are still a considerable proportion of higher appointments in the Civil Services and nearly all of them in the army, held by Englishmen. In Indian States they are all held by Indians, natives mostly of the States concerned. If it is a benefit to have all administrative and executive appointments filled by nationals, as it certainly is, this advantage is already fully enjoyed by the people of the States. The ruler is an Indian and his Dewan and other Ministers are Indians. Here there are all the elements of swaraj. The only qualification attaching to it is the existence of a Paramount Power. It is this fact that detracts from the completeness of swaraj in Indian States. One would, therefore, expect that an Indian States publicist who is an advocate of self-government and not merely good government, would concentrate attention on the mitigation, if not elimination, of this qualifying condition, the existence of a Paramount Power, that he would plead not for the more frequent and closer exercise of rights of paramountcy. This, if we understand him aright, Mr. Gundappa does not do. On the contrary, he seems to blame the Paramount Power for not making more liberal use of its paramountcy. In other words, the Paramount Power is blamed for not having taken the internal administration of the State more or less directly in its hands. Let us quote Mr. Gundappa's words :

So far as the moral and material development of the States' people is concerned, its (the Paramount Power's) policy has generally been the negative one of promising

protection against gross misgovernment. It is only when things have become scandalous and cannot in decency be passed over that action is contemplated. Maladministration in any degree short of that deemed gross or grave by the Political Department need receive no attention. So has it been in practice. Where any degree of progress has been achieved in a State—as in Mysore and Cochin and Phaltn and Aundh—thanks are due not to Paramountcy at all, but entirely to the patriotism and ability of the local administration; and progress even there would surely have been more rapid and larger if the policy of paramountcy had behind it the inspiration of an energetic and purposeful nationalism.

Mr. Gundappa misconceives the function of Paramountcy. A Paramount Power fulfils its legitimate function by abstaining from interfering with the internal administration even for beneficent ends. Under Mr. Gundappa's theory, the States will be exactly in the same position as Provinces of British India. Indeed, rather in a worse one, because the provincial and central functions are demarcated by statute while the rights of Paramountcy are left to be determined according to circumstances in each case. Mr. Gundappa, like others who undertake to speak on behalf of the people of States generally, and not with particular reference to one or some of them, spoils his case by overgeneralisation. Well administered States should have and, as a matter of fact, have more freedom from the control of Paramountcy than backward States where there is no clear demarcation between the public functions of the ruler and his private interests. British Indian opinion as a rule has deprecated the interference in the affairs of States by the Paramount Power. It is, therefore, surprising to see a responsible States publicist demanding a greater measure of interference. It will be more straightforward to ask for outright annexation, which Mr. Gundappa is far from doing. He wants the States to be preserved in their territorial integrity. He wants Indian States' subjects to have identical rights with British Indians in the provinces. But there is no sign in this memorandum that he does not share the jealousy of Indian States' subjects of British Indians holding office or otherwise pursuing a career in the States.

Following the lead of the Maharaja of Kashmir other States have declared their readiness to have the rights of paramountcy merged in a Central Government of India in which they would themselves be represented. This would put behind the States "the inspiration of an energetic and purposeful nationalism," the want of which, Mr. Gundappa thinks, has retarded the pace of progress in the progressive States. A well-governed Indian State is a powerful argument in favour of Indian self-government. An ill-governed State is a great obstacle to it. But it is no use confusing progress with the possession of government on any single pattern. The Parliamentary system has been rejected by Europe as a whole. In Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill is for all practical purposes a dictator. The excuse of war, is but an excuse. The defects of the system were amply evident even in peace time. Irish reform was put off until it became a menace to British administration. Indian reform is being similarly delayed. Autocracy is never a satisfactory form of government. No more is a system which involves the withdrawal of scores of citizens from their normal vocations to sit silently in an Assembly for days together merely to go into the right lobby when a division is called. Some readjustment between the existing systems is urgently needed. Men like Mr. Gundappa will be serving not only the States but all India and, indeed, the whole world if they apply their minds to the task of such readjustment.

J. B. PETIT ON CREMATION.

Mr. Jehangir B. Petit's pamphlet entitled "Scientific Cremation" revives interest in an old and rather worn out topic. The case for cremation as against burial or exposure to dispose of dead bodies, needs no elaborate advocacy. It does not encumber the earth with tombs which progressively reduce the area available for cultivation or residence to future generations. It avoids the process of decomposition to which dead bodies are subject in burial, and the obvious objections to exposure methods. If the disposal of the dead were not inextricably mixed up with religious beliefs regarding the future after death, the solution of the problem on a purely hygienic basis, will not offer many difficulties. As cremation fortunately is the manner preferred by the "majority" community—even the Hindu castes which bury the dead readily adopting cremation as a symbol of higher social status—adopting what Mr. Petit calls "Scientific Cremation," would not be a revolutionary reform. Cremation, scientific and unscientific, reduces the body to ashes. The open pyre method now followed has the merit of simplicity while the "scientific" method, requiring the production of gas and electricity, is liable to be put out of action in emergencies like the present war conditions. Even the open method has been brought under Government control on the ground that the smoke and flame of burning bodies may be used as landmarks by the enemy. Gas and electricity involving the laying of mains and plant may be put out of action and then the people will have to fall back on the traditional firewood when the new arrangements have abolished all facilities for open cremation. The people who are least affected by the war conditions and efforts, are those who have been content with their primitive arrangements. The wells which were closed as breeding-places of mosquitos, are now required to be reopened in order to keep the people from dying of thirst if enemy action should intercept the water supply as it did in Hong-kong and Singapore. Those who disposed of their horse carriages and bullock carts, in favour of motor cars, are feeling that they would have done better to have stuck to the old modes of transport. India now realizes that she can call nothing her own which has not been achieved by the sweat and oil of her own children. Everything else is liable to be taken away from her at the pleasure of those from whom they were borrowed.

SOME STRAY THOUGHTS.

(BY RECLUSE.)

The last few issues of the *Indian Witness*, the American Methodist missionary weekly published in Lucknow, have published accounts of the exodus of missionaries from Burma in anticipation of the advance of the Japanese. All the Americans, men and women, fled leaving their Burmese assistants in charge of their evangelical duties. We appreciate the spirit in which the fugitives endured the privations of the journey to India. But they seem to have felt hardly any regret at leaving their Burmese dependants to face the invaders. The *Indian Witness* too seems to think that there was nothing to regret or explain in this behaviour of the preachers of the Gospel. We note with surprise and some regret that the evacuee missionaries in some cases were not above availing themselves of the intervention of District and other officials to secure preferential treatment in respect of transport and other conveniences over their fellow Indian evacuees.

A friend sends copies of the *Morning Star*, an Anglo-Tamil journal published in Jaffna. The journal says that the resolution against fixing Christian marriages on days considered auspicious by Hindus by the Synod of North Ceylon Methodists, was initiated by Ceylonese Christians and not by foreign missionaries. This is not surprising as the convert is proverbially more zealous in demonstrating his breach with his past than one born in a religion. If the Ceylonese Methodists think that it is a cardinal article of their faith that they should select only such days as are considered inauspicious by those who benightedly continue in the faith of their forefathers, they are at complete liberty to do so. But they have no right to regard themselves as more enlightened than their Hindu kith and kin on that account. As a matter of fact, what are called superstitions are found on investigation to have originated in reasons of convenience, economy and other considerations of a practical character. The marriage season, for instance, in every country is related to the time of harvest when people are likely to have resources in cash or kind to spare for the festivity. The rainy season is considered inauspicious for the obvious reason that a downpour would spoil the pandal and decorations besides preventing the taking out of processions which usually form part of Hindu marriage festivities. These festivities themselves are means of publicity to marriages and ensure their validity more than any written record which is repugnant to Indian sentiment. Christ condemned the Pharisees for a supposed desire to seem to be not as their neighbours. If the Ceylon Methodists have succeeded in following the precepts of Jesus, they need not worry about the days on which their children marry and are given in marriage. As for astrology, Sir Walter Lawrence's experience which was mentioned, could be easily multiplied. There is a sort of encyclopaedia in which all possible combinations of stars and planets which make a horoscope are collected. Several people have testified to the accuracy of the narrative attached to each of the horoscopes in their own cases. It is not my contention that astrology should be the guiding light in men's lives. I think, on the other hand, that a man does well not to attempt to pry into the future, being content to do his best at the present moment in the assurance that if every moment is well used there need be no anxiety as to what the next moments may bring. This may be done without questioning the possibility of there being a relation between the cosmic and the individual life.

VICHY AND GERMANY.

The Transradio quotes the German radio as stating that Laval may become Chief of State in place of Marshal Petain. A Vichy despatch says: A government "established on a new basis" is to be constituted. This was announced today following a conference between Marshal Petain, Admiral Darlan and M. Pierre Laval. They are meeting again tomorrow. Since his last talk with Marshal Petain, M. Laval has seen Admiral Darlan a number of times. The present decision is the outcome of these talks. Germany has sent a strongly worded note on April 16 as the deadline for a comprehensive answer clarifying Vichy's attitude towards complete co-operation, according to a Berne dispatch to the *New York Times*.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

JANUARY 12-18, 1932.

Kingston, Jamaica.

Hospitals alone, and the State Medical panels, bring the new Medicine within reach of the poor. It is urged that the new medicine and surgery have become so intricately effective that they have gone even beyond the means of the professional classes and that an extension of the state medical service to them is called for. It is the purpose of "Solon" (in the Today and Tomorrow series) to obtain a similar relief for the middle classes in the matter of Justice which at present is costly beyond the means even of the average well-to-do man. "Solon" pleads that in the effort to secure relief from legal costs and delays, people turn to expedients which can only aggravate both—e. g., the fusion of the advocate and the solicitor as in the U. S. A.

One of the interesting things one reads of, is the marked variability of species under domestication at a time when variation in wild life seems to have ceased. Gold-fish originally yellow, then red, is now steel-blue, probably due to man's deliberate selection. With this in my head, I turn to specimens of negroes I see, well-built, tall, strong, and far from unintelligent or incompetent. Is it that slavery selects only those deemed worthiest of good work for masters? The slave-raiders haul whatever they get but the masters save only the serviceable and valuable. I am told that this strength had been noticed in the U. S. A.; but their explanation there, was that only strong-built slaves survived or could survive during the passage from Africa.

Comfort and consolation are different things, one is strength (fortis—strong), the other softness. I am so full of the idea that when men win out, it is through some uncontrived step, and hardly ever through their own contrivance, and that all men are liable to unforeseen mishaps, that I would hate to minister to any one the opiate of "every cloud has a silver lining" and that kind of slush, but to urge men to keep self-prepared to use the lining when it appears, and to make the effort to hunt it out though it be invisible.

When a wealthy community like that of the United States of America lapses into the destitution of nearly 10 million men, it means that people had not yet realised that wealth is not wealth unless produced or transported to where it is wanted and when it is wanted. That requires something more than the policy of drift, of letting Nature have free scope, of fettering Government's power of interference. Of course it is silly to entrust regulation to silly men. But unregulated or unwisely regulated Nature alike run into catastrophes. The wise Chinese engineers of old do not look to impossibly high embankments to our floods; they advised broadening the channels with low embankments on sides and deepening of the beds by using the limitless manpower of China running a waste, on the job of deepening. Success is not to be looked for in every venture; it is our good luck that the human race has survived so many ventures.

Sincerity, in the sense of acting firmly on which ought not to be convictions (since the ideas have not been sifted by as much examination as is available), can only be mischief. If the examination be diligent and deep, but only on one-track, the single-track mind, as Mr. J. M. Keynes called it in

speaking of President Wilson, is not fit to lead the world. The only Sincerity worthwhile is the Sincerity of an Open Mind which takes good care not to be an Open Sewer, and takes equally good care not to shut out life and light.

In the *Times*, Professor Elliot Smith, in a copyrighted article, describes the Peking man, his knowledge of fire, his use of quartz to manufacture tools and drinking cups, and the indications to be gathered from his skull and body of what he ate and drank—information which had never been obtained before, and which in this case proves the skeleton to be distinctly human and not a sub-human Pithecanthropus.

Two surveys in *Nature* on psychology of religions are distinctly interesting. Professor Raymond Pearl finds a slight increase in church membership in the U. S. He attributes that to the attractions—tea parties, lectures and concerts which ministers lay out to increase their flock. Other diversions—football, radio talks, etc., have, in the same period, increased manifold. Another survey finds churches absolutely impotent to prevent crime. Yet another survey gives thirty thousand deaths and a million injured through motor-cars in the U. S. Yet cars are now ten times as safe as they used to be 10 years ago. Greater intelligence in the handling of traffic and the further development of strength of construction will eliminate road fatalities altogether.

Mr. Fullbrooke was amazed at the latest figures of unemployment—Germany has passed the 5 million point, and the U. S. the 10 million point. Mrs. Pratt, a fellow traveller, took a hand in our talk, said the prime cause of the world trouble is that women were leaving home-work, despised looking after cooking, and mixed themselves in affairs. Anyhow, she need not worry; the world seems to grow more and more in its own way, without regard to contrivances of men or women either. I pointed out that Sir Josiah Stamp assigns the world's present plight to eighteen causes, and insists that the way to get out of it is not necessarily the same as the way of getting into it, and that it would need a great to-do before normalcy returned. No single expedient, however emphatically presented as "the only, only way" can answer.

There is a rain of further cruises and interviews—all agree to profess confidence in returning prosperity to their country, even the Canadians. The effect in the U. S. is that businessmen have refused to listen to the Administration's assurances that this year's business will be 15% better than in 1931. The cry of "never say die" falls and fails as effectively as the cry of "wolf." Meanwhile snow and heat alternate in all climes, and gales devastate.

In a discussion, Mr. Fullbrooke urged that some things must be right or beautiful eternally. He instanced a Sadhu who had so stiffened himself in an attitude of reposing on nails that he could not get out of that attitude when he wished. Instinct tells mankind that this is folly—criminal folly at that. Did I not think so? No; I did not. Though I felt no sympathy with that practice, he might on reflection. That stiffness is designed so that no perturbation of flesh might hinder adventures of spirit. If the design should be successful, would not Instinct which condemns be wrong? After all, the stiffness is no thing we attribute to God or Christ when we

I gather incapable of Sin.

island—the warm traces of two races on this neither aborigines nor

Indians, exterminated the others who were agriculturists. The Caribs were at length mastered by Spaniards. When the Spaniards were conquered, their African slaves retired into the mountains. They have a settlement of their own and are known as Maroons. In their neighbourhood is the German settlement which has not mingled with the Maroons except occasionally. The work on plantations and eke out a precarious existence. They are treated by the natives as white trash.

I could not learn which is the original—the Jamaica banana or the East Indian. They may be independent. The absence of jungle would account for the absence of wild life or even traces of it.

All earnings on this island are several times the Indian scale. Yet the impression made on my mind is of squalor comparable with Indian—bare feet, dirty patched garments, mean huts. Mr. Fullbrooke agrees there is squalor but he insists that conditions are much better than what he has seen in India.

Mrs. Pratt who left last night for Montego Bay, did not depart without last shots about Indian servants, religions, meaning of Towers of Silence, Miss Mayo's "Mother India"—in which Mr. Fullbrooke joined. I severely tried to keep aloof but was drawn in by invitations which would not be denied. I said that the explanations given by followers of primitive creeds of queer-looking rites leave me cold. It is not difficult to convict them of being after-thoughts. I instanced the case of the Parsi ceremonial use of cow's urine—a practice whose origin has been attributed to the discernment of Zoroaster finding carbolic acid disinfection, as can now, it is stated, be established by chemical analysis. Even if it were so, carbolic soap would be preferable to the sacred golden water, when the soap can be bought at 6d a cake; and most probably the analysis is mythical. Zoroaster had probably nothing to do with the practice which seems of Hindu origin, probably imposed on the boat-load of Parsi immigrants at Sanjan by the Hindu King. One can see any day a cow being tickled in a public street by a Hindu, to wash himself with the water.

There is more in Catherine Mayo's book than is admitted by the accused. That she was paid to write the book does not invalidate what she wrote. She has written a second volume giving confirmations by Indian witnesses. Mr. Fullbrooke thought that "Father India" (by S. Ranga Iyer) was a more impressive book. Primitive practices, appearing to us horrible, may have a justification and may even be duties at the time they were adopted. I instanced this with the human sacrifices which were precursors of agriculture which was the parent of Civilisation. But that is no reason for continuing human sacrifices now when we know that the ideas which once justified, and even made imperative, these human sacrifices were wholly wrong and misconceived.

JAPAN AND THE VATICAN.

His Grace the Archbishop of Madras in the course of a statement in the *New Leader* of Madras explains the recent acceptance by the Vatican of an envoy from Japan. He writes:

Here are the facts which very few remember. A first episode of far reaching importance was the private audience granted to Foreign Minister Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka on April 2nd 1941. Receiving newspapermen following the Papal audience, Matsuoka told them: "The Holy Father had the kindness to receive me and to engage me in a long

and most interesting conversation. Naturally, I cannot enter into details of our interview, but you may be sure that I received the most profound impression from it. More than that you can say that it was the deepest impression made on me in all my life, and I think it will remain so forever."

The Papal audience was attended with all honours. The Japanese Foreign Minister and his suite were brought from the Villa Madama in three automobiles belonging to the Vatican. The cars flew the Japanese flag.

The solemn audience with Pope Pius lasted an hour and five minutes. Following that the Japanese Foreign Minister went to visit His Eminence Luigi Cardinal Maglione, Papal Secretary of State, with whom he conversed for 50 minutes.

Immediately following the ceremonies at the Vatican, Cardinal Maglione went to the Villa Madama to return the visit of the Japanese Foreign Minister.

The outcome of such a visit was soon known. On May 19th 1941 the Vatican Radio explained how and why the Catholic Church in Japan recently and for the first time in the history of the missions secured official legal recognition. The new law of Religions was passed in 1939. Three previous attempts to pass similar measures had to be shelved owing to strong opposition.

The object of that law is to help the State to overcome difficulties with religious bodies and to give to some of them the support of the State by guaranteeing their juridical existence.

The law, said Vatican Radio, does not aim at liberty of conscience: that is already guaranteed by law. All religious bodies, even Shintoism the national religion of Japan, are embraced by that law.

To secure for the Catholic Church the benefits of legal recognition the Bishops conformed with the formalities of the law of 1939, set up a commission to prepare civil statutes and formally applied to the Minister of Education for formal recognition and the approbation of these statutes. This the Minister granted on May 4, 1941.

The *Catholic Telegraph-Register* of Cincinnati, stated in its issue of April 25th 1941 that through 18 decrees issued by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith between October 1940 and March 1941, all ecclesiastical jurisdictions in Japan have been entrusted to native clergy. It goes on to state that 14 native priests have been appointed to administer Japanese dioceses, prefectures and vicariates.

Not very long after, the Archbishop of Tokyo Dr. Tatsuo, was given the rank of Imperial Appointee. According to a Reuter's dispatch from Tokyo, dated September 6th, 1941, the head of Christian Churches in Japan will be granted by the Japanese Government the rank of Imperial Appointee, hitherto conferred only on chief abbots of Shinto and Buddhist sects under the Law of 1884. Notifications of this decision were issued by the Ministry of Education on September 6th, 1941. As the Catholic Church is at present the only Christian body officially recognized in Japan, however, the effect of the New Order will be limited to the head of that Church who is Archbishop Tatsuo.

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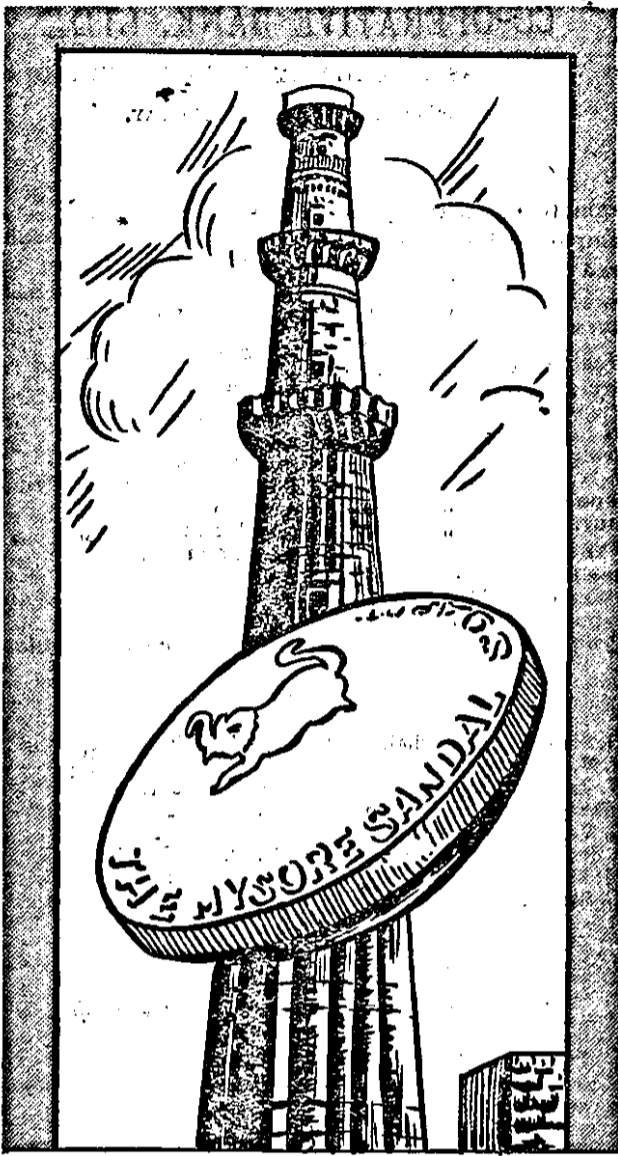
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Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY APRIL 25, 1942. No. 34.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

<p>The late Dr. R. N. Parmanand. Bombay Governor's Broadcast. Unity of India. President Roosevelt's Intervention. Under which Flag? Raids on Japanese Towns.</p>	<p>Ban on Sentinel. Food Production. Stray Thoughts. Ashrams. "Historical Method."—1. Letters of B. J. Padshaw.</p>
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NOTES.

The late Dr. R. N. Parmanand:—Dr. Ramkrishna Narayan Parmanand passed away after several days of weakened strength on Tuesday at the age of 76. He was with Mrs. Doughty-Wylie, a devoted worker in the cause of international fellowship, in the founding and development of the well-known Hospital which bears her name. Beginning as an improvised Plague Hospital in a thatched shed in what is now Charni Road Gardens, it has grown to be one of the most popular and efficient hospitals in Bombay. This is entirely the work of the late Dr. Parmanand whose devotion to the institution was that of a parent to his child. Dr. Parmanand enjoyed a large practice but in every case he was not only a doctor but a personal friend to his patients. He throughout maintained the noble ideal of his profession as one of relieving suffering. Rich and poor, night and day, made no difference. The pecuniary side of the profession was never allowed to compete with the ideal. He and his elder brother, Mr. J. N. Parmanand who died a few years ago, consistently upheld the high tradition of their father, Narayan Mahadev Parmanand, who belonged to the group of pioneers in religious and social reform which counted among its members, R. G. Bhandarkar, Ranade, Telang and Chandavarkar. Mr. Parmanand was, indeed, regarded as the friend, philosopher and guide by the other members of the group. It is one of the most pleasing memories that the *Reformer* had the privilege of having Mr. Parmanand as one of its first contributors. The death of Dr. Parmanand leaves a gap in the ranks of Bombay's social workers. A cruel blow fell on him when his only son, also a doctor, died some years ago on the threshold of what promised to be a brilliant career. He bore his cross with exemplary fortitude. The saying that the world knows little of its greatest men, is only

partially true. Some great men were well known to the world even in their time. It is nevertheless also the fact that a larger number of the men and women to whom the world owes a debt of gratitude, were never known much beyond their immediate circles. Dr. Parmanand was one of these. We offer our deep condolences to the family in their bereavement.

Bombay Governor's Broadcast:—The passage in the broadcast of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay last Saturday, which was heard with most satisfaction, was that in which he assured the public that Government were taking all precautions against bad characters taking advantage of the black-out and any disturbance of normal conditions which may arise, and that he was himself using and will use his ample powers to prevent their getting out of hand. The only remark which seems called for as to this, is that the rounding up and expulsion of bad characters from Bombay city, will only remove the danger a few miles out to the suburbs. At the same time, success in this field will depend as much on the discrimination shown in identifying really dangerous characters without roping in the merely destitute and indigent of whom there is bound to be, at a time like this, a considerable number in every important city. As regards food supply, the Bombay Government should avoid repeating the mistake of prohibiting export of food grains from Bombay, which is practically the same as prohibiting the import of food grains into the city. About 400,000 inhabitants are estimated to have left Bombay. Several boarding houses have been closed. The demand for food grains should, therefore, have fallen and merchants will have reduced their imports into the city. What is needed is to offer inducements to them to keep up an adequate stock. His Excellency's assurance that Europeans will not leave the city is not in itself important, but it gains importance by the implication that Government will not place facilities at their disposal which are not made equally available to the general population. As for the danger to Bombay of air raids, there will be some disposition to regard His Excellency's confidence as a bit over-optimistic in the light of the happenings in other parts of Eastern Asia, particularly, Singapore. His Excellency very properly refrained from giving

particulars which would be useful to the enemy but he might have told the public what is being done to prevent the enemy landing at inconspicuous points and trying to terrorise the population into helping him. Rumours of late have been busy in this direction, more than in any other. There is nothing cowardly in people leaving Bombay but the departure of persons of some social position, certainly weakens the courage of their less well-situated neighbours. The Indian people are not less endowed with fortitude in the face of danger than the British people. They may be told the truth, however unpleasant, without making them lose their presence of mind. Sir Roger Lumley would have created even greater confidence if he had stressed his warning to the Bombay public that they should be prepared to face dangers though at the moment the possibility seemed less urgent than in Madras and Colombo.

Unity of India:—Circumstances are inexorably crushing out theories of provincialism and communalism as means of promoting Indian peace and prosperity. Speaking at the fifth Price Control Conference at New Delhi early this week, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, observed: "Whatever politicians may say, India is economically one, and must be treated as such." He explained how provincial opinion had now veered round to the view that, unless price control was organised on an all-India basis, there would be chaos. The premises of his colleague, Mr. Sarker, in his address to the Food Conference, point to the same conclusion though Mr. Sarker spoke only of the Government of India assisting the provinces to determine how to increase food production. In fact, whenever a serious attempt is made to deal with basic issues of Indian economy, we arrive at the same bed-rock, namely, that only by taking the country as a whole (and Ceylon, whenever she realises the necessity of linking up her fortunes with those of the mainland) is a permanent and satisfactory solution possible. Sir Ramaswami has the boldness to state this self-evident proposition but even he shrank from applying it in its full implications. For instance, he promised that only the normal surplus of each province would be exported to other provinces. The distinction which he wipes out with one hand, is here reintroduced with the other. In fact, the only surplus is the surplus which remains after the needs of the country as a whole are met. This means that the producing province should pay the same price for its produce as it fetches in the most distant province, minus the cost of transport which it is the duty of Government to reduce to a minimum. If Punjab has to pay a little more for its wheat, Bombay will pay a little more for its piece-goods because of the free exchange of commodities produced in them. So long as the Government of India Act of 1935 is not repealed and the status of the provinces altered to that prior to that Act, the all-India outlook will continue to encounter difficulties

and to cause irritation. Provinces may be redistributed on the linguistic or any other principle so long as they are administrative, not political units. Sir Ramaswami concluded by advising the Indian people to get ready to revert to the traditional lamps burning mustard and other oils, as India produced only 4 percent of the kerosine oil which she needed, and Burma and the Persian Gulf which supplied the rest, have been closed to her. The oil lamp is a symbol of much else for which the country had better prepare. Sir Ramaswami agreed to enquire whether the All India Spinners' Association could use more short staple cotton for which Japan was the largest consumer. With the oil lamp come the handspun yarn and hand-pounded rice. By the way, Mr. Sarker may consider whether the prohibition of milling rice will not economise the use of that grain as less of hand-pounded rice is said to suffice than of milled rice to provide an equivalent nourishment.

President Roosevelt's Intervention:—The suggestion reported in the press as emanating from political circles in the United States, that President Roosevelt should be asked to intervene in Indo-British negotiations, is a most mischievous one. We cannot see how Britain will permit President Roosevelt to do what British statesmen cannot achieve by themselves. Though their European policies may agree in the last analysis, in Asia Britain and U. S. A. follow divergent paths. While British publicists have been at pains to point out that the American policy towards Indians has been worse than that of even the British Dominions, Col. Johnson in his broadcast on Thursday evening spoke of India and China in terms no responsible Briton would have used, and he spoke on behalf of President Roosevelt and the American people. If Asiatic immigration to the U. S. A. could be put on the same footing as European immigration, the sting of racialism would be removed from American-Asiatic relations. We trust Mr. Johnson will impress this on his countrymen. As for India's internal problem, the Senator who first raised the question of a Roosevelt intervention, also tacitly assured Britain of support to her Hindu-Muslim policy, by referring to the historic differences in this country. It is true that the dubious tactics adopted by Sir Stafford Cripps have made it difficult for any British statesman or public personality to negotiate with Indians in an atmosphere free from suspicion. We, for our part, would not be averse to an international tribunal consisting of representatives of Russia, Turkey, Egypt, China and the United States of America, to consider Indo-British relations. But the unity of India is not an issue which can be submitted to a tribunal and this must be clearly understood. We trust that, whatever suggestion is put forward, Indian leaders will not again play with any scheme which, while maintaining the unity of India for a particular and immediate purpose, coldly contemplates the disruption of it after that purpose is served.

Under which Flag?—On Tuesday the Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Archibald Wavell, broadcast a statement on India's Defence in which he almost casually referred to America among the allies after Russia and China. "And the Americans," said His Excellency, "of whose determination to assist India to the utmost of their inexhaustible resources you already see such evidence, do they strike you as a people who will let go once they have taken a hand?" Mr. Louis Johnson, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt in India, speaking at a Press Conference at New Delhi on Wednesday, declared that it was the intention of his country to attack the enemy wherever he was, and added, "It is for this reason, it is from this point of view that the United States troops are already in India, and more will be in India;" and that "the defence of India is the concern of the U. S. A." This statement was followed by the assurance that American military expenditure will be wholly borne by America in addition to the Lease and Lend help to be extended to India on the same terms as to other countries. It was announced this week that American aircraft will defend Britain against the Nazis. In Colonel Johnson's talk there was no reference to the British either in India or Britain. He, in fact, seemed to take it for granted that this war was America's special concern. Both the Commander-in-Chief and Colonel Louis Johnson appealed to the Indian people for support but their tone was different. Sir Archibald Wavell was a little apologetic about Singapore and Malaya. Colonel Johnson was confident, cordial, the very embodiment of the quality indicated in the Commander-in-Chief's query: "Do they strike you as a people who will let go once they have taken a hand?" Will the battle of India be fought under the Union Jack or under the Stars and Stripes? Perhaps under both with the Chinese Dragon and the Soviet Hammer and Sickle thrown in. While appreciating Colonel Johnson's overflowing sympathy, Indian leaders can not forget that President Wilson's pledges were repudiated by the American Senate. Will President Roosevelt's pledges meet a different fate?

Raids on Japanese Towns:—The news that Tokyo, Yokohama and other Japanese towns were bombed last week-end, has been widely welcomed in the Allied press. The information came through first from the Tokyo radio which is itself unusual since the practice in this war has been for bombed countries to disguise the fact and for the attackers to make the disclosures. In fact under the heading, "information useful to the enemy," is naturally included all news concerning enemy raids and the extent and area of the damage. The first news of the raids was left unconfirmed for a day by Washington. The London *Times* on Monday suggested that "it may be found, when the full story is told, that heavy damage has been done to military objectives by the raids." There is here a suggestion of mild reproof

at the bare reproduction by Allied agencies of the Japanese radio's information without embellishments of the military objectives affected. Probably American influence must have been directed at a purely factual presentation. Other press comments in Allied countries unreservedly welcome the raids, whatever has been bombed. This is more in line with the war spirit. Tokyo declares that children's schools and hospitals have been damaged in the raids on Japanese towns. No one has commented on the irony of the fact that the attacks on Japanese cities have only occurred after the fall of those fortifications and possessions in the Pacific which were intended to facilitate such attacks—Singapore, the American fortified areas in the Pacific, America's military establishment in the Philippines and the Dutch bases in the East Indies. The bombing of Japan should have occurred with greater effect immediately on the outbreak of war.

Ban on Sentinel:—The *Bombay Chronicle* editorially explains, what the Government communique fails to do, that the ban which the Government of Bombay has placed on the *Sentinel* forbidding its publication for the next thirty days, arises out of a report of the clash between dockyard workers and the police which the *Sentinel* published on Tuesday evening. We have seen both the official and the *Sentinel* reports and the difference between the two does not appear to us to be so serious as to warrant a ban on publication for thirty days. Compelling a newspaper to close down is the worst way of correcting its error. Police firing on any occasion naturally arouses public interest and anxiety. To meet the general demand for information with the meagre official communique which was issued, and penalise other reports, is to add to the anxieties of the situation. As we pointed out in the *Matrubhumi* case, conditions in India make the suppression of the press peculiarly ill-advised. The action of the Bombay Government appears the more unjustifiable in as much as it was done without consulting the Press Advisory Committee. The Defence of India Rules under which the action has been taken, allow such wide powers to the Government that the Editors' Conference had to come into being in order to evolve a machinery which would check their arbitrary application. The importance of the machinery of advisory committees is, therefore, greater in provinces where popular governments are suspended. It is strange that the Bombay Government's change to a reactionary policy should occur at a time when the mere suggestion of suspending a paper in Britain has evoked a storm of protest. The Bengal and Punjab Governments have taken similar action against the *Yugantar* and the *Pratap* respectively. All these suspensions coming together have alarmed the press of India and requisitions have been sent for convening the Editors' Conference immediately.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, April 25, 1942.

FOOD PRODUCTION.

In his opening address to the Food Production Conference held at New Delhi on the 5th March, the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member of the Government of India for Education, Health and Lands, gave a lucid account of the food position in the country and indicated ways in which the crisis towards which it is tending, may be mitigated since it can not be averted altogether. He took the four principal food grains consumed in the country : rice, wheat, jowar-bajra and gram, which between them comprise over 80 per cent of the foodstuffs produced in India. There is no prospect of a serious shortage in the last two articles and so we may confine our attention to rice and wheat. In normal years India grows about 26.5 million tons of rice. In addition, she has to import, chiefly from Burma and occasionally from Australia, 1.4 million tons that is 5½ per cent of the rice grown. There is a general impression that India imports the larger part of her rice requirements from Burma. Mr. Sarker's figures show that this is grossly incorrect. The separation of Burma from India enabled the Burmese Government to use this small margin of rice required for Indian consumption as a bargaining item in the trade relations with this country. The war has practically put an end to this source of supplementing our rice production. If there were no further complications, the 5½ per cent deficiency can be easily made good by internal adjustments. But there are complications and Mr. Sarker expects that these would increase. There has been a decline of 900,000 tons in the internal production of rice in the current year. Another complication is that Ceylon which normally imports her rice from Burma, has to be supplied from India notwithstanding that India herself has to make good a deficiency of 2.3 million tons. Then there is the certainty of large demands for military purposes. As for wheat, the normal average production of 10.16 million tons leaves a surplus for export of about a million tons. There has been a slight decrease in production in the current year of about 150,000 tons. Mr. Sarker's estimate of 350,000 tons includes unforeseeable contingencies. The outcry about dearth of wheat in some parts of the country was clearly due to the short-sighted ban on exports placed by the Punjab Government notwithstanding that it had a surplus of over 200,000 tons. It appears, therefore, that considered from the production point of view, rice, the most extensively consumed food grain, presents the most difficult problem before Government and the public. Even as regards rice the situation will be less intractable but for the lack of transport due largely to the war. This can be eased by organising pack-bullock and country-cart transport which will impart fresh life to the countryside.

It must be remembered that what Mr. Sarker calls normal requirement leaves a considerable section of the population underfed to the point of bare subsistence. That is the normal condition of the food position in India. The people do not get sufficient food in normal times. The deficiencies noted by the Education Minister reduce still further the food available to the Indian people. The case against sending Indian troops to fight in Africa and other distant lands, is fundamentally that of feeding them from the inadequate resources available in normal times. Of the one million men under arms, at least a proportion would have been producing food. Mr. Sarker does not seem to appreciate the effect of this withdrawal of labour from cultivation as a factor affecting detrimentally the production of food. Any Government worth the name, national or non-national, pseudo-national or anti-national, must first think of providing food for the people. The rebellions of the belly are the worst, says Bacon.

The current number of the *Political Science Quarterly* reports the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science in November. One of the papers read before the session was headed "Butter, Guns or Both?" by Dr. Stacy May, Chief of the Bureau of Research and Statistics Office of Production Management. "It is clear," he said, "that our population must be maintained at a basic standard of health and strength, decency and morale, if military production is to be pushed to the highest practicable levels and sustained there." Mr. Sarker said the same thing in terms which become the Member of a subordinate Government. "If an army marches on its stomach," he said, "the morale of a nation in war depends upon its food supplies; a well considered policy in reference to food production, is an integral part of successful war effort." In the United States there is no food shortage in normal times. On the contrary, foodstuffs were not long ago destroyed in the mass in order to keep up prices. Bonuses are paid to farmers to curtail the areas under cultivation. Even there the problem of maintaining the standard of life of the population against encroachment from military requirements, is presenting difficulties. In a normally underfed population like India's, it is bound to be and is, as Mr. Sarker's address shows, practically insoluble. The means suggested by him can at best be palliatives. The question is sure to arise at no distant date : Should, could India bear the burden of war without having her back broken in the effort? This is as much a question of strategy as any which falls in the purview of the Commander-in-Chief. An Indian Minister of Defence is, therefore, an indispensable condition of successful war effort, because it is only an Indian who can visualise the war problem as a whole, comprehending both civil and military requirements. The compromises suggested by and to Sir Stafford Cripps failed to grasp this important point and would, had any of them been accepted,

have landed the country in greater difficulties than she is facing. The maxim that arms must yield to the toga, rests on this incontestable ground, namely, that war can not at any time be allowed to override the basic necessities of the peoples at war, or it can end only in extermination.

STRAY THOUGHTS.

(BY RECLUSE.)

In investigations into the sub-conscious mind, "slips" of the tongue and pen play an important part. They reveal the complexes and obsessions which mould one's nature and which in deliberate conversation or composition one takes pains to repress. The chance phrase, "Hindu Press," in Sir Stafford Cripps' letter to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for which he apologised as soon as he was asked what it meant, is a slip of this kind. Throughout the transactions, including the War Cabinet's statement, no word of communal connotation occurs. It is obvious, in the light of the discussions, that this suppression of all reference to communal differences was calculated and deliberate. Congress, Hindu Mahasabha, and the Americans who, after all, were the people for whom the whole show was staged, were to be led to believe that the Government in not the slightest degree wishes to encourage or countenance communalism. The Muslim League, however, was to be mollified by the option given to provinces to join or not in one union, to form other unions and so on, effective concessions to the demand for disuniting India and for facilitating the attainment of Pakistan. The slip of the pen gave away the whole show. It is clear as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others have pointed out that all the time Sir Stafford was thinking of Hindus only when he spoke of the Congress, in spite of the rather disconcerting fact that the spokesman of the Congress was an orthodox Muslim divine, while the spokesman of the Muslim League was a successful barrister like Sir Stafford himself. The train of thought in Sir Stafford's mind may be traced somewhat as follows: The Congress means Hindus: the Hindus are a majority. Majorities are tyrants as in the British Labour Party from which he was excluded because of his independence; therefore, Hindu rule means majority tyranny; Congress, therefore, stands for majority tyranny and the Muslim League is a minority standing out for the claims of conscience. Sir Stafford as a clever advocate was using terms not only for their meaning but also and chiefly for the associations which they are likely to awaken in the American mind. The Pilgrim Fathers sought the shores of America because they were not allowed liberty of conscience in Britain. Majority to them is a word synonymous with tyranny, particularly the most odious form of it—religious tyranny. Unfortunately, however, Sir Stafford forgot that religious toleration was India's established policy from ancient times while Europe did not adopt it till the last century. Religious intolerance which is inherent in the European mind, has had a recrudescence in our own time. The treatment of Jews in India and in Europe where they went about the same time, by contrast, must impress every educated man of the truth of this. If Sir Stafford would turn the pages of Vincent Smith's or any other Indian history, he will see that, while the Emperor Aurangzebe, in violation of the policy of Akbar, was burning Hindu temples by the score, Shivaji who was fighting against Aurangzebe's vandalism, not against the Moghul Empire, was protecting mosques which fell into his hands. Muslim historians themselves attest to this fact.

Truth must win in the long run and Hindus, whatever their other sins, will be vindicated against the false charges of tyrannising over minorities, particularly religious minorities.

Referring to the exodus of Christian missionaries from Burma, I observed last week that the *Indian Witness* which published the accounts seemed to think that there was nothing to regret or explain in this behaviour of the preachers of the Gospel. That observation was premature. In the current issue (April 16) the *Witness* has an editorial which recognises that the matter is not one to be passed over in silence. Taking for its cue the reported return of a Canadian missionary to China after a holiday, while "some missionaries from Burma and India are considering returning to America because of war conditions," the *Witness* observes that no hard and fast rule can be laid down, that each case should be judged in the light of circumstances. It says that all missionaries would agree that the interests and needs of the Church and institutions concerned are the outstanding points to consider. The *Witness* suggests that the missionaries who left their posts did so in the interests of the Church and its institutions as "the presence of foreign missionaries might not help the situation, though in all probability such missionaries would be interned. "Missionaries left Corea because of the Japanese attitude to foreigners," writes the *Witness* and adds, "such a situation did not arise very acutely in Malaya or Burma." It goes on to state, though it does not vouch for its accuracy, that it understands that some missionaries, even in parts of occupied China, have been permitted to continue certain types of educational and medical work. It seems to be certain, the *Witness* adds, that the Japanese have interned certain missionaries while allowing others more or less freedom. The undertone of the *Witness's* comments is one of regret rather than approval of the retreat of the Burma missionaries. But it hesitates to declare its opinion outright. Speaking of American Missionaries in India, the *Witness* would leave the question of whether they should remain here or return to America to be decided by the Methodist Bishops. The *Witness* is evidently not prepared to make it a matter of the individual's conscience. Americans have now so large a share in the defence of the British Empire that missionaries of American nationality may claim to be under the protection of their own national flag in every part of the Empire.

Dr. Ambedkar's 50th (49th according to the *Times of India*) birthday was celebrated on Sunday the 19th in Bombay: Herr Hitler's 53rd birthday was celebrated the next day, April 20th, in Berlin. The Right Hon. M. R. Jayakar who presided at a public meeting in honour of Dr. Ambedkar, said that the doctor's aim was to raise the status of the scheduled castes by securing political power. Herr Hitler's object was also the same but his aim was to raise the status not of any particular class of Germans but of the German race as a whole. Political power like mechanical power can not lift even a small weight except through machinery. Without the latter political like mechanical power has only a market value. That is to say, it can only be sold to some-one who has the political equivalent of a motor car or an aeroplane or a boat or a factory engine but lacks the power to set it in motion. The attempt to raise a nation or class or individual by securing the power to vote at elections—which is what political power means in the last resort—is like attempting to raise oneself by his shoe-strings, as the saying goes. Votes when

secured by a class or group which has not attained a minimum of educational and economic individuality, are likely to be sold to the highest bidder and is more a danger than a benefit even to the groups concerned. Hitler aimed at political power but he did not rest at aiming. He seized the machine of the State and got control of the Army and Finance, the twin engines which keep it going. The Indian is three years younger than the German and he may yet perceive the futility of securing sectional representation which is the nearest equivalent to political power at present in India. As a matter of fact, such success as Dr. Ambedkar's bid for political power has had, is entirely due, though he will not acknowledge it, to the strong support of leading Hindus whom he loses no opportunity of holding up as actual and potential tyrants.

* * * *

The problem of the depressed classes had attracted the attention of social reformers half a century ago. The subject was ventilated in the *Reformer* and resolutions passed at several sessions of the National Social Conference. The Bombay Prarthana Samaj led by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Mr. V. R. Shinde started the Depressed Classes Mission, when Dr. Ambedkar was still at College. In the ordinary course, this reform would have been quietly accepted by Hindu Society as other reforms relating to women's education and redemption from restrictive customs, have come to be. Dr. Ambedkar, we are sorry to say, has made no constructive contribution. He has only embittered the feelings of the depressed classes against Hindus, including some who have devoted a large part of their time and energy to the cause of these classes. One of the most ardent of the latter told me not long ago that, when he was going home one evening, he overheard a group among whom he was working telling each other that they must bring the Hindus to their knees in order to raise themselves. My friend spoke a little sadly but he has not on that account abated a jot of his activities. Dr. Ambedkar reminds me of Macaulay's small boy who sitting on the shoulders of his grandfather, exclaimed "Look! How much taller I am than Grandpapa."

* * * *

After many months I went to the Victoria Terminus station last Saturday to bid goodbye to an old friend. The Station which used to present a moving picture of Bombay life more thrilling than any shown in the cinemas, in a setting of superb grandeur, had the appearance of a cemetery. It had been walled at all openings outside and inside. Platform tickets were to be had only with the special permission of an official whom you approached after threading a labyrinth of walled enclosures. After seeing the friend off, we went to do a little shopping. A shop of which I have been one of the oldest customers—ever since its starting—and am a member too, showed me a notice stating that owing to unsettled conditions all purchases must be paid for at the counter. What impressed me even more was the sight of European sailors and soldiers moving about the streets and roads. There was nothing ferocious about their appearance. There were many of them quite small men, almost as small as the Japanese. I have never before seen British soldiers so small as these. They seemed rather to be bewildered by the great buildings and shops of the city. Perhaps they had expected to see only hovels of thatch in jungle surroundings. On the return journey I was struck by the size of the crowds which awaited every train. There was tenseness in the air.

ASHRAMS.

"ASHRAMAS: Past and Present" By Messrs. P. Chenchiah, V. Chakkarai and A. N. Sudarisanam. Publishers: Indian Christian Book Club, Kilpauk, Madras.

The word "Ashram" has recently attracted a great deal of attention and yet very few people have correct information about its origin and connotation. As is well known, in ancient times, Hindu society was divided into four Varnas and life was divided into four stages. The four Varnas were Brahman, Kashatriya, Vaishya and Shudra and the four stages of life or "Ashrams" as they were called were those of Brahmachari, Grihastha, Vanaprastha and Sanyasi. This arrangement was known as the Varnashrama Dharma. How did the word "Ashram" acquire this meaning? The Authors of this book take the view that the word "Ashram" primarily signified the forest dwelling of a person who devotes his time to religious contemplation and austerities: That it denoted the Vanaprastha Ashram only but later on it was extended to the other three stages of life or orders. *Shrama*, according to this book, denotes exertion, intense spiritual endeavour i. e. *Tapas*; *Ashrama* the hut where tapas takes place and thus its later meaning.

Part I is historical. It is divided into 9 Chapters. In the Author's view, originally there were only 3 Ashrams; the Vana-prastha was the final Ashram but when Buddhism gained influence and popularity, the ascetic found place as the 4th Ashram. Chapter 6 is extremely interesting, as it deals with the daily life in the hermitage, the dress, personal appearance and food of a Vanaprastha. Alexander Rogers has translated a passage from the Memoirs of Jehangir which shows in what high esteem the institution was held in early times.

Part II of the book is critical. Ch. XIII is extremely thought provoking. Non-attachment (Asanga) and the conception of religion as realisation are the two essential features of Ashram and, in the Authors' opinion, these two ideals are the greatest need of our national life. Salvation is not a hope but something that has to be actualised. The Ashram bequeathed its rich heritage of ethical and metaphysical principles to the world through the gospel of the Gita. "In Gita the doctrine of Asanga passed into Indian ethics. In the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the doctrine of Ahimsa passed into Indian politics." The system should be modified to suit modern conditions by making Vanaprastha an effective and permanent source of public utility, in short by neutralising (a) the lack of social urge and (b) the failure to utilise the detached interest for social purpose which characterised it. "We have pointed out that the Ashram covers two distinct ideas. If the elements of worth pointed out in this Chapter are accepted to be of general utility in religious life, Christian Ashrams should embody them. When we adopt a Hindu Institution, it is our duty to maintain its high prestige and true spirit."

Chapter 14, in part III, which is called the Context deals with the origin of the Varnas—the will to power regulated the organisation of society based on Caste. Ashram-dharma (particularly the 3rd and 4th Ashramas) was tacked on to the social polity based on Varna as the adventurous spirit yearned for more lively and thrilling satisfaction than society could provide. Into the frame-work of Varna, the Ashrama was introduced to prepare the individual for the attainment of the supreme goal, viz., spiritual freedom and salvation. Monachism in India is the heading of Chapter 15 which gives a comparative estimate of the distinguishing

features of the Ashrams of Sannyasins, the Buddhist Sangha and of Jain Monasticism. For national regeneration, the country needs (1) deep profound and realistic thinking, (2) freedom of thought and experiment and (3) wherever necessary, wide departure from tradition. That is why instinctively we revert to the Ashram. "Tapas and Yoga to an Indian mean an Ashram. We needed and need the spiritual life which in merciless self-examination, burns the chaff and leaves the grain; burns the dross and leaves the metal." We have to experiment in the laboratory of life. According to the Authors, the Ashram idea with its positive contribution owes much to the Gandhian stimulus—the twin ideas of sacrifice and service are the basis of his public work but modern Ashrams do not aim primarily at the contemplative life nor at retirement. They are an attempt to translate emerging idealism into practical action. Purity of life is the other surviving element of the ancient tradition. Chapters 18-20 contain a description among others of the Yoga School of Kumbhakonam, of Sri Arabindo Ashram, of Ramanaashram, of Adyar, of Shantiniketan, Vishwabharati, Shriniketan, etc., as also of Christakula Ashram, Christa Prema Seva Sangh and several other institutions.

This book is a very able attempt to depict the effects of the inborn spiritual craving of the human mind and the social organisation, which results. As the introduction says, "The Task involved investigation into Hindu religious history and literature from the Rigveda down to the modern times" and it has been so well done that the book will be found extremely useful by people interested in the subject. That the Authors are not professing Hindus but Christians only heightens our respect for their patient research and sympathetic understanding. The following short passage would supply a key to the attitude of mind and object of the Authors: "We are of the considered opinion that Varna (caste) should go and Ashrama should remain in the interest of national growth and prosperity. In this book, we appeal to the Hindu to revive an invaluable heritage, to the Christian to make it an instrument of a new apprehension and propagation of Christ and the Christian ideal, and to the world at large to critically estimate and adopt the Ashrama ideal with such changes as the antecedent historical conditions demand."

B. G. K.

"HISTORICAL METHOD."—I

(By S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, CHIDAMBARAM).

- Very many books have been written in the West on the method and writing of history, but almost none in India. This Bulletin on Historical Method* is a new venture of Indian Scholarship in this comparatively neglected field, and it is a great success. The subject-matter of this Bulletin formed the basis of a course of lectures delivered by the author in the year 1938 to the Research students of his department. Though no advocate of any narrow provincialism in historical studies, the author believes that the time has come for South Indian History being recognised as a definite and distinct branch of Indian History, that the nature of the evidence to be dealt with in it, has a colour and character of its own and, therefore, it is necessary to recognise it as a distinct branch.

The making of history is an act of creative imagination and the historian has to sift, select and

weigh evidence and then use his imagination to get behind the sources and seek and expound the underlying situation reflected in them. It is pointed out that the authorities must be there, for, without them, there can be no history; but there must also be the historian with a trained historical mind at work on them; or there is no history. The greater the maturity of the historian, the greater will be his freedom from the shackles of his sources. In short, he is to state his result instead of his processes.

Whether history is a science or an art is an old question that has been discussed from different angles. Bury held that history is the oldest art and the youngest aspirant to the claim of being a science. The author holds the view that it is not very useful to seek to establish or repudiate the claim of history to be a science, but discusses in what relation the method of science stands to the historical method. The data of science are present and universal while the data of history are past, dead and gone and unique. History deals with human situations, human actions and movement and no two situations are alike. History gives us a certain knowledge of reality, but, unlike scientific knowledge, it is not of universal application. Historical knowledge is unique in its character and quality.

Interpretation is the very core of history. Its principle changes from generation to generation, and the author illustrates it by a reference to Eugene Tarle's history of Napoleon in which, though there is no new historical fact, the author has tried to view the subject against the background of recent Russian socialistic thought and this is a distinct advance.

The task of the historian is to interpret the past for the present, but he is not to carry the present into the past. If his aim is to write truly scientific history, he must avoid some common errors. One of them is the didactic error, the error of discovering in History the lessons we wish to inculcate. Another is the patriotic error—that of discovering all great and good things in the past of our own country. A third is the partisan error—the error of taking sides in historical disputes. And the author rightly points out that in our own country the scope for this error is very great indeed. Lastly, reference is made to the error eloquently labelled "Froude's disease"—i. e., a constitutional incapacity to keep out of error. To illustrate this, the author quotes Froude's description of Adelaide in Australia: "We saw below us in a basin with a river winding through it, a city of 150,000 inhabitants; none of whom has ever known or will ever know one moment's anxiety as to the recurring regularity of his three meals a day." The author points out that Adelaide is built on an eminence, no river runs through it; when Froude visited it, its population did not exceed 75,000 and at the time, it was suffering from a famine. A sound historian has to avoid these errors—as historical errors are hard to kill.

One of the chief branches of historical evidence is literary evidence. We have to exercise great caution in its use. We must guard ourselves in the first instance against deliberate falsification of documents, as in the story of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Next we must distinguish between boastfulness and facts of history, as when the "Periyapurana" claims the impalement of 8,000 Jain as at Madura in the presence of Sanbandha. There is the usual exaggeration of court-bards whose performance must be used by the historian with extreme care. Yet another difficulty which the historian has to face is the need to sift historical facts from legends and mythology which pass for history.

*Historical Method in Relation to Problems of South Indian History. No. 7 Bulletin of the Department of India History and Archaeology—by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, University of Madras.

As an illustration of this mention may be made of the story of the three Tamil Sanghams.

The evidence of comparative philology is a very valuable aid to the historian especially for the prehistoric period, but, in this field, historians are liable to fall a prey to the most dangerous temptations and the wildest guesses.

General works of literature have yielded to competent historians a considerable volume of historical knowledge. There are again historical chronicles like the "Keralotpatti" or the "Kongudesa Rajakkal" which contain a grain of historical fact here and there in the midst of considerable chaff. Even mnemonic verses in a Kalajnana—work of prophecies of the future—generally valueless, can yield valuable hints as one such verse is claimed by the author to have given a string of the first letters of the names of successive monarchs of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar. Among works of professed historical writing should be mentioned the "Kalingattupparani"—the poem describing the conquest of Kalinga by Kulottunga Chola I, the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, and the works of Muslim historians like Barni, Amir Khusru and Ferishta. Among foreign literary sources should be mentioned the writings of classical writers of Greece and Rome, the works of Heroditus, Megasthenes, Pliny, Ptolemy and the Periplus; the works of Arab writers whose knowledge of India from the 7th to about the 12th century A. D. was considerable, as it was based on the existence of an extensive carrying trade of the Indian Ocean, and above all the Chinese accounts ranging from the 3rd Century B. C. to about the 15th century—with many gaps no doubt—consisting of travels, chronicles and above all the unique Chau-Ju-Kua's description (1225 A. D.) of the different countries of Asia and their important markets and products. After the advent of the Europeans, we have treaties, sanads, reports, proceedings, consultations, diaries, (Indian and foreign—Portuguese Dutch, French and English) which have not yet been fully explored, listed or published.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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JANUARY 19, 1932.

Port Antonio, Jamaica.

Mr. Fullbrooke rejoices that...America is realising that the people of the West Indies are not for sale, and cannot be transferred to the United States without their consent which at present there is no hope of getting. We were both surprised to read in the newspapers that Russia had imported American negroes.

During a four hours motor ride, I had conversation with Percy the chauffeur which puts a modified complexion on things. East Indians (from India) are to be found in the west of the island—at Montego Bay and Westmoreland where they grow rice and split peas, have taught Jamaicans to do the same. The Chinese cultivate vegetables in all parts of the island. In the eastern regions, Britons originally cultivated strawberries and now Jamaicans have learnt the trade and do it themselves. The wages in the fields are 1s. to 6d. with the result that Jamaicans who want to be men, generally go to Panama or to British Honduras or Cuba where they get high wages, and making money return to buy plantation or stores, and set up for themselves. The Atlantic Fruit Co. is already in liquidation; the United Fruit Co. is likely to follow because its policy was to squeeze out small cultivators of bananas who have now been organised into a Jamaica Fruit Co. with capital loaned by the Government. They are

making so much profit that they have repaid most of the loan. The bulk of the land of the island is now in the hands of small-holders. It is a case of poor men against rich.

At St. Margaret's Bay, I engaged a raft, made of bamboo, constructed by its owner and operator, who rows with thin and long bamboo sticks touching the bed of the river, between two ranges of mountains.

The Roman Catholics are gaining because their schools are popular in the big towns, preferred to Government schools. The Protestant denominations have schools without attractions. There are 6,000 Chinamen in Kingston; their children trained in the Roman Catholic schools, become Christians but do not attend Church. The Chinese marry mulatto women.

The Legislature has a majority of coloured members. The White members are all nominated or heads of departments or occasionally elected. Government find no difficulty in carrying through their policy as the coloured members are more interested in running each other down than in presenting a solid anti-Government front. There are no Indians or Chinese members.

Talks with men long resident in Jamaica have given a great deal of information. The negroes, it is said, are showing increasing capacity, but more in promise as yet than in performance, more in passing examinations than in executive ability in Government, more in fluent talk than in constructive achievement. The negro is quick to pick up what he has been taught, he has made a good thing of the strawberry industry. I asked why I had never heard of lynchings on the island, whether the difference was that American Whites were more impulsive, or West Indies negroes more restrained. There is apparently reason to think, both. But there seems to be less assurance among Whites, even long resident there, about the safety of White women now than some years ago.

The *Weekly Times* has a very thoughtful article on the migration of British industry from Northern England to the South and its invisible consequences. One of them is that the Coal and Cotton districts have been planned with amenities of civilization—local government, roads, local transport, banks, school, sanitation—and should industry leave these districts, all this civilization would be wasted, cannot follow industry to the South. In the 19th Century, population increased 56 per cent in 80 years and new industries in new districts found workmen in surplus population; the old industrial districts carried on. Now, it is expected that the English population will begin to fall after 1940. New industries in the South can only use men from the Northern districts left derelict by the failure of industries there, and all the civilising agencies in the South would have to be constructed at fresh cost.

In Kingston I was pressed to go to the root of the present world-depression. I pointed to the excessive equipment of factories and excessive training of work-men specialised in certain trades as a waste of past wealth which had to be written down. Men's consuming power has to be backed by their producing power, and this producing power has been crippled by the excess of capital and labour in wrong occupations, which disables adaptation of effort to more suitable occupations. Fixed improvement, one may generalise, only helps for contingencies for which it was contrived. It is a hindrance for contingencies for which it is not suitable. And that is true of habits as well as lathis.....When Aristocracies get established, Debacle is not far behind.

JANUARY 21, 1932.

S. S. Ariguani.

...The critical stage of the Manchurian question with changing Japanese and Chinese Governments and the American temper as regards Manchuria engage attention. I was glad to see from the *Spectator* of December 26 that the statement in the previous number about the U. S. A. and Great Britain having given a free hand in Manchuria as *quid pro quo* for Japan extinguishing the Anglo-Japanese alliance, has been shown to be without foundation.....The hands of the principal powers being tied, the League and the U. S. A. could follow no other than the wooden policy they have done. Had the League appointed Japan to be its mandatory to extinguish brigandage, had China accepted such a step provided the troops of other powers were associated with the Japanese as in the time of the Boxer Rebellion, had Japan consented to such association with China paying for the service—the League would have taken a real step forward in international co-operation.

JANUARY 22, 1932.

The head steward and the doctor asked questions about the situation in India. They thought Mr. Gandhi was an unpractical fanatic; he should see that British troops alone kept the peace between Hindus and Muslims. I said that this peace would be attained in India, as it has been attained between Catholics and Protestants in Southern Ireland. But are there any competent ideas behind Swaraj, or shall we drift as China has been doing since 1911? The doctor said that he could not deny that there is a real grievance; he was once travelling with an Indian doctor from Colombo, who complained that he had two tickets for reserved seats which a military officer and his wife occupied and declined to vacate, taking as an insult such a proposition to one in the King's uniform. Nor could they be persuaded by the Parsi station-master until he brought up a policeman to dislodge them, and even then after a deal of argument. The ship's doctor said, he would rebel if so treated; the steward said, so would he; he had no patience with White men to whom coloured folk were dirt. I said that the sentiments did them credit; but such incidents happen rarely, have happened even between military in England and civilians in England, and have happened in India for ages between the twice-born and untouchables. True as the fact is, it is not any reason for an upheaval but an excuse. It is supposed that Britain is weak and soft-headed, and that the castes would get back into power. That is the reason. Men consider it a cardinal virtue to aspire to power which they will not know how or where to use.

JANUARY 24—31, 1932.

Today the wireless gives grave news of the Japanese in Shanghai and Lord Selbourne [who is on the boat] came to discuss it with me. He said that the Japs plead the bandits as an excuse for operations, but he agreed when I suggested that the bandits were more than an excuse, that they were a fact and had grown to be a menace. Whatever the intentions, the effect of the clearance is a service. If the Powers do not want Japan to profit by the service, they should associate themselves in the service and force on the Chinese the conditions of civilised living. Undiscriminating boycott, too, is no service to right thinking. And I cannot frown on Japan for taking action to prevent her capital sunk in China being extinguished by this boycott...The way to secure independence is not to let banditry thrive but a momentary condominium by

the Powers till they could free China from the rival ambitions of the Tuchuns, erect a clean administration and create a national well-drilled Chinese army for defence. Owing to the competing interests of the Powers, the risk of "imperialism" would be averted. Formulae of national independence without conditions of civilised joint living have not yet either secured independence or promoted civilised life.

Those of us who cast stones at Japan for taking the law into her own hands, ought to give the Japs the assurance that there is a law elsewhere adequate to the situation. If the League decide only on the written word, and cry aloud that a Pact is a Pact, that would be like saying, all Killing is Murder, even in self-defence. If we are enjoined to take the straight path, we must not fear that the only straight path available is closed in advance. The League should be a Court in Equity. Moreover China allowed Russia to extort from her concessions, and her armies were in Chinese territories. It would seem as though Japan was being penalised by China because both Japan and China belonged to the League.

Another passenger, Mrs. Alexander, though she likes the Chinese, suggested that it would be better for the world and China, if China benefited by Japanese organization. Together, China and Japan might master the world. My comment on this was that if the Powers wanted to prevent that, they should do China the service the Japanese can give.

A president of a Committee of the London Chamber of Commerce writes to the *Times* that the Japs are not at all the aggressors even at Shanghai, that a Chinese anti-Japanese Association has been formed which not only boycotts Jap goods, but also seizes and confiscates Japanese cargo and sells it cheap, restraining by force Chinese merchants from dealing in other Jap goods. And this happens in the International Settlement at Shanghai of which Japan is a joint member with Britain and the U. S. A. Japan appealed for redress to the Municipal Council which administers the Settlement, and received cold comfort. I don't wonder that the Japanese admiral took the law into his own hand. The Power with the chastest international record which hesitated to stand by its own nationals in peril of security to life and property, would be a fool. It would have been a different matter if the Municipal Council or the League had demonstrated that its law was effective.

The doctor rejoices that the League of Nations has sent a warning to Japan. I protest that China's attitude is that of the non-violent non-co-operation of Mr. Gandhi; they both try on, hoping that their enemies' arm will be paralysed by their own principles—Japan's loyalty to the League, and the British repugnance to Force. If the Powers suspect Japan, they must offer to do the Police work Japan professes to do. You do not allow a tiger to eat me up, and enjoin non-resistance on me lest he be my ancestor of a previous incarnation.

I submitted that, as the Manchus conquered China, I could not treat Manchuria as an integral part of China, to separate which would be organic mutilation. Manchuria was originally saved for China by Japan and its present development is due mainly to Japan. All this is not to condone Japan's violence but to show that no intervention can claim acceptance which does not accept recognition of facts.

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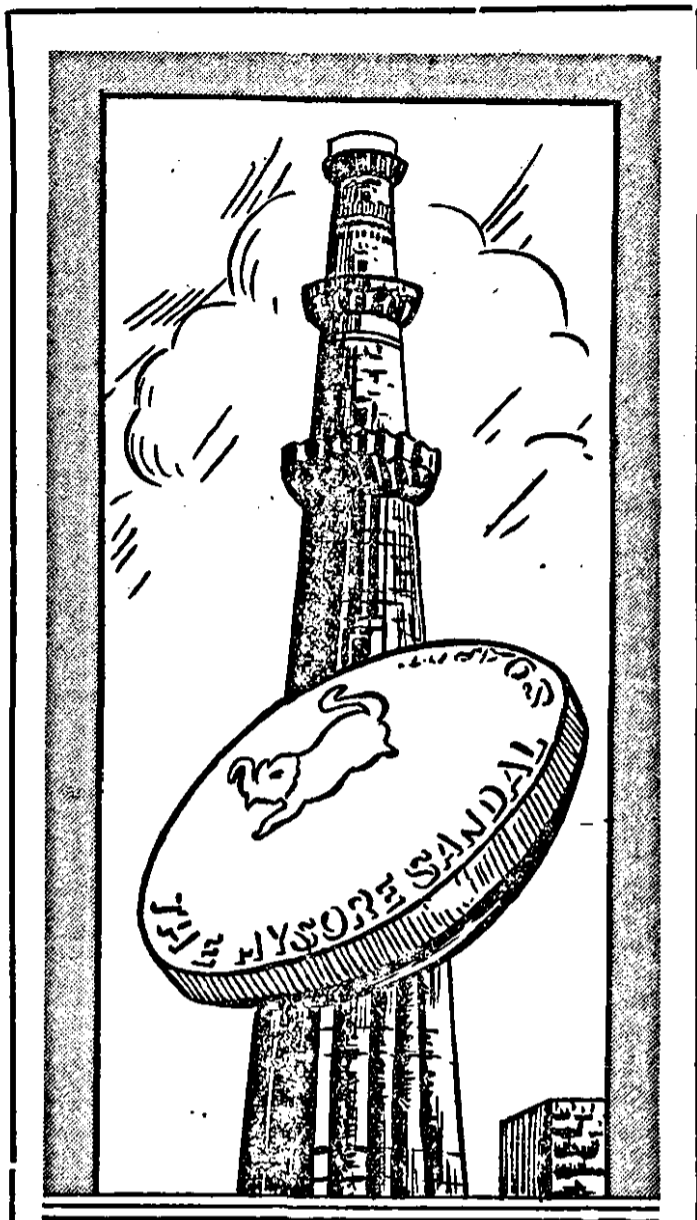
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Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MAY 9, 1942. No. 36.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Late Professor Fardunjee Dastur.
All India Congress Committee.
Guerilla Tactics.
National Front.
War and Christianity.
More Cripps.
Rajagopalacharya's Resolution.

The Roots of Democracy.
The Late Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminath Aiyar.
Twenty-Four Upanishads.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
All India Congress Committee Resolution.
The "Indian Witness" and the Present War.

NOTES.

Late Professor Fardunjee Dastur:—Professor Fardunjee Dastur passed away on Tuesday the 5th instant at the lordly age of 87. He was for several years Professor of Mathematics in the Elphinstone College. He was a capable teacher but that was not all. He was a friend of his pupils who brought not only their mathematical but also their personal problems to him for solution. In a co-educational institution these occasionally took the geometrical form of a triangle and Professor Dastur, who was a deep student of sex psychology, found a way to a solution to the satisfaction of all parties. He was a disciplinarian who ruled by love not by fear. Although not in the least inclined to the pompousness of the pedagogue, his students respected him as much as they loved him. This was strikingly illustrated by the lifelong and intimate friendship between Professor Dastur and Sir Lalubhai Samaldas. Sir Lalubhai was Professor Dastur's student at the Samaldas College at Bhavnagar. The contact then made developed into a close and confidential friendship between them and not a week passed without Sir Lalubhai calling at Professor Dastur's place in Bandra and spending an hour or two conversing on current events. For many years, Professor Dastur held the office of Registrar of the Bombay University along with his position in the College. His relations with his staff were those of members of a family. He entered into their difficulties and shielded them from the consequences of their mistakes. Even when feelings in the Senate ran high, as during Lord Curzon's University legislation, Professor Dastur maintained his cordial standing with all parties and was trusted and respected by them. His influence over thousands of his students and colleagues in Elphinstone College and the University, was a greater force in moulding the academic life of the Presidency than that of many others who were more prominently in the limelight. In recognition of his services, Govern-

ment conferred on him the title of Khan Bahadur usually reserved for Excise Inspectors and wholesale grocers. Professor Dastur received the announcement without enthusiasm and his friends never used the title in addressing him. It was in connection with this episode in his career that Professor Dastur lapsed into one of his rare reminiscent moods. He attended a Governor's levee once at Poona. He was introduced by the "Oriental Translator" of the day as Mr. Byramjee Muncherjee and, before he could say a word in correction, he was hustled out of the reception room and overheard the next presentee being introduced as Professor Fardunjee Muncherjee Dastur! Professor Dastur was a loyal and affectionate friend. After much pressure he contributed a series of article to the *Reformer* many years ago on social life in the Bombay Parsi community. He often spoke wistfully of the neighbourly relations which prevailed among Hindus, Muslims and Parsees in bygone days. The greatest influence on his life was Professor Mirza Hairat, a political refugee from Iran, and a profound scholar and great gentleman. Professor Dastur speak often of him in enthusiastic praise. Those who had the privilege of Professor Dastur's friendship will cherish his memory affectionately.

All India Congress Committee:—The All India Congress Committee concluded its session at Allahabad on Saturday last. A day prior to its meeting, the Congress Working Committee met and drafted three resolutions for submission to the All India Committee. Two of these, as stated in last week's *Reformer*, were by a Gazette Extraordinary of the Government of India, banned publication in newspapers. They were moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the All India Committee and passed unanimously. The third and main resolution (printed elsewhere) drafted by the Working Committee, related to the general political situation as affected by Sir Stafford Cripps' negotiations. It was refreshingly free from the circumlocution and verbal gymnastics so common in resolutions of that body. The resolution disclaimed responsibility for the war and indicated that if the country had been consulted, it would have adopted a course which would have prevented its being involved in it. Alternatively, the defence of the country would have been organised on a popular basis with a national army under national control and leadership. The Committee took exception to the

introduction of foreign armies into the country neglecting the inexhaustible man power available in India. The Committee directed that foreign invasion should be resisted. This part of the resolution reads as follows :

Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation as the British Government has prevented the organisation of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would, therefore, expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes and fields, we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die, in the effort to resist him.

The resolution went on to say that not to put any obstacles in the way of the British forces, will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the invaders. "Judging from their attitude the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference," says the resolution. The reference to non-violent, non-co-operation has been made out in some quarters to show Gandhiji's hand. But Gandhiji holds non-violence as a principle to be observed under all conditions. The resolution, on the contrary, reluctantly elects for non-violent non-co-operation as the only course left to it owing to the attitude of Government. The initiative in non-co-operation proceeds from Government, according to the Committee. There is, therefore, no option to the Congress but to stand aloof where it is not wanted. If Gandhiji drafted the resolution, he has taken great care to make it consonant with the Committee's non-acceptance of non-violence as a dogma.

Guerilla Tactics:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had advocated guerilla tactics to harrass the invader. The All India Congress Committee's resolution recommends non-violent non-co-operation. There is an apparent contradiction here. To a certain extent the Pandit must have resiled from his original position in giving his support to the Committee's resolution. But the most effective part of the guerilla method is non-co-operation and not violence. The guerilla tactics can, therefore, be adopted in a non-violent form. This, no doubt, is a variant from the form observed in Russia of which Mr. Philip Jordan, the representative of the *Daily News Chronicle* of London in New Delhi, gave an interesting account on the All India Radio last Friday. Among the activities mentioned, there were several, for instance, giving information regarding the enemy's movements to the regular forces; even misleading him as to the whereabouts of the latter, do not involve violence. This is an improved and humane form of guerilla tactics. The statesman, as distinguished from the politician who lives for the moment, does not lose sight of peace which must come some day. To foster practices which would have to be put down in peace time among the population, is not the policy of statesmen. The danger of the guerilla method, unless wisely

guided, lies in another direction, even during war time. The method may be used not only against the invading army but also against peaceful citizens who are obnoxious to the guerillas. In Russia the guerilla operations are conducted in co-operation with the national army and the danger is negligible. But, when, between the guerilla and the regular forces there is no understanding, the civil population will be subjected to serious hardships. Non-violence, in such conditions, is an important safe-guard. Guerilla war is only a form of the "scorched earth" policy on which the All India Congress Committee refrained from making any pronouncement. In answer to a question. Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant who moved the main resolution contented himself with remarking that the question was a difficult one and that the Working Committee was considering it. But nothing came out of the consideration and the impression might be created that the All India Congress Committee saw no serious objection to the policy. This is most unfortunate. As we have pointed out more than once, the "scorched earth" policy is a futile and stupid method which has not benefitted those who adopted it in a single case. In India, its effects would be most disastrous and it will cause considerable resentment.

National Front:—Mr. Rajagopalacharya explained his future programme to Press representatives at New Delhi on the morrow of his Waterloo in Allahabad. He wants to create a National Front against the aggressors whoever they may be. For that he must have a National Army with which the civilian population must be in close touch. A National Army presupposes a National Government. In order to have a National Government, the Congress and the Muslim League must agree on a common platform. His provisional acceptance of Pakistan was to get the League to co-operate with the Congress. He intends to carry on an All India propaganda to get public opinion to support this programme. Lord Linlithgow has called upon the country to form a National Front at once. His Excellency does not seem to think that a National Army or a National Government are essential to a National Front, that without either of them a National Front can not be created and maintained. The Governor of Bombay agreeing with the Viceroy has nominated Vice Chancellor R. P. Masani as leader and has instructed him to form a National Front for the Bombay Province. Mr. Masani called the editors of Bombay newspapers together on Tuesday and invited their co-operation in organising the Front of which he has been constituted Leader. The Vice-Chancellor emphasised at rather unnecessary length that the Front was entirely non-official. National Front overleaps all barriers of official and non-official and to insist that it is either the one or the other is inconsistent with the very idea. Mr. Masani defined the objects of the National Front to be, among other things, a continuous war on fifth columnists and scare-mongers.

sedulously creating panic and defeatist mentality. We have said more than once that there are and can be no fifth columnists in the sense that they are working for the enemy in this country. We repeat that today. There are a large number of people who are legitimately dissatisfied, disappointed, irritated, even angry at the discriminatory policy evidenced in various directions. It is easy to represent this as fifth column activity since there is no real fifth columnists to carry a continuous war upon. As for scare and panic mongers they are to be found not among the common people who go about their daily task, the common round, as if barbarous Japanese dwelt in another planet. They are not in the least panicky or scared. It is the idle rich who start the scares for want of something better to do and if Mr. Masani has the courage to bring these to book he will earn the right to lead this as well as other fronts, national or sectional. As for rumours, it is unwise to disregard them. Neglect of rumours has often led to unhappy consequences. An illiterate people find vent for their fancies by imagining things and believing that what they imagined has actually occurred. Rumours have a high administrative value. A wise Government will appoint an agency to collect the rumours each day, to sift them and show the people that they are groundless or to what extent they are based on fact and what was being done to obviate the factual element being repeated. A suppressed thought is a dangerous thought. Defeatist mentality is the inevitable consequence of too many reverses and too few victories in the war. It is best countered by winning battles in the War Front.

War and Christianity:—The *Indian Witness'* exposition of Christ's attitude to war in a recent issue is so novel that we give the article in full on another page. In it the *Witness* takes the line that Christ approved of war, provided the king, or nation, who entered on it, was reasonably confident of victory. More, according to the *Witness*, Christ, less concerned with ethics in this case than with military strategy, would seem to have supported aggression by strong nations on the weak, and to have sternly discountenanced useless resistance. The resistance of the British Empire and America is justified, by this "formula of Jesus," because they can defend themselves whilst the submission of continental Europe comes also within the formula. We should have thought that, having thus reduced Jesus Christ to twentieth century opportunism, the *Witness* would end up on the note that "what is good enough for Jesus, should be good enough for Christians." However, even the *Witness* feels that the attitude indicated by the "formula" is not a very worthy attitude to take and it adds at the end a full measure of "representative institutions," "religious liberty," "national rights and privileges," "sacrifices and

struggles of our ancestors," and comes out with a direct contradiction of the "formula of Jesus" enunciated by it, by saying of Britain and the U.S.A. "even if they should fail, their aim is justified." The "formula" is taken from Luke 14:31 which reads: "What king going to war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and desireth conditions of peace?"

More Cripps:—Whatever else it might or might not have achieved, the Lord Privy Seale's Mission to India has made Cripps a household word in this country. Every body speaks of Cripps, thinks of Cripps, perhaps, dreams of Cripps. Every paper, every magazine which you open, thrusts Cripps in to your face. One feels almost sick of having too much Cripps in the daily bill of fare. The *Twentieth Century* for May has an editorial on Cripps, a lengthy contribution by Sir Jagadish Prasad on Cripps and another contribution by "A Muslim Observer" on Cripps. In the editorial Cripps figures as a negotiator "more clever than convincing, more breezy than weighty, he lacks the dignity of a Lothian and the subtlety of a Montagu." Sir Jagadish Prasad accuses Sir Stafford of deliberately slighting the Governor General's Executive Council, so much so that objection was raised by the Congress leaders in their final interview "to being members of a Government which would still go under the appellation of an Executive Council whose insignificance Sir Stafford Cripps had so publicly confirmed." Sir Jagadish nevertheless holds that the Congress made a great mistake, threw away a great opportunity, in not accepting the Cripps scheme. The "Muslim Observer" upholds the attitude of the Congress. Referring to Sir Stafford's remark that Parliament could not have passed the necessary legislation to effect a real transfer of power, he says: "Here Sir Stafford was even legally inaccurate, since he was denying the competence of the British Parliament which can enact anything promptly." But did the Congress representatives insisting on immediate legislation? It does not appear that they did. Pending the end of the war, they wanted a convention that the Viceroy would act as a constitutional ruler on the advice of his Ministers. The Viceroy apparently would not agree. Here was the necessity which the *Reformer* urged immediately on the announcement of Sir Stafford's mission, that he should come clothed with the authority of the Secretary of State for India.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 9, 1942.

RAJAGOPALACHARYA'S RESOLUTION.

The All India Congress Committee rejected by an overwhelming majority (120 to 15) Mr. Rajagopalacharya's resolution to acknowledge the Muslim League's claim to have India divided into a Muslim and a non-Muslim section. The resolution, it may be recalled, was passed by the group of Madras Legislators at a meeting held a few days before the Working Committee meeting which preceded the session of the All India Congress Committee in Allahabad. It was placed before the Working Committee which rejected it. As the Working Committee is the Cabinet of the Congress President, Mr. Rajagopalacharya resigned his membership of it and brought the resolution before the All India Congress Committee. Mr. Rajagopalacharya made a clever speech. He argued that unpopular measures often proved beneficial and came to be accepted as beneficial by the public. This is a point with which we are in entire agreement. The history of the social reform movement during the last seventy years conclusively proves it. The two instances which he cited, however, were both political and both unfortunate. One of them, namely, his temple entry legislation, is regretted not the least by those who believe and have laboured much longer than he in the field of social reform for the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes. The Hindu community is never impervious to reason and humanity and it would have gladly accepted the reform if Mr. Rajagopalacharya had stuck to his first declared intention to take the conservative general body with him in securing acceptance of the reform. He is right in saying that the reform is accepted by all as good but he is wrong in suggesting that his method in bringing it about, has the approval of all who do so. His other point was the Khilafat movement. No one who has followed the course of events in connection with the abolition of the Khilafat by Kemal Ataturk, will accept Mr. Rajagopalacharya's dictum that it strengthened the Indian Muslim cause either in India or in Turkey. The Ghazi abolished the Sultanate but hesitated to deal in the same drastic way with the Caliphate. Indian Muslim agitation for its preservation presented him with the opportunity to do away with the Caliphate also as being a centre of foreign intrigue. Indian Muslims have since come round to acknowledge Kemal Ataturk as a far-seeing statesman, as was demonstrated by the encomiums passed by both Congress and the Muslim League at his death. Every unpopular movement is not necessarily right any more than every popular movement. At the same time, we gladly acknowledge the courage exhibited by Mr. Rajagopalacharya in moving his ill-conceived resolution, knowing that it will evoke strong opposition from practically the whole

politically-minded population, except the section comprised in the Muslim League.

We wonder how many even of the Muslim Leaguers approve of his action after reading his speech in moving the resolution. He left no doubt of his own belief that Pakistan was an illusion. "Let us give to Muslims what they have been asking. It is a mere shadow. They will themselves say they do not want it, if you do not keep it in your pocket but throw it on the table." The implication is unmistakable that the leaders of the Muslim League are children who can not be argued with but should be humoured. We are surprised that some leaders of the Muslim League and their professed friends have come forward to express their appreciation of this contemptuous concession which Mr. Rajagopalacharya would throw at them. Sometime back Mr. Rajagopalacharya offered through a London journal that Mr. Jinnah should be made Prime Minister of India and that he (Rajagopalacharya) would get the Congress to support him in the Legislature. That was a straightforward offer, and perfectly consistent with the sentiment of Indian unity. If he had now said "Let the Muslim League take over the whole country without dividing it and the others stand aside", he would have acted like the real mother, in the Solomon legend, who was prepared to hand over her child to the impostor rather than see it killed and divided between them. It would have shown a high measure of patriotism. But to offer to have the country cut up in order to demonstrate to the Muslim League that what it was hankering after, was an illusion, may be an adroit political move but it is devoid of any other merit. Mr. Rajagopalacharya did not stop there. He exhorted the All India Congress Committee, even if it threw out his resolution, not to pass another sponsored by Mr. Jagat Narain and 50 other members, laying down that any scheme of partition was repugnant to the Congress Party. He said that it would irrevocably close the door to negotiation with the Muslim League. He characterised it as a most dangerous proposition. The resolution nevertheless was carried by a large majority, but the size of the majority was less than that against Mr. Rajagopalacharya's resolution (92 to 17). This shows that Mr. Jagat Narain's resolution was not by any means supererogatory. As we remarked last week in the leading article and as Mr. Rajagopalacharya showed by quoting previous pronouncements of Congress leaders, the Congress has not been very definite against the idea of dividing up India. Mr. Jagat Narain's resolution for the time being at least will operate to discourage attempts like Mr. Rajagopalacharya's.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya quoted from the Delhi resolution of the Working Committee and from Mr. Gandhi's article in the *Harijan* in support

of his claim that he was making no new departure from accepted Congress policy. The Delhi resolution said that the Working Committee could not think in terms of compelling people in a territorial unit to remain in the Indian Union against their declared and established will. Gandhiji had declared that if a vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation, no power on earth could compel them to think otherwise. Gandhiji's observation has no bearing on Mr. Rajagopalacharya's resolution. The Scotch and the Welsh regard themselves as constituting separate nationalities from the English but that does not lead them to demand that the country should be partitioned into three parts and if it did, neither Mr. Winston Churchill nor even Mr. Amery, would accept the claim. There are several other instances. It does not appear that Gandhiji intended to support a demand for partition on the ground of a subjective notion. As for the Congress Working Committee's resolution passed at Delhi, it does certainly favour the idea of a partition and Mr. Rajagopalacharya was justified in claiming it as supporting his point of view. But that only shows that both the Working Committee and he himself are in the wrong. The classic precedent is the American Civil War. According to the Working Committee and Mr. Rajagopalacharya, President Lincoln should have left the Southern States to secede from the Union on the issue of slavery. The British Government of the time was inclined to support the South in its demand to be left out of the Union. If that view had prevailed the United States today would not be helping Britain against her enemies. If any section of a population long domiciled in a country, feels dissatisfied with it, emigration is the obvious and time-honoured course to adopt. It cannot claim to carry away a part of the country with it. Millions of people emigrated to the United States from Europe because they were discontented with their lot, either political or economic. There is no question of compelling anybody to remain in the geographical area where he was born. The right of domicile accrues with his birth. He may renounce it by changing to another domicile but he can not remain in the same country and arrogate for himself a different domicile; much less can he demand a division of the country to gratify his desire.

THE ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY.

The contents of Christianity at the present day when compared with the teachings of the Founder and still more with those of St. Paul reveal enormous differences. Like every living religion Christianity has assimilated many new ideas from many sources and discarded some as being flagrantly incompatible with new conditions in its world wide environment. Its attitude towards war is a contemporary instance. Another

instance is the claim put forward in so many quarters that democracy is a Christian concept. The most recent, as well as the most absolute, pronouncement of this character is published in the *Crosier's Quarterly* for January in an article with the heading "Can we get the fruits of democracy without the roots?" by Dr. Gordon Poteat of the Crozier Theological Seminary. Naturally Dr. Poteat has to define at the outset what democracy is. To ten men out of eleven, democracy means simply the rule of the majority. If you get the electorates by hook or by crook to send a majority to the Legislature or Municipal or Academic Council, who accept your leadership, you can get anything passed which catches your fancy. You can confiscate the property, suppress the journals, imprison the persons, of those who oppose your proposals. For the time being, you may claim and enforce the claim to be the sole patriotic party, to be the only sensible judge of what is good for the people. This view obtains in some countries where democratic institutions are of recent introduction. In older democratic countries, however, this crude conception of democracy has been left behind. We say "conception" because the actual practice may be just the same as under the cruder conception. Political thinkers have discarded the definition of democracy as the rule of the majority. "The greatest good of the greatest number," the old utilitarian formula, is condemned by every decent writer as the goal of good government. Minority rights, even where the minority is only a single individual, are insisted upon as the essential of civilised government. Democracy has thus acquired an ethical significance not to be derived from mere numbers. It is pointed out that the masses in Jerusalem voted for the release of Barabbas in preference to Jesus Christ when Pilate wanted to know which of them he should release in accordance with Roman custom at the festival of the Jews. In passing, modern researches tend to prove that Barabbas was not a robber. He was the leader of a political and patriotic movement against Roman rule and as usual was officially classed as a bandit. Even a Jerusalem mob would not like to have a robber set free to continue his depredations. In voting for Barabbas, it was voting for a popular leader whom it believed to be fighting for its freedom from foreign rule.

Dr. Poteat begins by quoting from a book written by an American journalist who entertained high notions of the Soviet regime before he visited Russia. On return, Eugene Lyons published his famous book "Assignment in Utopia." Dr. Poteat quotes his concluding remarks as under :

I left Russia convinced that man's greatest task is to defend the basic concepts of freedom and respect for life.....No plan for economic salvation can be accepted if it is diseased with disdain for life. Ultimately, the Russian experience will be judged, not by the goal of a full belly, but by how much freedom, self-respect, justice, truth and human kindness, it brought into the world.

Dr. Poteat takes hold of the phrase "basic concepts of freedom and respect for life," and questions if the term "basic" is rightly applied to the two ideas, freedom and respect for life. He thinks not. "They are," he maintains, "inferences from certain fundamental Christian convictions about life as a whole. I am convinced that apart from these Christian convictions the concepts of freedom and respect for life, are rootless, and if they are separated from their roots they will wither away and die." Dr. Poteat proceeds to develop this theme on abstract grounds. Without entering into a theological controversy, it occurs to us that Dr. Poteat's claim is not in keeping with historical fact. Respect for life, was taught as a cardinal religious principle in ancient India from at least the time of Gautama Buddha. Ahimsa is a word which Gandhiji has made familiar to the modern world. Though animal sacrifices were prevalent in the Jerusalem Temple where he worshipped, Jesus never spoke against them and even bade his followers go and offer sacrifices at the Temple. Even limiting respect for life to human life the principle was recognised in India before the Christian revelation. Then, as regards freedom, surely, freedom of religion was a cardinal principle of government in India centuries before Christian nations came to accept it. The claim that the two are rooted in Christianity, is untenable. Eugene Lyons is right in attributing them to the Justice which is inherent in a moral universe.

THE LATE MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA SWAMINATH AIYAR.

Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyar whose death took place on the 29th April, laid the foundations and raised the walls of the superstructure which has now developed into a distinctive school of the early history of South India. Venkataraman, which was the name which his parents gave him at the naming ceremony, was born of a very poor Brahmin family. His father eked out a precarious livelihood by reading and reciting the Hindu puranas in the villages round about his home. Venkataraman, like other Brahmin young men in similar circumstances, was pressed by his parents to learn Sanskrit as became a Brahmin boy. In his early days, about eighty years ago, Sanskrit learning was a passport to social and economic advancement. Venkataraman tried to learn Sanskrit but gave it up as it did not interest him. His friends next advised him to learn English as many Brahmin young men were doing. English was then the open sesame to an official career to Indian boys. Venkataraman was not attracted by English either. He wanted to learn Tamil and become a scholar in that language though the openings for one even then were scanty. The Tamil Saiva Mutts were rich and patronised Tamil learning. The young Brahmin boy found his way to one of them and attracted the notice of the head of the Mutt by his intelligence and industry. One of the first things suggested to him by his patron was to change his name from Venkataraman to Swaminathan. The reason given was that the place was a Saivite centre and, though the Saivism of the Saiva Siddhanta was not inimical as the Saivism of the Lingayats or Veerasaivas to Vishnu worship, still a

purely Saivite name would be more appropriate to a scholar attached to the Mutt than Venkataraman which was a Vaishnavite designation of the Supreme. The Abbot suggested 'Swaminathan' as a suitable substitute and, with the approval of his parents, the young Brahmin scholar adopted that name and became famous under it. Swaminatha Aiyar remained several years in the place and became one of the Professors in the Tamil College conducted by the Mutt.

In his autobiographical articles in the Tamil weekly, the *Ananda Vikatan*, Swaminatha Aiyar gives a vivid description of the routine and discipline of the Mutt and its head. Tamil was the principal object of study but Sanskrit was also provided for. The Head of the Mutt was a non-Brahmin but his way of life was that of a Sanyasin. He was learned both in the Sanskrit and Tamil languages and equally at home in both. At the same time, he carried on the administration of the large estates of the Mutt which had branches in some other places in the Tamil country and in important sacred places like Benares. From four in the morning when he got out of bed until at about ten at night, the Abbot attended to his duties, a large part of the time being given to study and conversation with visiting scholars. Swaminatha Aiyar became closely associated with all these activities but the remuneration permissible to the officials of this establishment was small. The necessity of providing for his family which included his old parents, obliged him with much reluctance to accept the post of Tamil Pandit in the Kumbhakonam College. A short time after his appointment to the post, he came in contact with Salem Ramaswami Mudaliyar who was then a District Munsiff in that town. Ramaswami Mudaliyar was one of the delegates who first went to England to plead the cause of India, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was another. Ramaswami Mudaliyar it was who put Swaminath Aiyar in the way of recovering, editing and publishing the Tamil classics of the pre-Sanskritic era. The Mutt authorities were astonished when they were told by Swaminatha Aiyar that there were Tamil works of higher antiquity than those studied in the Mutt, preserved in by old families in the Tamil country, which had inherited a tradition for scholarship. In several houses, he was saddened by being told that they had floated heaps of such manuscripts along the river as no one seemed likely to want them or understand them. English education had caught on and led to the destruction of old precious manuscripts far more than the iconoclasm of Islam.

Swaminatha Aiyar made his way to Jain families who lived their own life in a separate quarter of Kumbhakonam. They were surprised to see this young Brahmin coming to them and greatly helped him in his search for old manuscripts. The oldest works in Tamil were written by Jainas and Swaminatha Aiyar obtained some fragments of them from his Jaina friends with directions as to where he might look for more. In his account of his intercourse with Jainas, a prosperous class of merchants, he was surprised to be referred for information about the old literature to the lady of the family whom he found well posted in the Jain classics. The publication of a critical edition of the Chintamani, one of the recovered books, brought Swaminatha Aiyar to the notice of European scholars. One of them, Julian Vinson, sent him a copy of an old Tamil work from the Paris Museum. But to the rest of India Swaminatha Aiyar remained an unknown figure. Swaminatha Aiyar's work stimulated the interest of other scholars who have worked and are working to elucidate the history

of the South from the earliest times. The romance of India, it has been said, lies buried in the South and we are daily getting fresh glimpses of it in the works of devoted researchers. Swaminatha Aiyar died at Tirukalikundram, the sacred hill where from ancient times two Brahmini kites, supposed to be the incarnations of ancient rishis, are fed at an appointed hour by the temple priests. Mr. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar of Chidambaram has published a monograph on the inscriptions in this ancient temple. One of these, he observes, contains the oldest reference to a temple found in any South Indian inscription published hitherto. A great and gracious career has found its close in a place hallowed by the memory of some of the greatest Saiva saints. Swaminatha Aiyar's devotion to his parents was extremely touching. When he received his first month's salary from the College he took it straight to his mother, placed it in her hands and prostrated himself at her feet. The autobiographical chapters end in this week's magazine with the purchase of a house for himself. Swaminatha Aiyar says that this was the great ambition of his father but he had not the good fortune to have it fulfilled in his lifetime. We do not know if the whole of the autobiography was completed before Swaminatha Aiyar's death. It is one of the best autobiographies by an Indian scholar that we have come across. As a picture of a social and cultural system which has all but passed away, the work is of entrancing interest.

TWENTY-FOUR UPANISHADS.

The Samanya Vedanta Upanishads :

English translation by Shri T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, B.A., L.T. The Adyar Library, 1941.

The Upanishads are difficult to understand without proper guidance. That is the reason why there is so much misapprehension about their philosophy. What is the nature of the Absolute? Do the Upanishads teach that the objective world is an illusion? Do they teach Pantheism? A deep and patient study under proper guidance alone can enable one to understand their true significance. Sir S. Radhakrishnan has laid the English-reading public under a great debt of gratitude by throwing considerable light on these abstruse questions in his "Philosophy of the Upanishads". The present volume is the second of the translation series published by the Adyar Library—the first having appeared in 1938. The Adyar Library had planned the publication of the 108 Upanishads with the commentary of Shri Upanishad—Brahma—Yogin which had not yet been published. This volume contains the English translation of 24 Upanishads. "I have almost reached the end of the tenure of my labours as well as of my life and fervently hope to derive the supreme satisfaction of having discharged my duties to the full and see the work published before I seek refuge in the lotus-feet of the Lord and attain Kaivalya through his grace," says the translator in his preface. What more or better could any one hope for? His work is so well done; the translation is so lucid—that he deserves the thanks of all seekers after the wisdom of the Upanishads, who can not understand the original text or commentary. Even to a casual reader, there is so much that is interesting and worth learning. The 41 queries in the Niralambopanishad, for example, contain such questions as (1) what is Jati or division based on birth? (2) what is happiness? (3) what is heaven (Swarga)? and very fine answers are given. There is a prefatory note at the head of each Upanishad explaining what its rank is, of what Veda it forms

part and its brief contents. The table of contents is so full that it gives a very good idea of all the topics dealt with and is well suited for reference. The following are the names of some of the Upanishads of which translations appear in this volume, *viz* : Adhyatmopanishad, Atma-bodhupanishad, Mudgalopanishad, Subalopanishad, Shuka-Rahasyopanishad and Skandopanishad.

B. G. K.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(*Copyright.*)

S. S. Corfu.

FEBRUARY 8, 1932.

The name of the fraud I so far called a Jap, is Shaw, he is a relative of Bernard Shaw. His father emigrated to the Far East without a penny years ago, and is now well off as an export and import agent and agent of steamships in Manchuria....Yesterday he had evaded my question why his or any Japanese name was not in the list of passengers, by pleading that he had booked late. Today no evasive answer could be trumped up to my question whether there were two races in Japan—one as fair as himself, the other dark. That brought out the truth. There was nothing Japanese about him except his stature and his eyes. He is sensitive to jokes; he takes a point and is merry over it but he does not laugh pointlessly as I have seen a Jap consul in Bombay do.

FEBRUARY 13, 1932.

There was a party sitting opposite me at tea and the lady in it started conversation. She is looking forward to Malta. She was wondering about the politics of Malta, did not know about the Report of the Commission until I told her, and of its strictures on Lord Strickland and its recommendation of the restoration of the constitution.....Though I would have liked to see the antique temples in the interior, they were too far away.....Yet it proved a mistake [not to have landed]; it was carnival time and excitable Malta was worth seeing under those circumstances.....Two Maltese had come on board. I had talked with one who had told me of the carnival and the excitable Maltese disapproval of the Commission's Report though it restored to Malta her constitution, and was severe on Lord Strickland, her Prime Minister. Lord Strickland, he said, strove to be popular and was popular with the upper grade of the Maltese.

The doctor warns that we mistake when we identify abnormal appearance, like the erect head with aristocracy or character, or ears jammed against the cranium with beauty. Abnormality, he says, is degeneration. It seems too sweeping.

FEBRUARY 19, 1932.

A missionary lady sat by me this evening for a whole hour. She said I must be a thinker seeing my preoccupation with unceasing reading. Do I know the Bible—the Book of Books? A little, I said, and sometimes, like Old Harry, I even quote it. For example, Be ye perfect, even as your mother, the Corfu, is perfect. She agreed that ours was a fine ship; but Life and Light and Love are finer than all; and who gave them? I said I was not interested and would not be till I knew more how life and light and love worked. But if I imperil all eternity with my neglect? Well, I did not look for or to a Hereafter. Then did the Son die in vain? Not for me, anyhow. I don't feel any need. In 1884, visiting Prof. Simpson, when he started on the discussion of the need for Atonement because of my Original Sin, I had frankly

explained that I had felt no sense of Sin, and I do not feel it now. She talked of the work of St. Paul and his martyrdom. I said she doubtless knew more than I, but George Moore had given, in his book called "The Brook Kerith," another version of the Resurrection and of St. Paul's vision which satisfied the little interest I felt in the subject. Still she spoke on and on, and of her thirty-five years in China and the sheep she had brought to the fold, first one and then others whom the converts brought in.

FEBRUARY 21, 1932.

There are three Civil Servants from Malaya on the ship and they all hate the new proposed recruitment by nomination for the services. I asked what would happen if the very numerous and prosperous Chinese in Malaya threatened a boycott unless Britain was definitely pro-Chinese. They would have no hope, said one of them. I pointed out that Indian Mohamedans were successful in winning over Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, and Mr. Lloyd George fell on this question.

FEBRUARY 24, 1932.

Another more or less perfect day. Not only perfection irks, it weakens the human fibre; there is nothing to react against; one misses the joy of effort in the attainment of effortless comfort.

The missionary lady was walking from the opposite side as I was taking my constitutional. I prepared myself to hear, "Get thee behind me, Satan," but with smiles and grace, she discussed the Universe with me, President Wilson wanted to make the world safe for Democracy; some present-day hermit wants to make the Universe safe for a soul; and I thought this lady would wish to make table-talk secure for more sheep. Instead, she bewailed the fate of China. I explained my provisional attitude to understand and forgive Japan. China was a huge hulking bulk, with a loose nervous system and no brain in the shape of a Central Government; whales are said to require three minutes before a stimulus reaches their brain; China requires years. True, she said, but is it not marvellous that in spite of bulk and numbers, China has achieved a national unity? I expressed my surprise; the absence of sectional conflict would only argue the absence of consciousness—the condition of the French peasant before the Revolution—too ground down to cast down his burden. And I am not sure of the absence of sectional feeling and contention—Canton, Nanking and Peking are in conflict and, may be, some difference of race qualities may underlie that conflict. And we both resumed our walks—in opposite directions. At tea, a lady proceeding to Hong-Kong discussed the same subject again, with the same result—but a different route.

Another faded reputation, as a man, is Goethe's. I like the delineation of his aloofness from Beethoven and his character generally as arising from a "panicky" soul; he who preached the gospel of Serenity, was like Carlyle who preached, as Morley said, the gospel of Silence in forty volumes and to the scream of "Thou fool." (I told Mr. Shaw to look up the derivation of "silly." It originally meant "serene.") Rousseau also is depreciated; but Rousseau's depreciation is done by F. W. Bain, a Professor at Deccan College, brought from Oxford and the Fellowship of All Souls, where, as a student, he had the reputation of a promise of genius. He was brought to mind lately by the Charles II exhibition in London which is helping to restore the reputation of that lovable monarch whom even the sedate Hallam denounced. F. W. Bain had in the 90's surprised historians by characterising Charles II as the Patriot King, the conceiver and contriver of

England's naval supremacy. In the article on Rousseau there are some fine plums, such as, that virtue, like modesty, in approving itself, loses itself, though the virtuous self-approvers don't know it.

So you see, reputations are not only being lost but gained or regained. Castlereigh has been definitely rehabilitated; the Kaiser is being forgotten. Games at girls' schools are being held out as a model for boys, in spite of sex-perversion being ascribed to the masculinity of mothers which is traced to games. Perhaps the greatest reputation has been made by the chronology of the Bible; British officials in Zion find time to identify places, events and monuments.

FEBRUARY 26, 1932.

(There is an article in "Current History" on the ambition of the Cantonese to dominate China, and on the pacific penetration of Pacific lands and Burma and the Indies by Chinamen (chiefly Cantonese who send money from overseas to Canton organizations to prosecute pro-Canton campaigns).

Mr. Shaw wanted to know, if I wanted to grow, why I took no interest in individual stars, their identification, and why I troubled about mathematical astronomy and the Quantum Theory. I used his frequent remark that Life is short, and also my own that my purse is not long. Therefore, I may not do anything that promises any good but economise time and cost. Mathematical Astronomy helps me to discuss White Australia but knowing the name of stars does not promise any help any more than memorising the winners of the Derby. If life were limitless, everything would have its use to a sufficiently intelligent man; if there were no cost, everything should be acquired for the chance of usefulness even in a short life. Culture is the possession of knowledge in a usable way, so general that any new information gets linked to it so as to become usable, and so particular that it is real and deep, not superficial. To economise time and cost, the would-be-really-cultured man selects the information he adds to his mind, and prescribes its mode of entrance.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE RESOLUTION.

"In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India and the attitude of the British Government as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All-India Congress Committee has to declare afresh India's policy and to advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future.

The proposal of the British Government and their subsequent elucidation by Sir Stafford Cripps have led to greater bitterness and distrust of that Government and the spirit of non-co-operation with Britain has grown.

They have demonstrated that even in this hour of danger not only to India but to the cause of the United Nations the British Government functions as an Imperialist Government and refuses to recognise the independence of India or to part with any real power.

India's participation in the war was a purely British act imposed upon the Indian people without the consent of their representatives. While India has no quarrel with the people of any country she has repeatedly declared her antipathy to Nazism and Fascism as to Imperialism. If India were free, she would have determined her own policy and might have kept out of the war, though her sympathies, would in any event have been with the victims of aggression. If, however, circumstances had led her to join the war, she would have done so as a free country fighting for freedom and her

defence would have been organised on a popular basis with a national army under national control and leadership and with intimate contacts with the people. A Free India would know how to defend herself in the event of any aggressor attacking her.

The present Indian army is in fact an offshot of the British army and has been maintained till now mainly to hold India in subjection. It has been completely segregated from the general population who can in no sense regard it as their own.

FOREIGN ARMIES IN INDIA.

The essential differences between the imperialist and the popular conceptions of defence is demonstrated by the fact that while foreign armies are invited to India for that defence, the vast manpower of India herself is not utilised for the purpose. India's past experience teaches her that it is harmful to her interest and dangerous to her cause of freedom to introduce foreign armies in India. It is significant and extraordinary that India's inexhaustible manpower should remain untapped, while India develops into a battle ground between foreign armies fighting on her soil or her frontiers, and her defence is not supposed to be a subject fit for popular control.

India resents this treatment of her people as chattels to be disposed of by foreign authority.

The A. I. C. C. is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likewise. The present crisis as well as the experience of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain even in a partial measure British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations.

The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of that nation may be. In case an invasion takes place it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation as the British Government has prevented the organisation of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would, therefore, expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them.

We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes, and our fields we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist them.

In places wherein the British and the invading forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. Not to put any obstacle, in the way of British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the invader. Judging from their attitude the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference.

The success of such a policy of non-co-operation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

THE "INDIAN WITNESS" AND THE PRESENT WAR.

The question of the right or wrong of war does not arise. One might as well discuss the right or wrong of a cholera epidemic. But given a state of war or a cholera epidemic, the question does arise as to what is to be done about it. Among Christians there has been a growing conviction that a world ordered by Christian principles would be free from war. There is still general agreement on this point. But when the world is not ordered by Christian principles, it is futile to condemn war. War is all around us, writes the *Indian Witness*, and we must decide what we are to do.

The authority of Jesus has been often cited to show that a Christian cannot engage in war. We are told that the Christian disciple was instructed to turn the other cheek if he was struck. He was told to give his cloak to one who had forcibly taken his coat away from him. It always has been the rule in an ordered society that the individual is not to take the law in his own hand. Questions of self-defence are to some extent mixed up in this issue, but evidently the cases which Jesus cites relate more to rowdyism or to petty theft than to situations in which one's life is endangered. No question is here raised regarding the defence of those who are entrusted to our care. No advice is given to the father or husband who is called upon to witness a violent assault upon his wife and children.

At one time Jesus made reference to war. He tells of a king who is going to make war against another king. Nothing is suggested regarding the right or wrong of such a war, but Jesus does say that in such a case the king would be foolish to attempt a war if he did not feel reasonably certain that his position was stronger than that of his opponent. This is in the case of a king who initiates a war. What about the king on the other side? Is he supposed meekly to surrender just because a neighbouring king has declared war upon him? According to the formula which Jesus here has given, it would seem reasonable to conclude that a king whose country has been invaded, should also decide whether it is worth while to resist.

In the present world war, some of the smaller countries in Europe were over-run without any opposition. Opposition was impossible. But we pass on to the cases of the British Empire and America. According to the formula of Jesus, have these countries any reason to hope that they may be able to defend their national heritage against the onslaughts of the Axis Powers? We believe they are justified in thinking that they can defend themselves; that they can secure for their own peoples the continuation of representative government and religious liberty and that thereby they can also guarantee these privileges to the other nations of the world. And this is what they are fighting for to-day.

The course of the Christian people within the United Nations seems clear. They are called upon to defend their national rights and privileges. These rights have come to them through the sacrifices and struggles of their ancestors and they would not be worthy of these possessions if they let them slip from their hands. They fight because there is no option for them unless they surrender all that is dear to them and their heirs. They fight with the hope and belief that war is not in keeping with the principles of Jesus Christ and it is their plan and purpose to so organize society throughout the world that war cannot again assail the world. This is their aim, but even if they should fail, the aim is justified, and their children or their children's children will make it a reality.

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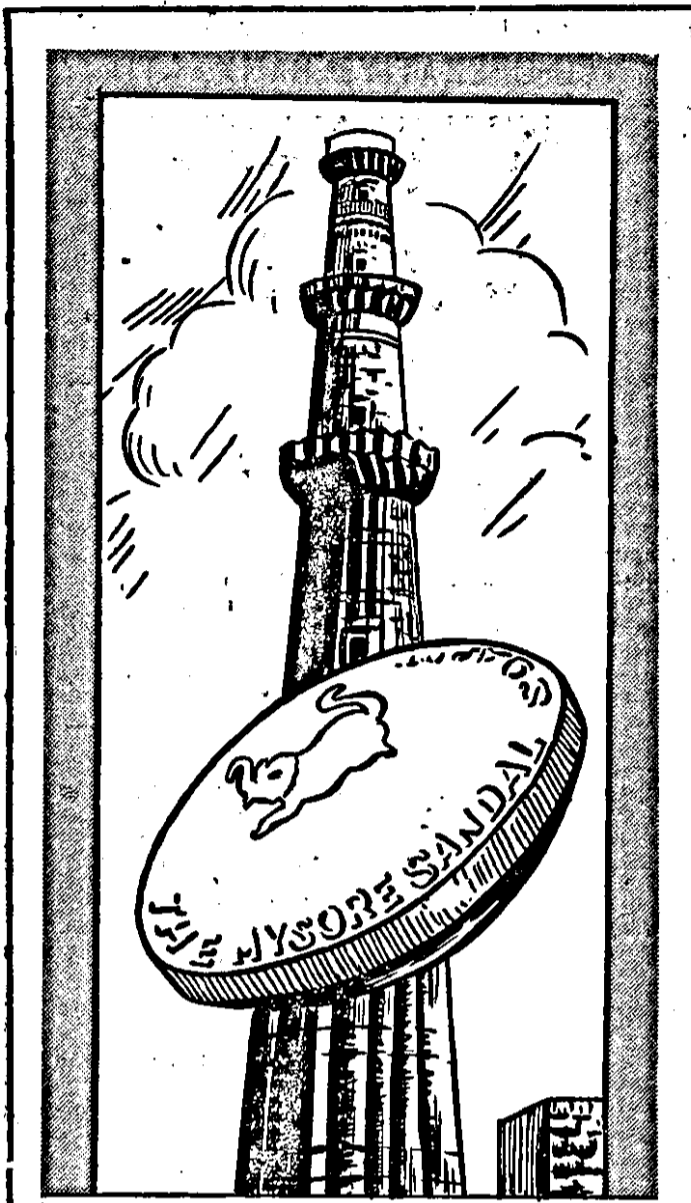
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Editor: - S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY-SATURDAY MAY 16, 1942 No. 37.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Mysore Maharaja's Second Marriage.
The Pope's Message.
Polish Refugee Children.
Government and the Press.
National and Official.
Pakistan and Two Nations.
Belief for Burma Evacuees.
Amery-Azad Controversy.
The War and India.

The Viceroy's Broadcast.
Cabinet by Convention.
Education, Employment and Youth in the U. S. A.
Missionaries and the War.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Vaisakha Mahabodhi.
Relief Work for Burma Evacuees.
Government and the Press.

NOTES.

Mysore Maharaja's Second Marriage:—It is not in the least exaggerating to describe our feeling about the second marriage of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as pain and anguish. When we first saw the news in the *Times of India* of the 8th May we could scarcely believe our eyes. It was, we thought, an obvious mistake of a careless sub-editor. Was the Maharaja married when he succeeded to the gadi or has our memory been playing false? That was another alternative which occurred. Every possible way of escaping the thought that the Maharaja had married a second time when his first wife was living, were attempted. Such an event in the case of a private individual would have evoked condemnation. *The Reformer* has been deploring the tendency among educated Indians to marry second wives. Resolutions have been passed at Women's Conferences condemning it in strong terms. Legislation has been introduced to make such marriages null and void or at least a valid ground for the superseded wife to seek divorce. The strong public feeling among Hindus against polygamous marriages was voiced in the Rau Committee's Report on Hindu marriages, and recently the Baroda Legislature has passed a law, to which the Maharaja's assent has been announced, declaring marriages among Hindus monogamous. Mysore has held the proud position of a model State not the least because of her pioneering measures for the education of women, restriction of child marriages and in promoting women's civil and property rights. No institution is more detrimental to the status of women than polygamous marriages. The Maharaja is a young man yet in his twenties. He was educated and brought up under the direct care of the late Maharaja whose high personal standard of life contributed even more than his great administrative genius to the reputation of Mysore as the Model Indian State. The most violent denunciator of Indian States drew breath and paused in the midst

of his tirade, to make an exception and to pay a tribute to Mysore and her late illustrious ruler. Indian reformers have all looked up to Mysore to continue this high tradition and they rejoiced when on his accession the young Maharaja promised to follow in the footsteps of his revered predecessor. His second marriage, therefore, is a great shock to progressive elements in Indian life and a great encouragement to the retrograde ones. It must inevitably strengthen the contention of those who urge that there is no guarantee of permanence in any advance which an Indian State may make under a particular ruler or rulers, and that there is no hope for the States unless the rulers are brought under the control of a Government responsible to a popular legislature. We recall in this connection a similar incident in another State some years back. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who was Dewan, firmly refused to countenance the idea of a second marriage and the Government of India refused to recognise it in the case of the ex-Maharaja of Indore. When the Maharaja persisted in his resolve, Sir Narayan refused to attend the ceremony and came away to Bombay. The present Dewan of Mysore, as well as the Resident, is reported to have been present at the second marriage of the Maharaja of Mysore.

The Pope's Message:—We heartily endorse every word of the message which His Holiness the Pope broadcast to the world on Wednesday on the occasion of the Episcopal Jubilee. Although His Holiness spoke in the name of Christianity, his words reflect the inmost principle of all religions—a proof that all religions are but different phases of the same eternal truths. His Holiness declared his sympathy with the terrible suffering of the people all the world over on account of the horrors of war, direct and indirect, and expressed his fervent desire for a peace honourable and just to all nations. Peace is what the world is crying for and, though Pope Pius XII seemed to be somewhat sceptical of his voice being heeded by the belligerent nations, we feel more confident that the Something which is not us which makes for righteousness, will not let this abominable slaughter and mutilation of millions and the starvation of many more millions to continue much longer. One particular point which His Holiness stressed, has been the burden of our own observations on plans for saving the lives of children. "Do not," adjured the Pope,

"take the children away from the beneficial guardianship of their parents. Wise leaders of nations will not fail to hearken to this appeal—not out of weakness but out of wisdom." Particularly, children should not be deprived of their mothers' care. We have not been able to understand what the advocates of evacuating children to safe places, intend to do with the children when their parents are lost to them. Orphanages are no adequate substitutes for homes. Even in the poorest homes which may not afford as good food and training as well-conducted orphanages—which are by no means the rule—children derive more happiness than in the best conducted orphanages. That was one reason why we disapproved of bringing Polish orphans into this country where Europeans in their infancy are dangerously liable to induce prejudices which overshadow them all their lives. His Holiness prefaced this admonition with a solemn warning to all the nations not to seduce the people from their higher calls of duty. His Holiness concluded,

We well known how in the state of things today there would be little probability of success in formulating detailed proposals for a just and honourable peace. Rather, every time we utter the word of peace we run the risk of offending one or the other side. Whilst one side places his hopes on results achieved, the other side places hopes on the out-come of future events. While there is no immediate hope of peace the destruction caused by war is for ever accumulating.

Polish Refugee Children :—The Government of India have at last condescended to explain to the Indian public the circumstances in which Polish refugee children are being brought to this country from Russia, to the number of about five hundred. When the Germans invaded Russian Poland, one gathers, these children were moved into adjoining Russian territory; but the Germans followed them there and the question of their further destination had to be solved. India readily occurred as the most suitable place for the kids, and "India" agreed. So about a hundred and twenty of them, the first batch, came to Bombay last week and are housed in Bandra. They are all orphans of between 5 and 15 years. India has always welcomed refugees and no one will grudge these little ones the extension of this traditional privilege. His Holiness the Pope has, it was stated, undertaken to maintain the children.

Government and the Press :—The Standing Committee of the All India Editors' Conference has during its seven meetings so often been confronted before its session with a Government memorandum threatening withdrawal of the system evolved and developed in consultation with the Editors, that the letter addressed by Sir Richard Tottenham on May 4, two days before the Standing Committee was to meet, was not a very great surprise. Members realised that the heavy charge-sheet they had against provincial governments, would have to be put aside whilst they persuaded Government of the very real advantages arising out of the system.

What was surprising was that the usual accusation of not having worked the agreement was dropped. The Editors were told that the agreement had been worked, that objectionable writings had diminished and that the general tone of the press was good, but—possibly in explanation of breaches of the agreement by several provincial governments—that the war situation and the need for maintaining public morale had made the Government somewhat apprehensive of their ability to maintain the system intact. It speaks volumes for the sense of restraint and responsibility of the Standing Committee that the machinery still stands today. In a natural anxiety to instil confidence into the public, Governments, whether national or non-national, tend to resort to actions which result in dissipating it. It was the experience in France. Any opportunity they may get to think twice before acting, is to be welcomed and the press advising system is designed to help second thoughts prevail over first reactions. The periodic anxiety of the Government to shake itself free from the system is itself evidence of the necessity of it, both from the point of view of Government and the public. There have been cases where Government have repented of not consulting their Committees but we can think of none where Government felt sorry for seeking their views. The gist of the correspondence is, briefly, that the press has assured the Government that it is against the spread of alarmist rumours and defeatist propaganda. Government for their part having asserted a right to act free of the advisory committee system, have voluntarily agreed, for the time being at any rate, to keep within the agreement. Government ought by now at least to realize that, however nervous they might be, these frequent reassurances ought not to be sought. Moreover if they have the least inkling of the rumours afloat from time to time which are beyond the wildest stories of the most sensational newspaper, the Government would see the absurdity of asking to be assured of the sobriety of the press. The official attitude has not been exactly helpful and it would be well if more mature minds in New Delhi applied themselves to Government's relations with the Press, if the Government of India have the least desire to maintain any relations with the press.

National and Official :—We are unable to understand the distinction between officials and nationals which is made by organisers of what is called the National Front. Surely the official is as much a member of the nation as the non-official. A house divided against itself can not stand. Where official and national are understood as antagonistic or indifferent to each other you have the exact analogy of the house divided against itself. Those who are not able to think of officials and non-officials as members of one nation, have hardly grasped the idea underlying a national front. Confused thinking is the inveterate enemy of effective action. Those who postulate a national government as

being indispensable to a national front, have clearly grasped the idea. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's mistake is very similar. He wants a national government and, in order to get it, he is willing to agree that the peoples of India are not one but two, possibly more, nations!

Pakistan and Two Nations:—Pakistan, as expounded by its advocates, rests on the idea of Hindus and Muslims being two different nations. Granting it, which is as much as to grant that two communities are two nations, it does not follow that there should be a division of India on that account. British statesmen who play with the idea, may be reminded of the examples of Canada and South Africa. The French and British in Canada are indubitably two different nations; so are the Boers and British in South Africa. Each of these countries forms a single political unit. There is no preferential franchise or separate electorates in either of the countries. Both countries are jealous of their independence and freedom to steer their own course in external as well as internal affairs. The Canadian French are not clamouring for a Frenchistan nor the British in South Africa for an Anglistan. We commend these parallels to Mr. Rajagopalacharya. We are puzzled by the attitude of some Congress Muslim nationalists to Mr. Rajagopalacharya's move. They say that they are dead opposed to Pakistan and will oppose it tooth and nail when it is proposed but meanwhile they want the Congress to concede the right of Muslims to secede if they want to. This is playing with fire. If Pakistan is a fiction there is no use conceding it. It is like paying a debt in counterfeit coins knowing them to be faked.

Relief for Burma Evacuees:—The Sri Ramakrishna Mission was one of the organizations which were referred to with appreciation for its work among evacuees in Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru's recent report after his visit to the camps in the Assam border. We publish elsewhere an appeal for funds by the Mission for work among the evacuees. The position must be now much worse since the Government of Burma has moved to India and civil government has ceased to exist in Burma. We cordially support the appeal.

Amery-Azad Controversy:—Readers of *The Reformer* are aware that two resolutions of the All India Congress Committee were banned publication by the Government of India. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, was asked in the House of Commons to place the resolutions before the House for the information of members. He refused on the ground that the resolutions were passed on a gross misrepresentation of facts and without adequate investigation by the All India Congress Committee and that he fully trusted the Government of India's discretion in the matter. Maulana Abul Kalam has requested the Government of India to inform him what parts or passages in the resolutions were based on

sentation, offering, should it be found that Mr. Amery was right, to withdraw and apologise for them. The Maulana declared at the same time that the resolutions were passed after prolonged and most careful investigation by the All India Congress Committee. So far we have not seen any response of the Government of India to this reasonable request. If, in the course of the next few days, the Government of India does not give a satisfactory reply or repudiate Mr. Amery's imputations on the Congress Committee, we trust some member of the House of Commons will press the Secretary of State to withdraw publicly his allegations against the Congress Committee. It is high time that the practice of lightly impugning the good faith of Indian leaders was given up. If Mr. Amery does not make the *amende honorable*, India and the world will know what importance to attach to official statements about India in Parliament.

The War and India:—Events during the last ten days or a fortnight have to an appreciable extent lightened the menace of war to India. The bombing of Tokio and other Japanese towns was acknowledged this week by the United States to have been by Americans. It has put Japan on her guard against excessive confidence in her home security. The naval battle in the Coral Sea north of Australia, though not so completely smashing a victory for the American Australian fleet as reported at first, has yet been a serious setback to the Japanese. In Burma, although the Governor and his Ministers have transferred themselves to this country which a year ago they treated with scant courtesy, and General Alexander is withdrawing steadily towards the Assam frontier, the Chinese are tenaciously standing up to the Japanese advance. The two air-raids on Chittagong and an unnamed Assamese town have so far apparently only a nuisance value. More than all, the monsoon is hardly three weeks off. The south-westerly wind has already begun to blow. The sea shows signs of being ruffled. These factors enable India to expect a cessation of the menace of aggression for sometime. Meanwhile it is to be hoped that the deadlock between Government and politically-minded India will be solved or will solve itself. On the Russian front, though there is little definite news and much confusion, it is evident that Russian resistance continues as dogged and determined as ever. Early this week, the press had reports of an impending offensive by Germany with tremendous reinforcements in men and material. But, after having got over the first element of surprise, Soviet Russia seems prepared for protracted warfare. The Pope's message which we notice in another paragraph, is sure to rally the forces of Peace and Goodwill which for the moment are overshadowed by material forces. The great thing is to maintain our faith unimpaired in the ultimate triumph of Right over Wrong, Truth over Falsehood, of Justice over Oppression.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 16, 1942.

THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST.

When it was announced that his Excellency the Viceroy would broadcast to the country on Thursday last week (7th May), we fully expected that he would take the Indian people into his confidence regarding the circumstances which have led to the present serious war situation for India. India has a population nearly five times as large as that of Japan. Her material resources are perhaps ten times as great as those of Japan. India has been under British rule for nearly two hundred years. Japan has had only seventy years at the most to learn the technique of Western military, naval, industrial and commercial organisation. How does it happen then that Japan has the audacity to bring the war to the doors of India? This is a question which hits even a casual observer in the face. A satisfactory explanation of it is a necessary preliminary to finding a satisfactory solution to the problem of Indian defence. A doctor called upon to treat a patient cannot go far to find and prescribe the proper medicine unless he first diagnoses what the disease is. This, it has been said, is no time to enter into recrimination. But this is not recrimination. It is merely research into Indian conditions in order to discover the causes with a view to find the right remedy.

We have the enemy at our doors, it is said, and the immediate question is how to keep him from entering the house. His Excellency suggested that this is the responsibility predominantly of the civil population. That they have no arms and are not trained to handle them, Lord Linlithgow maintained, was no excuse. His Excellency argued that no people in any country have arms and yet they have been holding up the enemy. We venture respectfully to point out that, in the countries of Europe, the population had to undergo compulsory military training and that, though they may not have arms in their actual possession, they are able to use them and are to some extent acquainted with the elements of military action. Great Britain, it is true, was an exception. Many of her leaders seem to think that she is at a disadvantage because she has not provided military training for her population. Even in England it has never been an offence to possess a gun and the majority of Englishmen are accustomed to shoot birds, rabbits and other animals in sport or for food. We do not say that the Indian population is incapable of offering resistance but the form in which they can offer it, must be shaped and conditioned by the fact that they must rely mostly on lathis, stones and knives which have only a limited fighting value against guns and rifles. The chief resistance against the enemy must come from the regular army. With a strong army the people will be in the best frame of mind to hamper the

operations of the enemy. An assurance from His Excellency to the effect that our army is strong enough to repel invasion would greatly strengthen the capacity and the will of the people to stand up against any aggressor.

We are afraid that the stress which is being laid on fifth columnists, scare-mongers and people with defeatist mentality, conveys to outsiders, not to speak of the enemy, an altogether wrong impression, which cannot but be harmful to Indian defence. No intelligent person is deceived by the slogan of "Asia for Asiatics." He knows that the Asiatic is not the man born in Asia but the man who is inspired by the pacific ideals of Asia. To be born in a stable does not make one a horse. The Governor of Burma who has now come with his Government to India, though our troops and the Chinese are still putting up a vigorous fight in that land, has repudiated the story, which found credence even in Parliament, that the Burmese were pro-Japanese almost to a man. His explicit declaration knocks the bottom out of this outrageous allegation. But it also adds to the responsibility of the authorities, both civil and military, for leaving the loyal Burmese to the tender mercies of the invaders. If the collapse of Burma be not due to the indifference or worse of the Burmese people, the blame for it rests wholly upon the British Government. The Viceroy gave General Alexander credit for keeping the enemy at bay for four months. Have we used these four months to good purpose? Not certainly in the political field. Here the situation has worsened. Speaking generally, Bacon's observation holds true: "Occasion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken; or, at the least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after, the belly, which is hard to clasp." Mr. Winston Churchill said after Dunkirk and His Excellency repeated in his broadcast that masterly withdrawals cannot win wars. Our troops, British and Indian, have been fighting heroically against heavy odds. They are outnumbered and have not been sufficiently supported with reinforcements from the home base. Even now His Excellency can only say that "the position is that the expansion of the regular army proceeds apace." It is hardly fair to shift the responsibility for the consequences of the tardiness of those in authority on to the shoulders of the people of India who have not been, and are not, allowed more than an inkling—if so much—into the organisation and management of the defence of their own country. Indian resources in men and material, if organised solely or principally with a view to India's defence, are ample to repel the Japanese, even with the help of Germany and Italy. The cost too would be considerably less. One advantage the Japanese have is that their soldiers fight on a handful of rice. Indian soldiers will do the same under similar conditions, thus neutralising this important advantage of the enemy. We are

urging this point of view not in a spirit of recrimination but as a constructive solution to the deadlock in which we find ourselves. Make the defence of India the concern of the Indian people. The National Front will come into being automatically and at a nominal cost. That is the straight way of going about the business. The Indian people are not given to panic. Their very fatalism makes them immune from the sudden emotional disturbances to which the European proletariat is liable. An Indian friend prominently connected with the organisation of civil defence in another province, was passing through Bombay last week and he said that in his experience those most prone to panic are Europeans including some high officials. Even a second-rate Indian could have managed the business of Indian Defence much better and at much less cost than the Ministers at present in charge of the war. The National Front implies and is inseparable from a National Government and a National Army. India can have all together if British statesmen have but the will and the courage and the confidence to agree to the unanimous demand of all parties including Indian Liberals. Demonstrate to India and the world that you regard her people as one nation and have endowed her with the attributes of nationality, a national government and a national army. There is at once the national front and Japan will not dare to think of invading India any more than a cat will think of attacking a tiger.

CABINET BY CONVENTION.

Apropos of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's statement that Sir Stafford Cripps at the first interview said that the scheme which he had brought with him from the British War Cabinet, contemplated the functioning of the Viceroy as the representative of a constitutional sovereign, it may be noted that the British Cabinet itself has no statutory status and is purely a creature of convention. In an interesting tract entitled "The Conventions of the Indian Constitution" which C. Jinajarajadasa published nine years ago, he pointed out that the first reference to the Cabinet in a record of the House of Commons, occurred when an amendment to the Address was moved on December 10, 1900: "We humbly express our regret at the advice given to your Majesty by the Prime Minister in recommending the appointment of so many of his own family to offices in the Cabinet." Some one recently said that, while nepotism is considered a vice in England, in India it was considered a virtue in an administrator. He had not perhaps come across this amendment. It should be borne in mind, however, that conventions must grow up and cannot be created. All the conventions of the British Constitution—most of it is conventional—grew up under the force of circumstances. A created convention has no life and is apt to be broken by the authority which created it. There was a convention some years ago in India that the Secretary of State should not overrule a financial proposition on which the Government of India was in agreement with the Indian Legislature. This was countered by another convention that the Government of India should not agree to a financial proposition with the Legislature without the previous approval of the Secretary of State!

EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND YOUTH IN THE U. S. A.

The recent report by the Educational Policies Commission on the federal youth agencies—the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration—in relation to schools has made articulate a growing concern on the part of many educators in the U. S. A. over the extension of government control to educational functions.

The background of this discussion is the more or less settled policy in American education in accord with which the public schools are controlled by local and state authorities. The present report makes much of this, citing two documents by two national advisory educational bodies issued during recent years. The first of these is the report of the National Advisory Committee on Education appointed by President Hoover, which was issued in 1931.

The passage cited reads: "It is particularly unwise to centralize in the federal government the power of determining the social purposes to be served by educational institutions or of establishing the techniques of educational procedure.....A system of decentralized school management is best adapted to a democratic nation of wide geographical expanse and varied economic, social and other human conditions.....Education is of too intimate concern to the American parents to be brought under a far-removed civil administration which tends towards relative inflexibility."

The second is the report of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education, issued in 1938. This was the document, which precipitated a sharp controversy by recommending that where state policy permits the use of public funds for certain services to non-public as well as public school pupils, federal funds granted in aid of education should not be withheld from such use. The passage cited is as follows: "Local controls in government, and especially in education, have values that we should do our utmost to retain.....Despite its obvious inefficiencies and limitations, local freedom helps to assure experimentation, healthy rivalry between localities, popular interest in public questions, and that diversity of form and method which tends to prevent sudden disruption of the social order.....In order that local initiative and responsibility may be maintained, all federal action should reserve explicitly to state and local auspices the general administration of schools, control over the processes of education, and the determination of the best uses of the allotments of federal funds within the types of expenditure for which federal funds may be made available. The federal government should in no case attempt to control the curriculums of the schools or the methods of teaching to be employed in them.....Federal grants should be used to build up and strengthen existing educational agencies and institutions."

The Educational Policies Commission in the report under review summarizes the issue raised by the continuance of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, in these words: "When educational needs arise which affect the national welfare, cut across the bounds of states, and appear to be beyond the unaided powers of states to meet, should the federal government operate and control educational programs intended to meet these needs? Or should the federal government undertake to meet these needs by working through the state-and-local educational systems, strengthening these established agencies, supplying leadership and financial aid, but not exercising control over processes of education?"

Many educators who are committed to the principle of local control of education—under state regulation—see vast significance in the issue here raised. Few Americans realize the contrast between the traditional American pattern and the prevailing European pattern of school control. The English system is decentralized but, in general, continental countries have vested control of education in their central governments. In the United States the policy of decentralized control is reinforced by the fact that it is a federation of commonwealths. Thus public education, while a state function and governed by law, has been as far removed as possible from the federal government. In a time when totalitarian regimes are spreading themselves over the earth, the principle of non-interference in education by the national government is thrown into sharp relief. With the U. S. A. the federal Government has had no facilities, assuming it had any such desire, for using education as an "instrument of national policy." A totalitarian regime turns at once to education to implement its purposes and instil its philosophy. It is noteworthy that as early as 1931, before the Nazi regime had arisen, the National Advisory Committee on Education, in the report above quoted, said: "...A decentralized national system of schools, uniform in all essential respects because of the common response of all its units to the common soul of America, can never be completely captured.

'Our highly decentralized school system is a peculiar and effective American characteristic. We alone among the democracies possess this final safeguard against a class or individual dictatorship which might usurp a central government and by decrees indoctrinate the young with partial and prejudiced teachings....'

This is, of course, the negative aspect of the matter. Educators who stress the principle of local control, see in it positive democratic values. The schools are kept close to the community and the very process of planning, supporting and directing them through local boards is an educational experience on the adult level. Says the Educational Policies Commission's report:

"More than one hundred years of public education in the United States have demonstrated that state-and-local control results in more satisfactory adaptation of education to local needs and in greater and more productive experimentation than centralized control is likely to produce. The public schools of the United States are distinguished, among the school systems of the world, by their ability to adapt their programs and services to changing social conditions and needs. The remarkable educational progress which this nation has achieved, has been due in large part to the decentralized control of education, which has encouraged local initiative and has permitted experimentation, demonstration, and advancement."

The basic facts in regard to the two youth agencies concerned may be set down.

The Civilian Conservation Corps was established by executive order on April 5, 1933. It was originally named Emergency Conservation Work. The enabling Act, which had been signed by the President five days earlier, had the express purpose "of relieving the acute condition of widespread distress and unemployment now existing in the United States, and in order to provide for the restoration of the country's depleted natural resources and the advancement of an orderly program of useful public works." Neither the Act nor the executive order said anything about training or education. Within a few

months, however, pursuant in part to efforts by the U. S. Commissioner of Education, an educational program was begun. The new departure was regularised by statutory action in 1937, when Congress established the Corps as a separate agency. The Act stated that this was done "for the purpose of providing employment, as well as vocational training, for youthful citizens of the United States who are unemployed and in need of employment." It specified ten hours a week as a minimum for "general educational and vocational training."

As of July 1, 1939, the President transferred the Corps to the newly created Federal Security Agency.

The National Youth Administration was established by executive order on June 26, 1935, under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of that year. The President defined its purposes as follows: "To initiate and administer a program of approved projects which shall provide relief, work relief, and employment for persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years who are no longer in regular attendance at a school requiring full time, and who are not regularly engaged in remunerative employment." It was nominally a part of WPA. An amendment to the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, adopted in 1938, included "training" among its functions, and so, like the Corps, the Administration embarked on an educational program.

Along with the Corps, the Administration was transferred as of July 1, 1939, to the Federal Security Agency. Here again the President recognized explicitly the addition of educational functions.

MISSIONARIES AND THE WAR.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

May I refer to two subjects recently discussed by you.

Your submission that Missionaries should stick to their posts in invasion. The general view is that the Japanese immediately intern Missionaries who are enemy nationals. What profit is it therefore to remain behind for immediate and certain internment? Where mention has been made of prisoners of war being helped by Missionaries (as at Hong-Kong) one may be sure such Missionaries are probably Swedish, Swiss or some other neutrals. No Missionary would dream of leaving his work if he thought he would be allowed to stay and work with his people but reliable reports in the present war indicate certain internment. If he gets away he can and does work elsewhere.

War and Christianity. I suggest that the real sense of the passage quoted by you in your May 9th issue is only seen if, at least the verses inclusive from 27 to 33 of the 14th Chapter of St. Luke, are read. Verse 33 clearly indicates that reference to the building of a tower and the going of a King into battle is illustrative of the counting of the cost before deciding to become a disciple of Christ. I suggest the passage has nothing to do with Christ's attitude to war as such. He merely indicates the common *fact* of counting the cost. The Christian cost is forsaking all if he would follow Christ.

Bombay

Yours etc.,

May 10, 1942.

E. H. S.

[Could not Jesus have taken some pacific illustration, for example, holding a feast?—Editor.]

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

JANUARY 28, 1932.

S. S. Corfu.

Current History gives very concise historical sequences of great events. For example, in dealing with the Gold Standard, it emphasizes the difference between the present state and that of previous collapses in that mere reform of Money will not re-establish the balance of trades which have gone astray for other reasons than aberrations of Money; or in dealing with the Sino-Japanese situation it traces it to the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War when all the powers, large and small, carved out spheres of influence in China. The American policy today is the same as that formulated by Mr. Hay in 1895—independence of China and the Open Door. The identity of American foreign policy methods, as with the Monroe Doctrine, or the Open Door in China, or with the Hoover Moratorium is vindicated. I agree also that the Twenty-one demands which Japan made on and extorted from China 1915, taking advantage of the pre-occupation of the European powers with the Great War, raises suspicions about Japan's ultimate intentions and it appears that, at the Council of war at Tokio, ministers and warlords agreed to use the unredressed murder of a Japanese officer by Chinese soldiers, as the occasion to obtain redress of 300 grievances, to teach China to despise Japan less. But that should incite the Powers to guarantee redress to Japan, and to obtain the consent of China to that. If my debtor be on the edge of successfully transferring his wealth beyond my reach, would I not be a fool to await the uncertain and tardy processes of the law, shutting the stable-door after the steed is stolen, if I can prevent, even by violence, that transfer to my detriment?

MARCH 1, 1932.

Articles in *Current History* continue to give extraordinary information. The South of the U. S. A. has been greatly changed by industrialization with northern capital—new and better schools, harder roads, the hum of plant, prosperity and variety of earning—yet the change is not so great and old prejudices survive. They will not vanish till the negro exodus, in full force since the Armistice, compels the Southern Whites to do manual work and forget that they are an aristocratic caste. Again, thirty years' legislation restricting industrial and trade combinations has proved futile, the Courts can not enforce restriction; at the trials, interpretation of words of the Acts consumes time; and recently combines and mergers in banks, stores (one corporation for selling groceries does 250 crores of annual business alone), steel, copper, sugar, tobacco, have been achieved wholesale and unchallenged. They have done great services but they have not stabilised employment; they have cheapened costs, but prices have been cheapened less; on the whole more regulation seems necessary. The exports of the U. S. A. are ten per cent of total production, though the U. S. A. is the first exporting country in the world. Tariffs, therefore, can hardly affect people very much; and the last and worst tariff has diminished exports less than imports; and the imports of tariff-burdened goods have fallen less than the imports of goods on the free list.

The most astonishing romance is the effect on the love literature of Russia, of the Five Year Plan in Four; and practice follows literature or reflects it. Their heroes are the tractor and the electric motor; their literature scoffed at love, and glorified parents who left their dying child at the summons of the telephone to the rescue of

a factory on fire. Very inhuman, says the missionary lady. We should not be so sure. As Christianity dethroned Pagan moralities, as medieval ideals gave place to the Renaissance, as these last were retiring before the new Cosmic outlook, as this itself will yield to a more firmly founded view, so even Love might hide its head before the new propaganda.

MARCH 5, 1932.

After Singapore.

Singapore has no horse vehicles; there were no horses except racing walers, and they have a racecourse of course. I drove through High Street and Arab Street (not the Arab quarter; the shops here are Indian and Chinese, and the Mohammedan Malays probably call themselves Arabs), the Bazaar, on the Johore Road, through the Botanical Gardens and Rubber plantations, and mangostein cultivation, and the Gap. The place is humming. My driver is from the Punjab and has been here for nine years. There are lots of Sikhs and Hindus, serving as chowkidars in the Police and on the railways, but not in private offices or godowns, or as Ramosees, as they did at Manila and Hong-Kong in 1914. Station-masters and guards and railway clerks are obtained from India on handsome salaries—from three hundred to five hundred dollars (Rs. 450 to 750). The Malay peons draw seventeen dollars (Rs. 25). There are three Parsis, all flourishing. They do not, like the Hyderabad jewellers and silk merchants, live above their offices, but in handsome bungalows, and have fine motor cars, though two of them run soda-water plants and the third is an accountant. The Indian merchants are very prosperous and the Chinese run almost everything—rubber factories, plantations, shops of every kind including pharmacies, hotels, eating-houses (one quite huge), cinemas. I thought that the Europeans had been beaten out of trade; that is what the Chinese "peaceful penetration" everywhere amounts to. But that would be a mistake. The two biggest stores are British; the best engineering works are British. I understand that the principal motor works is a Chinese affair; the best hotels and cinemas are still in British hands. Facing the Gap, is the mansion house of an Indian Mohammedan called Bombay House. He died recently having made money in properties held at Johore. Quite a volume of American, European and Indian capital is invested at Johore, chiefly in rubber plantations, and European and Chinese ladies like to live there, probably because it is cooler.

The Sultan of Johore is a very interesting person; his mother was an Italian; his first European wife died; he has four times visited Europe and has three months ago brought out an English wife. His officers and personal guard are English. My chauffeur showed me a photograph of the present Highness. In it he looked like a sporting Indian Prince. Johore is 17 miles out of Singapore and on my return voyage, I might visit it.

MARCH 7, 1932.

S. S. Corfu.

About 10 a. m. a gentleman, bespectacled and not inconsequential, walking from the opposite direction to me, asked me what was my destination. I said, "London." He had joined us at Singapore; he preferred to do one region at a time and in bulk. When later he came up to the chair where I was reading Dirao and I saw his eyes stealthily wandering to the book, I asked him whether he was in the shipping line. No, he said, he had never before travelled further East than Benares. Benares? I had never heard of it as a landmark towards the East. Had he worked in India? Yes, for 34 years. Could I know his

name P Lambert? Of the United Provinces? Was he the Finance Member? The same, he accepted rather curtly.

VAISAKHA MAHABODHI.

The Vaishaka number of *Mahabodhi*, the journal of the Mahabodhi Society, is a very interesting one. It opens with a learned article by His Excellency Tai Chi Tao on the cultural relationship between India and Ceylon. It is an English translation of an address delivered to the Mahabodhi Society at Sarnath by the Chinese scholar who came to this country at the head of a Goodwill Mission two years ago. "Saints came from India to China," he said, "and set their supreme principles into the heart of man and heaven. They came with the Buddhist religion, being highly respected by kings and the people. Countless Indian saints, for example, Bodhidharma, to the Emperor Wu of Liang, Kumarajiva to the state of Yao China, and so on, were eternally worshipped by the Chinese for their enlightenment that gave light to the hearts of others." His Excellency spoke in high terms of Amoka whose followers in China numbered millions and who was made a Minister of State. So great was Amoka, he continued, that one of his disciples carried his mission to Japan to create the Japanese civilization. Chinese scholars came to India in large numbers to study in the great Buddhist universities. The Chinese Envoy quoted from a Chinese poem referring to them as follows:

Away from Chiang-An monks go West to learn
Out of a hundred, there are not ten do return.

The Indian missionaries, however, never returned from the country which they went to serve. They identified themselves completely with the people, learnt their language, lived and taught in their monasteries and always worked to conserve all that was good in the native culture. The way of these Buddhist missionaries was that followed by the early Christians. In an interesting article in the *Crozier's Quarterly* headed "Mission Finance in the Apostolic Age," Professor F. M. Derwalter observes: "Early missionary effort was, so far as we can gather from the records, on the basis of self-support in the sense that the itinerant worker went out with his gospel trusting that it was such good news that he would find a hospitable welcome among the people to whom he went... The element in the missionary set-up which is conspicuous by its absence in the apostolic age, is organised support from a financial home base."

RELIEF WORK FOR BURMA EVACUEES.

The public is fully aware of the relief activities which the Ramakrishna Mission has been rendering to the evacuees from Burma ever since the Japanese invasion into the land. The workers of the Ramakrishna Mission, Branch centre at Rangoon, had left no stone unturned to render all possible help to thousands of helpless and homeless evacuees leaving for India. As the situation grew more serious and grave with the fall of Rangoon the Ramakrishna Mission Headquarters at Belur Math (Howrah) took the earliest opportunity of opening several relief centres for the destitute evacuees from Burma at Dimapur (Manipore Road) and also at Pandu and Silchar on the Assam Bengal Railways. The work is still going on with all vigour and enthusiasm as there is no abatement of the influx of the evacuees.

The Mission, therefore, appeals fervently to the generous public their help to succour the helpless millions. Any contribution sent to President, Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay 21, or The Secretary, Ramakrishna Mission, Belur Math, Howrah, will be most thankfully accepted.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS.

Extracts from letter dated 4th May 1942 from Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, to Mr. K. Srinivasan, the President All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference:—

.....The Government of India have given the most careful consideration to your letter of March 31st, as also to the replies from Provincial Press Advisory Committees.....They.....welcome the general repudiation of "defeatism" contained in those replies and also the realization in certain of them that the time has come for the Press to take up a more positive attitude in support of the war and, particularly, the defence of India. They note also the generally expressed claim of the Press to be allowed full freedom in the matter of political criticism.

.....The liberty of the Press, which they [the Government of India] are so anxious to maintain and uphold, is inevitably limited, in India as in all other countries, by the objections to the publication of matter punishable under the law of the land; and in war time in every country certain restrictions on the complete freedom of the Press as of the individual to do or to say what they may wish have proved unavoidable, however great may be the regret with which they are imposed.

The Government of India have noted with much satisfaction the views expressed by the Press Advisory Committees and they regret all the more, given this expression of responsible Press opinion, to findthat a section of the Press still continues, both by the manner in which it presents war news and gives publicity to alarmist rumours, and also by its editorial comments, to encourage the feeling of a possible enemy victory and to support and emphasize the view that India cannot be defended by its present Government and that, therefore, the people of India themselves are in no position to resist any possible hostile aggression.Writings of this nature.....are defeatist in the ordinary acceptance of the term, and thus essentially and vitally contrary to the true interests of India and her citizens. The test must.....be whether particular statements are calculated to cause fear and alarm to the public and to undermine confidence in the Government in time of war; and the argument that the individual contributor is not aiming at helping the enemy but advocating a new form of Government is one which will not stand close scrutiny.

The Government of India have also most carefully considered the position in regard to political criticism the effect of which will in their judgment be defeatist, but in regard to which there may be differences of opinion between the A. I. N. E. C. and themselves. They are confident, however, that in this difficult matter they can look for the overwhelming support of responsible editors for the terms adopted to describe what the National War Front stands.

It follows that, in such circumstances and subject to discussion at the forthcoming meeting, it will no longer be possible for Government to maintain in full the procedure which was the subject of their understandings with the A.I.N.E.C.

...the Government of India have always considered, and still hold, that the main value of the advisory system lies in the opportunities it provides for personal contacts between editors and representatives of Government...they believe that Advisory Committees provide an excellent forum for the discussion of general matters affecting the relations between

Government and the Press. It is the tendencies of an Editor, or of a number of Editors, rather than their particular writings, that a Government can most usefully bring to the notice of its Advisory Committee in the hope of inducing it to exert its influence. Similarly, the value of the system from the Press point of view should lie more in the opportunities it affords for Advisory Committees to make representations to Government on matters of general policy than in questioning their action against individual newspapers.

...the Government of India are most anxious to maintain the friendly relations that have existed between themselves and the great majority of the Press since the beginning of the war..... they believe that the kind of writing of which they complain is confined to a diminishing section of the Press; and they trust that the Editors Conference will recognize that their policy.....is one framed in the interests of the Press and the country as a whole.

EDITORS' REPLY.

From letter of the President of All-India Editors Conference to Sir Richard Tottenham :

The Committee must confess to considerable surprise on going through the contents of the letter. Government handsomely acknowledge the services rendered by the Committee and are anxious, they note, to maintain friendly relations with the press. It is also relevant to point out that Government concede that the kind of writing which they complain of is confined to a diminishing section of the press.

Against this background, it is difficult to understand how Government have come to the present conclusion that the machinery devised and the procedure evolved can no longer be adhered to in full. Except that the war has come nearer India and the need for emergency action, as and when occasion arises, is indicated, nothing has happened during the past fifteen months to warrant any revision of the arrangements that have been evolved out of experience for the continued maintenance of friendly relations between the Government and the press. The critical times that lie ahead of us all call for a strengthening of the ties that have steadily been built up and not a weakening of them. If Government are only exercised in their mind over the need to gear up the machinery to meet emergency conditions, surely this is not the line of approach to secure the continued goodwill and co-operation of the press.

The press in this country, the Committee desire to make it clear, is as anxious as the Government to maintain public morale and make sure that nothing calculated to weaken it finds ready or willing publicity. The personnel of the Press Advisory Committees has been so devised that they could be summoned to meet at a few hours' notice and if even this much delay is on occasions to be avoided, the convention has come to be recognised whereby Government may take emergency action and place the papers relating to such action before the Press Advisory Committee for review. The Committee are prepared to recommend a general adoption of the course agreed to between the Bombay Government and the Local Press Advisory Committee, viz., that in cases of emergency Government would endeavour to prevent the publication of objectionable reports by suitable orders and reserve all penal action until the Committee has been consulted.

What is, however, now proposed by Government is not merely a suspension of the procedure we have evolved but, if recent acts of suppression and pre-censorship of newspapers in various Provinces provide any index, a drastic overhauling of the

procedure, normally laid down in respect of offending news-papers. The Committee must strongly protest at the growing tendency to invoke the provisions of Section 41 (1) of the Defence of India Rules on the smallest provocation.

From President's letter dated 8th May to Sir Richard Tottenham :—

With reference to our discussion with the Hon'ble the Home Member this morning, the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference has, at its meeting to-day, agreed that I should send the following circular to the various Provincial Press Advisory Committees for their guidance in the present emergency :

The Standing Committee is satisfied with the manner in which Press Advisory Committees have generally functioned in accordance with the spirit of the understanding arrived at between the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference and the Government.

The Standing Committee, recognising, however, that in the critical conditions now developing in the country, the Press Advisory System should be worked in such a way as to meet emergency requirements, recommends to all Press Advisory Committees to take proper and adequate steps to discourage the spread of alarmist rumours and writings tending to undermine the public morale or to weaken the spirit of resistance to the enemy.

Press Advisory Committees are also requested to set a limit to the number of warnings to newspapers before penal action is taken provided that these warnings have been formally given for serious and repeated offences.

Press Advisory Committees, the Standing Committee feels sure, will continue to deal with cases placed before them on merits; and where warnings have not had the desired effect, they will not stand in the way of further action being taken by the Government provided that such action does not overstep the limits prescribed under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act.

I shall feel grateful if the Government of India on their part will reciprocate by seeing to it that they and the Provincial Governments implement in actual practice the spirit of the understanding on which the present Advisory System is based.

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY.

From the letter from Sir Richard Tottenham to the President, All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference dated 11th May 1942 :

This resolution has received the most careful consideration of the Government of India and although, perhaps, it does not go quite so far as they could have wished, they readily recognise the helpful spirit in which it was passed. This being so, and being anxious as the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference themselves to retain the Advisory System, the Government of India have decided not to pursue, at any rate for the time being, their suggestion that Governments should be under no obligation in future to consult their Advisory Committees in individual cases and they are prepared to recommend a continuance of that practice in the hope that the instructions to be issued to Provincial Press Advisory Committees by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference will enable the system to function to the satisfaction of both parties.

The Government of India feel that when the point has been reached at which it becomes necessary to take definite action against a newspaper it is impossible that their discretion should be fettered as to the precise form which that action should take.

Although circumstances may arise in which such action may be justified or even necessary, they will try to secure that it is not taken except on the fullest justification and, if possible, after previous warnings.

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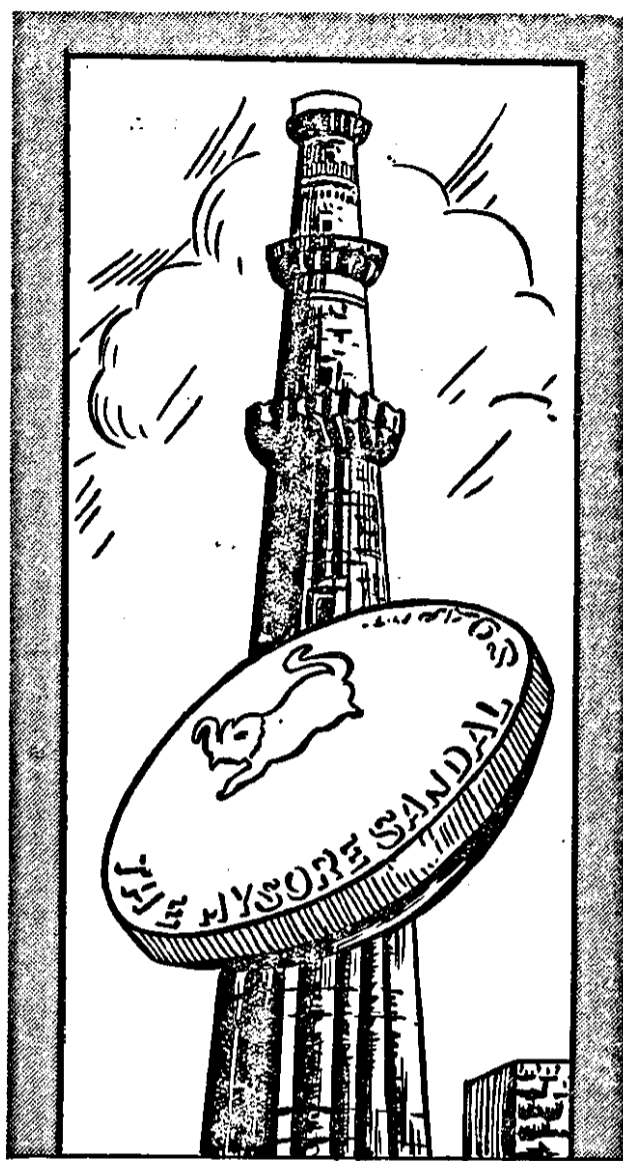
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Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MAY 23, 1942. No. 38.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Intercommunal Marriages.
Guerilla War.
The National Front in Bombay.
Sir Cowasji's Lead.
Lessons from Air Raids.
Congress Wobbling.
Untimely Communalism.
The Commons Debate.
Gandhiji on the War.

Mr. Rajogopalachari and the Congress.
Notes by the Way.
Unemployment and Education in the U. S. A.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
"Unregistered" Brahmo Marriages.

NOTES.

Intercommunal Marriages:—The engagement of the daughter of Dr. Khan Sahib, ex-Premier of the Frontier Province, to an Indian Christian, Kunwar Jaswant Singh, has led to a major political crisis among the Pathans, necessitating the retirement of Dr. Khan Sahib from public life. Dr. Khan Sahib in a statement says that his daughter was entitled to make her own choice of a life partner and that he, as father, had no right to prevent her from exercising her right, and, since this attitude of his has exposed him to adverse criticism in his community, he has no option but to resign his leadership and retire from public life. He makes it clear that his distinguished brother, Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan, known as the Frontier Gandhi, has no responsibility for either Miss Khan Sahib's choice or Dr. Khan Sahib's approval of it. Incidentally, Miss Khan Sahib's mother is a Scottish lady. In contrast to this is the small fuss which has been made over Pandit Jawaharlal's daughter's marriage with a Parsi, Mr. Gandhi. The Parsi community not many years ago was greatly excited by mixed marriages and there was protracted litigation on the question of their validity. Mr. Gandhi's marriage has not only passed without creating even a ripple on the surface of Parsi society but it would seem to have evoked even some appreciation as linking the community with a family of All India repute. The Kashmiri Brahmin community to which the Nehrus belong, has also accepted the alliance as involving no break in its normal life. The Hindu community as a whole has for many years past become accustomed to intercommunal marriages. The Pathans, as shown in Dr. Khan Sahib's own case, do not object to their men marrying foreign wives but they are yet unprepared to see their daughters marrying men of other communities. This is an ancient prejudice, rooted perhaps in biological reasons. While intercommunal marriages are being assimilated into Indian custom, they have, it would

seem, become an acute problem among Catholic and Protestant Christians in South Africa and other countries. Bishop Hennemann of Cape Town in his Lenten Pastoral has called attention to the "appalling and continuous leakage," as shown by the Census of 1936. There was a fall of 20 per cent in European Catholics and of 12 per cent in coloured Catholics in South Africa. He had no doubt that the very great number of mixed marriages contracted, is responsible for the evil. In his own vicarate, 70 per cent of the total marriages in 1938, 73 per cent in 1939, and 74 per cent in 1940, were mixed marriages. Dispensations are given for mixed marriages, but Bishop Henneman thinks that they have been given without adequate caution. He has notified his congregation that, from the 1st October of this year, he will grant dispensation for mixed marriages only to couples who have attended six instructions given to them by a priest before the proclamation of the bans.

Guerilla War:—The talk among politicians and others about the importance of guerilla methods in Russia and China, and the need for their adoption in the event of invasion in this country, is already having effect. Early this week the mail train from Karachi to Peshawar was held up by a band of some 200 Hurs who had removed part of the track and cut the telegraph and telephone wires. They fired at the first and second class passengers. Among the killed were the sons of the Home Member of the Sind Government, Sir Ghulamhusein Hidayatulla who has been adopting strong measures to introduce respect for law and order among the wild tribes of Sind, and his Under-Secretary. The Revenue Member of the Sind Government who was also in the train, escaped assassination by getting under the berth on which he slept. The band systematically looted the train, after killing about 20 passengers and injuring thirty others. So great was the terror inspired by this flagrant defiance of constituted authority that the railway announced that all night trains on the line were cancelled. This was a mistake, calculated to embolden the Hurs. Trains should have continued to be sent as usual, with armed escorts. The head of the Hur sect is in prison and the Sind Prime Minister, Mr. Allah Bux, warned the Hurs last week that no Government worth the name would release Pir Pagaro if that was the object

of their lawlessness. The Hurs make no distinction between Hindus and Muslims or, for that matter, between Indians and Europeans. It is evident that they are acting under expert guerilla leadership. Unfortunately, instead of exercising their talents against the enemy when he comes, they are practising it on their own countrymen. Strong measures will have to be taken to put them down and we trust that the Sind Government will vindicate the ability of an Indian Government to uphold law and order. On Thursday news came of a Hur raid on a bus killing thirteen persons.

The National Front in Bombay:—Last week-end a public meeting and a radio broadcast by Sir Cowasji Jehangir ushered in the National Front in Bombay. The speeches made at the meeting showed plainly the lack of initiative which the Cripps Mission has left behind it in the official and unofficial mind in Indian. Speakers stressed the non-political nature of the Front. Having failed to bring about unity between political parties in the country, an effort is now made to avoid politics altogether. As a result, the National Front has been the loser. The National Front must be big enough to take in all points of view and without evasion of differences of opinion. For that it must be led by men who have power, and who assume the responsibility for bringing all men together. Mr. R. P. Masani is not the obvious choice of the province for the position of leader. Even with things as they are, we would have much preferred to see the leadership taken up by the Governor who could directly and more effectively give the people those assurances which Mr. Masani has thought fit at public meetings to declare he had received from His Excellency before taking up his duties. We do not see the need to interpose another person between the chief executive authority in the province and the public, particularly in a National War Front. Here, again, the distinction between official and non-official looms large in the minds of those responsible for organising the National Front. It is an unfortunate obsession. One cannot, for example, think of a national front in Britain or the U. S. A. without Mr. Churchill or President Roosevelt at the head. So long as the constitution is suspended in the provinces, the Governors should take the lead. Even if Mr. R. P. Masani were made the chief of a panel of non-official advisers to the Governor, the position would remain unchanged.

Sir Cowasji's Lead:—If the speeches made last Saturday sounded more like inaugural addresses for an Institute of Counter-propaganda, Sir Cowasji Jehangir's broadcast was even worse. His appeal to the public to join the National Front was mainly an appeal to their baser feelings. They were told that they need do nothing out of their ordinary way of living and thinking. "This Front," he said, "is entirely non-political and non-communal, and it does not ask for subscriptions."

The first half leaves people untouched in their prejudices, and the end is in the best traditions of commercial advertising, "Send no Money—No obligations." Sir Cowasji's description of the type of men whom the National Front has to counter, shows a woeful lack of knowledge of things as they are. He professed to have met gentlemen who are always convinced of the invincibility of the Axis and to whom every success of the enemy is proof of it and their defeats no more than tactical and local reverses; and out of his experience Sir Cowasji asked his hearers to confront these gentlemen with the Battle of Britain, and the resistance of Russia. So far as we can see, the difficulties of the average man are quite the reverse. Nobody, outside the Axis countries, contemplates with any degree of calm the possibilities of the Allies losing the war and, like all distasteful ideas, the thought is banished from the minds of all, except morbid fifth-column hunters. But there is a certain disgust at the manner in which public speakers, the most prominent of them, commence every utterance and every comment on bad news with a profession of their earnest faith in ultimate victory. The public can take bad news, any amount of it; but these elementary tactics create a doubt whether those who would encourage us, do not stand themselves in need of encouragement. The common man is not unfamiliar with adversity and certainly he does not feel that submissive awe which lack of contact with it has bred elsewhere. The encouragement of evacuation of "unnecessary" persons from the city was a first-class mistake. It accentuated the differences between the workers and the leisured, at a time when the sense of solidarity had to be assiduously fostered and nourished in the cities. The newspapers report that the exodus has given way to a reverse influx into the city. This is a good sign.

Lessons from Air Raids:—A curious message has been put out by the Associated Press on the lessons of the raids on April 6th on Vizagapatam and Coconada. The most striking observation is that, for four days after the raid, no food was on sale at Vizagapatam and the district magistrate had to commandeer stocks and establish eating-houses. He had, it appears, assumed full control of the situation. The voluntary section of the A. R. P. services was not very efficient and it is suggested that paid personnel should replace it everywhere. The Japanese attack was confined to military objectives, and the main part of the town was unaffected. The inference which the press message draws from this, is well-meant. "The general experience is that this is what they do (confine their bombing to military objectives), unless they see collections of people in the open," reads the message: "If, therefore, town-dwellers take cover during an air raid, they are not likely to be attacked at all and have little to fear." Obviously this is intended to reassure the public and allay panic. But it is an extremely childish method

and it is unfortunate that messages purporting to give an account of what actually happened, should be interspersed with such trivial observations. It is absurd to tell a people in a country at war that "they have little to fear" and that on the strength of experience gained in two chance raids. An even more naive comment is offered on the fact that out of 75,000 in Vizagapatam nearly two-thirds of the population had left before the raid. The A. P. message tells us:

No explanation is available of how the population in the two towns foresaw the raids and left their homes in anticipation of them. It is pointed out that without a radio detector which can detect approaching enemy aircraft about 100 miles away, no adequate previous warning is possible in coastal towns. Some detectors of this kind are now available in India and more are expected.

The public in Vizagapatam and Coconada had obviously no detector, except the general feeling in those and other towns, situated in similar proximity to the enemy-occupied Andamans, which led them to leave. The New Delhi correspondent of the A. P. who sent this message out, surely knows this as well as any other member of the Indian public. What then is the point in inserting this paragraph in his message?

Congress Wobbling:—Not the least important reason for the wide publicity which Mr. Rajagopalachari is getting, is the fact that he is the only Congressman who seems to know his own mind. Though the A. I. C. C. passed a resolution for the unity of India, there is no counter-propaganda worth the name to the Madras ex-premier's tub-thumping. The party has spent these two years of war in vacillating between nationalism and pacifism. It is pacifist when it is not allowed to be anything else. Like Mr. Churchill, Gandhiji can well say that he is the leader because there is no competitor for the job. Whenever the party leaders feel that they have a chance of making up with the Government, they retire Gandhiji. When the peace move fails, they fall back on Gandhiji and his pacific teachings. As the resolutions passed periodically in support of armed resistance are as fully supported as the other resolutions for non-violence, one can only conclude that Congress leaders are not prepared to do without both. That probably explains the strength of the Gandhites in the absence of Government coming to an agreement with the Congress. The Congress as an institution has, however, suffered and pacifism has not gained in any way from the doubtful support it gets occasionally from the party. In the distracted mood in which the party stands today, it is liable, when it moves, to be caught by any passing fancy.

Untimely Communalism:—When Indians of all races and creeds are giving their lives in the defence of the country, that is, of all communities, it is egregiously incongruous to organise relief and protection measures on communal lines.

It was announced last week that shelters have been provided for Parsees by the leaders of the community in particular buildings in different parts of the city. If a bomb falls in the vicinity, every shelter or first aid station in the locality, must be open to every one injured, irrespective of race or creed. If one of the Parsee shelters is the nearest available, it will perforce have to admit every case in need of help. To refuse admission on the score of colour, caste or religion will be inhuman even if it did not lead to a breach of the peace. The same remark applies to Hindu and Muslim organisations. There is no objection to such institutions being set up by different communities for the benefit of their members but it should be distinctly understood that each such institution will be open to injured persons of all communities. If there are institutions available in the same neighbourhood for members of any particular community, injured persons from it will themselves resort to them. Whether they do so or not, it will be incumbent on every unit to administer relief to every case without reference to creed or caste. Under the Defence of India Rules, it is incumbent on every householder to admit persons seeking shelter during air raids into their homes. It can not be less an offence for a relief centre to deny admission to those who are injured. There are overwhelming reasons why all relief in wartime should be organised on Red Cross principles. The most important of them is that a community which cares selfishly for its own, will incur the resentment of others who might have less resources but whose services are not less essential to the normal life of the city. Sacrifices should be according to the capacity of each individual and class or community. Those who have much, must sacrifice most; those who have least, should not be called upon to do more than their normal service to the city. The redeeming feature of war is that it is a great leveller.

The Commons Debate:—Though it has been decided that it would not be wise to hold an inquiry into the loss of Singapore, Malaya and the withdrawal from Burma, the debate last Wednesday in the House of Commons throws some light on the hardships encountered by British and Indian forces in the Burma campaign. Mr. Hore-Belisha said that "General Alexander's men were short of food and water, their transport was destroyed, their ammunition dumps were blown up." They had, he told the House, "to wade up to their necks through swamps, harassed by serpents and mosquitoes and living on unripe limes." Mr. Belisha's statements were not contradicted and neither Mr. Attlee nor Sir Stafford Cripps was able to give a satisfactory answer to this indictment. General Alexander and his men are entitled to the fullest sympathy and admiration of Indians. But messages, such as we have had, minimising the hardships endured, reduce a tragic tale to almost a farce.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 23, 1942.

GANDHIJI ON THE WAR.

Gandhiji was in Bombay last week to collect subscriptions for the memorial which he projected soon after Mr. C. F. Andrews' death. Before leaving Bombay, he was met by some journalists who asked him questions about his views relating to the war. Gandhiji, perhaps, expected that the Censor could not refrain from using his blue pencil on the material and some of his observations were evidently meant for his benefit. But that functionary has refrained from interfering with the report of the Pressmen's talk with Gandhiji. The result is somewhat like that which would be felt if a champion boxer entered the ring and found nobody there to box with. For this contretemps, the Editors' Conference must bear the chief responsibility. It does not appear that the journalists had submitted their questions in writing to Gandhiji and that the answers had been framed beforehand. That might also explain the airy tone of some of his observations. Asked to which of the two sides in the war India should give her moral support, Gandhiji said that, if he could convert India to his view, there would be no aid or support given to either side. But his sympathies, he added, were with China and Russia. As China and Russia are on the same side and that, the side of Great Britain and the United States—the two integers at the head of twenty-four cyphers—it follows that Gandhiji's sympathies are with the Allies. Sympathy without support, is salt without its savour. The cause of Russia and China are interlocked with that of Britain and the United States. Gandhiji's distinction between the Allies is, therefore, entirely fanciful. Without the support of Britain and the United States, especially the latter, China cannot maintain her struggle against Japan. Japan was ready to part with the Axis powers if the United States did not insist on her withdrawing from occupied China. America did not enter the war, as Gandhiji thinks. It was Japan that declared war. The incident of Pearl Harbour clearly proves that America was not seriously thinking of war with Japan as a possibility. Madame Chiang Kai Shek bitterly complained just before the outbreak of the war that America, while expressing profuse sympathy for China, has been all along supplying oil and other war materials to Japan. There were, indeed, American publicists who recognised that Japan had a difficult problem on her hands with a fast growing population and the restrictions imposed on Japanese emigration and trade by the United States and the British Dominions, and were applying their minds to a solution of it on a peaceful and friendly footing. America was not immediately menaced by Japan. Mr. Kuruso's eleventh hour mission to Washington was intended to avert war which Japan had good reasons to avoid. Gandhiji's indictment of

America is based on a misreading of recent history.

As regards Britain, Gandhiji said that his moral support had been with Britain but that "Mr. Amery's performances and the Cripps mission" had made Britain morally wrong. Both these factors were in line with the policy of the Government of India Act, the *magnum opus* of Sir Samuel Hoare. Almost alone among Indian—we should say British Indian—representatives at the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji has praised Sir Samuel Hoare for his many virtues. The creation of autonomous provinces in British India by the Act, was clearly the second stage in the fomenting of the separatist influence which found expression in Sir Stafford Cripps' draft scheme, the first being the communal electorates. Mr. Amery, until Sir Stafford returned empty-handed to London, had been repeatedly emphasising the unity of India as the great achievement of British rule. And the idea of autonomous provinces was accepted and demands for its further extension supported by the Congress with Gandhiji's imprimatur. Mr. Rajagopalacharya is not without justification when he pleads that his resolution which was thrown out by the All India Congress Committee, merely carried forward the Congress policy to its logical issue. If Gandhiji's moral support was with Great Britain before the Cripps mission, the latter does not furnish good ground for its being revoked. *The Reformer* from the first deprecated hopes being entertained of the results of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission. Its suggestion that Sir Stafford was being sent here for his own edification, has been confirmed by several circumstances. What was surprising to us about Sir Stafford Cripps' behaviour was the sudden turn from professed friend to declared opponent of Indian nationalism. But that is hardly a reason for withholding moral sympathy after, if there was reason for giving it before, the Mission from Britain.

One who is opposed to all wars, can have no moral sympathy for any belligerent. The war against Germany was initiated by Britain. Britain, therefore, was technically the aggressor. In the last phase of the war, not Britain but Japan was the aggressor. It is unfortunate that Gandhiji's attitude might lead to the impression that his moral support has been withdrawn just when the Allies had suffered several reverses in Asia. After the fall of Singapore, *The Reformer* observed that there was a strange turn in the feeling of Indians towards Britain. It was one of sympathy on the part of those who thought that Great Britain with her world-wide responsibilities, had no right to involve herself in a European quarrel, her interests in Europe being small and mostly financial. Indian troops, we felt, should not have been transported beyond the borders of India. Within these borders it was the duty of Indians, civil and military, to fight against invasion. What have we gained by sending our troops to

Iraq and Iran, Egypt and Eritrea? Gained time, we are told. Lost time, we think and much else with time. Gandhiji said that real heart unity is impossible unless British power is withdrawn and no other power takes its place. Heart unity is not necessary for political cooperation. It does not exist even in many families which nevertheless manage to exist and prosper. Indeed, without occasional differences there can not be heart unity, just as purity cannot be predicated of a passionless heart. Some tension, according to Keyserling, is a necessary ingredient of even conjugal harmony. Then, again, even if Britain is to withdraw from India, it is too much to ask her to guarantee that no other power will step in her place. It is, indeed, the fear that some other power, presently Japan, is sure to step into her place that makes Britain—at least so they say—hesitate to leave India to shift for herself. Except Pandit Jawaharlal and some others, the fear seems to be shared by many Indians also.

As one of Gandhiji's two conditions is, therefore, unlikely to be achieved, we may think of an alternative to Britain's withdrawal which may promise a reasonable amount of heart unity. There is one. It is closer co-operation between India and Britain. The present relation between the two, all agree, is intolerable. It is becoming more and more humiliating to both countries every day. Sir Jagdish Prasad, late Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, writes in the course of an article in the *Twentieth Century* that "there is more anti-British feeling in the country than is either good for Britain or India." India is a very large country and it is risky to generalise. A very prominent Indian in Madras has assured his English friends that if they felt any apprehension of hooliganism he would guarantee them welcome and complete safety in his home and those of his friends. The relations between the British and Indian communities is strikingly friendly in Madras where the leader of the European group has volunteered their support to Mr. Rajagopalacharya if the latter should take office. It is more or less the same in Bombay, and we have no doubt that the European community here will be equally willing to give their support to Mr. Kher if he should take office. We do not, therefore, agree with Sir Jagdish Prasad's sweeping generalisation. But, as we said, the present arrangement for the government of the country is becoming intolerable to Indians and to Englishmen whose interest in the Empire is not limited to their pocket books. We can not now explain in detail how closer union may be brought about. We can just observe that it would involve making Indians partners in the policy-framing institutions of the Empire and Indians will then feel that they are working and fighting for their own motherland and not for a British possession.

Mr. RAJAGOPALACHARI AND THE CONGRESS.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has been campaigning in the Madras Presidency for his scheme for allowing the Muslim League the right to separate Muslim majority provinces from India. He has gone even further. He told his audience at a Y. M. C. A. meeting that, if the Oriyas and Maharashtrians wanted to secede and form a separate State, the ideology of independence should grant it to them. It is difficult to appreciate his concessions to every communal and provincial cry. It is all the more strange when one recalls the suspicions which advocates of an Andhra Province entertained, of his sabotaging their plans during his premiership of Madras. If it is intended to rally every sectionalist to an attack on the unity of India, the Congress ex-Premier is playing with fire. There is in none of his speeches any direct answer to the arguments advanced for maintaining Indian unity intact. But he bolsters up his scheme by threatening dire consequences if it is opposed. For instance, he had the audacity to tell a Mahasabha interrupted that, if the Mahasabha opposed the Rajagopalachari plan which the All India Congress Committee itself rejected by an overwhelming majority, the result would be disaster. He told his audience again that "such areas where Muslims predominated existed only in the north-west and north-east of India," betraying accidentally the consideration which probably weighed most with him.

Another line of reasoning which he is exploiting, is that his opponents are few; while his supporters are many though they do not at the moment come forward. Mr. Rajagopalachari mentioned that there was nothing in his scheme which conflicted with the past policy of the Congress and cited weighty authority from Gandhiji to the Frontier Gandhi in support of his contention. "The present suggestion," he said, "was but a corollary to the basic principles they had been following in the Congress." Why then did the Congress not accept his plan when he put it before them so dramatically at Allahabad? Mr. Rajagopalachari does not face this question squarely. We agree with him that the Congress has been ready, even before his experiment, to negotiate on a basis other than Indian unity. How otherwise could the Cripps talks have been carried on? But the press comment on the Cripps plans and the general opposition to the proposals for dividing India had warned the Congress leaders that the country would not be with them in any division. Mr. Rajagopalachari realises this only too well. That is why he put out a tentative feeler at a Gokhale Hall meeting, and promptly withdrew it, by asking, "If the A. I. C. C. had accepted his resolution, would not the people at large have rejoiced? Would they have then said that the A. I. C. C. was wrong in deciding to concede the principle of Pakistan?"

NOTES BY THE WAY.

(BY RECLUSE.)

Some five years ago, I had a telephone message from a lawyer friend that he would like to see me immediately. I asked him to come along. He came and with him a middle-aged lady who was introduced as a Maharani. I apologised to the lady for receiving her informally. I had not been told that my friend was bringing so exalted a visitor. Mine was a working man's home and was not equipped to receive a Maharani. The lady was accompanied by a male relative, brother or cousin. She did not waste words on preliminaries but plunged straight into her subject. She handed me some papers to read. It is not relevant here to go into the subject matter of the talk and the papers. I handed the papers back to her with the remark that I did not see that I could do anything in the matter. At this the lady turned to me and said that she had heard that I was interested in the relief of women's grievances and had, therefore, come to me. I replied that it was true that I have been trying to get women's disabilities alleviated but it was the poor and middle class women about whom I was concerned. The lady placed a hand on my shoulder and said, "My friend, if you only knew! The lot of us Maharanis is many times worse than that of the poor and middle class women." I was touched by her manner and her words. I do not agree with those who hold that the only thing to do with the Princely Order is to make a clean sweep of it. The social reformer never favours clean sweeps. He believes that there is in every institution and individual a core of good and, if the accretions which have grown round them are cleared, the inner soul will come into free play and make the institution and individual of service to humanity. Many of the forces at work in our day are inimical to the institution of monarchy and the only chance of any specimen of it surviving, is for the monarch to display the highest type of character. Polygamy and its adjunct, the zenana environment, are the two greatest obstacles to the most necessary desideratum.

The Act validating the remarriage of Hindu widows was passed against bitter opposition from orthodox, at the time, the great majority of, Hindus, in 1851. For long it remained a dead letter. Its doughty promoter, the learned Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, died broken-hearted at the callousness of his countrymen to the cruelty to child widows who at the time numbered several thousands more than at the present day. Pandit Veerasilingam Pantulu who devoted his life to the promotion of this reform in the Madras Presidency, and Dewan Bahadur Raghonath Rao who did much to prove that the remarriage of Hindu widows was in entire consonance with the Sastras, had not a much more encouraging experience. The former, indeed, had to face calumny and even danger for his enthusiasm in bringing about remarriages of child widows. In Bombay and Western India, too, the reform made slow progress. Thirty years ago it was still difficult to speak of it as having become acceptable to the mass of the Hindus. But the seed sown has been silently growing. A Press message to the *Hindustan Times* from Lucknow dated May 15, reports the celebration of twelve widow remarriages in a single day in that province, the most conservative in India in social matters. The message runs:

May 11 was a peak day for widow marriages among Hindus, as twelve marriages, the largest number in a single day, were solemnized on that date among the

various castes of Hindus in the different districts of the United Provinces. Reports received so far go to show that all such marriages were very well attended particularly by elderly ladies and gentlemen, and a good deal of enthusiasm prevailed on the occasion everywhere.

I rang up the Bombay Station on Saturday at 5 p. m. to ask if they were broadcasting the Governor's speech inaugurating the National Front. They said they were not. I was disappointed. Sir Roger Lumley has a pleasing radio voice which puts the listener on the best of terms with himself as well as the speaker. Quite apart from the subject matter, one feels through, and at the end of, Sir Roger's broadcasts, disposed to think well of the world in which one's lot is cast. Why, I speculated, did the Governor deny the radio public the pleasure of listening to him? It can only be, I thought, because he did not intend to make any contribution of importance. As a matter of fact when I read his speech in the *Sunday Chronicle*, I felt that the judgment not to broadcast it was right. Sir Roger was in a light mood. He had framed his remarks on the model of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. He had personified the four principal enemies which the Front had to convert or destroy: Mr. Faint Heart who is oppressed by our reverses and who can see no ray of light in the clouds; Mr. Bolt Fast who is talking of running away before ever a bomb has fallen within seven hundred miles of the sea; Mr. Easily Fooled; and Messrs. Rumour-Monger and Company who operate the share markets. I do not intend to go out of Bandra and have advised all who sought my advice not to leave their homes, I have no illusions as to the Japanese being a nation of saints. I have not been a stockholder in Rumours Limited. But I confess that my feeling was not one of elation when the news came in succession of the surrender of Singapore, Rangoon and Mandalay. This week's debate in the two Houses of Parliament shows that there are many Englishmen who fall in Sir Roger's category of Faint Heart. Nor I confess, am I able to share the satisfaction which our Chinese Allies seem to feel when Japan moves forward, on the ground that she is thereby lengthening her lines of communication and exposing herself to the danger of their being cut. Why not be as frank with the people of India as the British Prime Minister is with the British people? I am sure it will inspire more confidence. It will pay. Mercifully, the Governor did not mention fifth columnists.

Talking of fifth columnists, the *Christian Evangelist* of March 5 has a forceful editorial on the alarming increase in the consumption of liquor and spread of venereal disease in the United States. "The most dangerous fifth column in America," it declares, "is Booze!" France, observes the organ of the Disciples Mission, "trusted her security to the Maginot Line but learned too late that alcohol had gone too far to weaken the moral and physical stamina of the nation, both civilian and soldier." The same thing can happen in America, it warns. As illustrating the dominance which the liquor business has attained in the United States, the *Evangelist* refers to the issue of tyres to brewers and liquor trucks at a time that important businesses are being restricted; to the rationing of sugar while the manufacture of intoxicants consumes tons of it. Strong drink is being literally thrust down the throats of American youth, it asserts, by the advertising campaign of the manufacturers. Alcoholism has enormously increased and "in close relationship, is the spread

of disease which has become a major problem in American life." More than 60,000 of every one million men examined for selective service were rejected because of syphilis or gonorrhoea, the result mostly of commercialised prostitution. The *Evangelist* concludes, there are thousands of mothers in America who fear that their boys are in more danger from whisky than from the bullets of the enemy. That these observations are not without application to India, is shown by the bad case of stabbing which came before the Bombay Coroner this week. Four men, it was deposed, had drunk 20 bottles of beer and 20 pegs of whisky in a single evening.

Gandhiji in his talk to Pressmen in Bombay said that the late Bishop Fisher had invited him to visit the United States. I stayed with the Bishop for two days in August 1938, and he most earnestly deprecated Gandhiji's visiting the States on the identical grounds which Gandhiji gave for his not accepting the invitations extended to him. A further reference to Gandhiji by Bishop Fisher was when I told an Ann Arbor interviewer that, while India appreciated their goodwill, she did not need and did not expect anything more from the American people. At that, Bishop Fisher who was standing at a little distance, turned sharply round and remarked that it was strange that Gandhiji had said the same thing in a letter which he had received a few days previously. Neither Gandhiji nor Bishop Fisher nor I could have dreamt at the time that the defence of India would be claimed to be the concern of America, as has been done recently.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION IN THE U. S. A.

The American Youth Commission was established in 1935 by the American Council on Education. Newton D. Baker was the first chairman. The present chairman is Owen D. Young. The director is Floyd W. Reeves.

The Commission has issued from time to time a number of reports. In its final report* it sets forth a programme for youth taking account of all the facts disclosed in its studies.

The Commission recalls that, when it was established, "thousands of youth were roaming the country as destitute young tramps." There was an enormous influx of students into high schools but four millions or more were both out of school and out of work. The Commission was "startled and shocked" by the findings of its Maryland Youth Survey (1936) but hoped that the "general processes of economic recovery" would simplify the problem. It proceeded with a study of occupational readjustment but soon found itself "meeting the economic situation at every turn." The Maryland survey showed the percentages of unemployed youth ranging from 56 for age 16 to 20 for age 24.

Underlying the present report are a number of general assumptions including these: that current changes in the structure of the economic system "will not present insuperable barriers to the achievement of peacetime full employment;" that, nevertheless, for some time after the war, "substantial programmes of public work for the unemployed" will be necessary; that, both during and after the war, the trend will continue "toward an increasing use of government to regulate economic affairs and in particular that government will be given increasing responsibility for the peacetime stimulation of a balanced expansion of productive activity in the basic industries produc-

ing for interstate commerce;" that, "under a democratic government and without giving up the liberties we prize," the American people can have a rising standard of living.

The prospect for youth employment is bound up with that of general employment. However, the rate of unemployed is higher among those under 25 and is especially high for those under 21. "Unless we can find and adopt more effective policies to promote full employment than those tried experimentally during the 1930's, a piling-up of several million jobless, inexperienced, new workers seems very likely to happen in the coming years after the war." A characteristic of economic development in recent years is "the drastic decline in opportunities for self-employment." The dependence of the mass of the population on wages is a condition "much less conducive to stability in the social order than was the situation which prevailed a hundred years ago." Even more than social and educational factors, the economic situation seems responsible for youth unemployment. Evidence of this is found in the fact that, in spite of the inadequacies of education or lack of a discipline of work, youth has moved into war industries at a rapid rate.

The problem is especially acute for farm youth, particularly "young people growing up in the farm families dependent upon public relief, the youth in the families of migratory farm laborers, and the youth who live in the outover, eroded and generally submarginal rural areas."

The Commission notes that economic adjustment is more than a present opportunity to get a job. "The care, energy, skill, and foresight of successful workers are habits. Like all habits, they can best be learned by a considerable amount of relatively unbroken practice." From this point of view many of the depression jobs were little better than none at all.

"Under the spur of this situation, few young people fail to make vigorous efforts to secure employment during the initial period out of school. Under depression conditions, those efforts necessarily will not be successful for a considerable number. As time wears on and all of the possibilities are exhausted, further search seems futile and the sense of failure increases." The broader implications of the whole problem are suggested in a reference to recent European history. "The revolutionary youth movements of Europe during the last twenty years found their spearhead and leadership, not in the unemployed youth of the masses, but in the unemployed graduates of the universities who had looked forward to brilliant careers in the law, in medicine, in governmental service, and in the other profession." These young people experienced frustration.

The Commission notes that financial reasons have been largely responsible for young people dropping out of school. Many, on the other hand, continue full time school or college beyond the point of net benefit and these should be encouraged to find their way into employment. It should be possible when the war ends to avoid great chronic unemployment. Before this is achieved, however, "it will be essential to provide a programme of public work for young people which can be contracted and expanded in accordance with the extent of the need. In conjunction with attendance at school and with employment in private industry and in the regular branches of government, the programme of public work for unemployed youth should be sufficiently extensive at all times to make it possible for all young people to be constructively occupied up to the age of 21."

*For this and for the summary published in the last issue we are indebted to the Information Service of the American Federation of Churches.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

MARCH 12, 1932.

S. S. Oorfu.

Mr. Shaw earnestly asked me if I had any feeling against his putting questions. I said the question ought to have been superfluous; a wise lad like him would know that, if there had been any feeling, a spank would have settled it. But I am interested to be put wise by growing youth, the more unsophisticated the better; how my views strike a contemporary or posterity would be instructive. Mr. Shaw laughed uproariously; he did not know how the spank would have been received. But how can one stick to those hieroglyphics all the time? Don't I feel lonely? What pleasure do I find in life of this sort? Is it not just a pose, to be able to do something which ordinary people can't? I was expounding to him the vitamin virtues of variety in food; why do I forget variety in mental food? Is there no mental indigestion? I expressed Culture as the store of usable mental material and I scorned to know the mountain Fuji in Japan. What use did I think I was going to make of these damnable dry-as-dusts? I was not to think Mr. Shaw was trying to save me or teach me.

MARCH 13, 1932.

Shanghai.

[A passenger] says that there were no shots about but the end of the trouble had not come. The cause of all the trouble is the fact that the highly-educated Chinese—they make very good engineers—could not get jobs from their own countrymen. The Peking Syndicate and European firms took as many as they could; but the Chinese firms would not; and the jobless are apt to fish in troubled waters. The man who assassinated Mr. Innouye, was a jobless one out for limelight; beginning as a Socialist, he had ended as a Nationalist assassin.....Mr. Curle in "Today and Tomorrow" says that women who at home cannot secure limelight, run into missions; they are mostly devoid of beauty.

Before lunch an American came up to me.....said he had been in India. Noticing his Americanisms, I asked and found he was from Virginia. So I had an opportunity of testing the *Ourrent History* article on the South; I consulted him on the present feeling of the South; were they glad that their effort to secede had failed? No; they still think they had the legal right on their side; but, in this world, might wins. Five million northern conscripts had overcome half a million volunteers of the South by methods of barbarism, by burning their farms and grains and starving them. He said, "Might won the Philippines for the U. S. and an Empire for Britain." I set him right about India which was chaotic, the ruling princes acted capriciously, and English traders had to resist them or they would have been squeezed out.

MARCH 14, 1932.

Today I ventured out on land for sight-seeing. When I was in the Broadway, no motor-cars on hire were visible. I tried a garage indicated to me and asked for a car with an English-knowing driver; there was none. So I walked on and on along Broadway in the hope of seeing Cook's office and obtaining the most satisfactory, though not the cheapest, conveyance. The Sikh chowkidars had never heard the name of Cook; a white man who turned out to have an un-English accent, assured me I was on the right road and within a short distance of Cook's; and watching shops I noticed a signboard with the name, J. Hormusji, Silk Merchants...The good owners, two brothers named Shroff, telephoned to the Ford Hiring Co. for a car, and the younger brother agreed to show me round. I had a pretty

nearly two hours' drive...We emerged into Chapei where we beheld the ravages of war. In Chapei, there was a Sikh temple which was expressly spared by the bombers and we had a minute's exchange of words with two Sikhs outside the temple. When Japanese guards asked for our pass, for no one was allowed to visit without a pass, Mr. Shroff showed great presence of mind, said he wanted to worship at the Sikh temple. The uncomprehending Jap, in despair at our incomprehension and continued talk, let us proceed.

The whole intricacy and splendour of Greater Shanghai and the other Shanghais, with vast and varied populations and administrations, with their magnificent hotels, banks, offices, wharves, engineering and electric works, fine metalled roads, crowded tramways and buses, picturesque rickshaws, theatres, cinemas, eating-houses and restaurants, schools, colleges, residences and parks—all burst upon me...I asked to be shown the pagoda but visit there was not allowed; an Austrian who had ventured there three days ago, in spite of regulations, was fatally shot by the Chinese at sight. After all, the pagoda would be like the one I had seen at Rangoon 11 years ago.

Mr. Shroff said that there were 20 Parsi families in Shanghai and mentioned Mr. Bezanji Tata who has succeeded to R. D. Tata's business here. I requested to be taken to him.....At 5 p. m. we trammed to the French Settlement where Mr. Tata's office is.....He corrected my impressions on several points. The Japanese methods at Shanghai were barbarous, whole families having been exterminated. From a missionary's account from Mukden in the *Times*, he gathers that the Chinese population in Manchuria has always been very important, that it has no more than doubled during the present century, and that Japan controls a small portion of the Manchuria area, nor has Japan exclusively developed Manchuria. If Japan were less violent, she would find the Chinese willing to be her allies, and together they might dominate the world.

Several kharwas have talked to me. They are Mohammedans from Goga near Bhavnagar. They are sometimes called kharwas, but Kharwas are Hindus from near Surat, doing work on boats hereditarily. Why they are called kharwas is not known; but the English word "crew" is not the parent of the name, kharwa. Though they are well paid by the P. and O., yet their prospects are not brilliant; their final will not be more than Rs. 32. So they look out for other openings for their young ones.

MARCH 15, 1932.

Mr. Shaw finds Shanghai filthy, but was nevertheless glad to have slept two nights ashore in the house of his aunt who dwells at Shanghai. She has assured him that a plan had been made to cut the throat of every foreigner; a plan which would have been carried out but for the Japanese forces coming in three days too soon. Mr. Bezanji Tata had told me yesterday that in 1927 the Cantonese forces had been prevented from committing atrocities only by the presence of British troops sent by Sir Austen Chamberlain. The Commission presided over by Lord Lytton has been welcomed and will report, the Japs assert, the truth about the above plan of massacre.

MARCH 18, 1932.

Nara, Japan.

Nara is the most ancient capital of Japan, was so established for 75 years in the VIII century A. D. I have been directed to it by the Japanese Tourist Bureau. My early call at the Bureau enabled me to see Kobe for two hours after 10—its park, its zoo, its waterfall, ascent up its hills for view of

the sea and town at their feet, shop quarters, amusement quarters, shrines (for Shinto worship, the name 'shrine' is used, the name 'temple' is reserved for the Buddha's), their monks and nuns and images and worshippers. Japanese women, girls and children with their very lively faces and rouge on cheeks and clean coloured flowing silk costumes, make a picture in streets, shrines or on railway trains. The population seems whiter than I had imagined. The chauffeur said that rouge gave that complexion but men have the same ruddiness and fair faces. In a long compartment on the train all full, I did not see a single dark face though for an hour I looked for one. We drove past their primary, secondary, girls', ju-jutsui training schools, splendid bank buildings, and Government and Municipal offices. The tramways looking fresh with new paint on them, owned by the City as opposed to the railways owned by the Japanese Empire, and to buses sometimes owned by the city and sometimes by wealthy proprietors. We passed by the residences of the rich and the noble—I remember Baron Kawamura's name owning one in particular.

I was taken to Hotel Oriental for lunch. It is a model hotel where I saw the dining-room blazing with cherry blossoms which, however, my guide from the Bureau considered artificial as no cherry blossoms will appear before the middle of next month. I was put on the train at Kyoto, a bureau representative.....giving me wisdom while we waited for the train. The Japs whom I knew, he said, have died or fallen out of recognition. The widow of Suzuki had to resign her immense wealth to the creditors of Suzuki firm and lives in poverty at Kobe. Station-masters in Japan get 150 yen per month (Rs. 200) as against Indian station-masters in Penang who draw 800 to 500 dollars (Rs. 450 to 750).

The Nara Hotel is picturesquely situated. The dining-room is made picturesque by waitresses in costume and their smiles. Osaka, with a population of two and a half millions, the wealthiest city in this Empire, reports first, that there is a rush this year for entrance into secondary schools; and second, that juvenile crime is greatly increasing, with the result that boys are robbed or taken revenge upon, and girls are seduced which the Magistrate attributes to the smiles of the girls.

MARCH 19, 1932.

I had a very good rickshawman who conducted me through two square miles of Nara Park with 800 tame deer asking to eat out of one's hand. On the ground women sell biscuits for visitors to feed deer with. He took me into Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines, museums of commercial products of the Nara Province, a museum exhibiting paintings of over a thousand years and sculptures of coloured wood; he indicated on the way remarkable trees—one three hundred years old, wrapt round by seven other trees (a maple, an oak, etc.); another tree outside a shrine, probably a thousand years old, bent in twenty directions and kept standing only by bent parts being supported on stakes outside. I had also the opportunity of seeing children returning home from school—mainly in uniform which was of the European pattern. Where the old costume was not discarded and I observed girls running, I thought I saw European frocks underneath the out-side flowing robes. The old footwear and headwear are also giving place to boots and shoes and hats. Will the old costume outlast this generation?

When Japanese men and women laugh loudly enough to call attention, they show gold teeth, so many that they make an ugliness of their picturesqueness. I remember feeling the same thing on the Corfu the first week; the men and women at a table near mine, betrayed their very bad teeth by their

exultant laughs.

My rickshawman is a Roman Catholic. Buddhists are in a majority in Japan; but the Emperor is the head of the Shinto cult.

There is an annual deer festival. The horns of deer are cut—I saw a red blotch on the upper surface of what was left—and their products are on sale at the fare after a representative of the Mikado attends the celebration and procession. The proceeds of the horn cut buy food for the deer. With 800 about, one is not surprised to see young ones among them. Near sundown the deer are parked in a garden; they rush to the summons by a bugle because it is a summons to their square meal.

Some Shinto gods are worshipped for the water they send to farmers. I was shown a bell 48 tons in weight, audible for four miles around, very useful to announce time twice a day when clocks did not exist. The Great Buddha of Osaka is 50 feet high. The temple had been burnt down and rebuilt only recently; but the image was only discoloured. It subsists in the state in which it survived the fire.

"UNREGISTERED" BRAHMO MARRIAGES. (BY KOPERGAUM RAMAMURTI, ASKA)

The *Indian Social Reformer* dated 15th November 1941 caused some surprise by stating in its editorial note on Dr. Deshmukh's Special Marriage Amendment Bill that the Brahmors of Maharashtra who are known as Prarthana Samajists, do not in many cases register their marriages under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) but are content with "the expurgated Hindu ritual formulated by the late Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar."

A similar tendency to rest satisfied with some improvised ritual, authorized or unauthorized, and neglect Act III of 1872 at Brahma marriages, has been observed previously in many cases in the Andhra districts of the east coast, but they were thought to be stray aberrations from the general rule of registration believed to be strictly enjoined by the Sadharan Brahma Samaj of Calcutta to which the parties professed allegiance.

The grave problems arising from this new practice have pointed out and discussed in the *Reformer* of 13th to 27th September 1941 and in the monthly organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj of Calcutta, the *Indian Messenger* of October and November 1941 and April 1942, and in the last issue of *Sadhana*, the organ of the Andhra Sadhanasram, Cocanada. An earnest appeal has also been made to the governing bodies of all Brahma Samajes in India to give an authoritative guidance to members on the question whether the solemnization of a civil marriage under Act III of 1872 is essential for the validity of marriage between Brahmors and, if so, whether it should precede the religious ceremony or may be postponed to a later date.

No indication has yet been received of the opinion of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj of Calcutta and its branches. But it is a matter of great relief and thankfulness to those who are interested in seeing a wholesome and uniform practice established for all Brahmors so that they may form a real community instead of being an amorphous group of self-sufficient, uninformed and unguided individuals, that the Managing Committee of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay has been pleased to issue and communicate the following Resolution under date 22nd April 1942:

Resolved that the Secretary, Social Welfare Association, Aska, be informed that the Bombay Prarthana Samaj recommends registration of a marriage under Act III of 1872 before performing the Marriage Ceremony according to the Brahma rites.

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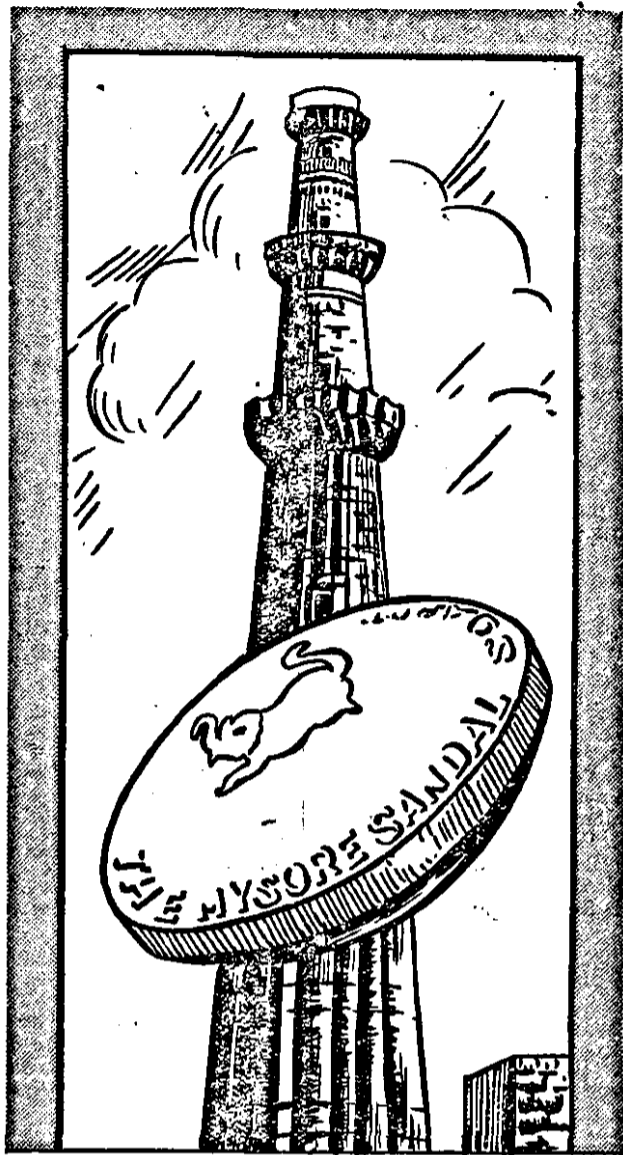
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Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MAY 30, 1942. No. 39.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

The Hur Menace.	Sir Roger Lumley's Extension.
The Pir and Non-Violence.	Mr. N. R. Sarker on the Economic Position.
The "National Herald."	The War in Burma.
The National Front and the Madras Governor.	Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Japanese and War Prisoners.	"Unregistered" Brahm
Brahmo Marriages and Registration.	Marriages.
The Rajagopalachari Scheme and Muslims.	Gandhiji on Wealth and Education.
Urdu in Hyderabad.	Trade Union in Russia.

NOTES.

The Hur Menace:—Prof. Ghanashyam has submitted a report to Gandhiji which is published in a condensed summary in the *Harijan* of May 24. The picture painted by the Professor is one of hooliganism, organised and not without arms, terrorising Sind. Non-Hurs and Hurs have combined, says the writer, in a mighty current. At first the activities of these law-breakers were confined to the Government and those who opposed the Pir of Pagaro, but it appears they have changed their tactics and attack everybody. The normal functioning of the Government machinery, it is pointed out, has ceased. The Pir is in jail at Nagpur under the Defence of India Rules and all this campaign of lawlessness is believed to be aimed at securing his release. The Governor of Sind, in a conference after the Lahore Mail murders, explained that Government is determined to put down the menace and to restore law and order in Sind. His Excellency gave a short history of the Pir, almost charging him with instigating the murder of his cousin. There was the inevitable reference to the war effort which is likely to convey the impression that the Government of Sind and the Central Government are now resolved to take drastic action because such activities will indirectly hamper the war effort. Sir Hugh Dow, moreover, made rather ill-advised use of martial terminology when he said, "When an army wants to take action against the enemy, it does not announce its plan of operations in advance." Is it civil war in Sind that the Governor talks of the Hurs as "the enemy"? Secrecy is necessary in war but, in putting down lawlessness, the citizen must be given something more substantial than a verbal assurance that the situation is in hand, especially, as the cooperation of the public is necessary to the success of Government action. It is essential that law and order should be restored but it is equally necessary that the public should

know that security is being established. If the responsibility of the Pir is clear, it should be pressed home. The Government ought never to have allowed things to go thus far. The *Sind Observer* urges that the military be called in. It is obvious that the Government will have Sind public support if it decides to do so. As the situation has got out of civilian control, drastic action seems called for.

The Pir and Non-Violence:—It is unfortunate that at such a juncture suggestions should be made from leaders outside the province, for sending a delegation to the Pir, presumably with a view to enlisting his cooperation in putting down the Hur menace. This is in itself a mischievous suggestion which will, if possible, aggravate Sind's troubles. It is made worse by Gandhiji's invitation to the Sind Cabinet to resign and "make room for those who think they can deal with the grave situation with better effect." Resignation can only mean now the breakdown of the civil administration and a consequent worsening of the atmosphere. Sind is one of the few provinces where a popular ministry still functions. Even if the military is called in, order can be restored better by maintaining the present contacts with public opinion in the province. As for the fantastic proposal that a peace brigade should be formed to reform the Hurs, it seems no more than a grim and inopportune joke. Gandhiji wants a delegation of persons "known to the Pir" to be sent to visit him, presumably in the detention camp. It is surely strange that the leading exponent of non-violence should be ready to consider negotiating with a known follower of violent methods while maintaining non-cooperation with other peaceful bodies in the country. The Congress made the question of Defence the centre of its negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps. Gandhiji's suggestions for ensuring internal order will not persuade those who regard the Congress and Gandhiji as one of the justness of that insistence. But it must be borne in mind that Congress Governments in the provinces, notably in Bombay, were not prone to deal with violent outbreaks non-violently. The wave of Sind anarchy must be put down and no amount of talks with the Pir is likely to achieve this result.

The "National Herald":—The *National Herald* of Lucknow which had paid securities to the Government of the United Provinces to

the extent of Rs. 6,000, has had these amounts confiscated on account of articles published by during a period of four months and, if it is to continue publication, it will have to deposit fresh securities. The U. P. Government has had a bad record in the history of Government-Press relations and it has always looked with suspicion on efforts made by the Editors' Conference to set up working relations between the press and the administration. Failure to start on the Advisory Committee system with a clean slate tended to acerbate public feeling. The question has been further complicated in the U. P. by the absence of any sense of confidence in each other, in the personalities involved. The Advisory Committee was very likely not consulted, as in the past Mr. Rama Rao, the editor of the *Herald*, has generally carried the Committee with him, and also because to indict a paper on the strength of articles written over four months seems to suggest that no objection had been raised on those specific writings immediately they appeared. It would be well if, in provinces where the Advisory Committees are not heeded consistently and deliberately, the Editors' Conference withdraws these committees altogether. The United Provinces is a civilian administered province. The Government of India can surely press for a less reactionary policy. Mr. Rama Rao's reactions spring more from the heart than the head. For that very reason, a policy of tolerance is more likely to have results than one of repression.

The National Front and the Madras Governor:— Of all provincial governors, Sir Arther Hope of Madras has been the quickest to react to the war. Under him the administration was dispersed all over the Province a few weeks back. There was some surprise felt at his promptness in evacuating Madras. Lord Linlithgow paid a visit to Madras probably with the object of encouraging the Government which had been brought back to Madras, to remain in that city. With characteristic fervour now, Sir Arthur Hope has put himself at the head of the National Front in Madras. He has done the right thing in taking the leadership himself. In Bombay Mr. R. P. Masani the Leader has asked to be relieved of the Vice-chancellorship of Bombay University that he might concentrate his efforts on the National Front. Mr. Masani's earnestness in the cause is commendable. Nevertheless, it would have been of more effect if the Governor had taken the leadership here too. Probably Sir Roger Lumley hesitated as his term of office as Governor was due to expire. Now that it has been renewed, he should reconsider the point. The speech which Sir Arthur Hope delivered in inaugurating the Front, showed that the Madras Governor has a direct mind, unburdened by the complexities of war aims and peace aims. He wanted to finish the Nazis and Fascists so that there might be no war for generations to come, and he believed in the final victory of the Allied Nations because they were "united and everybody in them was united."

He, therefore, asked the people of Madras to be united. Even on the question of joining the Forces, his advice was simplicity itself. We cannot all join, said His Excellency, but we can help by advising the public to join the Forces. We hope this does not mean that the National Front is reserved for those who cannot or do not join. From a practical point of view only a governor could speak in this way without perplexing the people.

Japanese and War Prisoners:—When Mr. Antony Eden made his famous statement in the House of Commons on Japanese atrocities on prisoners of war, on the strength, as was later stated, of the allegations of an English woman civil servant, we felt that the British Foreign Minister had overshot his mark. Subsequent references to Japanese treatment of prisoners have been more cautious and appreciative. The Red Cross Society's report on the results of investigation by its representatives was published on Monday morning in the newspapers. It was as follows:—

The Red Cross organisation has received reassuring reports regarding Japanese treatment of British and United States nationals interned in the Far East. Fifteen-hundred Americans and an unknown number of British reported to be interned in Manila, feed on rice, native fruits and vegetables. A number of British in the Philippines are not interned but confined to their own homes. There are no reports of bad treatment by the Japanese from Shanghai. Foreign factories in Tientsin are operating. Staffs of at least two business concerns are receiving considerate treatment. The British in Canton have been interned since March 21, in Victoria Hotel where they receive reasonable treatment and are allowed to draw funds from banks.

The Red Cross is an essentially European and Christian organisation (its report relates only to the treatment of Britons and Americans) and there is naturally a suspicion that its reports about non-European and non-Christian nations may be affected by the racial and religious bias against them. The report on the treatment by the Japanese of prisoners of war will go far to remove this suspicion and establish confidence in the impartiality of the Red Cross investigators. As for the Japanese, it exonerates them from the worst allegations made against them. It cannot be said that the Japanese have never been guilty of atrocities, but the Red Cross Society's report shows at least that they are not practising them as a system. Unhappily we are at war with the Japanese but there is no need to vituperate them. The wise advice that we should conduct ourselves to our enemy as if he was one day to be our friend, is applicable to individuals and nations equally. The Red Cross investigators will, perhaps, extend their enquiries to the treatment of Indian prisoners of war. The result will be awaited with interest in India.

Brahmo Marriages and Registration:—We published last week a letter from Mr. Ramamurti communicating the resolution of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj recommending to its members the registration under the Act of 1872 of marriages performed according to the theistic

form of the Hindu rite adopted by it. In another letter which we publish this week, Mr. Ramamurti points out that, if Brahma marriages are not registered, they do not give effect to the principles of monogamy and non-recognition of caste and communal distinctions implicit in the Brahma ideal of marriage. In passing we may refer to the opinion of the Legal Advisers of the Crown in favour of the title of the second Lord Sinha to sit in the House of Lords, on the ground that Brahma marriages are monogamous and that the late Lord Sinha was a Brahma. The position now is as follows. If both parties are Hindus, whether they are members of the Brahma Samaj or not, they can register their marriages under the Gour Act, which is a part of the Special Marriage Act, without the declaration repudiating the profession of any of the established religions, required by the latter in its original form which also remains part of the Act. As most Brahmans are Hindus, this course is open to them. In the odd cases where members of the Brahma Samaj who were born in other religions, wish to contract a legal marriage, they should make the declaration and marry under the original Act as they would have, had they not been enrolled as members of the Brahma Samaj. Brahmans, as such, have no marriage act exclusively for themselves. The administrative hardship which Mr. Ramamurti mentions, can be easily avoided by constituting Sub-Registrars Marriage Registrars, instead of keeping the function solely in the hands of the District Magistrate. In well-organised Samajas the President or Secretary may be appointed Marriage Registrar. As Mr. Ramamurti knows, it will be dangerous to confer this power on all Samajas without discrimination. In the Berhampore case, the Secretary was also Marriage Registrar, but he did not know that polygamous marriages are repugnant alike to the principles of the Brahma Samaj and the Special Marriage Act. A separate marriage act would, of course, be the best solution of the problem. But the tendency at present is for Brahmans, as for Aryas, to merge in Hindu Society whereas in Keshab Chandra Sen's time they insisted on being a distinct sect. In Bombay the Prarthana Samajists have always retained their affiliation to Hinduism. The few Muslim members of the Prarthana Samaj have adopted the Hindu way of life, retaining only their Muslim names. If Hindu marriages are made monogamous by law, the Brahma problem will find its natural solution.

The Rajagopalachari Scheme and Muslims:— At every stage of his campaign, in the best demagogic tradition, Mr. Rajagopalachari seeks to discredit his opponents. He began by saying that they are governed by old slogans. He has gone even so far as to charge those who do not support him, with not wanting to oppose Japan, and of accusing his erstwhile Congress colleagues of communalism. There has been a certain

measure of support to the Rajagopalachari scheme from Nationalist Muslims. Mr. Jinnah whose voice might add some force to Mr. Rajagopalachari's appeals, has kept studiously silent. But he has told the leader of the Khaksars in effect that there can be no alliance with Mr. Rajagopalachari. Mr. Jinnah has always insisted on those who would negotiate with him, being men who could carry the Hindus with them. Apparently he is not under any illusion that Mr. Rajagopalachari will pass that test.

Urdu in Hyderabad:—The President of H. E. H. the Nizam's Executive Council has issued a circular to all Departments of the administration insisting on their using only Urdu as their medium. The President specially criticises the Osmania University for using English to carry on the work of the University as being in direct conflict with the institution's ideals. Gandhiji some time back made a similar complaint about the non-observance by Congress of its resolution to have Hindi as the medium of its transactions. Why cannot these authorities draw the plain inference from these departures from authorised policy, that English has a natural appeal to all classes and that rules and regulations which contravene it are fated to be disregarded? The attempt to force Hindi and Urdu in place of English has failed in spite of the fact that it was sponsored by powerful patrons even in their lifetime. There is no chance of its succeeding under other auspices. As India is drawn in deeper and deeper into the vortex of international life, the greater and deeper will the need and the hold of English become on the Indian people and especially their front rank leaders.

Sir Roger Lumley's Extension:—Tuesday's papers announced the extension by six months of Sir Roger Lumley's term as Governor of Bombay. This is one of the few acts of the Amery regime on which it may be congratulated. Bombay is not a difficult province to govern in the same sense as the Punjab or Sind. But in another and more baffling sense it is the most difficult in the whole of India. The Bombay public wants above all things to be left alone to pursue its own ends in its own way. Sir Roger Lumley's influence is largely due to his understanding of this Bombay temper. Sir Roger has gained his ends by suggestion mostly. The only people who have shown dissatisfaction with him, are the small group who believed in "martial law and no damned nonsense." There have been one or two indications that Sir Roger was wavering a little in the face of this group. His Excellency may bear in mind, if there is such a temptation, Lord Minto's pregnant saying that the truly strong ruler is he who is not afraid to be called weak.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, May 30, 1942.

MR. N. R. SARKER ON THE ECONOMIC POSITION.

It has been a puzzle how the Government of India is finding the enormous sums of money which are being spent on the war. Compared to the expenditure of the United States and Great Britain, these sums, of course, dwindle to insignificance. In relation to Indian standards, however, they may be justly described as enormous. Again and again the Government of India has rejected proposals of social service, such as elementary education, as beyond its means. Such a necessity of life as common salt has to be heavily taxed in order to balance the Indian budget. Today, the Government of India seems to have a bottomless purse for purposes of the war. How is this miracle—in its way as remarkable as the biblical one of the two loaves and five fishes—to be explained? The Hon. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker attempted an explanation in a statement made at a Press Conference at his home town, Calcutta, where he had gone on a short visit. Mr. Sarker is Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, holding the portfolios of Education, Health and Lands. Finance does not fall within any of these Departments. If the Lord President of the Council in the British Government makes a public statement either at a Press Conference or at a public meeting on the budgetary position, it will be reasonably inferred that he expects at an early date to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer. If English precedents may be applied to Indian Members of Government, it may be reasonably inferred from Mr. Sarker's statement that he is not without the ambition of becoming the first Indian Finance Member of the Government of India. Mr. Sarker, however, explained his excursion into the province of a colleague on the ground that he had been asked by several anxious friends what was going to happen to their present investments and what they should do with their new incomes. His friends were anxious lest "the dreaded inflation of currency bring in its train the inevitable economic slump." The class to which this group of enquirers belongs, is a very small one. The overwhelming majority have no incomes to invest, old or new. In the last budget, the taxable minimum of income was brought down to Rs. 1,000 or about 300 dollars a year in American currency. Somewhat ironically those with incomes of between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,500 have recently been offered exemption if they deposited certain sums in the Post Office from their non-existent savings! Incomes even in Government services and large firms which grant war allowances, have not kept pace with the mounting prices. Government by means of control is striving hard to keep prices down but the controlling process has

continuously to be stiffened in order to prevent a breakdown. Mr. Sarker touched lightly on this aspect of the economic situation.

"During this war," he said, "there has been no doubt some inflation as the increasing volume of notes issued and the rising price level would show. It should, however, be noted that the expansion of currency has taken place in the usual course of things, mainly as a result of an expanding balance of trade in our favour."

The expansion of the note issue of the Reserve Bank, of which figures are published from time to time, does not exhaust the entire field. The other day the Bombay Police, it was reported in the Press, recovered some thousands of forged one rupee notes from a railway passenger, showing that the illicit manufacture of these notes (which are issued by the Government and not by the Reserve Bank), must be reckoned as a not altogether negligible factor in stimulating inflation. Mr. Sarker himself, in an earlier speech, noticed in these columns, dwelt at length on the insufficiency of food grain which is a more direct cause for raising prices than the printing of currency notes.

The three questions which Mr. Sarker set himself to answer, are, first, how the war expenditure of the Government is being met; secondly, the public debt position; and, thirdly, the currency position. The first question covers the other two. The war expenditure is met and can be met only by taxation and by borrowing. The currency position is incidental and only of secondary importance. Mr. Sarker further explained that the Indian war expenditure is not met entirely or in large part by India. The British Exchequer is making large contributions towards it. This is an admission that India cannot afford to run the war and is also perhaps the reason why the British Government will not hand over Defence to an Indian Member of Government. Our opinion, stated more than once, is that, this war being an Imperial war, the whole cost of it must be borne by the British Exchequer. The British Government in contributing partly towards the cost of war to India is not indulging in any generosity. This single fact leaves any optimistic estimate of the financial position untenable except as an act of faith. That the investing public does not share his optimism was admitted by Mr. Sarker himself. He said:

It appears from the latest bank statistics that a considerable proportion of the money in the hands of the public has either disappeared into panicky hoarding or is being kept with banks as short-term deposits..... That bank deposits have lagged so much behind currency expansion would tend to indicate that the public is not only carrying more cash than before which is to be expected under present conditions, but what would appear harmful, is also resorting to hoarding on a fairly large scale.

Mr. Sarker is perhaps old enough to remember Lord Willingdon's observations in praise of hoarding by way of meeting criticisms of the Government policy of allowing the

free export of gold from India when all other countries had prohibited it. Public confidence is not restored by calling its reactions panicky. To do so only adds to the panic by inducing people who have not caught the panic, to do it at once. A Finance Minister should take the mood of the public as a barometer indicating the state of the political weather which has an important influence on national finance. This, perhaps, is what Mr. Sarker wished to convey to Sir Jeremy Raisman.

Mr. Sarker spoke of the so-called "repatriation" of sterling debt as a great achievement of Government. It has made India free of foreign debt, so that she like the Village Blacksmith, can look the whole world in the face. Interest is saved. From another point of view, may it not be described as the flight of British capital from this country? Was it wise, politic, patriotic, for British investors to give this signal proof of their lack of confidence in India at this juncture? Mr. Sarker, while congratulating the country on getting rid of its sterling debt, remarked that it had raised the credit of India in the London market. How is this of account unless Government is thinking of resorting to that market for new loans in the near future? If that be so, where is the merit in "repatriating" the old debt? Mr. Sarker's revelation that the Defence of India loans to which people have contributed in the belief that they were to be used for the defence of their hearths and homes, have for the most part been utilised in carrying out the first "repatriation scheme," is one of the most surprising in his statement. While we have been busy repatriating the sterling loans, we have been accumulating to an indefinite extent obligations to the United States under the Lease and Lend Scheme. There is mordant humour in Mr. Sarker's comment on the Lease and Lend operations. He said in another statement to the Press two days later :

India has also been admitted into the Land-Lease arrangement. But, unfortunately, this has created the misapprehension in certain quarters that it may involve the danger of India's economic future being mortgaged to America. The Act itself does not contain any specific provisions as to when and how repayments should be made to America by the debtor countries. Moreover, if the measure is viewed against the objective conditions of its genesis, there should be no misgivings about America's intentions. Besides, after her experience in the last war when she had to write off a fairly large proportion of war loans granted to the belligerent countries, it is difficult to believe that she would regard the Lease-Lend facilities as a commercial investment or a bargaining proposition.

India's dependence on foreign countries for her Defence, both financial and military, to the mind of the layman, is becoming more, not less, marked. Mr. Sarker's appeal to investors not to hoard their surplus cash but to invest them in war loans, is under the circumstances the best that can be made. As for their investing them in fresh industrial enterprises, his appeal would

have been fortified if he had accompanied it with a categorical assurance that the "scorched earth" method would under no circumstances be resorted to.

THE WAR IN BURMA.

The *Times of India* on May 20 suggested that the war in Burma was unfavourable to Britain because China did not send enough reinforcements. Three days later General Wavell told a special correspondent of a London daily that his early hope of holding North Burma was shattered because of the Chinese retreat beyond Lashio. Both statements which can be taken to represent the official view, agree in attributing the reverses to failure on the Chinese side to do its part. Another four days later, General Alexander interviewed by another special correspondent, gave as the reason for the difficulties facing his army in Burma, the collapse of the civilian social structure in that country. "Numbers of the local population on whom we depended," he said, "packed up and went back to their homes in the jungle." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in one of his speeches on the Cripps mission gave a curious account of the discussions which took place between him and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, on the one side, and Sir Stafford Cripps, representing the British War Cabinet on the other. The account has not been so far contradicted. It read :

He (Sir Stafford) went into a long disquisition as to how the Indian Army had become what it was, under whose control it was. He made it clear that this was not an Indian Army at all but an outgrowth and offshoot of the British Army, entirely controlled by the Imperial Staff in England, whose agent, the Commander-in-Chief is. I tried to point out to him that it was quite essential, so far as the Indian Army was concerned, that it must be looked upon by the Indian people as a National Army.

There must be complete identification between civilian and military interests. Apparently men of practical experience like General Alexander are appreciating it sooner than armchair politicians like Sir Stafford. We do not suppose that the people of Burma, any more than others, live habitually in the "jungle," though General Alexander's statement seems to suggest it. Incidentally this settles the earlier dispute as to whether the Burmans were hostile to the Allied forces or loyal to the Allied cause. Whilst even in Parliament it was said that the Burmans were hostile to the Allies, the Governor of Burma stated categorically that there were no Burman quislings. The Burmans were neither; they simply disappeared. General Alexander expressed the feeling that the Burmese did not react to raids as the English had done, and went on to say that from the fall of Rangoon it was clear to the army authorities that they should have to cease fighting in the heart of Burma itself. The rest of the campaign was a delaying action and extrication of General Alexander's men. We do not understand what useful purpose is

served by these interviews, press conferences and statements. Their cumulative effect is to impress on the public mind that there is nobody ready to bear the responsibility for the misfortunes that have befallen us in the war in Burma. The War Cabinet in London pursues a most unhelpful policy by attempting to evade all criticism, leave aside demands for inquiries. If inquiries are not advisable, surely inquests and fault-finding are even more out of place. Charging the Burma reverses to the account of Burma or Chungking does not help the further prosecution of the war.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

MARCH 20, 1932.

Kyoto, Japan.

A bit of wisdom I learnt from my Bureau guide at Kobe was that my complaint about mosquitoes in July at the Imperial Hotel, Tokio, is out of date. What was possible in 1914 is no longer possible since reconstruction after earthquakes which has made it impossible for mosquitoes to live anywhere in Tokio.

Here a guide was necessary to me on both my motor excursions today. Seeing the Paper of Information about Kyoto, I might have despaired of its evoking any interest; palace and shrine and temple and then temple and shrine and palace, and then again the same. But under good guidance, the interest came. The names of periods were unintelligible and unmeaning to me; so too the names of the artists of alleged great fame. But there were the extensive parks of the palaces, the drives and walks through, the landscape, the high hills (one said to be 2,800), the green, the variety of pine and cedar and plum, and the colour—red of railings, variety of flowers, green of trees and fields, the transparency of waters and of their waterfalls, the yellow of gold foil covering assortments of hundreds of wooden-carved images, the multi-coloured costumes of women-worshippers without any obtrusive stoutness of men or women—the effect of crowds at worship or waiting for hours before service could commence, the silver and golden pavilions of two Shoguns (grandfather and grandson), with charming garden walks, one of them with a sandflat to make the meditative Buddhist Shogun get an impression of the sea without going to it, and another sandheap on which he could sit to drink in the delights of the moon; the garden of a wealthy silk merchant who had constructed it so that the fields he cultivated appeared to adjoin the distant hills which looked an annex of his garden, and, at the end of it all, an hour's ride in the countryside; and throughout, the guide's talk threading the sights he showed.

My guide was a bespectacled old man, full of observation and information, and of curiosity about India. I gathered that the Japanese are of various origins but now unified by intermarriage. They appear to have come from Mongolia and Korea (the Koreans are themselves of Mongolian origin) and Malaya and found in the islands the aboriginal Inoes who have now retreated into the northern mountains. Once noted warriors, the Inoes have now degenerated; they don't rise out of the lowly vocations to which they confine themselves. There is also another section of the people who do not intermarry with the rest; they are called the Eastern Jews—just why is not obvious, because their faith is not Jewish and their worship is the same as of

the others. There are three religions—the original Shinto represented by the Royal Family, the Buddhist, adopted by the Shoguns, and a sprinkling of Christians. The bulk of the people are both Buddhist and Shinto; there are no Mohammedans or Jews, except as foreign traders.

The Shoguns were a family of Ministers who, like our Peishwas, usurped executive government and relegated the rightful ruler to religious headship; much as Ankara in our time deposed the Sultan and confined him to Califship. In Buddhist temples, one sees images of Shinto deities. The explanation is that the first Buddhist missionaries could make no headway in Japan; their successors, to win over by conciliation, compromised. In one temple, there is even an erection to the cult of phallic worship which still exists.

Of course, the guide said, with 300 dialects in India, there is no unified race. I observed that a common education appears to surmount the obstacle of difference of stock. He agreed and said his view was that the British deliberately withheld that education. I dissented; the country is poor, the rich are unwilling to be taxed, and compulsory education of a population of 300 millions costs heaps of money. Where is it to come from? I pointed out that Indians resident outside India gave a most unfair account of British work in India. Yesterday's *Japan Chronicle* had an article from an Indian. That paper had praised Mussolini's policy of reducing imports, so as to give bread to Italian workers. Mr. S— says that thousands of Indians have been gaoled for advocating just that policy, and that it is hopeless to expect the industries of a nation to progress under a foreign domination. Now this is an untruth. Messrs. Gandhi and Co. do not want industry, they consider it a plague of Western civilization, when they suggest boycott of British goods, they put no bread into any mouths; they are jailed for burning foreign goods, taking bread compulsorily out of the mouth of importers, and compelling by force people not to use suitable articles where no substitutes exist. The guide agreed; said that Japan faced a similar situation in Korea. The guide... showed Korean maidens and men in Kyoto streets, making a better living than they could in their native land, where Chinese land-owners starved them of wages. The guide could not understand the "psychology" of Chinamen; there is a cruel strain in their blood. And yet Koreans show spite against Japanese. Japan, perhaps, has committed mistakes, imposes unwelcome hygienic regulations repugnant to hereditary custom, and perhaps Britain in India is up against the same consequence of foreign benevolence. I suggested there was more than that. British education had made popular crude ideas of patriotic resistance to foreigners; and why not resistance to British when they are foreigners? In education, industrial advance, institutions of self-government, famine relief, municipal privileges, campaigns against cholera and plague, all that India knows is of British origin; 588 Indian princes have not added one idea; a national government tomorrow would not add one more.

Was it the same resistance to progress that kept Japanese women to inconvenient sandals? The guide said that sandals are cheaper than shoes. Moreover old Japanese houses do not permit entry to people with boots and shoes. So sandals are the more convenient.

There are a lot of Chinese in Kobe and fewer at Kyoto; both the chauffeur at Kobe and the guide at Kyoto proudly said that Chinamen feel safe in Japan. Today's papers talk of further attacks and killing of Japanese in China.

MARCH 21, 1932.

Leat I forget I had better set down the guide's reason for the scarcity of stoutness in Japan; no beer is drunk, only saki from rice; little fatty food is taken. When Japs go abroad, and contract foreign habits, they bring back stoutness. The late Baron Shibusawa was fat. Business, he said, has been and is bad. The Kawasaki docks (our steel company's largest customers) recklessly expanded a prosperous business, were once in great danger of failing, and have now been reduced to very small proportions... Mitsui are apparently safe; but their head-clerk had been assassinated some time ago. Mitsui had invested large sums in American dollars to the detriment of the yen; and the murdered man was accused of advising and carrying out this unpatriotic policy. Agriculturists in Japan cannot live on farming. Their average holding is two acres; their proceeds in better days were annually 300 yen (Rs. 400); but now to bring their revenue to this point they have to go in for side-trades. The unskilled factory-hand earns a yen a day and works for seven days in a week (Rs. 9 a week). The earning of a good carpenter is the same as that of a junior teacher in a primary school (Rs. 120 a month) which indicates, according to an American standard, that civilization is progressing. In primitive communities a skilled manual worker earns and is esteemed more than a domino.

I had a drive for an hour and a half through the Imperial Palace grounds, through narrower streets where fierce bull-driven carts may be encountered, through farms and fields adjoining water where one saw middle-aged women wrinkled and unlike the younger women's picturesque, alert, fairy-like, hopping gait; through a small but attractive count-trified town; through bamboo-land plantation; back through Kyoto where, I suspect, it is a public holiday, worshippers going to and from shrines, crowds thronging the streets.

MARCH 24, 1932.

Yokohama.

A smiling red-capped efficient porter took charge of my bag and put me and it into a taxi, regardless of my protest that I could not accept any vehicle other than that of the Tourist Bureau. Nobody understood English; one who professed to, said that the taxi waiting was the taxi of the Tourist Bureau. I went to the ship all right and the cabman and porter accepted my card in lieu of payment.

The train journey from Kyoto was not dull. The Express was on the American-Canadian plan of observation and drawing-room car where we all sat reading. The bulk in that car were white people with three Japs. We all found ourselves watching at sunset for Mount Fuji, and we would all have missed it but for my asking the conductor who showed it to us at 7.55, a dome of white crystals rising alone and above a tremendous range of ordinary hills invisible in the dark. I have met Fuji over and over again, at Miyanishota, in the motor excursion to a Japanese Inn with the Japanese wife of the innkeeper, near Lake Hakone, in the bus from the inn to Yokohama.....For the rest, though Spring is beginning in Japan, there is not enough verdure during a trip to be scenically satisfying. One imagined what it would be like in late Spring and Summer, and one is helped in imagination by pictures one now sees in Art Galleries in Tokyo, or on Shrine and Temple walls everywhere. Tokyo, however, with its parks, palace-grounds, gardens (Rock or Landscape or Botanical), is green enough even now for walks or rides.

Elsewhere I did not find a forest though I often looked for one; a cluster of trees, when in view, if a

forest, must be a very thin forest. I was told there are no jungles anywhere in the Japanese Empire, except in Korea, where tigers, in Nature, are even now to be found. I look for things and don't always find. I have seen only one horse-carriage and that in the country; only one troop of dogs also in the country; and one dog following his knicker-bockered master; no street-dogs; and only one hospital, probably connected with the University; I have looked for bare-footed Japanese and seen none; the chauffeur tells me there are still some but very rare. I look for tall Japanese; the chauffeur tells me there are none. But I doubt it; I seem to have a recollection that Admiral Togo was tall. The Japanese seem to me to be a white race thinly mixed, and, if the white race was at all tall, then Mendelism would require the emergence of tallness, just as difference in colour of hair or difference of form persistently appears among the Japs.

In France and Italy, there is a visible change of type from the Southern Gauls or Mediterraneans to the Northern Teutons; the present-day Greeks, either of the mainland or the islands, bear no resemblance to the classical Hellenes; they are the progeny of mating with the Levantines. There is, I understand, no American type; just as British conscripts proved mainly C3, so American conscripts were physical deteriorates; and, what was more disconcerting, their intelligence showed, by Bertillon's tests, the mentality of 12 years, though their real average age must have been 25. This is not to deny that there are broad racial differences; only these differences are not merely geographical but also in time in the same geographical areas. I greatly doubt the alleged unity of race in China or Japan.

"UNREGISTERED" BRAHMO MARRIAGES.

(BY KOPERGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA)

The following reply, dated 15th May, 1942 was received from the Secretary, Sadharan Brahma Samaj, Calcutta to the request from Aska, that the managing body of the Samaj may be pleased to issue a pronouncement on the question "whether the solemnization of a civil marriage under Act III of 1872 is essential to the validity of marriage between Brahmans and, if so, whether it should precede the religious ceremony or may be postponed to a later date", and also to consider and make known whether or not a uniform procedure is to be observed at marriages by all members of the Samaj and its branches in India and, if so, what that procedure should be in order to conserve the religious and social principles of the Samaj including Monogamy and the freedom of intercaste and intercommunal marriages:—

Thanks for your letter dated 10th instant. I have also gone through the Article in *The Indian Messenger*. It is most surprising to find that some persons should be so blind as not to see a very simple thing.

It has always been our considered opinion and uniform practice to combine the religious ceremony and the Registration, or at least to have them on the same day. Though a marriage publicly solemnized according to our religious rites without Registration is socially valid in our eyes, we are not as yet quite sure whether it would be legally recognized as such before a court of law. It is for this reason that we insist on Registration as an additional safeguard. It can easily be understood that under such circumstances the Registration should not be postponed to a later date, because if that be the only criterion of validity before a court of Law, it will surely be held to begin from the date of Registration. So it cannot at all be advisable to postpone the Registration to a later date, and if any one foolishly does so it must be at a very great risk.

This message of the learned Secretary of the Samaj is highly welcome as it states most emphatically what has "always been the considered opinion and uniform practice" of the Samaj in Calcutta and should serve as an authoritative guidance to Brahmos in other parts of India as well. It is to be only hoped that the reasons giving by him may not weaken the force of the practical example presented by the leading Samaj which is the fountain-head of Brahmo inspiration to the whole country.

If the question were to depend on one's individual opinion of the validity or otherwise of a marriage with Brahmo ritual alone, there are quite a number of Brahmos in the mofussil who will readily declare in favour of its validity and eschew Act III of 1872 whether the marrying parties came into the Brahmo fold from the same caste and community or from different communities. They will even claim that the late Justice Sir N. G. Chandavarkar himself had expressed his regret somewhere that Keshub Chunder Sen and his associates had tied themselves to the apron-strings of Act III of 1872 in an unnecessarily paniicky mood.

If the Brahmo Samaj as a body could only persuade itself to believe, as the learned Pandits and Advocate-General Cowie consulted by Keshub Chunder Sen did in 1866, that its ritual has no legal force, it would be in a stronger position to direct and maintain a uniform practice in favour of the Act. But religious sentiment and self-respect have dictated a dignified attitude of judicious doubt which has induced an insurmountable reluctance to recognise frankly and decisively even within Brahmo circles that resort to Act III of 1872 is an absolute legal necessity for the Brahmo Samaj. Hence the apologetic explanation that Registration is insisted on only as an "additional safeguard" coupled with the tremulous warning that they will be taking "a very great risk" if they "foolishly" postpone the Registration even by a day after the religious ceremony. The mandatory moral force of the wholesome precept and prudent example of the central Samaj is thus frittered away, an adventurous reliance is encouraged on the mysterious fundamental or primary safeguard the existence of which is tantalisingly implied in the precept, and the so-called "additional safeguard", which is the only real safeguard, is thrown overboard. It may be called foolish. It may be risky. But when the takers of the risk, namely the bridegroom and some self-confident mofussil secretary or other unordained lay member posing as priest for the time being, are not the actual sufferers of the risk which falls entirely on the innocent bride, it will be no wonder if any amount of risk is taken by buoyant hopeful spirits who are encouraged by the judicious doubts and politic precepts of the parent Samaj to hug the belief that the validity of a ritual marriage is not beyond the pale of practical certainty.

No decent individual or community in India will take pleasure in harping on the possible invalidity of Brahmo marriages. They will, on the other hand, gladly recognise them as valid, if their recognition is of any help. But, valid under what law? This is the question which Brahmos themselves must answer. There can be no doubt that those who love to toy with the pleasing possibility that such marriages, even without the "additional safeguard" of Act III of 1872, may be held valid in law, have only the Hindu law in view and are glad to think that Brahmo marriages are valid Hindu marriages. But how does that subserve and ensure the two most important cardinal principles of the Brahmo Samaj as a social commu-

nity—namely, Monogamy and the freedom of intermarriage? Will the Samaj depend solely upon its power of social excommunication to prevent the possible exercise by the bridegroom of the right of polygamy conceded to him by Hindu law, with no legal authority to get him punished for bigamy? Will the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj eschew intermarriages like the Adi Brahmo Samaj from which it seceded through its reforming zeal? It is only Registration under the Act that can prevent the mischief that will accrue to these two great principles of the Brahmo Samaj by hugging too closely the desire to pass off Brahmo marriages as valid Hindu marriages.

Why not the Brahmo Samaj, therefore, without casting wistful glances at Hindu law and dreaming of the millennium when some court may possibly hold its marriages valid under that law, take a firm stand on the principle of Monogamy and, for its sake alone, insist boldly and implacably upon all Brahmos without exception registering their marriages under the Act irrespective of every other consideration? The present anarchy and progressive disruption of the Brahmo Samaj into groups of Brahmos marrying within their own respective castes without registration, and other groups comprising heterogeneous couples married mostly under the Act, will then perhaps come to an end and all can claim to belong really to a single community.

There is then another question which the message from Calcutta has answered but perfunctorily. It is whether registration is to precede the religious ceremony or may be done later. The practice in Calcutta is stated to be to combine both functions, "or at least to have them on the same day," but Registration is not to be postponed to a later date. The reason given for this distinction is that the courts may possibly hold the date of registration as the date of marriage and it is desirable in order to avoid risks, that the date of registration should coincide with the date of the religious ceremony.

Obviously the Samaj does not favour the idea that registration should precede the religious ceremony. It can only permit a combination of the two as a single function but has no objection to the Registration ceremony being gone through after the religious ceremony provided it is done on the same day.

Whether a Brahmo who accepts his ritual marriage as legally valid under Hindu law, or at least as socially valid, can thereafter—be it a few minutes later—go before a Marriage-Registrar to declare that he is "at the present moment unmarried," and whether section 15 of the Act will not make the subsequent marriage registration void, are questions which have apparently not been considered by the Samaj.

But since the Samaj is willing to allow and in fact expects, the parties to have the religious ceremony first, accepting it as socially valid by itself while treating it practically as no marriage in law for purposes of later registration, where is the necessity to hurry with the registration that very day? Further delay entails no social opprobrium and no question of legitimacy of children can possibly arise for several months to come.

Those who have personal knowledge of the practical difficulties and vexatious disappointments which humble folk of moderate means have to undergo for marriage registration in the mofussil districts, can alone appreciate how impossible it is to get the Registration done on the same day after the religious ceremony. Brahmos in Calcutta are perhaps specially lucky in having been provided with plenty of easily available and obliging Marriage-Registrars to attend at their homes at reasonable expense or without expense at

all and perform the religious and legal functions in a combined form or do the registration subsequently on the same day. But in the Mofussil, where an exalted P. C. S. officer like the District Collector, who is burdened with innumerable administrative departments entailing frequent tours and crowded engagements, besides being distracted constantly by A. R. P. and other emergency duties in wartime, is the only Marriage-Registrar for the whole district, he has to be reached at his official Headquarters from long distances and awaited for hours at a stretch on more days than one, to suit his convenience by the bridegroom and bride and at least one female and one male relation of hers and three "credible" witnesses. It is altogether a sickening job in all conscience for which no set time-limit is suitable. If the Samaj chooses to insist upon or permit precedence being given to the religious ceremony, no Brahmo of ordinary means and energy residing in the Mofussil can be blamed if he takes a few weeks or a few months thereafter to clear the hurdles across his path to Registration. If on the other hand, this travail is gone through first before the religious ceremony is performed, no legal risk can arise even if their dates do not coincide and no case of conscience or question of law arises when the parties are called upon to declare before the Marriage-Registrar that they are "at the present time unmarried."

GANDHIJI ON WEALTH AND EDUCATION.

Gandhiji who was in Bombay on a work of collecting money, has come out with a number of extraordinary statements which are being revealed by "M. D." in the columns of the *Harjan*. One of these is a curious attempt to estimate the relative worth of Santiniketan and the Bangalore Research Institute. This is the first time that Gandhiji has placed the humanities above the essentially practical. We do not know whether one must thank Gandhiji's dislike for large-scale industries with which the Institute at Bangalore is coming into closer contact of late, or his aversion to everything scientific, for this tribute which he has paid to a non-utilitarian institution. On the other hand, there is another change indicated in the press interview which is not less significant. In answering a question on "scorched earth policy," the champion of the charka clearly extended his disapproval of that policy to cover textile mills, thus far abating his aversion to large-scale industry. Some years ago he had declared that the Swadeshi movement did not extend to large-scale industries. If these are symptoms of a broader basis for his philosophy, they may be welcomed even in the crude form in which they have found expression.

In his talk with pressmen in Bombay, Gandhiji had occasion to stigmatise the Americans as a people who, "after all is said and done, are worshippers of Mammon." "The Poet Tagore," he said, "had been there; Vivekanand had been there, and his followers are still there. But the soul of America is untouched because of her worship of the golden calf." This gratuitous opinion was given in explanation of his not visiting the United States of America. One would have thought that Indians, themselves so greatly the victims of generalisations, would be more careful in their language and least of all does one expect Gandhiji to indulge in glib judgment. It was particularly out of place at an interview during a visit to Bombay for a purpose which showed that Gandhiji is not exactly blind to the many beneficent uses to which money can be put. The distinction that divides the man who persuades himself and others that he has harnessed Mammon to his chariot, and one who is accused of worshipping him, is but a difference in degree.

Nor is the worshipper always the one most enslaved by the object of worship. Gandhiji's reference to Vivekananda is not in the best of taste. It is certainly not calculated to help the fifteen Ramakrishna Mission centres in the U.S.A. which are carrying on their work on a basis of self-support, appreciated by the people among whom they have cast their lot.

TRADE UNIONS IN RUSSIA.

Trade unions in Russia, according to an article by Leon Kiril in the *Spectator* (London) of January 9, have very different functions from those in capitalist countries. They are organized by industries, not by crafts, and include the administrative and technical staffs as well as factory workers. Indeed, the Russian term would be better translated as "professional union," than as the usual trade union. The question of wages is of relatively little importance to Soviet unions. The State Planning Commission plans the total sum to be used for wages in relation to the amount of goods and services to be made available to the consuming public in order to maintain "equilibrium between supply and effective demand at constant prices." Therefore, an increase in money wages would only result in an increase in retail prices. But the trade unions have an important place in drawing up wage schedules "in order to differentiate as equitably as possible between the earnings of skilled and unskilled labour and between heavy, arduous or dangerous employment and relatively light and agreeable toil." The whole production of wealth in Soviet Russia "accrues to the benefit of the population as a whole," directly or indirectly, so that the unions are not concerned for special benefits for their own members as they are in capitalist countries.

Among their most important tasks is "raising the workers' skill and technical efficiency through improving technical education and training, ... raising industrial efficiency by improving factory-organization... and... inculcating discipline and promoting 'socialist competition,' which means pitting one factory or shop against another in friendly rivalry to increase output and improve quality." The methods used to increase output are frequently similar to those employed in "speeding-up" in capitalist countries—"uncompromisingly condemned and combatted by capitalist trade unions." But in the latter case it is a means of getting more work done in order to increase dividends and profits. In Russia the speed-up is for the benefit of the whole population, not for any particular group.

The greatest difference between Russian unions and those in capitalist countries is that the former are government organs. As such they must see to it that labour laws and decrees are observed and enforced. While the interests of the industrial workers may not always be precisely those of the rest of the population, the government must give equal attention to the claims and interests of each section. Although the trade unions are primarily industrial organizations, "they have certain duties towards the rest of the population, and it would be contrary to the principles of Soviet Socialism if they were to advance the interests of their own members at the expense of the rest of the people."

Soviet unions are also in charge of a great deal of social welfare work. They administer the social insurance system, which includes sickness benefits, invalid and old age pensions, and control "a great majority" of the rest-homes, as well as clubs, libraries, factory restaurants, and in some places control even housing. They spend about two thousand million rubles a year on social welfare. Most of this is contributed by the employing enterprises.

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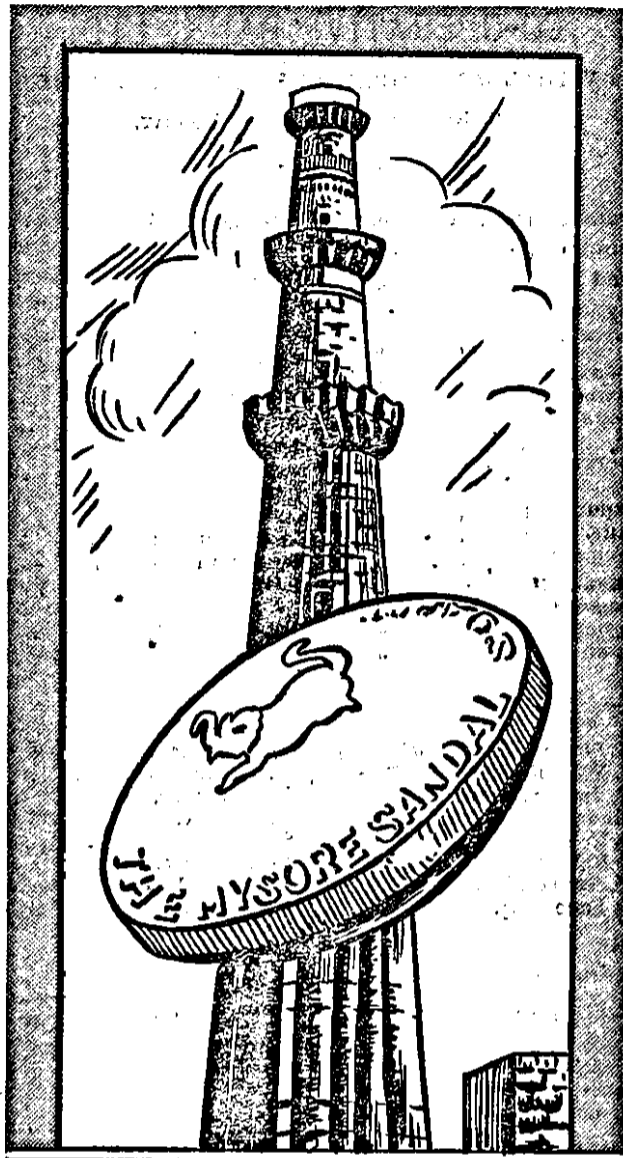
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Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JUNE 6, 1942. No. 40.

"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*

CONTENTS.

The Press and the U. P. Government.	Hurs in Sind.
The Maharaja of Indore's Open Letter.	Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
The War.	Hindu Women's Status.
Wrong Training.	Mr. Rajagopalachari and Pakistan.
Mr. Savarkar's Outburst.	Religious Tolerance in Hyderabad.
Strange Envoy.	Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Islamic Countries and India.	The Rau Committee's Bill on Hindu Marriages.
Strike ends in Bombay.	

NOTES.

The Press and the U. P. Government—Fresh securities amounting to Rs. 12,000/— have been demanded from the *National Herald* of Lucknow and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has asked the country to subscribe for this amount to enable the *Herald* to keep going. The question is, Is it worth doing this, so long as the menace of the U. P. Government hangs over the Press? When the first securities were demanded, the *Herald* was able to boast, nor did it lose the opportunity, that it had collected more than double the amount needed. The subscriber has had this consolation that he had a fair run of over eighteen months for his money. But the chances today are that the securities will not lie idle very long. Under the Hallet regime only a radical change in the policy of the *Herald* will enable it to continue functioning and, if it is changing its policy, it is absurd to ask for contributions on the strength of its past writings. The U. P. Government has consistently flouted the Editors' Conference and it is an unfortunate fact that the Government of India has found itself unable to assert its authority over what is virtually not so much a subordinate government as an administrative agent of the Centre, under the Defence of India Rules. In its action in forfeiting the *Herald* securities and demanding fresh securities, the Hallet regime has put itself completely in the wrong. Public opinion in the country has declared itself against these acts and the press as a whole has condemned them. Further it has been pointed out that the U. P. Advisory Committee of the Editors' Conference had seen the articles on the basis of which action was taken, and had unanimously declared them to be not objectionable; and that the forfeiture of securities was decided on by the Government on its own responsibility after knowing this opinion of the Committee. In these circumstances, it should not be difficult to arrive at some united action to bring pressure on the U. P. Government and to make the Govern-

ment of India realise that it has more to gain by exercising its powers of control than by allowing the U. P. administration to run amok. The most effective we can think of, is to deny publicity in the U. P. press to official material in any shape and from any source, and for the press of India as a whole to ignore U. P. official communiques.

The Maharaja of Indore's Open Letter—His Highness the Maharaja of Indore published last week an "Open Letter" to President Roosevelt invoking his intervention, in cooperation with the Chinese Generalissimo and the Soviet Prime Minister, to arbitrate between Britain and India. Incidentally, His Highness declared that he would without question abide by any decision regarding his own State arrived at by the Arbitration Board so constituted, no matter what the consequences of such decision might be. "For," added the Maharaja, "though by birth I am a ruling Prince, I am by conviction an internationalist and a democrat, and the chief article of my faith is that there is no meeting-ground between autocracy and democracy." *The Reformer* does not favour the intervention of any foreign Power and that generally seems to be the view of many others. The British Government, too, held the same view as illustrated by the late Mr. Montagu's falling foul of the late Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar for addressing a similar appeal to President Wilson during the last war. Circumstances, however, have obliged the British Government not only to put up with but actively to invoke foreign intervention, especially that of the United States, for the Defence of India as well as the exploitation of Indian resources for war purposes. Indian opinion has rather resented this departure from established policy. Solution by foreign intervention of the Indo-British problem, is not favoured by responsible opinion. Indians are confident of their own capacity unaided by foreign pressure to bring about the right solution of the Indo-British or any other problem. India has in the past transformed wild races who came to plunder and oppress, into peaceful communities taking pride in their new affiliation. That knack has not deserted her. It is by no means certain that the American will be more favourable to Indian aspirations than the Englishman. Theodore Roosevelt's views on Colonial Government were deeply influenced by the philosophy of Rudyard Kipling, and President Franklin Roosevelt's are unknown.

The American deteriorates more rapidly than the European in India. The Maharaja's appeal, therefore, will meet with little appreciation. As for his own State, if His Highness is a convinced believer in democracy, as an "autocrat" he is in the best position to introduce democratic institutions in his State without waiting for the arbitration of anybody. He may himself function as a democratic leader by virtue of the autocratic powers vesting in him as a ruling prince by birth. If he is powerless to do so, he can abdicate and appoint himself as leader of a People's Party. No one is obliged to behave as an autocrat though he is born to a gadi.

The War:—Since the outbreak of the war in 1939, there has probably been no more hopeful week than the past one. Stories of repeated withdrawals and surrenders because of lack of air support had tended to damp men's spirits and to many it was a growing feeling that, instead of promises of future ultimate victory, a few minor successes immediately would not be out of place. The week's news provides ample tonic for the dispirited. On the Russian front, a colossal struggle has ended in heavy losses on both sides but with the Russians well in control of the situation. In Libya, past experience has brought on caution both in reporting the engagement and in building up hope from the news. Yet it is clear that the first round has gone against General Rommel. British raids on German towns during the week have been on an unprecedented scale. On two nights, over a thousand planes raided Cologne and Essen inflicting heavy damage and casualties. The first raid is reported to have left 20,000 killed and 50,000 wounded. Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons assured his people that this strength would be maintained although it was not possible to say whether raids on this gigantic scale would be persisted in. That would depend on circumstances. The Minister for Air, however, forecast a vast increase even in these numbers and looked to a time when 4,000 planes would raid enemy territory. On our side, affairs bear a blacker complexion. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has appealed to the United States in terms which recall the French Premier, M. Reynaud's last frantic cry for help across the Atlantic. The Chinese leader needs planes and needs them urgently. The news of the aerial attacks on Germany by the R. A. F. must have removed any misgivings he must have had after the Burma campaign in which his Chinese soldiers participated under the American General Stillwell, about the adequacy of Allied supplies of aircraft. It is evident, however, even to the lay mind, that the British and their Allies have been nursing this air-force in pursuit of a long-term policy which has involved them up to now in the loss of precious possessions in Asia.

Wrong Training:—General Alexander has given yet another outspoken interview in which

he seems to say that a long campaign was not expected by military experts in Burma. The army marched in without essential supplies of arms and ammunition; spare parts and reinforcements were not to be had. The mechanised army which was sent, he said, was trained and equipped for the type of warfare expected in Continental Europe. This is a most astounding proposition. Had the Army to go and fight in Japan, this would perhaps be understandable, particularly as the Japanese have been very secretive about all things relating to their country. But that Burma which formed part of India not more than seven years ago, and where not improbably some of the Indian army have fought in the recent past, should present such difficulties to the Allied forces is a grave indictment of the army authorities. It is creditable, if not altogether wise on their part, to the army authorities that they allow General Alexander the fullest freedom of expression. But we are now reaping the evil fruit of having kept defence and army questions a closed book to Indians.

Mr. Savarkar's Outburst:—Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has made himself rather ridiculous by his angry outburst against the Chinese Muslim Mission headed by Mr. Woo who holds an important position in the Kuomintang. The despatch of this mission almost immediately after the return of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek from their Indian visit, was no doubt intended to promote an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League. To suspect sinister intentions on the part of the Chinese leaders, is proof only of the distrustful nature of the suspects. Mr. Woo first called on the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and has subsequently been visiting other Muslims. He naturally could not omit paying his respects to the foremost Indian Muslim, His Exalted Highness the Nizam. There was nothing more extraordinary in this than in the Hindu Sabha's compliments to the ruler of Nepal as the only independent Hindu potentate. After his visit to His Exalted Highness, Mr. Woo is said to have issued an appeal to Indian Mahomedans. We have not seen this document. References to the religious community of Chinese and Indian Muslims were inevitable in such an appeal. Why Mr. Savarkar should see in them an insidious endeavour to spread the Pakistan idea, we cannot understand. Even if Mr. Woo's words could bear such an implication, it is surely absurd to raise a hue and cry against the distinguished visitor and to call upon Hindus to refrain from showing him the courtesy and hospitality to which every such visitor is entitled, irrespective of his political opinions. In his address, in many ways a memorable one, to his people on the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic, President Masaryk exhorted them to cultivate an international outlook. This advice is needed by Indians

as well. We must resolutely set ourselves to get rid of the habit, which our position as a subject people engenders, of looking with suspicion at everything and everybody who is not of our caste, sect or political party. This can be easily done if only we base our own convictions on principles of truth and justice. Pakistan is such a flimsy idea that no one who has the least insight into the play of international forces, can for a moment feel any apprehension as regards its materializing. Mr. Savarkar sees in the appointment of Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah as India's Agent-General in Chungking a deep-laid plan to organize Chinese Muslims against Hindus! If that was the object, Sir Mahomed is the last person to have been chosen for the job. He belongs to a small sect considered heretical by the bulk of Indian Muslims. The Chinese Muslims themselves are far from conforming to the standards of Indian orthodoxy. Some of them are adherents of the Soviet Union and are among its enthusiastic partisans. Sir Mahomed, moreover, will be returning to the Federal Court in about six months when the litigation about the Qadian sect of which he is the most prominent representative, would have been disposed of. China herself is in a bad way and has this week issued an S. O. S. to the United States to send her war machines and materials to enable her to continue her stubborn resistance which has extorted the admiration of the world. The evil of such outbursts as that of the President of the Mahasabha, is that it creates a false impression among the Muslim public of the attitude of the great majority of Hindus who do not belong to the Mahasabha and who indeed believe that the Mahasabha under Mr. Savarkar is only adding to the general confusion.

Strange Envoy:—When Lord Linlithgow was appointed to the viceroyalty, the American magazine *Time* described him as having the physiognomy of half dreamer, half crank. That His Excellency is neither but a deep politician is shown by the way in which he has managed to split the parties and carry forward his own ideas without the co-operation of any of them. His moves are sometimes inscrutable as, for instance, the despatch of Mr. Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, to China for the purpose of promoting cultural unity between the two countries. Lord Linlithgow not only stretches the term Indian to include the English official in India, but His Excellency seems at times to confine India's nationality exclusively to English officials in New Delhi. The Generalissimo tactfully declined to recognise this strange identification. That, perhaps, was the reason why Mr. Sargent was sent to Chungking as the representative of Indian culture and as best-qualified to make the Chinese appreciate it—the Chinese who have known India for two thousand years and have had scholars throughout the centuries going from one country to the other.

Islamic Countries and India:—One of the lesser lights of the Muslim League, Chaudhri Khaliqzaman, in a speech over the week-end felt inspired by the overtures made by Mr. Rajagopalachari to the League to declare that Pakistan was not the goal but only a means of reaching a federation with other Islamic States. It is only a provincial politician who finds himself by force of circumstance thrust on to a larger platform, who would indulge in this form of idle mischief-making. So far as we can read the international situation, the problems which confront the Islamic States are no different from those which we in India face. If the Chaudhri Saheb and others of his way of thinking are seeking Pakistan in order to arrive at some understanding with the Islamic nations, they may equally negotiate such an agreement on behalf of all India. This, however, is looking far ahead. At the moment neither India nor any Islamic country is in a position to stand unaided; leave alone sign any agreement which is worth the paper on which it is printed. Meanwhile, what is Turkey about? She has just concluded an agreement with Germany for the supply of arms.

Strike ends in Bombay:—The bus-and-tram strike which was entered on last week-end in Bombay, has been given up on the setting up of an arbitration board. This is a welcome sign of reasonableness which will have its effect on public opinion in the city. So much has been said by industrialists and others on the possibilities of making money in wartime that it is not surprising if the workers also desire to share in the prosperity. It was reported in the press that refugees had given their services in order that the city's transport might not suffer during the strike. This is not a precedent we should like to see repeated. A guest soon becomes a heavy liability when he is brought in to intervene in domestic disputes.

Hurs in Sind:—Martial law has been declared in the Hur country in Sind, according to a communique from New Delhi. The Central Government has stepped in to assist the provincial administration. The communique issued on the subject declares that over a hundred crimes have been committed in Sind since the beginning of this year. If there has been any error, it has been on the side of misplaced tolerance. As a matter of fact the weakness of the local administration is not something which was revealed in January-May 1942 but had been shown in the Sukkur riots a year ago. Sir Lancelot Graham, then Governor of Sind, had publicly stated that what Sind needed was not so much popular ministries as the enforcement of law and order and the instilling of a proper respect for these essentials of civilised life. There are welcome indications that the Government will not rest content with half-measures now. Probably the delay in acting was due to a desire to get public opinion unmistakably behind it.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 6, 1942.

SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA.

By the death of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola which took place on Monday night, another, perhaps the last remaining, link between the Bombay of today and the Bombay of the spacious days of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, whom Sir Ibrahim sometimes claimed as his political guru, is broken. Sir Ibrahim was by education and training a "businessman." During Lord Sydenham's regime a determined effort was made to transfer political leadership from the hands of the professional classes to those of "businessmen." The professional classes represented by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, were inspired by political theory and were not easily amenable to official influence. The "businessmen," on the other hand, it was thought, by habit and training could not resist the opportunity of a deal. This estimate of the relative qualities of the two classes, was unreal as was soon perceived by those who counted on it. The businessman was found, if anything, a harder nut to crack than the politician. The Indian businessman sees in British rule the standing obstacle to his interests while the Indian politician is on common ground with it in respect at least of political ideology. However that may be, the campaign against Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and his group in the Sydenham regime gave businessmen the opportunity of political leadership. Sir Ibrahim grasped it with both hands. He used to say that his trump card with British officials, including his Secretaries when he was a member of the Bombay Government, was his status as a businessman. He would listen patiently to their arguments against his proposals and, when they had finished, he would say that he appreciated the force of all their arguments but, "as a businessman," he felt that his proposals were the only ones which would prove workable. That settled the matter. No Englishman would dare to stand up against a proposal emanating from a successful "businessman," which Sir Ibrahim certainly was.

Sir Ibrahim was fond of explaining to younger men how he gained a name as an effective speaker. He joined several debating societies and made it a point to speak there as often as possible. He thus developed a technique of his own, which he explained as follows: If he spoke for an hour, he finished all that he had to urge in the first twenty minutes; the next forty he devoted to rubbing in the same arguments from different angles and in different forms. He was a devoutly religious man and had the interests of his co-religionists close to his heart. But he clearly realised that their interests were inextricably bound up with those of their Hindu neighbours. This was illustrated by his efforts to get the local languages made compulsory

subjects of study in Urdu schools. He was all in favour of Urdu as the common language of Muslims. But, he would urge, Muslims had everywhere to do business with Hindus and, if Muslim young men knew only Urdu, they will inevitably be hampered in their business connections. The same line of reasoning led him to formulate his scheme which he published last year, for a unified India under a single central Government and a single central Legislature making laws for the whole country. He would not even agree to the central government by devolution entrusting provincial legislatures with exclusive powers in provincial subjects. That would, he said, lead to disruption, in the circumstances of India. He held up the Hindu joint family as the model for the Indian constitution, in a quite different sense from that in which Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya has recently done the same. To Sir Ibrahim it was the enormous strength of the joint family in its relation to the world outside, which constituted its essential feature and its great merit. To Mr. Rajagopalacharya, on the other hand, it is the right of a member of a joint family to demand partition—a right which did not originally belong to it and is certainly not the essence of it—that makes the joint family an argument in favour of his conceding the right of separation to the Muslim League. The social importance of marriage, on this analogy, is in the right to divorce, and marriages which are indissoluble would have no social value.

Sir Ibrahim was a staunch nationalist at heart and never failed to have it in mind in all the measures he formulated or helped to carry through. His nationalism, like that of the National Congress and the Muslim League, failed to take account of the tremendous revolution which two centuries of British rule has wrought in Indian thought and life. The British period is as much an integral part of Indian history as the Hindu and the Muslim periods. Western culture is an important strand without which Indian culture would be incomplete. Christian influence must also have a part in the future Indian ethos as much as the Hindu and Muslim influence. Western science and western organization are the cement which can hold together the various elements in the Indian population. The world is coming closer and closer together. All important problems are tending to become international problems in our day and they will tend more in the same direction in the coming years. The solution of the Indian problem must solve not only the Hindu-Muslim but also the Euro-Asian issue. Sir Ibrahim's grasp of questions was firm but his conception of the questions themselves, was limited. He had a clear view rather than a broad view of human virtues and failings. He had an open and growing mind. At one time he held that, as between boys and girls, the education of the former was more important than that of the latter. Later in life he became a convert to the other view, namely, that the education

of a girl permanently removes illiteracy from a family. An educated mother would never let her children run about flying kites when they ought to be attending school. The education of boys alone has comparatively only an ephemeral effect on the family in relation to its cultural status. Although weakened by age and ill health from taking active part in public affairs, Sir Ibrahim took a keen interest in, and kept himself in touch with, public movements. He was a staunch friend and wise counsellor.

HINDU WOMEN'S STATUS.

The two Bills drafted by the Rau Committee which the Government of India have circulated for opinion, singly and together constitute the crown and consummation of the labours of three generations of Hindu reformers beginning with the abolition of suttee with the powerful support of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. One of the two Bills relates to marriage. As we have repeatedly insisted and as the bulk of Hindu opinion gathered by the Rau Committee confirmed, Hindu society is ripe for the adoption of monogamy as the basis of Hindu marriage. The Committee accordingly have provided that all marriages performed according to Hindu rites, shall have attached to them the incidents and obligations of monogamy. This, as the Committee point out, is but the application in practice of the highest ideal of Hindu marriage from ancient times and it is necessary, to use the Committee's felicitous language, to establish the status of the mothers of the race on its proper foundation. A polygamous marriage, that is a marriage which leaves the husband free, whether he exercises his freedom or not, to marry a second or a third wife is incompatible with the high reverence in which motherhood has always been held in India. Even according to later codes, second marriages were made conditional on several factors but the administration of British Indian Courts have altogether ignored the conditions. There will be an alternative civil marriage open to Hindus as at present but the Committee rightly omits the section in the Gour Act which altered the law of succession of those married under the Act to the Indian Succession Act. This has been a stumbling block to many who would otherwise have availed themselves of the Gour Act. The text of the Bill is not yet available and it is to be seen whether the other incidents of the Gour Act, namely, the compulsory dissolution of the joint family and so on, are retained in it. The Committee seems to have shown ingenuity in dealing with the question of inter-marriages with persons of other religions. Such marriages, if contracted, would be valid but may be stopped by an injunction obtained prior to their celebration from a Court of Law. In other words, the onus of preventing them is laid upon the dissenting conservatives. The Bill for regulating intestate

succession among Hindus carries the same principle of equality between the sexes into the economic status of Hindu women. It gives them the same rights of succession as to men and does away with the anomaly of women's limited proprietorship. The Rau Committee deserves the highest praise for the effective manner in which it has dealt with these two important branches of Hindu law. The enactment of the two Bills will release Hindu society from the gravest hindrances to its moral, social and economic progress. We may add that it will greatly facilitate the political evolution of the community. A retrograde social system, that is, a system in which one half of its members are discriminated against, cannot sustain free institutions. The equalising of the status of the sexes is an indispensable step in the establishment and successful working of democracy.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI AND PAKISTAN.

Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya is not a man to be intimidated by abuse or threat of violence or even expulsion from the Congress, from pursuing the course which he has convinced himself is the right course in the public interests. If he has any personal ambitions, I am sure that he is not himself conscious of them. He may not be exempt from "the great infirmity of noble minds," love of fame. He may be obsessed by fear of danger to his own province. The interests of his province are more to him than those of the whole country. He is, perhaps, the one contemporary Indian with the largest measure of political courage. He carries it almost to the point of audacity. At the Gaya Congress he scandalised the audience and called on himself the stern rebuke of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, then at the height of their power, by calmly enunciating the doctrine, since adopted by the most financially orthodox nations of the world, that the first duty of a Government is to ensure the livelihood and essential amenities of its own people, and that, if it can not pay its debts except at the sacrifice of this paramount duty, it is entitled to suspend repayment of its debts, or to repudiate them altogether if there was no reasonable possibility of its resuming it. A bomb thrown in its midst would not have startled the Congress more. Both Mr. Das and Pandit Motilal severely castigated Mr. Rajagopalacharya, just emerging from the obscurity of the back-benches, for his temerity. He did not flinch. He must have chuckled when a few years later Britain, the high priest of contractual sanctity, calmly withheld payment of her instalments to the United States. What was then a horrible heresy is now an accepted canon of international transaction. Every nation which lends to another, does so on the implicit condition that the latter is under no obligation to repay unless and until it can maintain its own population in efficient health and strength. The Hon. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker indicated this in a recent statement to the Press on the extension of Lease and Lend benefits to India.

Although he himself will not be intimidated, Mr. Rajagopalacharya is not above intimidating others. A friend in whose judgment I have complete confidence writes that many who dislike his scheme in South India, are afraid to come out openly against him. This is really strange. Mr. Rajagopalacharya

is no longer Prime Minister. His resolution was thrown out by the All India Congress Committee by a large majority and there is talk of taking disciplinary action against him for carrying on an agitation against the decision of that Committee. The chances of his becoming Prime Minister, again, are therefore not numerous. Why then are those who are opposed to his scheme, afraid to speak out? The Hindu-Muslim problem affects South India the least. The Muslims there are an influential though numerically a small minority. The Prime Minister of Bengal, Mr. Fazlul Huq, while yet a prominent member of the Muslim League, told Madras Muslims, that, though a small minority, their position was much superior to that of Bengal Muslims, who are a majority in that province. South Indian Muslims will to a man resist any attempt to expatriate them to the Punjab or the Frontier Province which is implicit in the Pakistan idea. The Muslims of South India have from early times been marked by a distinctive nationalistic mentality from the Northerner. Hence the repeated attempts of the Moghul Emperors to absorb the Mahomedan principalities of the Peninsula. In offering to agree to Pakistan, Mr. Rajagopalacharya is offering something which does not affect his province. It is like Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan offering Dravidistan to Periyaver Ramaswami Naicker, leader of the Self-Respect Movement now merged in the Justice or non-Brahmin party, who attended one of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's meetings and was greeted by the ex-Premier as a long-lost friend. Mr. Rajagopalacharya is being generous at the expense of others. Why does he do this? His reasons on this point have not been clearly stated. It may be that he does not want to involve his province in the confusion of shifting Congress policies. He might have had a better chance with the All India Congress Committee had he left Pakistan out and confined his resolution to a demand for exemption of Madras from the ban on acceptance of office. Certainly, his action would not have evoked such indignant protest as it has owing to the Pakistan factor in it. In fact, there would have been support for the exclusion of Madras from many who have all along felt that South India has been cold-shouldered by the Congress. No South Indian has been elected to the Presidentship for over twenty years. Srinivasa Aiyangar who presided at Gauhati, retired from the Congress in disgust. The ideology of the Gandhian Congress has few points of appeal and many of repulsion to the South Indian mind. The attitude to British rule in South India, too, is free from the acrimony which the Congress High Command affects in its Independence Declaration. Curiously, although there has been less social intercourse in respect of eating and drinking between Indians and Englishmen in Southern India, there has always been a better understanding and appreciation of each other in that part of the country than in any other. Indian influence on the administration also has been far more effective than in any other part of the country. Mr. Rajagopalacharya himself is an admirer of English culture, character and institutions. One of the complaints against him was that, as Prime Minister, he showed undue preference to English over Indian officials. He wrote some years ago apropos of something in the *Reformer* that he was one of the few who agreed that Indians learnt English for its cultural value. Some years ago Mr. Rajagopalacharya twitted me for not going to prison as a non-cooperator. That was in Allahabad at the home of a common friend. Today, he is the disillusioned critic of the Congress. Perhaps, the word "disillusioned" is not quite appropriate. Because

some of his recent observations suggest that he had all along been aware of the short-comings of the Congress though he continued to tolerate them. As a revolter from the barren creed of non-cooperation, Mr. Rajagopalacharya has my whole-hearted sympathy and appreciation. But his offer of Pakistan as the price for Hindu-Muslim unity, shocks and saddens me. The unity of India is not a political issue. It is inwoven in the deepest fibres of my being. If there can be no Hindu-Muslim unity without sacrificing it, I prefer to do without Hindu-Muslim unity.

As a matter of fact, the very idea of Pakistan is a downright denial not only of Hindu-Muslim unity but of the existence of any common ground on which a *modus vivendi* can be established between the two communities. A thousand years of Indian history cries out against the basic principle of Pakistan. There has been and still is much greater community of ideas and modes of life between Hindus and Muslims than, for instance, between French and British Canadians. If Quebec, nevertheless, is content to remain a province of Canada, it is absurd to declare that Indian Muslims cannot constitute a single nationality with Hindus. The great majority of Indian Muslims are racially identical with Hindus. The Canadian French and the Canadian British are not. Hindus and Muslims speak the same vernaculars, eat and dress in the same way over the greater part of the country. Mr. Jinnah has made a great point of the dhoti and the pyjamas as the frontier line between Hindus and Muslims. If he will go into the villages, he will find Muslims wearing dhoti as their daily wear. I agree with Gandhiji that, if, nevertheless, the Muslims of India regard themselves as a separate nation, no human power can prevent their doing so. But I do not at all see that it follows that they are entitled to claim any part of India as their exclusive homeland. In no part of India have Muslims dwelt for a longer period than Hindus. By conversion and migration some parts of the country have come to have more Muslims than Hindus. But there are still Hindus, and in no inconsiderable numbers, in those areas. President Wilson himself had but a vague idea of "the right of self-determination" when he included it among his fourteen points. The British Empire and the United States as also the countries in alliance with them were excluded from the scope of this principle. Only Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire were to have its benefits which time has proved to be illusory. But it was certainly an integral part of President Wilson's idea that the right of self-determination should belong to the minorities and not to the majorities in a given area. The Pakistan scheme has never been defined. The only thing clear is that the right belongs to the majority of population in a given area. The provinces where Muslims are a majority, are to go into Pakistan without the minorities in them having any say in the matter. This surely is not what President Wilson, or any reasonable person for that matter, understood by that phrase. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, however, expressly declares the right of self-determination to belong to majorities in a province.

K. NATARAJAN.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN HYDERABAD.

Hyderabad Information, the official Publicity journal of the Nizam's Government, publishes in its current issue an article by Rani Saheba of Bhoom Samasthan on "Religious Tolerance under the Asaf Jahs." Three items in her long list of instances are conspicuous. Cows are not killed on Bakr-Id in the

Nizam's Dominions. This is the law and it is also the sentiment of the Muslim population. Many Muslim religious endowments have been placed, in perpetuity, under the control of Hindus who administer them through Muslim Naibs appointed by themselves. Hindu employees of the State are allowed six months' leave with full pay in advance if they wish to undertake a pilgrimage to their holy places.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright).

MARCH 26, 1932.

Nikko.

I had a two hours' excursion here to waterfall, temples, woods with splendid cryptomeria trees and pines looking over and down on the temples. The sites, woods, trees, people in crowds were as enjoyable as the temples, pagodas and the images therein; and the images of their attendant messengers (a fox, a bull, or a more ferocious beast), the gates of gold, copper, lacquer, floors and ceilings and walls of lacquer, pictures on walls and ceilings, the innumerable stone or copper lanterns which are never lighted, heavy time-bells—all was interesting until a thought came, 'Temple, temple everywhere; but not a drop of faith to see.'

The shop-quarter is equally picturesque for a town of two thousand inhabitants. Nikko is 91 miles only from Tokyo, the coldest town of Japan so far. I have been an ass to expect people going barefooted in this weather...In the hotels...one has to leave one's shoes outside the house and one's slippers outside one's room. There are three stoves going in the room and charcoal is being burnt.

MARCH 27, 1932.

A five miles' walk was called for by the fact that the excursion was planned for a lake and waterfalls up a mountain whose peak is 8,200 feet and the motorway up is under repair. So I went and started the walk on snow under foot and on either side. Still the murmurs of a river reminded that there was flowing water; and where the slopes did not interfere, the sun warmed; for snowfall had ceased. It was a delightful ascent until we came to the first two waterfalls; woodland scenery—cryptomeria trees, and pine and bamboo, and stumps without foliage of plum and cherry and maple—was about us...The maples which show rich thick green in June, then gradually redden, until they all redden in August, were now mere stumps. I told the chauffeur I would go up no further and then kept running down wherever snow-free ground permitted; and used much of the time saved in the going-up in a drive for miles in the Cryptomeria Avenue which is famous for its soft, shaded, woodland beauty. In this drive we passed through villages and small towns, the chief attractive feature of which was the shopping quarter, radiant in colour—their sign-boards are coloured cloth buntings on which white or other coloured characters are inscribed—their women in richly-coloured silk costumes, their children whether in the bags behind their mothers' back or in the street or on tiny bicycles, flamed in red sandals and red socks, sometimes in red kimono.

MARCH 28, 1932.

Yokohama.

The Imperial Hotel at Tokyo was the most splendid of all and very different in structure from what it was in 1914 when I lived there, and from hotels in general. I saw a temple dance in Kyoto which did not seem to interest the worshippers; a dance was offered for me, specially, by temple ladies at Nara which I declined, remembering our experience of the gipsy dance at Granada.

There was a great deal to see in Yokohama. Its shopping quarter (called the Bentendori), its gaiety quarter, its office and hotel quarters, the Foreign Quarter with its racecourse and churches (all horse-owners are foreign, all jockeys are Jap; the sight-seers and betters come from all classes, but betting is said to be restricted to 20 yen), the Catholic Church chiefly ministering to the French Consulate, and French residents burnt down by earthquake and not rebuilt; the Bund, the Bluff, the Parks, the chance of sighting Fuji among the hills ringing Yokohama round, the magnificent beach—this is what I was shown in the morning, yesterday.

Today I started motoring at 9 and came in just in time for lunch. I had a guide who spoke very good English. He pointed out on the way wheat-fields so freshly green, and rice-fields; and manure-casks under a tap making a liquidised flow for fertilisation; the pine young and old, flowers of the peach and plum, the white radish and the yellow rape and the red camera from all of which oil is extracted, and the water-wheel furnishing power to rice-crushing mills and the plantation in the sea of the sea-weed whose preparation serves as food for the poor, and the chimney over the house where the household refuse is burnt, which burning generates 700 h. p. which runs the city's tramways, and the Library 700 years old containing books in old Chinese characters. He walked me through the grounds of the Marine Biological Station, showing me views, and boats picking up sea-vegetation for analysis and experimentation. Our motor passed through the principal Naval Dockyard town of Japan with 120,000 inhabitants, and to the monument to Admiral Peary who, under threat of his guns, opened Japan to foreign influences. The monument is by the Japanese who recognize the service of Peary's guns in rousing them out of their slumber. We drove through Hyamo, the winter residence of Imperial princes and the nobles; and Zushi. We halted at Musaki to see the land-and-sea-scape.

My guide explained that Japan had to import wheat from Canada, Australia and the United States to supplement her own production. Though it was a rice-consuming country yet even the poorest needed wheat-flour for their own Japanese cakes. Kobe, he said, is a bigger and wealthier place than Yokohama. Kobe's population, 750,000, is all her own; Yokohama's 670,000 is the result of amalgamation with three neighbouring towns. Both are the creations of Peary's policy; they have emerged since 1866 when they and Nagasaki were thrown open to foreign trade. Osaka is an ancient town and was thrown open much later. So that, I noted, is the reason why Osaka with its two and a half millions, surpasses all other towns in wealth and trade. When we passed through quiet towns, he remarked that their hotels had prospered when flourishing bustle made people long for the refreshment of occasional quiet. But when trade is depressed, people have at home all the quiet they want.

The new Grand Hotel at Yokohama built on the site of the original Grand demolished by earthquake, is the property of a new Japan-owned company, with only a Swiss chef. The tramways belong to the City; they too were destroyed by the earthquake and they are charged with interest on the double capital—naturally they do not pay. The State Railways used to show some small profit but last year they showed a little loss. (Australian railways serving a small population lost 10 million sterling) U. S. A. railways were reduced to such straits that they purchase only 60 per cent of what they did a year ago; British railways do not know which way to

turn in presence of the combined operation of business slump and lorry competition.) The Japanese silk industry is suffering cruelly from a slump in American prices—their best market. Japanese silk in the U. S. market today sells cheaper than rayon or artificial silk.

Back on board ship the Chief Steward exchanged with me impressions about Japan. He told me a tale about Japanese sensitiveness. How years ago when the harbours were wooden jetties and the British Fleet appeared in these waters, Japan, young and old, was at the jetty to size it up. There was a little fellow, looking particularly earnest. A foreigner affixed a stamp on the little one's forehead and made as if to pick him as if he were an envelope to be pushed into the adjoining letter-box. You should see the dignity of the mocked boy—his silence and erect defiance.

The Chief Steward told me that no sheep are raised in Japan; something in the soil disagrees with them. Their meats are imported from Korea; all other meats have to pay very heavy duties. He himself, to oblige the P. and O. agent, once carried ashore a leg of mutton, not knowing it was dutiable. He was treated at the Customs House through which he had to pass as a smuggler, was mocked through streets—himself carrying the leg of mutton uncovered, between two gendarmes with drawn swords. He was kept in a lock-up overnight till the Consul and the Agent explained and obtained his release. The Customs people, he says, have become very expert in finding out from the looks and the fuss made by passengers if they were anxious to conceal anything. Private watchers are about to study faces and overhear talks and observe movements; smugglers are up against science.

The Chief Steward thinks Japanese women are lovely in kimonos but dowdy in frock and blouse. My one-fellow passenger has had dances with Japanese professional dancers whom he considers decent women not open to be walked away with. He has met an English married girl, born in Japan, who speaks but cannot read Japanese; she cannot stand the English of the Japanese talking to her. He has also met a Japanese girl talking perfect American English, trained in the U. S. A., who finds difficulty in understanding Japanese.

During yesterday's drive I was shown a tulip-patch; the tulip is not indigenous to Japan but grows beautifully. The guide told me the story of Japanese marriages. Divorces are easy but by consent with the added consent of parents if the couple are young. A petition to a Registrar accomplishes the desired result. If parties do not agree, a judicial verdict has to be obtained. The Buddhist Church discourages divorce without mutual consent. Wives' infidelities exist, but proportionately are less than in Europe. The Japanese people eat very little meat; fish, vegetables, cereals are their support. Before 1868, they had the Buddhist abstention from meats but, since the Westernisation, the compunction has passed away.

MARCH 31, 1932.

We arrived at Kobe yesterday a little before 2 p. m. I was instantly taken hold of by Mr. Davar to whom I had a letter of introduction from Mr. Bezanji Tata.

I explained that I had planned to take a car to see Osaka and that I would discuss no other sight-seeing till this was fulfilled. Mr. Davar and his daughter-in-law joined me in the trip. On our return I was taken by Mr. Davar for an hour's drive through Kobe by night—the Main (shopping) Street, the

Theatre Street, and the inside of a Japanese restaurant with the clientele, occasional foreigners like us two and arrangements for such a crowd.

Today Mr. Davar came to the ship at 9-30 in the morning. We went by car to the railway station and electric cable train running to Rokko Zan. These have been running only for a month. Rokko is like Matheran, a wooded elevation, about 2,000 feet, and serves as a health resort and summer residence; is connected with Kobe by rail, wire-rope railway, by a motor road and motor service and by a walking path. There was snow on the sides and one of the lakes we saw serves for skating; the road was new and muddy and slippery, both avoided slips through care and the help of our walking sticks but the road afforded beautiful views or views with the promise of beauty in later spring and summer. For the slopes were often bare and the trees were sometimes mere stumps; but rich fresh foliage had already emerged in many places, not too early, for tomorrow on All Fools' Day, Japan heralds in Spring by a grand celebration in town and country...The gorges with indifferent foliage were grand. After lunch we took the wire-rope train to Kobe.

At 6 p. m. we left Japanese land amid the noise of leave-taking and streamer-tuggings (as in Australia); but not before Mr. Davar had given his history and other people's and corrected several of my impressions about Japan.

Yokohama was much the bigger place than Kobe before the earthquake which, for the time being ruined Yokohama. Many of its merchants emigrated to Kobe to repair their losses—among these Mr. Davar himself. He had gone to Yokohama 25 years ago as Manager for a firm in India and had then set up for himself fearing that such a connection might be precarious; shetjis bring in their own relations or their own growing children and replace their managers when business looks promising.

Mr. Davar says that Kobe is full of Chinamen who have their own business and properties and club; a great many left Japan during the recent altercation, fearing reprisals, and their going away has seriously handicapped Japan. Japan's not molesting Chinamen in Japan is a counsel of wisdom and interest for Japan.

Mr. Davar and Mrs. Davar say that the costume of Japanese ladies has changed; it adopts many colours and unknown forms. Their new life has added to the Japanese girls' stature within a generation. In the Stores I was shown the novelties unknown before. When some European Stores first presented them, the Japs would not patronise them, compelled them to be bought out, and now, under Japanese ownership, foreign designs skilfully imitated in Japan are the attraction.

THE RAU COMMITTEE'S BILL ON HINDU MARRIAGE.

The broad plan of the Bill, writes the Rau Committee in an explanatory note that has been published along with the Bill to codify the law relating to Hindu Marriage in the "Gazette of India," is to distinguish two forms of Hindu marriage; the sacramental marriage and the civil marriage. These already exist, although perhaps not under these names. Briefly, the sacramental marriage is the marriage solemnized according to Hindu rites and the civil marriage is the marriage contracted before the Registrar in the manner laid down in the Special Marriage Act, 1872.

As regards the sacramental marriage, the Bill makes a change in the traditional law in one very important respect, namely, that it proposes to abolish polygamy. But, although this is a change from the law as administered at present, it is in truth a restoration of the ancient law at its best. The well-known text of Manu (IX, 107) enjoins mutual fidelity until death as the highest duty of husband and wife; and indeed, in practice, the vast majority of Hindu marriages are monogamous. The eminent Madras lawyer responsible for the latest edition of Mayne's Hindu Law had occasion to write on this subject a few months before his death. While deprecating any violent break with the past, he observed:

The time has certainly come for the Hindu Society to discard polygamy as a rule of Hindu Law. According to early Hindu Law monogamy was the approved rule and polygamy was an exceptional provision.....The right to take more than one wife in former days required legal justification; but the present rule of Hindu Law that a husband is not restricted as to the number of his wives and may marry again without the wife's consent or any justification, is far worse..... In these days when equality of women must be recognized, at least in this connection, it would be folly to postpone this reform.....Marriages contracted between Hindus under the Special Marriage Act are monogamous and surprisingly enough the marriages of those who are governed by the Marumakathayam Law of Malabar have become monogamous by a recent statute, while the general Hindu society still clings to polygamy. (Madras Law Journal, Golden Jubilee Number, 1941).

In answer to the questionnaire which we issued last year, the majority of our correspondents declared themselves in favour of the abolition of polygamy. We ourselves feel that no law of marriage can be looked upon as satisfactory unless it does justice to the mothers of the race. We have, therefore, made monogamy obligatory in the Bill even as regards sacramental marriages.

As regards the civil marriage, we have retained most of the provisions of the Special Marriage Act, but have attempted to remove one of its most glaring anomalies. That Act, as amended in 1928, provides *inter alia* (a) for the marriage of persons neither of whom profess the Hindu religion, and (b) for the marriage of persons both of whom profess the Hindu religion. The Courts have held that when Brahmos marry under provision (a) with a declaration disclaiming the Hindu religion, they are none the less governed in matters of succession by the Hindu Law, the declaration being regarded as merely for purposes of marriage; but when Hindus marry under provision (b) of the Act with a declaration professing the Hindu religion, they are, by virtue of section 24, governed in matters of succession not by the Hindu Law but by the Indian Succession Act.

We have anxiously considered the question of inter-caste and sagotra marriages. Even from the point of view of the orthodox who believe in caste and gotra restrictions, there is a problem to be solved. The position of the girl who has, by mistake or fault of her father or other guardian, been married according to Hindu rites to a husband of the same gotra or of a different caste, imperatively calls for some remedy.

We cannot do better in this connection than quote Sir Gurudas Banerjee: "The position of the women whose marriage is void *ab initio* seems to be singularly unfortunate under the Hindu Law. The causes which render a marriage void *ab initio* are, first, difference of caste in the contracting parties; and second, identity of *gotra* or relationship within

the prohibited degrees.....Her re-marriage however, is nowhere allowed even though the repudiation takes place before consummation. The doctrine of the Hindu Law is that the girl is blemished by the mere ceremony of marriage and if married again, the reproach of being a twice-married woman (*punarbhū*) would attach to her, even if she be a *virgo intacta*. This is hardly just. Even the virgin widow has one consolation for her hard lot, that it is due to a cause which no human foresight could prevent. But the condition of the repudiated virgin wife, who is condemned to a life of virtual widowhood for the error of a reckless guardian, is truly pitiable." (Sir Gurudas Banerjee's Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana, 4th edition, p. 222.)

The solution which we have proposed in the Bill is to extend the *factum valet* rule to such marriage. That is to say, their validity is not to be called in question after they have been completed. This rule is constantly applied by the Courts to cure various infractions of the strict Hindu Law.

We shall quote a few instances from Sir Gurudas Banerjee's Lectures:

(1) A text of the Matsya Sukta, cited in the *Udva-hatattwa*, says, "The marriage with a girl of equal *pravara*s or with the daughter of a pupil or of the guru who instructs in the Vedas is prohibited." All three prohibitions are in the same terms, but as regards the last two, Banerjee thinks it very doubtful whether a Court would consider them as anything more than moral injunctions. In other words, Courts would apply the doctrine of *factum valet* to validate a marriage with the daughter of a pupil or a preceptor, once it has actually taken place.

(2). Again, in the very verse in which Yajnavalkya enjoins marriage with a girl of different *gotra* and *pravara*, he also lays down in the same terms that she should be younger than the husband and shorter in stature, and should have a brother living. But it can hardly be expected that the violation of these other injunctions would nullify a marriage already celebrated.

(3). A man is likewise prohibited to marry a girl who bears the same name as his mother. This rule is so imperative that, if one inadvertently marries in violation of it, he is required to forsake the wife entirely and perform penance. But it is doubtful whether, after marriage has taken place, a Court would regard this rule as imperative.

Thus in all these cases, Courts would apply the doctrine of *factum valet* to cure the infraction, once the prohibited marriage has actually been celebrated. We propose to extend the doctrine to marriages which (it may be by the inadvertence or recklessness of the guardians concerned) have been celebrated between parties of different castes or of the same *gotra*. Such marriages, in the sacramental form, are not likely to be many, but if they do take place, the wife would be in an impossible position unless they are validated. Merely to allow her to marry again would hardly be an adequate remedy, for no one is likely to want to marry her in the circumstances. We have accordingly provided that the validity of such marriages is not to be questioned after they have been completed although in proper cases they may be prohibited by injunction before they are performed.

These are the main principles of the Bill.

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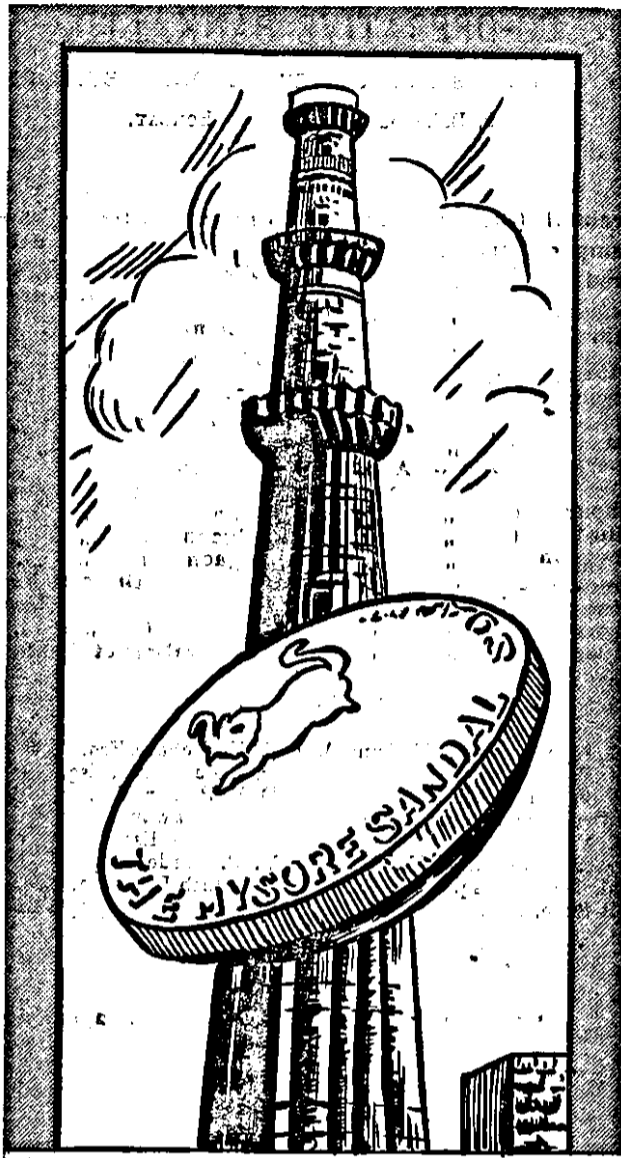
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Vol LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JUNE 13, 1942 No. 41.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Hindu Monogamy Bill.
Democracy and Majority Rule.
Anglo-American Trade Agreement.
Lord Selborne's Scheme.
The Servants of India Society.
Future of the Far East.
"Constructive Statesmanship and Nebulous Fancies."

"Belligion in the U. S. S. R." Government and the Grady Mission.
Prohibition in Bombay.
Burma and Indians.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
China's Industrial Cooperatives.
As an Englishwoman Sees Us.
Ram Mohan Roy and America.

NOTES.

Hindu Monogamy Bill :—The Bill drafted by the Rau Committee proceeds on very cautious lines. Accepting the ruling of the Privy Council, the Bill makes marriages within the four main Hindu castes legal, ignoring the customs which may exist in respect of sub-castes. As regards the restrictions about *gotra* and *pravara* the Bill, while recognizing them, makes marriages valid once they have been contracted but leaves it open to any interested person to move a Court of Law for an injunction, at the risk of being fined Rs. 1,000 if he fails to get one. The part of the Bill relating to sacramental marriages is short as compared with that on Civil Marriages. It lays down that neither of the parties must have a husband or wife living at the time of marriage, that they must belong to the same main caste, that they should not belong to the same gotra or pravara, that they should not be sapindas (related by blood within certain limits), and that, if the bride be less than 16 years, "her guardian in marriage" must consent to the marriage. Two ceremonies, namely, invocation before the sacred fire and *saptapadi* (seven steps round it) are essential to complete a sacramental marriage. Violation of these conditions will be punishable under the bigamy sections of the Indian Penal Code. Customary forms are recognised in the case of the castes who have practised them. The *Bombay Chronicle* criticises the absence of a provision for divorce which, it says, is an indispensable incident of a monogamous marriage. Surely, it forgets the Roman Catholic sacrament which admits of no divorce. Even among Protestants, divorce has no religious sanction. It is the essence of a sacrament that no human power can revoke it. Those who contemplate divorce at the time of marriage, may marry under the Civil part of the Bill which gets rid of the irrelevant sections in Gour's Act relating to succession, adoption and other incidentals. The Bill provides that it will come into force four years hence. The reasons given

for this interval in the case of the Bill on Hindu Intestate Succession, do not apply in the case of the Marriage Bill. The first reason is that the Provinces should have time to legislate in order to bring agricultural property within the scope of the principle of equal rights of property for men and women. This has no relevance to marriage. Public opinion is ripe for making Hindu marriages monogamous without undue delay.

Democracy and Majority Rule :—We have often regretted the paucity of well-conducted English journals representing the Indian Muslim viewpoint. We welcome, therefore, the appearance of a weekly English journal named the *Onward*, edited by Dr. N. Jaffri, Bar-at-Law, Allahabad. In the second issue of the *Onward*, the Editor contributes an article on Pakistan. This is the first attempt at a detailed exposition of the scheme by a leading Muslim publicist that we have come across. In the course of the article Dr. Jaffri lays down the basic principle of Pakistan in these terms :

The idea is that in our "homelands", that is, where we are in a majority we should have our sovereign state, and where the Hindus are in a majority they should have theirs. The rights of minorities in each such state will be based on codified principles based on justice, equity and good conscience.

Now India is one whole geographically, historically, politically. Hindus are the overwhelming majority of the population and it cannot be denied that India is the homeland of the Hindus, that is, they have been in the country longer than other communities. According to Dr. Jaffri's own doctrine, Hindus should be sovereign in India, the minorities including Muslims having their rights safeguarded by codified principles based on justice, equity and good conscience. Pakistan is, therefore, a repudiation of Dr. Jaffri's own theory. But that theory itself in our opinion is based on a perverted view of the State. The art of government has been discussed since the days of Plato but the identification of democracy with majority rule belongs only to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth and during the twentieth centuries, political science has tended to reject majority democracy and to interpret democracy as the rule of law resting on an ethical foundation. T. H. Green in combating Locke's majoritarian doctrine maintained that it is not majority support but "the function which it serves in maintaining those conditions of freedom which are conditions of the moral life," which gives a government its

title to obedience. No reformer can be an advocate of majority rule in any other sense, but every reformer will accept democracy as defined by Green as the ideal form of Government. In moral, as distinguished from majoritarian, democracy, there is and can be no distinction of majority and minority. Even Locke, by his doctrine of Natural Law, excluded from the sphere of his majoritarian State, a large section of social life. For instance, he held that the majority had no right to legislate that men should not tell the truth, or forbidding them to honour their parents, or legalising plunder.

Anglo-American Trade Agreement :—Contrary to the expectation of Mr. N. R. Sarker, the Lease-Lend arrangements are, so far at least as Britain and the United States are concerned, to be not without mutual material benefits, though not in the sense familiar to nineteenth century economists. Britain will not repay the huge amounts involved in the transactions. Neither will the United States remain without adequate return. The clause bearing on this question runs as follows:—

In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the United Kingdom Government, in return for the aid furnished under the Act of Congress, March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to be a burden to the commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include a provision for agreed action by the United States of America and United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion by appropriate international and domestic measures of production, employment and exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundation of liberty and welfare of all peoples; to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers and in general, to the attainment of all economic objectives set forth in the joint declaration, made on August 12, 1941, by the President, U. S. A., and the Prime Minister of United Kingdom.

Stript of its grandiose verbiage about world benefits, this means that Britain will after the war be precluded from entering into Imperial preference arrangements which exclude the United States from their benefits and that the United States will have the same right to exploit the British possessions and Colonies as Britain may have. The implied condition is that the United States will, in consequence of her joint interest in the colonies and possessions, help, Britain to hold them under her control. The plain significance of it all is that the United States becomes in association with Britain an imperialistic power. We have grave doubts if the American public will, when it recovers from the war fever, support this grandiose scheme. An ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland who returned from a tour of the States, recently broadcasting his impressions, expressed the apprehension felt in American circles that Isolationism may, as after the last war, gain the ascendancy in American politics. India, of course, will object to be made a pawn in the British-American game to share between themselves the material benefits

of civilization and insist on its moral basis being given precedence. Civilization based on material wealth has proved itself a dead sea-apple and we do not want to have the disastrous experiment repeated.

Lord Selborne's Scheme :—The scheme for an Imperial Council and an Imperial Cabinet outlined by Lord Selborne is based on the right principle of closer cooperation between different parts of the British Commonwealth. So far as India is concerned, however, it means little. Lord Selborne hopes that India will be included but adds that in any case she will be represented. He means, no doubt, that she will be represented by the Secretary of State for India. Apart from this what will be the position or prospects of the Indian representative vis-a-vis the Dominion representatives, particularly the South African, whose main preoccupation is to keep down the non-European elements to fetch and carry for the white man? One other item in the scheme is of interest to India. Cape Town is suggested by Lord Selborne as the most suitable locale for the Imperial contraption. We presume this is on the assumption that the Mediterranean route, if not actually closed, will no longer be a safe or certain highway between Britain and the Indian Ocean. If the assumption is correct, the future of the Commonwealth will be very different from its past. It will not be the same Commonwealth except in name. If, however, the Suez Canal will be open to British ships as before the war, India, not South Africa, is the obvious centre of the Commonwealth. The Selborne scheme is self-stultifying if Cape Town is to be the heart of the Empire. South Africa is a chronic sufferer from heart disease.

The Servants of India Society :—The annual report of the Servants of India Society for 1941 has just been issued. The Society has a membership of twenty-seven and the report gives a detailed account of the work carried on by these members throughout the year. It might be prejudice but somehow one feels that in a society like the Servants of India the emphasis should be more on the work done than on personalities and the enumeration of each man's contribution to the Society's tasks strikes a jarring note. We congratulate the Society on its successful handling of the financial side in converting an expected deficit into a surplus in a particularly difficult year. The Society during the year has done excellent work in its various spheres, in labour, in education, in village reconstruction and in journalism. It has made a distinct contribution to national life in the past thirty-five years and deserves a more generous measure of public support. It is unfortunate that it has not been able to expand its activities and particularly to revive its weekly journal, the *Servant of India*, which it had to close down on the outbreak of war. This is a loss to Indian journalism which the other journalistic activities of the Society cannot make good. It is unfortunate that the meagre remuneration of its members has had to

be cut down by 20 per cent and we hope that the cut will be restored in the ensuing year. With its distinguished record of work in the field of Indian Labour, the Society should not find itself forced to cut down the income of its members when everywhere else the agitation is for higher scales of pay.

Future of The Far East:—Commenting on General Wavell's statement that Burma will be reconquered, the *Indian Witness*, organ of the American Methodist Mission, published in Lucknow, observes:

But that does not get us very far just now. Burma already was clamouring for fuller independence and in this day it will scarcely be in keeping with world demands for Burma to be retaken for the purpose of making it a permanent part of the British Empire. When Japan is finally defeated as we believe she will be, there will naturally be a readjustment of Burma affairs and the commercial interests of those who have investments in that land will be given consideration. But the old days will never return.

In the next paragraph, however, the *Witness* assumes that Holland will retain Netherland Indies which it suggests as a suitable place for settling European, Anglo-Burman and Anglo-Indian evacuees. Australia is also mentioned for this purpose. There has been a nationalist movement in Netherland Indies also and Holland has not made, from the point of view of the people, beneficial use of its domination of the large areas constituting its Empire in the Pacific. Certainly the future government of Java and the rest of that territory, will have to be considered and settled on moral principles at the end of the war, Holland has no more right than Japan to be there. If the territory is not immediately ready for self-government, it should be placed under international guardianship with a mandate to prepare it to govern itself in the shortest period possible.

"Constructive Statesmanship and Nebulous Fancies":—Mr. Rajagopalachari has won a strange champion for his case in the *Times of India*. The *Times* in defending Mr. Rajagopalachari asks those who oppose him to shut up. It writes:

Many may not agree with Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula for communal unity. But Mr. Rajagopalachari is on the right track, since India's great need to-day is constructive statesmanship instead of nebulous fancies. The obvious duty of those who do not agree with Mr. Rajagopalachari's unity formula, is to provide a better plan; they have no right to criticise him unless they can do so.

The *Times* by calling it a unity formula does not make the Rajagopalachari scheme actually one. To take the case of the *Times* itself, if the Rajagopalachari scheme develops in the only way in which it can develop, there will have to be a *Times of Pakistan* and a *Times of Hindustan* in place of the present *Times of India*. Then, again, what is constructive statesmanship and what a nebulous fancy? If Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme were a constructive act, there would be no need to do all the

propaganda which the Madras leader is doing for it, the sole purpose of which is to convert a "nebulous fancy" into what he hopes will be a constructive act. Who, moreover, is to judge what is a better plan? The *Times of India*? Mr. Rajagopalachari? The ease with which the *Times* slipped into confused thinking the moment a new idea came up, shows how feeble is its grasp of the Indian political situation. The greatest disservice it can do to the Madras ex-premier who certainly has no need of any outside help, is to try to coerce into silence all opposition to him. It is Mr. Rajagopalachari who is rebelling against the Congress not those who oppose him, and it is rebels who are usually put down. It is possible the *Times*, in this as in other matters, is expressing official reactions. This would be even worse from Mr. Rajagopalachari's point of view. In this connection, it is not without interest to mention, what the press reports omitted, that at the Salem meeting two hundred policemen were in the vicinity while the proceedings were in progress.

"Religion in the U. S. S. R.":—In contrast to the official attitude as declared by the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons shortly after Russia was attacked by Germany that the Allies were not concerned about the internal administration and the institutions of Russia, the "Friends of the Soviet Union" are putting out a series of pamphlets explaining Soviet ideals to the Indian public. Appropriately, the first pamphlet explains the Russian attitude to religion as this is the subject on which the greatest amount of confusion prevails outside Russia. Mr. Wilfred C. Smith has given a comprehensive account (Free India Publications, Lahore, 2as.). There are one or two observations which rather overstep the mark but the merit of the pamphlet is that its defects are obvious and will not get past the ordinary reader. For example, this about old Russia: "Even Totemism persisted in some degree. There are parts of Russia where still today the he-goat is a mascot.... And the symbolism of 'the bear' as representing the Russian nation survives in the parlance of our own newspapers." His partisanship is even more glaring when he describes the Church in Soviet Russia as occupying a place similar to that occupied by religious organisations in Canada, the U. S. A., France, etc. He writes: "The State was not going to support expensive and gorgeous religious services at public expense for a few people who were not themselves willing to pay for it." This is not the position in other countries. To expect the people to have only the form of religion for which they can pay, is to introduce a new interpretation of the relations subsisting between Church and State in non-socialist States. With all its defects, Mr. Smith's pamphlet is a useful survey of the weaknesses inherent in a religious system in which the priesthood is illiterate and uncultured.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 13, 1942.

GOVERNMENT AND THE GRADY MISSION.

J.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya issued last month a memorandum calling the attention of the Grady Mission from the United States, to the fact that, despite India's immense possibilities for war production, her war output in large-scale heavy industries is insignificant compared with countries like Canada and Australia whose population is less than 3 per cent of that of India. This, he went on to say,

was due to the fact that, since the beginning of the war, the Government have made no attempt to mobilise Indian business enterprise for co-ordinated war effort by placing their orders for heavy mechanical equipment with Indian firms. Our industrial leaders were never even called into consultation by the Government before deciding their plans for heavy war material.

This is not all. High Government officials have been making pronouncements calculated to discourage Indian industrialists from even contemplating the possibility of their supplying the requirements of the country as regards material and machines required for the defence of the country. As an instance, Sir Mokshagundam quoted from a speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy two months ago. Lord Linlithgow said: "India is, and for a long time is likely to be, mainly an agricultural country, and her prosperity will greatly depend on the care and forethought which she devoted to her major industry." This is an old commonplace which the war, we should think, has blown to tatters. Sir Mokshagundam demanded an authoritative declaration from Government that, without reservation of any kind, representative Indians in commerce and finance, will be taken into their confidence. Referring specifically to the steel, shipping and automobile industries, Sir Mokshagundam showed that the Government attitude towards each of them has been adverse to Indian enterprise. It was recently disclosed, he said, that, instead of increasing the production of pig-iron and steel in India, some quantities of pig-iron were "allowed" to be exported to the United Kingdom to be converted there into steel and got back to India in spite of freight risks; and that it was only the preoccupation of English factories and the closing of the Mediterranean route that persuaded the Indian Railway Board to place some new orders with the Tatas. Sir Mokshagundam is himself a director of the Tata Iron and Steel Company and his facts, therefore, may be accepted as correct. Only the word "allowed" seems to be an unintended euphemism for "required," for it is inconceivable that the Tata Company would have of their own motion adopted the ridiculous device of sending pig-iron to Britain to be made into steel and returned to India when they have themselves all the appliances necessary to effect the conversion

at Jamshedpur. We believe that this preposterous arrangement with India was about the only achievement of the Ottawa Conference, the Dominions having exacted their pound of flesh from the mother country.

In the matter of the ship-building industry likewise, the attitude of Government has been unhelpful. They preferred to get ships built in Australia for India. "All that the Indian public was treated to was the news that, on the completion of the first ship, the Viceroy of India cabled congratulations to the Australian ship-builders." The automobile industry which, after long study and preparation, was on the point of being started, was for similarly unjustifiable reasons, frowned upon and had practically to be dropped. These are not the only instances of Lord Linlithgow's predilection for assuming to himself the right to do things in the name of India without letting India have any inkling of his reasons. It is only after repeated protests in the Press that the Government of India condescended to explain, even that perfunctorily, why hundreds of Polish orphans were being brought to India. It appeared from the official communique that "India" had offered to receive them. Evidently no other country did so. In the same spirit His Excellency sent a liberal donation with his congratulations to the Netherland Indies which refused to allow Indian refugees from Malaya to land in their territory. No Viceroy has used the convention to speak on behalf of India more liberally than Lord Linlithgow and, we may add, with less justification. It is in the same spirit that His Excellency has decreed that India must remain for a long time to come an agricultural country. But India does not accept this fiat and she will find a way out of it.

II.

The Grady Mission has independently come to the same conclusions as Sir Mokshagundam on the main points of the inadequacy of India's contribution to the war effort. Their report has not been published; only an official and, apparently, bowdlerised summary prepared by the Government of India has been issued. On the basis of that summary an interesting conversation took place last week in New Delhi between Sir Homi Modi, Member of the Government of India in charge of Supplies, and Indian and American press representatives. After acknowledging the advance made during the last year, the Grady Mission in their report express the opinion that what has been done fell far short of what has to be done and what can be done in a country with India's material resources and almost inexhaustible man-power. Of the latter the Mission expressed themselves impressed by its good quality and excellent potentialities. "The Indian is skilful with his hands," they observed, "and, given satisfactory working conditions and security of employment, is dependable and industrious." The Mission suggested four

alternatives stated as follows in the Government of India summary:

(a) A high-powered control independent of established Government agencies on the American model.

(b) The separation of "Production" and "Supply" and the establishment of a new department for the former.

(c) The division of the Supply Department into two parts one dealing with "Production" and the other with "Supply."

(d) The establishment of a War Cabinet with a strong Secretariat to control war production in all its phases. This War Cabinet should consist of members responsible for Production, Transportation and Communications, Defence and Finance.

The Grady Mission indicated their own preference for the last, namely, the constitution of a war Cabinet. The creation of a separate Department of Production which is now included in the Department of Supply of which Sir Homi Modi is in charge, is, however, pivotal in the Mission's scheme. The memorandum on the Mission's report which the Supply Member presented at the Press Conference, was such as to evoke a protest from the American journalists who attended the Conference, on the ground of its being inspired by a defeatist mentality. Sir Homi, of course, would not admit this but it is evident from his statement that the Government of India are not enthusiastic about giving effect to the Mission's advice. The Mission, it must be remembered, was appointed on President Roosevelt's personal initiative without consultation with New Delhi though the latter could not help according the Mission as warm a welcome as it could offer in the circumstances. The Indian bureaucracy does not take kindly to outside advice even from people who are born and bred in this country and know considerably more about its conditions than the bureaucrats. As might be expected, its reaction to the Mission's proposals are analogous to what may be expected from the owner of a China shop when a bull pays a surprise visit to his show-room, the American bull in the British China shop! The biographer of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta who in his non-official days was, like Sir Pherozeshah, a stern critic of the over-weening self-sufficiency of the Indian bureaucracy, is now the mouth-piece of that bureaucracy. He fastened on the phrase "on the American model" in the Grady report and preached a long sermon on the impossibility of transplanting the institutions of one country in another. As a matter of fact, in the war efforts adopted in this country there is not a single original idea. All of them are borrowed blindly from the practice, some of which have been discarded, in Britain. Even the men to work them are imported from that country. Sir Homi's glib objections to having a high powered agency independent of the Government to co-ordinate war efforts, are misfires. The Viceroy of India today has more powers than the President of the United States. So numerous have been the ordinances which have been issued forbidding people to do certain things and requiring them to do certain

other things that we are impelled to suggest that a single short ordinance may be issued stating briefly the things one may do without coming under one clause or another of the Defence of India Rules. The Viceroy is himself the most high-powered control in the world and his powers include the power to create other high-powered controls.

The Mission is keen on a separate Department of Production and Sir Homi Modi is as keenly against it. He says that it is a mistake to suppose that the Supply Department confines its purchases to the existing industries. The conclusive answer to that is furnished by Sir M. Visvesvaraya's memorandum which gives specific instances of production projects which have been sterilised by the unsympathetic attitude of the Government of India. Not only does the Supply Department confine its patronage in all essential matters to the existing factories but it has not raised its little finger to aid the Indian industrialists who have been trying hard to expand existing and to establish new industries which would materially add to the Indian contribution to the war. A separate Production Department with a Member in special charge of it, would surely not have indulged in this unhelpful attitude. Sir Homi made much of the ignorance, illiteracy and immobility of the Indian masses. He knows from his experience of the Tata Industries that Indian labour, in spite of its illiteracy, has responded remarkably well to new conditions and has proved itself to possess the qualities which the Grady Mission found in it. We surely expected Sir Homi Modi to take a more helpful attitude towards the recommendations of the Mission. The Americans, however, are not likely to take things lying down. We may expect that they will make further help to Indian defence conditional on the Government of India showing itself more adaptable than it has been so far. The Grady Mission had only a single aim before it. It was to make the fullest use of India's man-power and material resources for the successful prosecution of the war. While the Government of India also has this desire, it has also the desire that India should not develop into an industrial country and cease to supply Britain with raw materials for her consumption. Success in the war, with India ceasing to be the producer of raw materials, will mean much less to Britain than to the United States. India must be within the Commonwealth and remain an agricultural country as His Excellency the Viceroy said in his remark quoted by Sir M. Visvesvaraya.

Dr. Grady had reported to President Roosevelt on his return to the U. S. A. and has given a Press interview. The summary of the latter does not tally with the summary published of his report in this country. While the Indian summary emphasised his Mission's eagerness to start industries, the Washington summary represents him as laying most stress on the enrolment of Indian soldiers. There is no

doubt a point of contact between the two versions but, without the full text of Dr. Grady's report before us, it is not easy to discover where and what it is. Simultaneously comes the announcement that the Viceroy has created a War Resources Committee of himself, the Commander-in-Chief, the Supply, Finance, Commerce and Communications Members of the present Executive Council, which will be supreme in matters affecting the conduct of the war. This is said to be a measure to give effect to the recommendations of the Grady Mission. It may be so superficially. Since no Production portfolio has been created as distinct from the Supply, the fundamental recommendation of the Mission is ignored and the War Committee is only the Executive Council minus some of its more effective elements.

PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY.

Not a day too soon Dr. B. H. Rajadhyaksha has given notice of a resolution to be moved at the next meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporation inviting the Government to reintroduce Prohibition in Bombay. The Federal Court recently decided that Prohibition legislation was not outside the legal capacity of provincial legislatures and specifically overruled the judgment of the Bombay High Court to the effect that it was. The main ground of the Bombay judgment was that the Abkari Act was an Act for raising revenue and not for controlling the consumption of liquor. *The Reformer* at the time pointed out that this was contrary to the oft-repeated formula describing the policy of the Indian Government as "maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption" and that the object of the Abkari Act was the control of consumption by the regulation of revenue. Much on the same ground the Federal Court has maintained the right of provincial legislatures to adopt Prohibition. The Bombay Government, it was stated at the time, intended to appeal against the judgment of the High Court holding that its Prohibition law exceeded the competence of the Provincial Legislature so far as it affected foreign liquor. It did not do so but by means of a Governor's Act—the Governor carries on the Executive Government as well as functions as the Legislature since the Congress Ministry resigned office—accepted the High Court's decision and released foreign liquor from all restrictions while tightening those on country liquor. *The Reformer* foretold the disastrous effects likely to flow from this one-sided policy. Its anticipations have come true. Drunkenness and crime has enormously increased. According to a Press Note recently issued the Excise Revenue last year was 10 per cent in excess of that of the previous year, and this was due to the modified Excise Policy. The revenue on country liquor decreased in the Prohibition areas of Bombay, Bombay Suburban District and Ahmedabad, but increased correspondingly in

neighbouring districts. The Government Note frankly acknowledges that a large part of this increase was due to smuggling into the Prohibition areas and the manufacture of illicit liquor. The other reason given is the increase in the purchasing power of the ryot due to higher prices. All three are reasons which the Government cannot view with any degree of complacency. The communique does not refer to the Federal Court decision or give any indication of impending reversion to Prohibition. If on no other ground, Government should repeal its amendments and restore the original law as a war-time measure. Control of the liquor trade is a war-time measure and in Bombay its need is emphasised by the influx of troops from foreign countries.

BURMA AND INDIANS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In a recent comment on the question of evacuation from Burma you have asked whether European evacuees have been taken out of Mr. Aney's portfolio. The answer is that Mr. Aney's portfolio is "Indians overseas," and Europeans never came under it.

About the racial discrimination in Burma. It is oftentimes forgotten that Burma ceased to be part of India since 1937. The Burma Government was as good as a foreign government to the Government of India. All that New Delhi could do, therefore, was to make diplomatic protests. It was stated in the Assembly that such protests were made and with good effect.

Delhi }
June 8, 1942. }

Yours etc.,
B. BANERJI.

Does Mr. Banerji mean that Mr. Aney was given this explanation when the question was raised or that he never raised the question? We trust that Mr. Aney's responsibility for Indians at least is fully accepted by Mr. Banerji and, more important, by Mr. Aney. Then we might be vouchsafed an explanation, for which we are still waiting, why Indian evacuees are to be given allowances of from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 while European and Anglo-Indian refugees are to be allowed Rs. 85. Also whether Anglo-Indians are Indians under Mr. Aney or, as their sharing European privileges would show, Europeans under Sir Reginald Maxwell. The independence of the Burma Government is an old story. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai mentioned it to explain the difficulties he had to face in negotiating the Indo-Burma Agreement. Sir Girja went further. He even asserted that no Indian troops were sent for the defence of Burma. This was some time before the Burma campaign, about ten days before troops were actually sent. We are surprised that any responsible Indian should lend his voice to the practice of taking one's stand on the independence of a neighbouring territory when it is to India's disadvantage, and, when the occasion forces a change of view, then asking abjectly for generosity from India on the strength of historic ties, etc. It is significant that, whether in the Assembly or outside, others justify the unjustifiable. Mr. Aney himself, it would appear, has the discretion to keep silent.—
Editor.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

APRIL 1, 1942.

S. S. Corfu.

I sit to write out impressions from the [Japanese] newspapers. An article in the *Japan Times* says that Japan has no territorial ambitions in Manchuria; she is there for the defence of her immense investments and the protection of the persons of those who develop Manchuria. The present population of 30 millions there is entirely due to Japanese work. Manchuria had no connection with China, the Great Wall of Peking ended outside Manchuria. Chinese administrators and their extortions have created a national feeling which has given birth to the Manchurian Republic. Japan will not recognize it but, like all substantial interests in Manchuria, sympathises with it.

This is also the substance of the reply of the Japanese Government to Chinese inquiry.

The writer goes on to develop a parallel between Japan in Manchuria and France in Morocco. France did not want Morocco; but Algeria had been a part of France for a century. Algeria was harassed unceasingly by evildoers from Morocco whose Government was unable or unwilling to restrain them. France could not protect Algeria unless she acquired a footing in Morocco; and step by step, in spite of opposition from Europe itself, she made Morocco her protectorate.

It is a mischievous delusion that the cloak of nationalism can give a charter to evil-doing.

The Japanese writer alleges that, though Japan's position is quite obvious, yet none so blind as those who will not see. The Powers, especially the U. S. A., will not see because the Rising Tide of Colour is their present obsession, and they attribute the new cookiness of Colour to Japan's triumph over Russia. That seems to be the purport of the thirty books on the Colour Problem the writer professes to have read. So Japan is to be restrained and her natural ambition curbed.

Two European writers—Mr. Eastwood in the *Japan Times*; and Col. Hunter-Fraser, occupying eight columns of small print—are even more aggressively pro-Japanese. They consider that the present apparent world opinion adverse to the Japanese has been systematically manufactured by foreign press correspondents in Shanghai; and that the League's attempt at asking Japan to justify her acts, is a usurpation. China's action in asking for the League's intervention was the accustomed act of Chinese friends getting furious about trifles, in the sure expectation of some friendly intervener composing the differences and "saving the face" of both. Moreover, there is no China acting; a succession of impotent Nanking Governments, unable to keep within their own lines in face of students and boycotting associations, the North against the South and Nanking against Canton, the War-lord of Manchuria making Peking his headquarters, and unable to carry authority within Manchuria—What China's independence is interesting the League?

So much is Chiang against students and boycotters that, I am told, the Chinese suspect him of having a secret understanding with Japan; the present War-lord of Manchuria has reversed his father's (Chang Tso-Lin's) policy of getting on with Japan.

The present quarrel is between Chinese factions and students. Japan was the excuse. The League was invoked in the hope that it might "speak the words" of a friendly intervener and save the face of Chiang in the act of retiring from a position forced on

him and his; the League did not understand the invocation, appeared to put Japan in the wrong and made the desired retirement of China impossible. Why should the League ask China to retire? Because Manchuria was never Chinese. It had been the private estate of the Manchu rulers of China. It had been ceded to Japan by the Treaty of Shimousaki; Russia backed by France and the Kaiser, compelled Japan to return it to China and then obtained secretly a lease over it. When events gave Japan a victory over Russia, America intervened, compelled Japan to accept the Russian Lease in lieu of the indemnity which Japan badly needed. There were 5 million Manchus and no Chinese in Manchuria; Japan's development lured 25 million Chinese to escape from the nightmare in their own country, and they became prosperous. In their prosperity Manchuria became an inviting market, invited not only the Japanese who were politically interested, but also Americans and British. They fear that any political expansion of Japan in that region might mean the shutting of the Open Door. American Industry has for years reached a point of "mass-production" where her own market does not suffice; the U. S. will forcibly keep other markets open, though her own might be closed to foreigners. And it is the U. S. which is the present inspiration of the League. But Japan's reasons are of life and death; her already overcrowded island (60 millions) has to support annually 900 thousand more mouths or hands; immigration into California or Australia is closed to Asiatics; the Manchurian climate is too severe for the Japanese, but new markets might be a solution of the Overpopulation Problem, from other solutions of which Japan is debarred. Confronting the jealousy of the Powers, she patiently waited her time till the war in 1915 gave Japan her chance; she made twenty-one demands and extorted concessions, one of which was the extension of the period of the Russian Lease.

Manchuria, then, was never Chinese; it was Japan's by the right of Conquest and Treaties. Is the League out to compel every claimant under a Treaty to prove the justice of the claim also? These treaties came into existence before the League; the holders of Manila or Cyprus or Tripoli cannot pretend to see any injustice of which they themselves are not guilty. And whoever is wronged, China is not.

The papers bring anxious information from the outside world. Two storms at Alabama; the Japanese killing and being killed by bandits; the attack on the Japanese Embassy at Washington, by Communists; the Russian concordat with Japan but clear indication that Russia expects Japan and the U. S. A. to weaken and perhaps destroy each other in the struggle for predominance in the Pacific; the arrest of a Japanese peer's son and of an ex-professor and his learned wife for promoting Communism in Japan; the alleged threat of Japan to leave the League of Nations.

There is news in the Japanese press which I do not get easily elsewhere. I learn for the first time that the Russian production of gold was of the value of seven million sterling a year before the War and was in 1930 within 2 per cent of this amount; chiefly obtained from river-dredging, it now goes to Germany. I also learn that there are swindlers in Japan, a farmer murders his son who stole his father's 1000 yen; no session of the Diet passes without mutual violence among members; Japanese propaganda makes out a great case but omits to say that bandits in China are only the disbanded soldiery who are putting up good resistance, and that Japanese troops are far outside the area of their jurisdiction, very much to the north of their last

terminus on the South Manchurian Railway. I also discover that there are Japanese Liberals who disapprove of this policy—both in Manchuria and in Shanghai; and that there are Japanese Communists and an Assassins' League.

The London *Times*, sympathetic to Japan before, says Shanghai has set the world against Japan; the Mayor had promised compliance with Japanese demands, nevertheless, the Japanese admiral attacked immediately.

Mr. Eastwood has something to say on this. The Chinese Mayor invited the Settlement to celebrate an "overwhelming Chinese victory" which never existed, and declared that he was not responsible for what the 19th Army might do to the Settlement; and presently the Cantonese Army of 70 thousand which had quietly been mustered (and whom Chiang would not help or recognize) began to snipe. The sniping was also done by civilians and old men and children. The Japanese, bad at guerilla warfare, resorted to frightfulness. Japan had the right of herself protecting her nationals in one of the three Defence Areas—the one specifically assigned to her. Her nationals were undoubtedly in danger, as the murder of the monk attests. Japan's armies, landed for protection on the Japanese Sector of Defence, were fired on by the Cantonese. So far from the Japs using the Settlement for aggression, they only returned from their own territory a fire intended to intimidate them back to their ships or to annihilate them.

This defence might carry conviction if there had no changes of ministers, if there had not been violence every session in the Diet, if there had been no "Japanese Assassins' League", and if there had not been once again an outbreak of ambitions in the triumphant political party and one more revelation of corruption in Ministers, Directors, Members of the Diet, Contractors. Apparently the Diet is losing public confidence. There is even a slight tendency to Fascism. Business depression has led to the closing of schools; and jobless schoolmasters are apt to hatch mischief. Impeccable righteousness and undeviating straight policy cannot emanate from such politicians and people.

But what interests me most is the childishness of the mentality behind their Boshida—mistaking external marks as the only essentials of holiness. A Major leads an attack, cannot hold his ground, is shot through the head; his retreating soldiers, finding him unconscious, take him for dead and hurriedly bury him. The Chinese returning to recovered ground disinter and find the Major alive, take him to hospital and are able to return him to the Japanese at Shanghai. But a Japanese must not be caught alive, so he tries to commit suicide, is prevented, reported to the Commander-in-Chief who studies his work and personally calls at the hospital to assure him that no blame attaches to him. In vain, when discharged and in his own room, he carries through. When informed of it, his father declares that the son's surviving his disgrace had been a burden on his (the father's) mind, now removed. Or again, a girl throws herself before an engine because her fiance at the wars must be worrying about her. She commits this act to enable fiance to neglect no duty. They will meet in heaven.

The National Herald:—The securities demanded by the U. P. Government of the *National Herald* have been paid up within a week. The appeal made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has met with a splendid response. The *Herald* must be congratulated on being thus able to demonstrate a second time to the U. P. Government that it has the public behind it in its controversy with the administration. There is only one precedent and that is the *Free Press of India's* paying Rs. 53,000 securities. But that was not from public subscription.

CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES.

The advance of Japanese troops on the Burma Road, places yet a heavier responsibility upon the young shoulders of China's industrial cooperatives, says Mr. Devere Allen's *Worldover Press*. Although these small machine shops, chemical plants, and textile mills cannot be expected to turn out the heavy implements of war that would be needed by a modern army for a full-dress campaign, they could, nevertheless, if sufficiently expanded in time, render the Chinese people immune to Japanese economic pressure and penetration by making them self-sufficient in all vital necessities of life.

When Japan invaded China's coastal provinces, she destroyed or took over 90 per cent of China's modern industries, deprived China of direct access to the sea, and drove sixty million refugees into the undeveloped interior. Out of the dire need of this situation grew the Chinese Industrial Cooperative movement. With machinery salvaged from the coast, and with local resources, little shops were erected in caves, in abandoned temples, and in remote districts which were safe from bombing attacks. Operated on cooperative principles, the shops set to work to make use of what resources lay at hand. New machinery was built, looms were constructed for textile weaving, and a chemical industry developed. These shops help to provide China with vitally needed light machinery, clothing, and medicines, and at the same time they offer jobs to refugees and disabled soldiers. An extensive educational programme has been carried out side by side with the industrial work, both to teach better technical methods and to spread an understanding of democratic principles.

At present there are about 3,000 local cooperative factories. It has been estimated that, if this number could be increased to 30,000, China would be independent of smuggled Japanese goods and would be in a strong position to resist Japanese efforts at economic subjugation. Little capital is required to start cooperative factories, and they are able to operate on a slender margin of profit and under conditions of danger that would discourage private enterprise. Today, with a total capitalization in American dollars of not more than 670,000, the Co-ops are turning out over half-a-million dollars worth of consumer, capital, medical and military goods monthly. Aside from the immunity to Japanese economic penetration which a further expansion of the Co-ops would bring, the movement is helping to unify the Chinese people behind a non-political programme of democratic reconstruction. Widely scattered as these cooperative factories are, and well hidden, it would be practically impossible for Japanese bombers to inflict any serious damage to them. Even an invading army would be hard put to it to eliminate them, for they can be moved from place to place if the need arises. With the course of the war now running so heavily in Japanese favour, China may find herself leaning on these democratic enterprises of self-help more heavily than any of the Co-op founders could have imagined.

Censorship:—Two enemies helped France to its downfall. Hitler was only one. The other was censorship. Most people connected with journalism were aware, when in France just prior to the war, and later during wartime, of the scandals that had infested even the Cabinet itself. But nothing could be got out. When one Frenchman asked another, so a satirical cartoon had it, whether he had heard anything about "the scandals," the reply was, "No, of course not; I can't read English." Only the papers outside France could tell the truth. But against the stupidities and the venality of censorship in those days no voice was wiser, clearer, more courageous than that of Blum.—*Worldover News*.

AS AN ENGLISHWOMAN SEES US.

Last night (March 14) the B. B. C. told us that the suspected atrocities at Hong-kong are found to be fact, concurrently with the Japanese Commander's assurances at Singapore that we need have no misgivings regarding their treatment of prisoners-of-war, as they followed the order of Boshido, and quoted from its chivalrous precepts. Their unspeakable conduct is only consistent with that in Nanking, and the Chinese war generally. With the Godless Nazi, these Japanese who claim to represent the Asiatic, are shown to be at bottom mere barbarians with a veneer of western civilization, the proof of this is, as with the Nazis, that these outbreaks of atrocity are not accidents or the work of irresponsible madmen, but "frightfulness" is part of their military policy. What we have to fear from the Nazis, India has now to fear from these—creatures. God help the men—and the women—of the land overrun by them!

But will there not be in India some who will try to palliate, to exonerate, their enormities, some to whom the losses and distresses of "British Imperialism," must be affording a deep satisfaction? We may assume they think—Are the Japanese not Asiatics, part of the Axis? It is the Allies, pre-eminently the Great Democracies, who have taken on "the fashion of pretending a certain idealism", of course they are hypocrites; and their democracies are an utter failure and their Christianity is dead, there is not the slightest doubt about this, for have not we pronounced their doom!

It is to be noted that, whereas when America was neutral, all the anti-British criticisms from America were carefully hunted up, and used as missiles for the Nationalist pastime of Britain and Christianity baiting; since America has come in wholeheartedly as an Ally, she has lost her usefulness for any really effective missiles to throw, and instead has to be regarded as a co-object of baiting with Britain, and missiles must now be found to throw at her too; the hunting for these must be an arduous task, but persevere! there must be lots of mud that has been overlooked.

Above all there must be no giving way to the weakness of allowing any kind of generous good-will fellowship and brotherliness towards Britain to creep in: to "forgive and forget," to give up the cherishing of past injuries, grudges, grievances to "let bygones be bygones," no, no, no, clinging to them through thick and thin!...Is not man his own master? his own salvation? his own heaven? his own hell? What is greater than *Man*? Are not the worshippers of Mammon, self-conquering the world?...

This from the *Times* (December 1941) quoted from memory, "Recently, after a certain Naval Action, and during bitter winter weather, about a dozen sailors, half of whom were Indians, found themselves shipwrecked in an open boat, with scarcely any food or drink, freezing with cold they continued for several days; the Englishmen, knowing the Indians felt the cold more than they did, gave up the few blankets they had to cover the Indians, but when a rescuing ship picked them up at last—only one of them was left alive."

In such a cataclysm as this in which we are living, not only does the worst in human nature find an outlet, but the highest—most Christlike qualities find opportunity of expression, and the older generation can look forward through the war towards "that one far-off divine event—to which the whole creation moves."

In addition to the lack of eyesight with regard to the underlying implications of the war, we are now getting advice from India as to what the

New Order should be; as this is a problem of the most appalling difficulty, we should be glad of any original suggestion or further light upon the path enveloped in darkness as it is, and yet the foundations of which in the abstract, are already laid; the route which the path has to go, is what we want to know. We are told this and that, admonished, warned, castigated with this and that, with great solemnity, and as if it were some new knowledge, originating in India; whereas these admonitions and fulminations have been for some time past and still "going strong" in every paper, and in every pulpit in every church, in this country. As for there being no moral progress, that is sheer nonsense; compare the standard set up for our New Order with anything that has gone before; and the mere fact that there is not one thinking person in this country who is not deeply concerned that more moral and material progress do not go as closely hand in hand as they ought to do, is a proof that the moral conscience is much more—in fact, enormously more—alive now than it has ever been before.

Although you gibe at our sporting phrases and even what they stand for, I am going to make a plea, using these phrases. Will you not "play the game"? Should you "kick a man when he is down"? Should you "throw stones at the man at the helm"?... To belittle this man now, to pick holes in his character—and even his praise of the great Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek, is jeered at, to run down America just because she is now our Ally, to omit everything that is favourable to us, to drag up out of the past anything unfavourable to us, or our Allies, making out we are only fighting to keep a hold on our possessions, to harp on and on about the wicked whites and the "big bad wolf" "British Imperialism," to discredit generally all you can, could anything be meaner, and more malicious? Let alone unpatriotic?

The lover of India is sick at heart, if the future rulers of India are men of this calibre of mind—there is no chance that India will become a great nation, for there is no greatness in them, they are mere groundlings.

But I believe there are some great souls—true sons of Mother India, on whom her future depends, as yet they can get no hearing.

I find I cannot keep silence after taking in the article "Mr. C. F. Andrews' Legacy." This "legacy" may be likened to a pot of pure honey into which a drop of tasteless poison has been inserted. Here we get to the root of the now prevailing insensate suspicion and ill-will towards the British Government. What a farcical irony was these good people's idea of "reconciliation!" Why! they could not have hit upon a surer way of preventing "reconciliation" than that contained in the message of one so beloved, revered and trusted as Deenabhandu. "The heart of England is still sound, but it is more difficult to speak for politicians." Here's the drop of poison! what does this insinuation mean in straightforward words, here it is—"the heart of England is sound" sound means honest, honourable, trustworthy, "but it is more difficult to speak for politicians," means the British Government is not honest nor honourable nor to be trusted: in stronger words for the same thing,—King, Parliament, Cabinet are a body of liars and hypocrites. Here we have standing out with great clarity that most pernicious and in its effects most disastrous of political mistakes, so common amongst superficial thinkers, of differentiating between the British People and the British Government, ignoring the fact that the Government is composed of the same various kinds of British people as are outside it, who do not throw off their inherent characteristics of honesty, honourableness, trustworthiness when they become

Members of Parliament. This appallingly wrong idea has worked "like poison in the body politic." It is the very devil. And alas! we have a tragic instance of what a terrible amount of mischief can be done by a misguided saint.

I. J. PITT.

RAM MOHAN ROY AND AMERICA.

This is the title of a very timely book bringing out the keen interest which intellectual America has taken in the progressive thought of India since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. It is written by Miss Adrienne Moore who presented it as her thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, in Columbia University. The thesis is now published in book form by the Sadaran Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta. Dr. Arthur Christie of Columbia University was investigating the origins of American Transcendentalism which blossomed suddenly in New England in the beginning of the last century. New England Puritanism which was preoccupied with Sin, was a totally unsuitable soil for the growth of this luxuriant philosophy. Professor Christie came across a letter to Emerson while yet at College from an aunt who had sent her nephew some literature connected with Ram Mohan Roy and she wrote to ask whether he had looked into the material. Professor Christie felt that this might provide a clue to the origin of American Transcendentalism. Miss Adrienne concludes that this was the case. She writes:

The dual impact of Romanticism from England and more especially from Germany, and Oriental thought the first consciousness of which, I feel certain, was stirred unwittingly and imperceptibly by Ram Mohan Roy...produced the flower which is known as American Transcendentalism. Whereas England produced Romanticists like Shelley and Byron, New England, always ten years behind the new trends of Europe, produced a Romanticism peculiar to herself. New England, sobered by Puritanism, responded most completely in the philosophic field...The inspiration of Romanticism came from the West but the needed intellectual food certainly came from the East.

The book is profusely and carefully documented, every scrap of writing bearing on the subject being utilised. Gandhiji, by the way, wrote on a recent occasion that Swami Vivekananda produced no impression on America. A friend connected with the Ramkrishna Mission commented on that remark that it was strange that there are today all over the States not less than fifteen Ramakrishna centres; every one of them is self-supporting. "Ram Mohan Roy and America" is priced Rs. 2½ and can be had from the Sadaran Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Joint League-Congress Defence Committee:—With a view to forming a joint Congress Muslim League Civil Defence Committee, the members of the Muslim League Defence Committee in Bihar met Dr. Rajendra Prasad and had a long discussion with him on the subject. It is understood that certain proposals were evolved, which would be placed before the Provincial Committees of the respective bodies and sanction obtained. It is stated that in all likelihood, a final agreement will be reached between the two political organisations and thus a definite lead will be given to the country.

Duke of Gloucester in India:—His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester has arrived in India, says a Press Note. This visit of his younger brother is being made at the behest of His Majesty the King-Emperor, who has not himself had an opportunity to greet the Princes, peoples and fighting forces of India directly on Indian soil. His Royal Highness came by air from Cairo where he had just concluded a tour of the Middle East Command.

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Office:—RAMAKRISHN HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII, BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1942. 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*

CONTENTS.

Late Dr. E. Raghavendra Rau.	Misdirected Economy.
Late Principal S. K. Datta.	Mr. Jinnah on Pakistan.
The King's Message.	Wives and the National Front.
Britain and India.	The Anglo-Soviet Treaty.
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's	China Builds for Democracy.
Mistake.	The Tiger Strikes.
Dr. Khan Sahab,	Contemporary History.
American Soldiers and	Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Matrimony.	Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.

NOTES.

Late Dr. E. Raghavendra Rau:—The death of Dr. E. Raghavendra Rau at the early age of 52 has a tragic element in it. A man of strong convictions, he joined the National Congress and threw himself heart and soul into the movement. But he found, as other men of ability did, that there was no room in the movement for persons who thought for themselves. He left the Congress but stuck to his nationalist convictions. He became a member of the Executive Council of the Central Provinces and from all accounts made his mark as a capable administrator. He acted for some time as Governor of the C. P. His acceptance in the prime of life of the non-descript office of Adviser to the Secretary of State in London, was a surprise. But it proved, as in the case of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, a stepping-stone to a membership of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. The portfolio of Civil Defence was assigned to him but he returned to India as a sick man. His Excellency the Viceroy in a personal letter to Mrs. Rau, marked by deep feeling, bore testimony to the important contribution of her husband to the organization of the new department, notwithstanding the handicap of ill-health. It was broadly rumoured that Mr. Rau's interview with Sir Stafford Cripps at New Delhi was a stormy one. Within twelve months of its expansion, the Executive Council has lost two prominent members by death—Sir Akbar Hydari and Dr. E. Raghavendra Rau. There is talk of further expansion. The two vacant seats in the Council will have to be filled—that of the Minister of Information has remained vacant since Sir Akbar Hydari's death six months ago. Lord Linlithgow will, perhaps, be guided in his choice more by considerations of representation of communities than by those of intellectual capacity and moral calibre. If there are five capable Muslims or Hindus, four must be left out in favour of men of some other caste or community though of inferior calibre. There

may be ten Sikhs of towering personality but nine must be prevented from serving their country as members of Government because the Sikh quota can not on any account be exceeded; the same as regards the scheduled castes. Character and capacity are not the test for office. In the circumstances a strong and competent Council is impossible.

Late Principal S. K. Datta:—Principal S. K. Datta whose death at the age of 62 was reported on Monday, was an uncompromising Nationalist. With the late K. T. Paul, he exerted himself in many ways to instil into the Indian Christian community a sense of complete identity with the other Indian communities in working for the fulfilment of India's high destiny. At the Round Table Conference he made a fervent plea for according India full freedom. His independence brought on him the censure of some of his co-religionists who believe in rationing of seats in the Legislature and jobs in the public services according to religious beliefs, and he was not again called to the Conference. Even in the All-India Christian Conferences his voice was seldom heard of late years. As Principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, Dr. Datta maintained a high standard of academic detachment. Lord Lytton, when he came out as Governor of Bengal, was so much impressed by the personality of Dr. Datta, a fellow passenger on the same boat, that he wished to have him as his Private Secretary. Dr. Datta himself was so sure of the appointment, that he told his friends of it. But Lord Lytton on the ship was not the same man as the Governor of Bengal. Nothing came out of the generous departure contemplated from time-honoured custom of having only Englishmen as Secretaries of Governors. Dr. Datta's death is a sad loss to the harmonious growth of Indian Nationalism. His friends will remember him as a warm-hearted upholder of high principles in public and in private life. It would be too much to say that the course of Bengal administration would have been materially different with Mr. Datta as Lord Lytton's secretary. But it may be safely said that some things which happened might not have happened, or have happened differently.

The King's Message:—The King's Message broadcast from New Delhi by the Duke of Gloucester, on the same evening as he arrived at the capital of India from Karachi, was a

colourless composition. It was made depressing by its vague and weary reception through the ether, owing to the outbreak of the monsoon simultaneously in Bombay. Except for the reference to "your King-Emperor" there was not a single point of actual or attempted contact between the King's mind and the minds of the Indian people whom he was addressing. It is a standing tradition of British sovereigns, that, whenever they address their Indian subjects, there should in the deliverance be evidence, clear and unmistakable, of the constitutional fact that they are above politics. There was no such evidence in the King's message. Mr. Amery might have broadcast it from London. The Duke's visit was a great opportunity to convey, through one so close to the Sovereign, some thought which might have stirred the imagination of the Indian people. Such a message would at no time have been more opportune than now.

Britain and India:—*The Reformer* has more than once of late had occasion to point out that the present relation between Britain and India is becoming increasingly intolerable and humiliating in the light of world events; closer union or a clean-cut, these are the only alternatives facing the two countries. We noticed last week a suggestion by Lord Selborne who is a member of the present British Government, having for its basis closer union between different parts of the Commonwealth. The scheme outlined by him was unsatisfactory but its principle was sound. It formed the subject of an interpellation in the House of Commons and Lord Selborne was unceremoniously thrown overboard by the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and even rebuked by him for making such a suggestion without the concurrence of his colleagues. Mr. Attlee said that Lord Selborne in making the suggestion was speaking for himself alone and, when he was asked whether the War Cabinet would convey to Lord Selborne the inadvisability of making statements of this character which are subsequently disavowed, the Deputy Prime Minister replied that he entirely agreed and that the point would be fully noted. So far as regards closer union. As regards withdrawal from India, as suggested by Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sir Stafford Cripps declared at a Press Conference that they were not going to walk out of India right in the middle of war. The Lord Privy Seal added that the British remain in India not for any imperialist reason but because "strategically India is too vital for our own and our Allies' efforts against the Axis Powers to take any such step without jeopardising the future of China, Russia and the United States, to say nothing of India herself." The old argument used to be that India was a necessary link in the line of imperial communications with Burma, Malaya and Australia so long as these were British concerns. Australia has now been taken in tow by the United States, and Malaya, Burma and Hongkong have, at any rate

temporarily, gone out of British protection. A Chinese communique on Monday declared that it must be distinctly understood that China is a besieged country. Russia has got Britain and America to agree to open a second front in Europe. As for the United States, so far from relying on British presence in India, the Americans have proclaimed that the defence of India is their particular concern.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Mistake:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the only Indian leader with a considerable popular following who clearly realises and never hesitates to declare that the Indo-British problem at the stage which it has reached, is a world problem and can be solved only by means which primarily facilitate the solution of the world problem. Morbid concentration on the narrow and restricted Indian problem is responsible for such wild schemes as Pakistan and such unprincipled compromises as that advocated by the ex-Premier of Madras. Where, in our opinion, the Pandit fails is in conceiving a separation from Britain as necessary to reach a right solution of the Indian problem. He knows well that a larger union of nations offers the true key to international cooperation in which the Indian problem will dissolve itself. Isolation from our single point of contact at present with international life, is scarcely a happy way of bringing about cooperation in a larger sphere. Force of circumstances has led to Britain having to associate other nations with her for the defence of her interests and that is an opportunity also for India to extend her influence. It may be regarded as ridiculous, perhaps as impertinent, for an Indian to say that he is more concerned about the future of Britain than the future of his own country but it is nevertheless true that many thoughtful Indians view with real anxiety the bare possibility of Britain not coming out victorious in the present struggle in Europe. The Asiatic struggle is of far less interest to them. Closer union with Britain will be primarily a source of strength to Britain and will incidentally and automatically release Indo-British relations from the taint of suspicion and some degree even of bitterness at present discernible in them. Not separation but closer union, therefore, is the line of approach which is of most promise to Britain, India and the world.

Dr. Khan Saheb:—The Frontier Province Congress Committee has declined to accept Dr. Khan Saheb's resignation on the ground that private and family affairs should not affect a man's political career. It may be recalled that the Khan Saheb offered his resignation because he resented the criticisms by his fellow Pathans of his action in not vetoing the engagement of his daughter to a Christian. The Frontier Congress Committee further affirmed its full confidence in Dr. Khan Saheb's leadership. This is good news so far as it goes. But we cannot unreservedly accept the general proposition that a man's private and family matters

do not touch his political career. Life does not consist of watertight compartments. Private and family matters have a tremendous determining influence on a man's character, and character is an important factor in a man's capacity for forming sound judgments and taking a straight course in public affairs. "An unclouded heart," is a basic necessity for men in responsible positions. Nothing so conduces to it as an integrated home and personal life. It would be wrong to pry into a public man's affairs but, when they attain notoriety, it is folly to ignore them. The private life of a public man has an important bearing on his public life. The revelations about French public men after the collapse of France, came as an eye-opener. As Bryce truly says, if you wish to cast the horoscope of a nation follow its leaders across the threshold of their homes. As for Dr. Khan Saheb, he has stood up for a cardinal principle, namely, the right of a woman to choose her partner in life, and such a man merits public confidence more than men who are guided by expediency.

American Soldiers and Matrimony:—It was reported some time back that American soldiers who arrived in Australia to fight against invaders, were busy getting married to Australian women. The Roman Catholic Bishop issued a stern warning against hasty marriages as calculated to ruin the salvation of the parties concerned. A similar cry now comes from Ulster. Here also it is a Roman Catholic Bishop who has taken the lead with the support of the authorities of the American Expeditionary Force. They have issued a joint statement with the warning, "Do not marry U. S. soldiers." The girls will be further warned that marriage to American soldiers does not confer U. S. A. citizenship, and that they will not receive any separation allowance. So it is the separation allowance, not romance, which is at the bottom. Ulster citizenship does not seem to have a stronghold on the girls of the province. The abstention of the Protestant Church from joining in the protest is significant, specially in view of the strong Orange tint of Ulster politics as well as patriotism.

Misdirected Economy:—A Bombay Government Press Note announces that Government has directed that no grant should be allowed to Backward Class Hostels in respect of inmates who receive scholarships the amount of which, after deducting school fees, if they pay any, exceeds or is equal to the prescribed monthly rate of the capitation grant. The sum saved by what we cannot help regarding as a petty economy, cannot be large. The scholarships given to Backward Classes students are in recognition of their industry and an incentive to do better and should not be made an excuse for effecting a saving to the State. The Hostels should not be required to appropriate the scholarships in place of the grants now withheld by Government. A Backward Class boy or girl who earns a scholarship, should be encouraged to pursue studies to a higher stage. When money flows

like water for war purposes, real and remote, it is false economy to reduce the grants made to educational institutions specially intended for backward classes. Economies which affect education, are economies at the expense of posterity.

Mr. Jinnah on Pakistan:—In an interview to an American press correspondent, Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, explained how he would have looked at the Pakistan demand had he been a Hindu leader. "Let us get this chap Jinnah to sign his proposition quick," was what he would have said, "then we will have a tremendous Hindu country without a minority problem which otherwise prevents national unity always." At first reading we thought that Mr. Jinnah was offering to take over all Indian minorities into his Pakistan in the exchange of populations which must inevitably take place once Hindu and Muslim Indias are set up. In no other sense can the Hindus be told that they would have a country without a minority problem. Mr. Jinnah, however, not only does not do this but he does not even contemplate exchange of populations between the Hindus and Muslim States which he wants to see set up. We fail to understand the anxiety for an Islamic State which can rule in accordance with the laws of Islam, unaccompanied by the desire to rid it of all non-Muslims who must impede the observance of the Islamic law in its pristine purity. Nor is there any reason in the decision to exclude from the benefits of living under such a Government the Muslims whose misfortune it may be to be born outside the areas to be moulded into Mr. Jinnah's State.

Wives and the National Front:—The National Front is lecturing in the districts but Bombay is not left unnoticed. From June 1 there has been a crop of "India's War Front" advertisements in the local press which have struck new notes in rousing the war spirit. A particularly notable line is the emphasis which the National Front—for we presume the Front is responsible for this campaign of publicity—lays on wives. On June 1 in the *Times of India* and two days later in other dailies, we were warned: "It is no good giving in to the Japanese if you want to keep a whole skin and a wife who is wholly yours—as the Chinese found out." This seemed rather unfair to the Chinese who have certainly not given in to the Japanese, whatever might be the state of their skin today. On June 15, the National Front struck another blow for wives when it asked: "Your wife is beautiful... Who would not be a Japanese soldier if he could get into India without a fight!" Really, Mr. Masani! This implies that the gentleman who drew up the advertisement, and the Japanese soldier are brothers under the skin. The high command of the National Front is apparently too busy to interest itself in these trivialities and newspapers naturally do not exercise the degree of caution which they would in the case of private advertising.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 20, 1942.

THE ANGLO-SOVIET TREATY.

The great event of last week-end was the publication of the Treaty between Britain and Soviet Russia and the Agreement between Soviet Russia and the United States concluded last month. Mr. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, travelled to London and Washington. In London he was entertained by the Prime Minister and was received by the King. In Washington, he was an honoured guest at the White House during the greater part of his visit. These personal incidents are of greater significance than the conclusion of the Treaty and the Agreement, in view of the previous relations between the three systems, Britain and the United States representing the capitalistic and Soviet Russia, the Communist or Bolshevik ideologies. The fact that M. Molotov had to travel under assumed names in the two countries was not, at any rate in the United States, wholly due to the risk of his airplane being intercepted by Nazis. There is still a strong antipathy among an influential class against the Soviet regime in the United States. Mr. Winston Churchill, when he announced in the House of Commons Britain's support of Russia against invasion by Germany, thought it necessary to declare that he had not changed his opinion of Bolshevik principles which he had denounced for over a quarter of a century. He does not seem to have reiterated this declaration on the present occasion. Perhaps, after seeing M. Molotov at close quarters, he realised that the Bolshevik statesman is after all not very different from a British statesman, that he is not a cannibal but a rational being like himself. It must be acknowledged at the same time that M. Stalin is not Lenin and that the new Sovietism approximates more to Capitalism than the original Bolshevism. Still, the two systems are not identical. This fact is recognised in the provision in the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, that the high contracting parties should not interfere in each other's internal affairs.

The Treaty with Britain confirms the Agreement made at the outbreak of the war. There is no treaty with America, only an Agreement. The inference is that the United States has not accepted Soviet Russia as an equal so completely as has Britain. The second point to note is that the Treaty concerns only Nazi aggression in Europe. It does not extend to Japanese aggression in the Far East. The contracting parties agree not to make a separate peace with Germany or her allies unless there is a Government in Berlin which repudiates Hitlerism root and branch. There is no corresponding condition about Fascism. Russia and Britain are presumably free to make peace with Italy even if Fascism continues to be the basic principle of the Italian Government. The Treaty extends to a period of twenty years after

the conclusion of peace with Germany and her allies. Those who have seen what immense changes have come over men's ideas and the relations between nations during the last twenty years, will envy the optimism of the framers of the Treaty in making plans for twenty years after the end of the war. No doubt, they contemplate an early termination of the Hitler regime in Germany. Anyhow twenty years is a long time and no one can say what transformations will happen in the interval in the European kaleidoscope. Just two years ago, Germany and Russia swore eternal friendship to each other, Britain having rejected the proffered hand of friendship of the latter. Poland refused to allow Soviet troops to cross her borders while she was willing to accept Soviet help in material. She bitterly complained of having been stabbed in the back by Russia with which she had a ten year non-aggression pact. Today Poles are enrolled in the Russian Army and are fighting in the Soviet ranks. If such things can happen in two years, what cannot happen in twenty? We do not, therefore, attach much importance to the terms of the treaty relating to the post-war period of twenty years. The immediate point of interest is that M. Molotov has been able to get the London and Washington Governments to agree to open a second front against Germany. The very idea has been recently flouted by British Ministers. This is an achievement on which the Soviet envoy may congratulate himself. How soon this promise will materialize depends to some extent on Japan's movements in the Northern Pacific. It seems to be clear that invasion of enemy country by air-craft alone is not practicable. British raids on the European continent under German occupation have been frequent and devastating, as were the German raids on Britain last year, but neither has been able to land troops and attempt the occupation of the other's territory. The British Foreign Secretary assured the House of Commons that there were no secret provisions in the Treaty. The assurance should be accepted in the same measure as other similar assurances by Foreign Ministers all the world over. The American Agreement is but a watered version of the British Treaty. The one concrete fact is that it also pledges the United States to start a second front in Europe.

Some Indian publicists have expressed disappointment about the absence of any reference to India in these documents. One of them has gone so far as suggest to that the clause about non-interference with the internal affairs of the contracting parties implies that Russia guarantees the security of India as a British dependency. It is quite possible that India might be considered "an internal affair" of Great Britain, though it is rather a big affair—a veritable whale in the interior of a prophet. Assuming this to be the case, there is no occasion for any one in India to be sorry for it. India is well out of the constantly shifting entanglements of European diplomacy. If she

is sure of what she wants and pursues that with unwavering constancy, no power on earth can come in the way of her attaining it. Though it may surprise many, it is the fact that India today holds a strong position in the international world and she must win if she only keeps her head cool and does not lose her immemorial patience.

CHINA BUILDS FOR DEMOCRACY.

(BY V. L. MEHTA, ANDHERI.)

Much has been written recently about the quiet revolution in economic life that has been wrought in China by the newly organized Chinese Industrial Co-operatives. This has been done on the basis of scattered material available in tracts, pamphlets, bulletins and brochures published by the Committee that was set up to organize and guide the co-operatives and to establish contacts with other countries. For the first time, however, a connected account of the origin of the movement, its early struggles, its growth and its difficulties and defects is available in an interesting and informative book* by an American author who has first-hand knowledge of the movement and writes with insight and sympathy.

We get, first, in the opening chapter an idea of the background against which the movement developed—the lop-sided growth of industrialization in the coastal areas, the threat that this presented to Japan and to other countries, the break-up of this industrial structure as a result of the invasion, the taking over of industrial plants by the invader, the crippling of economic life in the invaded regions and its effects on the interior, the swelling of the refugees and the problem of their employment. The war-time problems were undoubtedly there, but it is worth while remembering that the sponsors of the movement were building not merely for the emergency which faced China but also for the future. They built deliberately with the intention of re-ordering China's economic life so that it did not follow imperialist or capitalist lines but was to be on a basis such as would prevent the accumulation of capital and wealth in the hands of a few individuals and would disperse these widely.

Dr. Kung, one of the pillars of the Chinese administration and a leader of the movement, has described its objects in the following words :—

First, it provided a way for China to mobilize its economic and industrial resources so as to increase her power of resistance. Secondly, it created a new basis for China's economic structure by giving rise to domestic industries. Thirdly, it provided work for the refugees who had been thrown out of employment in consequence of the industrial plants having fallen into the hands of the enemy. Fourthly, it helped to salvage from the threatened areas the machinery and transplant it to the interior where the work could be revived.

Through the movement, not only would China's economic resources be mobilized to off-set the loss in the occupied areas, he emphasised, but also a foundation would be laid for the new economic order of the future, more in consonance with Chinese life and free from the evils which inevitably accompanied industrialization of the accepted pattern. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek in commending the co-operatives as part of the New Life Movement expressed his desire wholeheartedly "to encourage this kind of industrial organization, which is simple to set up and fulfils

production requirements in a quick direct fashion without requiring large amounts of capital." The co-operatives constituted a movement for securing a healthy balance between agriculture and industries; they also represented a common meeting-ground between the Communists and the Kuomintang. All agreed in recommending that a common co-operative programme should be adopted to level the existing barriers and provide a base for a true democratic unification.

The formation of a Preparatory Committee for the Promotion of Industrial Co-operatives in China, composed of a few ardent and enthusiastic workers, on 3rd April 1938 may be said to mark the commencement of the movement. It was faced, at the outset, with numerous difficulties, the principal of which were the lack of capital and the absence of a favourable response from Government. The latter moved only when Madame Chiang Kai-Shek actively bestirred herself in securing support; and it was when this support was forthcoming that an actual start was finally made. Simultaneously, contacts were established with banking circles and a loan was negotiated in Hongkong. The Committee also got into touch with co-operative organizations in Europe and America and an international auxiliary was set up to secure both moral and financial support for the cause. The subsequent history of the beginnings of the movement is one of the most fascinating chapters in the annals of co-operation. There was no field of industrial effort to which the organizers did not turn their hands. The variety of these industries is amazing: blacksmiths' foundries, stocking knitting, soap-and-candle-making, printing presses, were among the earliest enterprises. The list of articles produced is equally varied: malleable iron, glass, pottery, thermos bottles, torchlights, leather goods of all descriptions, printers' ink, paper, writing brushes, oils from seeds, surgical cotton and gauze, umbrellas, hand-carts, bricks, agricultural implements, industrial machinery, confectionery, flour, starch, hats, sugar, furniture, industrial alcohol and cloth, woollen, silk and cotton. Hand-spinning and weaving seem to provide the most popular among the industries.

There are two or three notable features in all this development which deserve more than a passing reference. The first is the spirit of identification with the movement evinced by those who participate in it. This is well illustrated by the remark of one of the workers: "Even if you give me no money and only food to eat, I will give myself to the movement." As the author observes, this exemplifies the ardour and earnestness of those in the movement who carry out in practice the co-operative slogan of "one for all and all for one." The next is the spirit of enterprise exhibited everywhere. Improvisation of a high order indicates both the adaptability and the grit of the workers. This has been particularly noticeable when the newly established units had to move on or to adjust themselves in the face of bombing. Last comes the spirit of true economy. It is this that distinguishes production by the cottage worker from that in factories or mills. Indusco leaders have estimated that a dollar in co-operative industry is worth a hundred dollars in private production. Lastly, there has grown up a degree of co-ordination and cohesion in the movement which carries it to success despite the general poverty of its resources. Supply, production, marketing—all constitute an integrated whole that stands well together. One slogan popularized by Rewi Alley, one of the founders of the movement, is: "A few co-operatives cannot stand—thousands can." This corresponds to M. Luigi Luzzatti's dictum—a co-operative society should ever strive to be

* China Builds for Democracy—A Story of Co-operative Industry by Nym Wales (Modern Age Books, Inc., New York).

independent, but should never remain isolated. As the author puts it: "In the case of the individual co-operatives the only guarantee that they can maintain their true co-operative character is that they can expand and federate quickly enough to gain the strength necessary to hold their own. Any small model experiments are bound to fail."

The movement has spread in all the provinces and the citation of a few statistics regarding its progress till the spring of 1940 will give an idea of the achievements.

No. of stys.	Members.	Share capital.	Total Funds.	Monthly production.	Total No. of workers
1688	22,740	\$ 881,888	5,550,192	6,398,958	64,000

(by the end of the year 1941 the number of societies had increased to 8,600)

Of the total number of societies, over 600 were for the textile industry. Funds allotted by Government, the whole of which were not drawn, amounted to \$ 11,060,000. Bank credits amounted to \$ 5,800,000 while special funds obtained from international sources and through Madame Chiang Kai-Shek for work among women and children stood at the figure of \$ 1,890,000.

What have been the principal difficulties that have been encountered by the movement? The first among these has been the uncertainty of financial backing. There was lack of capital for running expenses at the start, but even after banks came to recognize that the co-operatives were not a negligible field for the investment of some portion of their funds, the supply of such funds was not always regular nor could reliance be placed on its being continued. Next came the lack of trained personnel. There was no field here for adventurers and opportunists; hence it was often found that workers were not forthcoming in enough numbers for the detailed work of management, both on its business and its technical sides. This need the C. I. C. organization has tried to meet by arranging for the opening of technical schools and the holding of classes in co-operative theory and practice. It is training in self-help and self-government that these improvised educational institutions impart—education in and for democracy. The third difficulty is the lack of equipment. As the author says, it is far easier to build a new industry than to improve an existing indigenous one. Tools and appliances of the customary type stand in need of renovation and the task of bringing about this change has, it can be well imagined, not been a simple one. Lastly, there has been a certain amount of conflict with vested interests particularly among the ranks of the bureaucracy, the civil as well as the military, who have been the principal customers of the co-operatives. There was, the author notes, occasionally a tendency to try to run the naturally decentralized movement as if it was part of the government machine controlled from Chungking. Field work everywhere was blocked and held up and the technical staff felt their time wasted and their opportunities lost at crucial moments.

It is, undoubtedly, true that the expectations of the promoters of the movement have not yet been fully realised; but what has been accomplished so far justifies the hope that there have been laid in China through the industrial co-operatives the permanent foundations of a new society. To quote the author: "The C. I. C. are teaching the people the methods of democratic government. It is the building of a new democracy on the old foundation. It has created the basis of democratic

control and liberty under state-controlled industry." Although the initial impulse may have been from the Committee for the Promotion of the C. I. C. and it is the Committee that inspires and guides the movement to-day, judging by the way in which its efforts have evoked an enthusiastic response, it need not be doubted that there is self-help and spontaneity behind it. In that sense it is "a people's popular movement." Again, it has been independent of the State except as to the source of capital. Even at the Central Committee not one individual draws any salary from Government, nor does any local committee derive any subvention.

A few details of the system and methods of working will be of interest, especially to co-operative workers in India. The objects of the societies are defined in the model constitution as under :

- (1) To assist the members in the manufacture and sale of.....
- (2) To provide an organization to make possible the arrangement and execution of collective contracts for labour.
- (3) To arrange for the transportation of passengers or goods for hire.
- (4) To supply raw materials, machinery and tools and acquire such land and buildings as may be necessary therefor.
- (5) To make available the funds necessary for these purposes in accordance with this constitution.
- (6) To unite with co-operative societies for the promotion of their common interests.

Among the qualifications for membership it is laid down that the applicant should have capacity to earn in the business of the society and should possess honesty and good character and be free from bad habits, *e. g.*, opium smoking, use of drugs, gambling, etc. Members assume multiple liability limited to so many times the nominal value of the shares subscribed. Provision is made for the appointment of a board of supervisors who are to exercise a general supervision over the work of the directors and in particular to conduct an audit of the financial statements prepared by the directors and to furnish a report thereon to be submitted to the general meeting. They have also the authority to conduct investigations into the affairs of the society or to examine complaints against directors. The division of profits according to the model constitution is more or less on the usual lines, the special feature being the provision for the distribution of bonus among the members and non-member workers in proportion to the wages earned from the society during the previous year. Two-fifths of the bonus is to be distributed in the form of additional shares until the paid-up capital and reserves constitute one half of the total capital. The rest can be paid in kind. Lastly, reference may be made to the attempts made to popularize the aims of the movement by diverse methods of publicity. One of these was the pasting on the walls, of slogans defining the objects and aspirations of the C. I. C. Some of the samples of these slogans are worth reproducing:—

1. Industrial Co-operatives are really the workers' shops.
2. Encourage mutual discussion and mutual help.
3. Develop self-government and self-reliance.
4. We share alike both benefits and hardships.
5. To strengthen our work is to help national resistance.

6. Industrial Co-operatives are the most effective method of boycotting enemy goods.
7. Abolish selfishness.
8. Cleanliness is health and good health means better work.
9. Industrial Co-operatives help to realize the "Livelihood" principle of the San Min Chu I.
10. Industrial Co-operatives help to exploit our national resources.
11. Industrial Co-operatives are the backbone of our Economic Defence.
12. Industrial Co-operatives encourage the spirit of research.
13. Only those who work shall eat.
14. Our soldiers shed blood in the battle-fields; we sweat to support them.
15. Workers of the whole nation, awake and mobilize.

THE TIGER STRIKES.

This is an attractively got up little book published under the authority of the Government of India by the Director of Public Relations, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India. In a brief Foreword describes it as a short record of the exploits of troops from India, Indian and British, in the theatres of war of the Middle East during 1940-41. One settles oneself down to study the record with the seriousness that the subject demands. But criticism which is appreciation both of merits and shortcomings, is deprecated by the author who warns the reader a few pages later that the book does not claim to be either military history or the whole story. It is a collection of incidents which reflect most credit on the General and the troops in the course of the nine months covered by the story. And they reflect much credit, on both, General Wavell who was commanding the British Army, was under the supreme command of the French General Weygand and the main land strength was formed by the French Colonial troops. With the collapse of France and the entry of Italy into the war, General Wavell had to face a critical situation. As usual, India was the first to be drawn upon. Recent revelations about Malaya and Burma shocked India by the disclosure of the ill-equipped, imperfectly trained and insufficient number of the troops sent from India to these theatres of war. It was no better in the case of the Middle East, says the author:

The fourth Indian Division when it went overseas, had no modern equipment. None of the officers or men had ever handled an anti-tank rifle or a mortar. There were no motor vehicles and no trained drivers.... Desert warfare is very different from mountain warfare, and yet these men showed astonishing quickness in picking up the new tactics, knowledge of the new weapons, and driving and maintenance of motor vehicles.

It is the same old story as twenty-six years ago when F. E. Smith, attached to the Indian Expeditionary Force as an official reporter, wrote:

The Indians are behaving splendidly now. They are getting used to it. Poor wretches, they were marched straight from motor omnibuses into a style of warfare of which they knew nothing, and many of them shoved into trenches too deep for them, so that they could not even fire from them, and, so handicapped, they were exposed to the hideous concentration of shell fire.

A few days earlier he had written:

"All these things in the papers about the Indian troops are lies. They are not doing very well (rather the contrary) and we are very anxious about them.

This, of course, is most deeply secret.....Today we motored through a village half destroyed by shells. The streets were littered with the corpses of horses and Hindus." (Birkenhead—the Last Phase).

The author disposes of a wrong impression persistently created by the representation of Italians as being more agile in retreat than brave in attack. He observes, "During the summer of 1940-41 in North and East Africa it was suggested in many quarters that the Italians had not their heart in the war and that they were poor fighters. That was far from the case." He gives several instances of Italian soldiers holding out against desperate odds.

Indians for the first time experienced dive-bombing during the fighting in British Somaliland. It first rather shook them, we are told, but in a very short time they realised that noise does not kill and that a trench is very good protection.

It is clear from the narrative that the brunt of the war in several cases fell upon Indians. The British and other troops went into battle after the Indians had made the way clear. The only two Victoria Crosses in the campaign went to Indians, Captain Premendra Singh of the Bombay Sappers and Miners and posthumously to Subedar Richpal Ram of the 6th Rajputana Rifles.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's books are like those of no other writer. There is always very much that is topical in his writings. What is more there is much that the reader, even the more careful journalistic reader, of newspapers has missed which Dr. Sarkar digs up and comments on. And it must be admitted that he brings his book astonishingly up-to-date. In "The Political Philosophies since 1905-Vol II, Part II", which has just been published (Messrs Motilal Banarsidas, Lahore. Price Rs. 12/-) Dr. Sarkar deals with events up to May 18, 1942. What is equally surprising is that, like John Dunne's Time, Dr. Sarkar's volumes run back as well as forward. Part III of this publication (Rs. 8/-) was published a month earlier. And, in spite of the publishers' note at the commencement, one is not quite convinced of the necessity of adopting this eccentric practice.

Dr. Sarkar has made wide use of his command over many languages to present his public with news and views culled from the world press. Even his citing of English documents and English views will come as a surprise to many who have not followed events as closely. For example, he gives the text of the Tokyo Agreement between Japan and Britain concluded so recently as July 22, 1939, the first sentence of which read:

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom fully recognize the actual situation in China, where hostilities on a large scale are in progress, and note that, as long as that state of affairs continues to exist, the Japanese forces in China have special requirements for the purposes of safeguarding their own security and maintaining public order in regions under their control, and that they have to suppress or remove such any acts or causes as will obstruct them or benefit the enemy.

He follows up this agreement with extracts from the British Press references which are mainly favourable to and even enthusiastic in support of the Agreement.

Dr. Sarkar in his "Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress" (Chuckervetty, Chatterjee and Co., Price Rs. 7/-) traced the growth of Asiatic Nationalism in this century. He has in that

work done a great service in uprooting many popular misconceptions about Asiatic nations. What seems peculiarly significant is that Dr. Sarkar who was then (1939) able to conceive of Indian nationalism as one movement, had three years later come to regard Bengal Nationalism as a force apart from it, with a parallel in its influence on world thought to the progress of Japanese imperialism. Dr. Sarkar, by his writings and speeches and by the several associations he has founded, has been greatly instrumental in rousing a Bengal consciousness, the latest phase of which appears to be a move on the part of Mr. Fazlul Huq to work for Bangistan or a Bengal State. It was, therefore, all the more welcome a surprise to read in "Political Theories" Part II, Vol II, Dr. Sarkar's denunciation of the Cripps' scheme for attempting to Balkanise India.

One of the many interesting questions discussed is the slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics." This, says the author, might mean the driving out of Europe and America from Asia but it does not necessarily follow that every nation in Asia will rule itself. The victories of Japan in East Asia might be good news to peoples living in Western Asia, out of the Japanese sphere of influence; just as Turkish triumphs were sympathised in by East Asia which is out of its influence. But the nations directly concerned with these conquests, will not be as happy in a victory which means a new master, and no greater measure of freedom. He refers to the Japanese control of the Dutch Indies as a new factor in world politics. Since the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks, he writes, so many Europeans have not been brought under subjection by Asians. In the chapters dealing with Asia and "Eur-America" in his books, Dr. Sarkar has a startling manner of presenting parallels. For example, writing of the British "view of the Japanese offer of Independence to India," Dr. Sarkar quotes a leader from the *Daily Telegraph* and immediately follows it up with a quotation of what Field Marshal Smuts had to say of the Cripps scheme and its effect on the position of Indians in the South African Union, in the Union Assembly.

There are some interesting references to Russia and her foreign policy. The author traces the transition from a policy of sympathy with backward peoples which caught the imagination of nationalists in Asia, to the policy of non-interference in the internal policies of other countries which reached its peak in the recent agreements concluded with Britain and the U. S. A.

As befits a student of affairs, Dr. Sarkar, generally speaking, is perfectly detached in his outlook. But he has indicated his belief, "as a layman," in Axis victories being temporary both in Europe and Asia. His faith in Europe rests largely in the resistance of Russia, or rather the failure of Germany to recover from the winter reverses for over five months. He states the issues thus:

For political science a very interesting case is on hand. It consists in the study as to whether the ideological antithesis, communist vs. bourgeois, is less antithetic than the racial antithesis, white vs. yellow. More concretely, the question is as follows: Can Germany, in spite of her abhorrence of the Japanese "yellow peril", honestly and loyally cooperate with Japan against the white enemies to the same extent that Russia, in spite of her repugnance to capitalism, can with the anti-communistic bourgeois powers?...It seems, for the time being, that Russia is bent on utilizing the Anglo-American bourgeoisie until the war is over. It remains to be seen whether Germany is capable of utilizing Japan to the same extent.

Dr. Sarkar's books are a valuable contribution to the interpretation of events round us, besides being veritable storehouses of facts. It is unfortunate that his tendency to coin words makes his writing somewhat self-conscious. One never is allowed to forget the medium in which he expresses his ideas. Could there not be less cumbersome substitutes for "Japanification," "Albinocracy"? Once the difficulty of style is mastered, the reader will find much that is worth while in Dr. Sarkar's writings. They are essential to an understanding of modern developments. We would suggest the inclusion of a few necessary maps in latter volumes, or better still a separate companion volume of maps. The author's books are always enriched by a very useful index, not usually provided in Indian books.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

Copyright.

[We regret that owing to oversight last week's letter appeared under date April 1, 1942 instead of April 1, 1932.—Editor.]

APRIL 2, 1932.

S. S. Corfu.

A Japanese newspaper stated that a pilot of an aeronautic company, slighted by a waitress at a banquet, made to "look small" in company, revenged himself on her by persuading her to accept thrills on his airship, fastened himself securely but not her and then practised stunts which threw her down 2,000 feet. He is now on trial for murder.

The telegrams had congratulated Greece on her splendid position of being the only power that reduced taxes and yet balanced the budget; it was said to be the result of the achievement of Venizelos in composing the agelong quarrel of Greece with Turkey. Then one read of the impending resignation of Venizelos averted only by a financial Greek friend coming to the rescue of Greek finance. Today the wireless reports the findings of a League Commission that the financial state of Austria, Bulgaria and Greece is "serious." Just in the same way, there is the report of Shanghai having resumed normalcy yesterday and of the gloomy expectation that the decisive Sino-Japanese Conference convened for today will fail. There is another paragraph that on one point Tokyo has cabled Shanghai instructions to yield to China. So I can form no anticipation of the troubles or calm awaiting our arrival at Shanghai and permitting or prohibiting a visit to Nanking or Foochow or Hangchow.

It seems the Chinese dislike milk and have a positive aversion to ghee; their diet is chiefly rice which would miss the required fats and proteins; they survive because of soya beans which is 20 per cent protein, easily grown, easily harvested and digested, and easily marketed, because it is raw material for soaps, candles and other oily products. The Japanese too grow and use it; but their national food is rice mixed with a fish decoction. One would think the Indian peasant might be more profitably interested in soya beans than in fish.

I was settling myself down on a cushioned chair wiping my glasses, when I heard from the sofa near a question. It was the shortest lady on the ship who asked me if we were due in Shanghai rather early...And so our tongues got wagging; she told me of what she had seen in Japan or New Zealand and which I had not noticed...She thought there is a negroid strain in the Japs—she judges that from the form of some jaws—under white skins...We agreed that neither of us knew anything of the Sino-Japanese question.

APRIL 5, 1932.

Shanghai.

I called on April 3 at Mr. J. Hormusji's, brought his brother, Mr. K. H. Shroff, to the ship and we together took the first train at 3 p. m. for Hangchow where we arrived at 8-30 p. m. and dined and slept at the Lake View Hotel which has the best position, situation and view, got up next morning at 6, and the Hotel started us on a motor on nine excursions in the morning and several in the afternoon after lunch. At 4-40 we took a local train for an intermediate station at Ka Shin; slept the night at a Chinese hotel and this morning took another train with only third classes at 6-30 from the Ka Shin station, arrived at 11-30 instead of 9 at Shanghai. We had been 45 minutes late in arrival at Hangchow, the delay was due to the railway being run on single tracks except near stations where there might be double or even triple tracks. But the delays were mainly due to soldiers getting on and off, at various stations with their equipments, which made long pauses. For Shanghai and its neighbourhood are in a state of military preparedness; barricades of timber and gunny-bags are to be seen at Nautas (the old Chinese town between the Bund and Shanghai South); though the Japs say there will be no renewal of fighting unless the Chinese attack. Yet the Peace Conference is at a deadlock and we saw a Japanese plane flying over our train this morning. Military preparations always delay traffic.

APRIL 6, 1932.

S. S. Oorfu.

We were able to steam away at 9 hours this morning from our position on the Yangtsepo down the river Whangpoo from the mouth of which we emerged into the open sea (though turbid water) about lunch time. We passed not only houses, factories, wharfs, offices, green fields, but also the demolished forts at Woosun.

In correspondence and in extracts, the *North China Daily News* gives space to both anti-Chinese and pro-Chinese views; in its editorial, its policy is impartial but not neutral. Its view is that China is not a State, but the League elected it as a State, and Japan congratulated China on the election. China is no less a State now than when the Covenant and the Nine Powers Pact and the Kellogg Pact were signed, and when the signatories must have known what to expect; Japan cannot but lose by flouting the wishes and even the prejudices of the civilised world. Japan, as well as the world, must gain by giving China a chance of lining up with the practices of the powers that constitute the League, by whose intervention alone China can be saved. I see a great deal of force in this. In another column the *North China News* quotes the statement that the effective control of Manchuria by China including China under the Manchus, cannot in the aggregate have exceeded fifty years.

I may now give such impressions as I have formed of the China I have seen. The Chinese railways are unpunctual; their carriages seem ramshackle; the passengers are dirty in their use both of the lavatories and the floors of the carriages; the conductors seem competent but are not highly paid; the passengers are not orderly as in Japanese trains; men and women laugh and shout, just as we would do in India; a kitchen is provided in the trains but meals are served and tea at tables provided at seats as in the race-train to Poona. The average size of Chinese men and women is smaller than European, but larger than Japanese.

In several matters the Chinese, like the Japs, are "innocent"; they do things without any sense of

sin.....China is gradually changing its costume and Europeanising it; European hat and footwear are common. Of course, in the countryside one may see barefooted men, women and boys. Where they do organise, they do well. Hangchow is a show-place and to attract visitors Chinese Governments open out new quarters with spacious roads; and the Main Street hums with bustle and rickshaws, and blazes with colour of signs and costumes; public gardens—chiefly rock—are tastefully constructed, shops and public offices and hotels make a good show; the American missionaries have built a fine College and residences on an elevation with a fine view of the Lake, quite transparent, reflecting all above it—houses, villas, trees, mountain slopes, the red ball of the rising sun, islands in the lake itself, pagodas, the mansion of a prosperous fortune-teller. The countryside is green and yellow (soyabean fields), and beflowered; cherry trees amid them and in the yards of temples and pagodas, in public and private gardens, and reflected in the lake from its islands.

We motored for eight hours at Hangchow.

APRIL 10, 1932.

S. S. Oorfu.

Two new conversations broke the monotony of walks and reading. Mr. and Mrs. Staires joined the ship at Kobe; they are proceeding to London and thence to Germany. As we were sitting on deck two ladies in Chinese costume gave us greetings. Mrs. Staires thought the elder was European. But she might be mistaken. She said Hongkong Chinese ladies looked free from the unseemly Chinese features. I suggested that it was like breeds of domesticated animals whose features we varied and called additions to beauty. To the still wild members of their species they appeared monstrosities. Mrs. Staires' judgment was of a European. Chinamen would have other views of this freedom from "ungainly" features.

Mr. Lanning is in business in Shanghai, says the feeling of the foreign colony, except the Americans, is anti-Chinese, explains the attitude of the *Manchester Guardian* in calling for action against Japan as due to its correspondent in China being an American. I explained my perplexity in the midst of conflicting reports and put forward a provisional suggestion, that since Manchuria was neither Japanese nor Chinese, since the ministers of the new Government were "Chinamen," since other Powers have treaty interests—if the Japanese interest be twenty times the American, on the other hand, the Japanese population in Manchuria is only 1 per cent of the whole and the Japanese area of jurisdiction is less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the whole—it ought to be advisable to create an International Settlement of Manchuria on the pattern of Shanghai. The resident Chinese would, as in Shanghai, have voice and power; the official Chinese elsewhere could not obstruct, and Japan could not keep out other countries from the Open Door.

APRIL 13, 1932.

Singapore.

We arrived at noon. My chauffeur, the same Punjabi who had seen me through last month, met me on my return from Cook's and offered to carry me to Johore and Malacca which he knows very well..... I picked up a Singapore paper and selected items appealed to me. Only 20 per cent of Japanese land is cultivated. China had a multitude of languages and races; the Peking and the Cantonese, unable

to understand each other's talk, have also a different outlook. Only 3 per cent of the Chinese are interested in politics and these are largely inspired by students in Europe and America. The Japanese have given a great attention of late to the Philippines, many have entered clandestinely, and Japanese ownership of land and trade threatens to put the islands into their hands if and when Americans withdraw, as is not impossible if the Bill recently passed by the House of Representatives becomes law.

SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Apropos of your remarks in the leading article on Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola of political leadership by professional and business men, the following brings out the difference between the respective approaches of the two to political questions. The pay and privileges of certain Services are placed by Act of Parliament exclusively under the control of the Secretary of State. It was the same in the Diarchy regime. Sir Ibrahim used to maintain that this can be got round. The pay of the Secretary, let us say, cannot be touched by the Minister in the Transferred Department. Sir Ibrahim argued, the Secretary himself cannot discharge his functions. He would require furniture, typists, chaprassis and several other things. These were not excluded by Act of Parliament from the jurisdiction of the Minister and of the Legislature. By refusing grants for these necessaries, the Legislature can make the provision of the Secretary of State's control over the appointment of null effect. I think some member acting on this idea brought forward a motion to out down certain grants to a new Department. Sir Narayan Chandavarker who was President at the time, ruled the motion out of order basing himself on the ruling of a British Chancellor that power to appoint to an office implies power to provide all the requisites for the officer to fulfil his duties.

The businessman, when he becomes a minister, remains a businessman. The professional man, when he becomes a minister, regards himself as a custodian of the constitution.

Bombay, }
June 17, 1942. }

Yours etc.,
OBSERVER.

Defence of India Rules and Troops:—

The *Times of India* special correspondent wires from New Delhi under date June 17: 'An important amendment has been made in Rule 84 of the Defence of India Rules bringing within the operation of the Rule acts "to bring into hatred or contempt or excite disaffection towards His Majesty's forces or any section thereof." It may be expected that the authorities will take steps to have immediate inquiry conducted into any incidents brought to their notice, and that only such accounts of the incidents would be published as are issued from authoritative sources. Wherever the allegation is proved and punishment is awarded to offenders, such punishment would be made known.'

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(being the official report of the unity Conference held in 1922 in Bombay. Interest in this has revived as a result of the recent Sapru Conference.)

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Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JUNE 27, 1942. No. 43.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Indian Unity.	President Roosevelt's Unity
Gandhiji and British Rule.	Prayer.
The Muslim League.	Wives and the War Front.
The Punjab Concordat.	Armed Might and Moral Power.
Police Torture.	Russia's Secret.
Set-Back to Co-education.	China's Industrial Co-operatives.
The Kolhapur Succession.	Visitors to Kashmir.
Tobruk.	Indians Overseas and
More Defence of India Rules.	Racialism.
Communal Swimming Pool.	Letters of B. J. Fadshah.
The Simla Hold-up.	Ramayana Polity.

NOTES.

Indian Unity:—Hindu-Muslim Unity as conceived by the Congress and, following it, other political bodies and individuals is, it is not generally realised, as antagonistic to Indian Unity as the Pakistan of the Muslim League. Hindus and Muslims, it is true, constitute about ninety per cent of the population but the remaining ten percent is also an integral part of the Indian population, who are entitled to be considered and certainly cannot be left out of any rational scheme of Indian Unity. No one talked of Hindu-Muslim Unity until 1915. The Morley-Minto reform scheme first introduced the communal principle into the Indian constitution. Once the principle of a single citizenship, irrespective of caste or creed, was abandoned, the downward course could not be stopped and it has now resulted in its logical sequel of Pakistan. Pakistan is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Minto doctrine of the importance of recognising religious beliefs in the Indian franchise and, notwithstanding Mr. Rajagopalacharya's gallant advocacy, it stands discredited on the most elementary considerations. The Congress recipe for Hindu-Muslim Unity does not hold better promise. Hindu-Muslim Unity is not Indian Unity. It leaves out Christians, Parsis, Jews, domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Experience, the latest being the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece, shows that Christians and Muslims cannot unite in a single State. Palestine shows that Jews and Muslims cannot do it either. Even Shias and Sunnis cannot unite to form one State. Parsis, of course, found it impossible centuries ago. It is the fundamental tolerance of the Hindu people that has made it possible for all these religions to live in neighbourly relations in this country. Indian Unity must embrace all communities—the smallest as well as the largest. It can do this only on the basis of absolute equality between man and man, because they are both human beings whether

they profess this or that religion. We must plan, therefore, for Indian Unity, must dream of it, must think of it in our waking hours. This was the idea of the founders of the Indian National Congress. They were Indians first and Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians a long way afterwards. We must recapture this ideal and work for it aggressively, if need be, against all lesser unities. Indian Unity will include all these, Hindu-Muslim unity among them.

Gandhiji and British Rule:—In the *Harijan* of June 21 which marks a high-water mark of inconsistency, there are a number of points cleared up by Gandhiji directly as well as indirectly through M. D. whose report of an interview between Gandhiji and an American correspondent may be considered as authentic. First, Gandhiji explains what he really meant when he asked the British to withdraw bag and baggage from India. He points out in several contributions that what he wanted and is now making clear is that the British authority should end but he "recognizes their military necessity," and, later, he would "tolerate their presence in India not in any sense as rulers but as Allies of free India," and, still further down, "the national policy (in a free India) will incline towards militarism of a modified character." The sum total of all this is that, despite Congress opposition to British rule in India and Gandhiji's pacifism, a simple transfer of power by Britain will ensure the continuance of present policies and, in addition, a mobilising of India's resources for help to China, defence of India, etc. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who has been designated by Gandhiji as his "legal heir" whatever that may mean, has expressed his entire agreement with this view, adding in a characteristic flourish a threat or offer to fight Japan with "the sword." Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the present Congress President, has declared his general satisfaction at Gandhiji's recognition of the large support in the country to armed defence. The Congress trinity, therefore, is one on this issue. To clinch the matter further, Gandhiji has emphatically stated that prevention of Japanese occupation is common cause between Britain and "us." All this must remove many wrong notions which have arisen out of the excessive verbosity of Congressmen of all ranks. In fact, M. D. himself does not seem to

have quite caught the Gandhian angle, for, in his report of the interview, he quotes Gandhiji as saying, "India has no heart in the War; in fact she has her eyes on Japan." There is another point on which, however, M. D.'s words will be reassuring. These are on the "new movement" which Gandhiji was said to be contemplating ever since his visit to Bombay. There is a strong suggestion that it is no more than watching reactions to his proposal that "the British Government in India should end today." This proposal itself has been explained into something very like the old plea for a change of heart.

The Muslim League:—Mr. Jinnah whose silence has, according to reports, been more distressing to the Government than the garrulities of Congressmen, has been unable to contain himself on seeing Gandhiji's declarations. On the strength of Gandhiji's demand for withdrawal, he charges the Congress with wanting to have the support of the British Government and of British bayonets. This seems so paradoxical a proposition that one is surprised to find Mr. Jinnah making it. What Mr. Jinnah might with greater profit have done is to study the Muslim League itself. In spite of his declaration that it is "untrue" to say that the League stands for continuance of British rule which incidentally is not the same thing as asserting that it wants that rule to end, the League's policy seems to be influenced by that of the Congress. Even after Gandhiji's writings, Mr. Jinnah is able to observe with a lot of fulminations thrown in that the Muslim League will watch developments and its Working Committee will decide how to meet any new situation. Mr. Jinnah has declared that the party and the community will not be deterred from Pakistan. But there are signs out of Bengal and the Punjab that, so far as Indian politics are concerned, Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan is going the way of Gandhiji's Pacifism.

The Punjab Concordat:—Three predominantly Muslim provinces, Bengal, Sind and the Punjab, have achieved a sort of national Government without making any pledges for Pakistan while Mr. Rajagopalacharya has created a futile and unnecessary fuss by inviting the Congress to agree to the vivisection of his country. Not only have these provinces made no pledges about Pakistan but they have definitely set themselves against the idea of dividing the country on communal lines. The Bengal Premier has gone further. He has inaugurated a movement with the Nawab of Dacca as leader to overthrow the Muslim League as being un-Islamic. Shelley wrote a great poem with for theme "the Revolt of Islam." Pakistan is the Retreat of Islam" from a world influence into a petty national State formed out of scraps gathered from the garbage of a dead imperialism. The Punjab achievement is in some respects more noteworthy than the Bengal concordat. The latter concerned only broad political issues. The

Punjab problem was complicated by differences over medium of instruction in primary schools and the mode of killing meat for consumption by Muslims and Sikhs. It would seem that Urdu is the medium of instruction in all Punjab schools. The Hindus wanted Hindi and the Sikhs Gurmukhi substituted for their children. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has agreed, when finances permit and teachers are available, to allow Hindi and Gurmukhi taught as a second language for Hindu and Sikh children. This is what we gather from the letters which passed between the Punjab Premier and Sardar Baldev Singh, leader of the Akali Sikhs. This is hardly a satisfactory solution of the question from an educational point of view. This, perhaps, is not the entire settlement but we cannot gather anything more from the letters. The meat question presented more difficulties as it had a religious background. The Muslims have to get their mutton butchered in a particular way while the Sikhs are under a religious obligation to have meat killed in another way. So far as the sheep is concerned, it is all the same whether its throat is cut from below or from above. From the humanitarian point of view, there is nothing to choose between the two methods. The Premier said that in Government boarding institutions hardly any meat was eaten and that he found no difficulty in meeting the Sikhs in this matter. Another difficulty was about beef. Only the poorest Muslims use beef and the Punjab Prime Minister was evidently able to satisfy Hindu and Sikh sentiment about it. The resulting settlement is said to have given satisfaction to all communities. And this settlement has been possible without conceding Pakistan.

Police Torture:—Police torture for extorting confessions was a recognised method of old-time crime investigation in India as in other countries. It still survives in a modernised form under the name of "third degree." An accused subjected to third degree methods is not allowed food or rest until he has answered, to the satisfaction of the investigator, questions rained on him incessantly from a number of detectives. A very crude form of this method as practised by some policemen, was the occasion of some severe strictures by Mr. Justice Munir of the Lahore High Court, when the accused persons appealed against the sentences passed on them by the lower Court. The forms of torture to which three persons suspected of a murder were subjected, are thus summarised in the report in the *Lahore Tribune*:

The suspected persons were, it was alleged, beaten with sticks and shoes. They were handcuffed and tied by chains to the ceiling and left to hang in space. At times their hands were tied behind their backs to an unstrung charpoy, their legs stretched across its arms and their toes tied to its legs. On the night of the 2nd of May last their mother's garments were removed and stark naked she was tied face to face with her son, Amir Chand, whose clothes were also removed. The suspects, after beating, were then removed to various wells (*sic*) till they were rescued by one Sultan Mohd., the son of an honorary magistrate.

High praise is due to Sultan Mahomed,

son of an honorary Magistrate, for humanity in rescuing the tortured persons from the wells into which they had been thrown after their ordeals. But for his public spirit this most disgraceful incident would not have seen the light of day. The scoundrels who practised these horrible and obscene tortures, would have been left undisturbed to ply their nefarious trade on poor victims in the Punjab countryside. Apart from the horror created by the tortures, one deplors the depravity of mind which invented them and the chance which placed the criminals in the position of protectors of the public. It is obvious that these men did not resort to these methods for the first time. They were evidently old hands with a perfected technique. Heaven knows how many innocent souls have had to endure imprisonment, perhaps death by hanging, as the result of detective methods of ruffians of this sort. Nor, we are afraid, is it possible to be sure that these are the only specimens of the kind in the Police. The superior officers, too, cannot be absolved from responsibility for the prevalence of this state of things. If they did not know what their underlings were up to, they are unfit to hold their positions. It is many years since a Police Commission enquired into the conditions of service in the Indian Police. The Lahore case shows that it is time for another Commission to be set up. While the conduct of the policemen is condemned, we can not lose sight of the fact that it is the conditions of service which produce good or bad policemen and these conditions must be improved in order to make sure that instances of this gross kind at least will not recur. Mr. Justice Munir, in dismissing the appeal of the convicted policemen, is reported to have observed that "so long as the law is what it is at present, namely, that, however serious the offence, a police officer shall not confine a person without arresting him or cause physical violence to him or adopt third degree methods to obtain a confession or other information, it is impossible to look with indulgence or indifference at offences of the kind which have been proved in this case." The sentence does not seem to be happily worded. His lordship, of course, did not want the law changed so as to cover such atrocities.

Set-Back to Co-education:—Co-education in collegiate institutions has been the rule in the Bombay University until within twenty years ago. Sind which was a part of Bombay Presidency had, under the jurisdiction of Bombay University, continued it even after it had been broken by Professor Karve's Women's University and more recently by Jesuit enterprise. It would have been surprising if Sind had been able to persevere with co-education in the face of these defections. The *Sind Observer* announces the starting of a separate Women's College under Government auspices. It writes:

The new Madressah Board has decided upon starting a Girls' College and a High School in Karachi from July next. The entire staff of the proposed institutions will consist of ladies with foreign, as also high Indian, qualifications. They will be open to members of all

communities who are against co-education. It might be mentioned that recently a movement for starting a women's college was launched by those who believed that co-education was not conducive to welfare of the fair sex. The Government also appointed a committee to report on the advisability of starting a Girls' College, but owing to the war the scheme appears to have been held in abeyance till better times prevail.

The war-time objection has been overcome or overruled and the Sind Women's College will begin work next month. It is strange that now, when more than ever women are required to take over functions hitherto exclusively performed by men and when, therefore, education in the same institutions was most needed, Sind should have chosen to open education for men and women in separate watertight compartments.

The Kolhapur Succession: It is announced that the Maharani of Kolhapur has been appointed Regent during the minority of the infant boy whom, it was stated some months before, she had agreed to adopt. According to Mahratta custom, females were entitled to succeed their husbands and fathers to the gadi. Dalhousie ignored this ancient custom in the case of Tanjore where the ruling house was the same Bhonsles as in Kolhapur. Lord Linlithgow has followed the same retrograde policy.

Tobruk:—The outstanding event of the week is the fall of Tobruk, which has aroused in Britain feelings even more acute than those on the fall of Singapore. One reason, no doubt, is that Tobruk is much nearer than Singapore. In both cases the world had been led to think that the enemy, Japan in one case and Germany in the other, was not strong enough to overcome the defences prepared at great expense and with great care. In the case of Tobruk when the Libyan campaign reopened in November last, there was complete confidence in the British Press that the German Army would be trapped. As a matter of fact, it was trapped but the trapping process exhausted the trappers also so that they could not take advantage of their success. Other reasons put forward are that the Australian contingent which had been trained in desert war, was withdrawn by the Commonwealth Government earlier this year, and that tanks and other machines which should have gone to reinforce the Army in Africa, were diverted to Russia. There is, for the first time, talk of a vote of no-confidence in the Prime Minister sponsored by two ex-War Ministers, Messrs Hore-Belisha and Greenwood. Mr. Winston Churchill whose presence in the United States was revealed last week, will no doubt come back to face Parliament with a fresh expression of faith in ultimate Allied victory and in Mr. Churchill as the one Englishman who can cooperate most effectively with Mr. Roosevelt to achieve that end. The fall of Tobruk has brought the danger to Egypt very near. The Egyptian Government cannot be content with being mere onlookers when their territory is invaded. The situation in Sebastopol has been becoming critical but the Russians are fighting with all their strength to prevent it from succumbing to enemy attacks.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 27, 1942.

MORE DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES.

The Government of India this week has added a new rule to the already voluminous mass of Defence of India Rules making it an offence to bring the Army into hatred and contempt. It has long been an offence to bring Government into contempt. The judges are protected by the comprehensive power given to the High Courts to punish contempt. It is not clear why it has been thought necessary to add this rule about soldiers at this particular juncture. Some two or three months ago, there was much commotion in Bombay about the alleged misbehaviour of some soldiers. The Government of Bombay promptly issued some instructions restricting the movement of soldiers in the city to specified areas and otherwise providing for their control and guidance. The agitation stopped at once and, so far as we know, there has been no revival of it in Bombay or any other part of the country. This is mainly due to the fact that in some cases Government had the offenders prosecuted and those found guilty were duly punished after public trials. The relations between soldiers and the people have been normally friendly. The incidents which caused the commotion some time back, were occasioned by the temporary presence of troops in transit unaccustomed to Indian ways of life. The new rule is likely to convey the misleading impression that there have been and are numerous and serious delinquencies on the part of soldiers or that for some reason the Indian public and the Press are interested in bringing the troops into contempt. We need hardly say that the effect of such an impression, if it went abroad, would not be advantageous to Empire interests. Equally unfortunate would it be if the new rule has the effect of preventing the Press from bringing to light instances of misbehaviour on the part of evilly disposed men merely because they happen to wear a uniform. The duty of the Press to expose misbehaviour is difficult enough. An elementary knowledge of the working of the law courts will confirm the common saying that the most difficult to prove are facts which are notorious.

The Indian Press has been from the first looked upon with dislike by Indian officialdom. Even so sympathetic an administrator as Sir Thomas Munro held that a free press in India was incompatible with the smooth working of the administration. Among the reasons for the Indian Mutiny, Lord Roberts mentioned the freedom of the Indian Press, though at the time there was no Press to speak of. With a brief interval during Lord Ripon's administration, the Indian Press has been constantly harassed by laws restricting its freedom. This

has become chronic during the last three decades. The Indian Press is the ready scapegoat for the blunders of the administration. The bureaucracy is always ready to impute to the Press the consequences of its own mistakes. We are supposed to have a free Press and are among the nations fighting to establish freedom among all nations. Yet we have the most odious form of Press control against which Milton protested, that of licensing. The Indian Press, as a rule, is conducted by men who have no interest in creating dissension. It has, so to speak, a vested interest in letting sleeping dogs lie. Violent language in some journals is just the expression of the feeling of helplessness which they feel owing to the restraints which, like Damocles' sword, are always hanging over their heads. The disposition of Governments at the centre and in some provinces to take the Press into their confidence is a good sign. It has already borne fruit in better relations between the Governments concerned and the Press. This policy should be extended. As a rule it may be said that no one can bring another into contempt, whether it be government, judge or soldier, unless that other himself afforded some excuse for his being brought into contempt. This new rule added to the Defence of India Rules should have been submitted to the Editors' Conference before it was promulgated. If it had been, it would certainly have been found that its promulgation was unnecessary and is likely, as we said, to give the outside world a false impression.

Two other orders have been issued by the Government of India, in connection with the Defence of India Rules. The first of these concerns the two resolutions adopted by the Congress Working Committee on April 28th which were believed generally to have been already suppressed by Gazette Extraordinary. Apparently this belief was wrong and further action has been adopted in banning their publication, sale or distribution. This means that the first order was badly drafted. The only object served by this reference to what the Congress did on April 28th, is to revive public memories on subjects which have been discussed threadbare. The other order is an amendment to the Defence of India Rules so as to permit of action being taken against any organisation, working in the interests of the enemy, whose activities Government hold to be prejudicial to the defence of British India or the efficient prosecution of the war. The reason for this order which is given by the Press Note announcing this amendment, is that "Government already possess.....powers to proceed against associations which, in their opinion, interfere with the administration of law and order or constitute a danger to the public peace. Government have not hitherto possessed similar powers to proceed against etc., etc." It is apparently an aesthetic desire to round off its Defence Rules rather than any urgency which has dictated this action. The Forward

Bloc which has been rounded off, could have been equally acted against under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Even if there can be two opinions on whether an association working in the interests of the enemy constitutes a danger to public peace—and it is curious that the Government of India should by implication suggest that it may not—the phrase, “in their opinion,” safeguarded Government’s position effectively. We should have thought that, if two courses of action were open to a wartime Government, one of which might convey the faintest suggestion that enemy influence was present in the country, a wise administration would choose the other; and that, when penal action has to be taken, it is more prudent to do it under the existing law than to frame new superfluous orders. But evidently these views are out-of-date so far as the Government of India is concerned.

COMMUNAL SWIMMING POOL.

There has been a slight ripple in Bombay’s civic life by the opening this week of a Hindu swimming pool by Sardar Valabhbhai Patel. Even those who do not object to a member of any community restricting his philanthropy to his co-religionists alone, think that Sardar Patel, as a leading Congressman, should not play a prominent part in such functions. This is a somewhat curious attitude, the more so since the Sardar of all persons is concerned. Sardar Patel has earned in the past five years, rightly or wrongly, a reputation of being intensely communal and provincial in his outlook. If after all this, Sardar Patel is now attacked for officiating at a Hindu function, it must be because other factors are at work. Even otherwise, a Congressman does not cease to belong to his community once he joins his party. The agitation which arose out of the function, is to be praised as a healthy instinct towards nationalism; but one wishes that it had been guided more by the head. There are half a dozen communal activities which have been started in connection with aid to possible victims from air-raids which have provoked little comment; there are, and have for years been in existence, communal institutions which are more than acquiesced in; there are on the railways which are now government-owned, most of them, the Hindu Tea and Muslim Tea Stalls, standing monuments to communalism. We should like very much to see a movement to wipe out communalism in place of the present sporadic agitation. But the starting-point is in working for withdrawal of State aid from communal institutions and for the removal of distinctions in the eating-houses which touch the general public more than swimming pools. There are talks of collecting signatures to an appeal to the donor to throw open the baths to all and from other quarters to have it open to soldiers of all Indian communities. The idea is that these steps will impress on the persons

responsible the strength of public opinion on the subject. These are petty persecutions which will prove ineffectual. The Mafatlal swimming-pool is not the only one in Bombay to be run on a basis of exclusiveness.

The Simla Hold-up:—The Simla hold-up of the Kalka-Simla motor train and the shooting of several passengers last Saturday, is the most daring crime of the kind in recent years. The authorities at first seemed disposed to regard it as a dacoity with no more sinister object than loot but later information shows that it was much more than that. Military officers in the train are said to have been picked out after the other passengers had been ordered to get off. Except the driver, all the five men killed were British military officers. The crude propaganda against Gandhiji’s “Non-Violence” is apparently having its effect in a way quite different from what the propagandists intended.

President Roosevelt’s Unity Prayer:—The *Indian Witness* publishes the text of the prayer which President Roosevelt used in concluding his oration on Unity Day. The following passage is taken from it:

Our earth is but a small star in the great universe, yet of it we can make, if we choose, a planet untroubled by war, untroubled by hunger or fear, undivided by senseless distinctions of race or colour theory.

Mr. President, if you think you can, why haven’t you made a beginning by repealing the immigration laws which are based on “the senseless distinctions of race and colour,” not to speak of Jim-crow laws in your own country? Don’t you know that God expects those who pray to Him to do so with a humble and contrite heart, and with clean hands?

WIVES AND THE WAR FRONT.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Sir,

I doubt if you are right in suggesting that the Bombay Provincial Leader had a hand in drafting the advertisements putting wives forward as the main reason for resisting the Jap invader. No one with a spark of Indian feeling would have thought of this device. The vast majority of Indians choose wives not for “beauty” but for caste, family, horoscope. Certainly, few would consider it polite of their friends, let alone strangers, to expatiate on the beauty of their wives. I am inclined to think that the advertisements are the handiwork of a non-Indian, one of the not very estimable type which pretends to know all about Indians but, as a matter of fact, only projects its own low mentality into what it presents to a credulous world as Indian. A male Miss Mayo, in fact. Much of the war propaganda carried on under such auspices is sheer vulgarity, does more harm than good to the cause which it professes to serve. Besides the advertisements have appeared throughout India.

Bombay,
June 24, 1942. }

Yours etc.
Observer.

ARMED MIGHT AND MORAL POWER.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan of Madras have brought out in their well known series of selections from the Sanskrit classics a volume entitled "Upakyanamala or A Garland of Stories" from different sources. These are not really stories but episodes from Indian epics which the great mass of Hindus believe to be true history. The text in this series is printed in Devanagari with a translation in English appended to it. The first flower in this garland has a topical interest. It is the struggle between armed might and moral power illustrated by the rivalry between King Visvamitra and the Brahman Sage, Vasishtha. The Brahman lived in a hermitage in the forest with his household consisting of his family and students. The King visits the hermitage and is entertained by the Sage. When the King is about to depart, the Sage insists on entertaining his large entourage also. The King politely deprecates the idea, fearing that the Sage's supplies might be exhausted by the large drafts that would have to be made on them. But the Sage would not be denied and the King agrees with some curiosity not unmixed with anxiety. The Sage thereupon calls his Wishing Cow, Kamadhenu, which has the power of supplying him with anything and everything. The Sage requests it to provide a banquet for the King's following and it does so in such profusion that the King begins to covet the Cow. He requests his host to make a present of this wonderful Cow to him. The Sage declines on the ground that he is not the owner of the Cow which has attached itself to him of her own free will. The King thereupon tries to take away the animal by force, sending a large army for the purpose. The Cow appeals to the Sage for protection but the Sage replies that she should protect herself by raising an army larger and more powerful than that King's. The Cow does so and the King is foiled. He tries to vanquish the Sage by personal attacks on him with various missiles but they all recoil from the Sage without doing him the least little harm. King Visvamitra then throws away his arms exclaiming: "Fie on the might of arms, moral power is the supreme power." He gives up his throne and enters on severe spiritual exercises in order to acquire the Sage's moral power. The gods are pleased and endow him with the name and power of a Brahma Rishi. Pleased, but not satisfied, Visvamitra wants that his new status should be acknowledged by Vasishtha.

It is obvious that the story is an allegory to illustrate the eternal struggle between moral power and physical force. Vasishtha is a popular leader who, himself owning little, has in the willing service of his popular following an exhaustible supply of everything he wants. This is the great milch cow which enables the poor house-painter or son of a blacksmith, to overthrow great governments which have mighty armies under their command. In India the popular leader is always a religious man. The slogans which rouse European mobs, have no appeal to the Indian masses. But a man of religion can sway them at his will. An Indian crowd would think nothing of facing bullets if its religious sentiment is hurt as it may be by, to the western mind, such trifling things as shooting a peacock or a pigeon, cutting down the branch of a peepul tree, or the sight of a cow led to the slaughter-house. The same crowd would lie down and die by the wayside if it has nothing to eat, consoling itself with the thought that it is God's judgment for its past sins. The founders of the British Indian Empire fully knew this and were most careful to respect Indian sentiment. British soldiers of the East India Company were liable to severe corporal punishment if they got

into trouble with an Indian crowd by disregarding their religious and social scruples. The spread of materialistic views has undermined the spirit of the Indian masses but even now nothing is easier than to throw them into a frenzy by the cry of "Religion in Danger." The wisdom and forbearance of Indian leaders in the face of frequent taunts merit more appreciation than it receives at the hands of British statesmen. The lesson of the Vasishtha-Visvamitra story is illustrated today by the Chinese and Russian mass resistance to Japanese and German mass aggression and, to a less extent, by the influence which Gandhiji wields on the Indian masses.

RUSSIA'S SECRET.

The Anglo-Soviet Treaty confines itself to pledging mutual support against aggression in Europe. Asia is not even distantly referred to. The omission is, of course, deliberate. Russia is more interested in Asia than in Europe. The centre of Soviet power and production has been quietly shifted to Siberia during the last ten years. German ignorance of this important achievement to effect which the Second Five Year Plan was temporarily suspended, is, according to Pierre Van Passen, the cause of the severe setbacks the Nazis have experienced in Russia. "As far back as 1906," writes Van Passen in the *Protestant Digest*, "the great scientist, Dmitri Ivanovitch Mendelyew, had advanced the theory that, in view of the possibilities of settlement in the Siberian Continent, the centre of population of Greater Russia ought to be in the neighbourhood of Omsk (in Siberia). The possibilities for the execution of this scheme were not realized until the October Revolution. When the Germans occupied the Ukraine in 1918, Lenin pointed to the East, and it was under his administration that a beginning was made with the exploitation of the first coal and metal basin in Siberia, the so-called Ural Kuznits Kombinat." The first Five Year Plan had been so successful that it enabled the Soviet Government to possess the necessary equipment for the industrialization of Siberia. That Plan, it may be remembered, was to make "machines to make machines." An All-Union Commission for the Division of Production was set up at Leningrad in 1933. This Commission is still functioning. It divided the vast territories of the Soviet Union into eight independent geo-chemical or industrial areas, of which only two are situated in Europe, one in the North and the other in the Donetz. The other six, representing two-thirds of Greater Russia's total industrial capacity, are situated beyond the Urals in Asia, that is, out of reach of both Nazi and Japanese bombing squadrons. There, adds the writer, you have the whole secret of Russia's victorious resistance to the Nazi blitzkrieg. There, it may be added, is also the secret of the apparent nonchalance with which the Russians for six months after the Nazi invasion withdrew methodically, scorching their earth, extricating the major part of their material after each engagement, falling back without excitement or panic, paying not the slightest heed to all the swivelled strategists. After six months of retreating, the Russians suddenly halted, dug in, brought up their reserves and launched their counter-offensive.

The Siberian masses who were set to do this task, were not less illiterate, not less superstitious, not less conservative than the Indian masses. Sir H. P. Mody, if he had been consulted, would perhaps have advised that the Soviet industrialization campaign was a huge and costly joke, that it was a pitiful, pathetic thing to set swarms of uncouth moujiks

fresh from the soil to play with intricate and expensive machines. It is clear that the "scorched earth" policy does not by itself account for the Russian resistance as is generally assumed. It is the planned foresight of the Soviet leaders providing beforehand the means of efficient resistance in an inaccessible region, which encouraged and enabled them to adopt the policy without hesitation. In India we catch hold of isolated facts and adopt them without regard to Indian conditions and expect the public to acquiesce in it. The Indian people are exhorted to emulate the Russian people. Should not the Indian Government show the way by emulating the Russian Government?

CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVES.

(By V. L. MEHTA, ANDHERI).

[This article, with the one published last week, is based on Nym Wales' "China Builds for Democracy." Nym Wales is Mrs. Edgar Snow.—Editor.]

What have been the achievements of the Chinese Industrial Co-operative movement so far? Those who have watched it grow and have studied it, are full of praise and enthusiasm. Madame Sun Yat Sen who is not connected with the present administration in China, has expressed the view that no social movement in China was more timely and significant than the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives which stood for human habilitation, economic progress and democratic education. In the midst of war and disruption, it has provided a machinery for rehabilitation and invigoration. The method that has been tried, was successful because it was the one that rested on the most solid of all foundations—the peoples' livelihood. The character of the Chinese agriculturist and artisan has, however, played no insignificant part in making for success. The outstanding qualities of the Chinese farmer are described by Nym Wales in "China Builds for Democracy," as being his honesty, his commonsense, his fitness for understanding simple business and, lastly, his community spirit. So good has been the response that in the province of Shensi the industrial co-operative movement is reported to have revolutionized the social and economic life of several villages. C. I. C. stepped in at the appropriate time into the gap or void created by the paralysis of organized large scale industry. As will be seen from the description given last week, the movement has laid the broad base of diversified industry. Figures show that in 1940 the C. I. C. produced monthly more than the yearly output of Government factories.

It has the advantage, the author observes, of being a type of production that can build its own supplementary basis in agriculture, supply and marketing, keeping down costs through co-operative methods. It has been built, again, on the principle of maximum of decentralization. The development is altogether counter to the industrialization that went on in China till the outbreak of the war with Japan, particularly in the ports and in coastal regions. That represented concentration of wealth and industry. The C. I. C., on the contrary, represents a movement in which there is the minimum waste of capital and the fullest utilization of labour-power. Under conditions as they obtain now in China—as in India—it is undoubtedly sounder economics to use more labour power and less capital. Besides, through returning as much in wages to the consumer as possible, the movement helps in building up of the purchasing power over wide areas in the countryside. Abundance of

labour and the scarcity and narrow diffusion of capital create conditions in which the form of industrial organization through small units that China has adopted, represents the right course of action from the point of view of national economy.

The logic of history, the author sums up, points to co-operative production and distribution as a democratic base for transformation into some socialized form of society. That view is amplified in the following quotation from a statement issued by one of the supporters of the movement:

Our hope is that the method may remake the entire economy of China, lifting the level of living for the people, utilizing great untouched natural resources that can be made available and helping to relieve the combined horrors of homelessness and lack of work. The industrial co-operatives are China's adjustment to a new situation. They are directly in line with promotion in China of democracy on a grand scale. Every co-operative worker is an owner and therefore a leader in his new task; a new social consciousness is evident in the vicinity of each unit. In the face of a world of destructive energy the dramatic quality of the work of industrial co-operatives in China is fascinating, especially when we can share in promoting it. The movement is epic in its possibilities. To save millions from poverty, disease, despair and death as a result of their own efforts is a masterly way to prove the power of creative enterprise The local co-operatives are self-managing and therefore democratic. The first actual experience in democracy can easily prove the needed transition step for China's advance towards the republican form of government.

What are the prospects before the movement? The needs of the future are well summed up by the author. In order to expand the movement it is necessary to get large amounts of capital quickly. Next it is necessary to increase the manufacture and purchase of machinery so as to mechanize industrial process where necessary and to build up a good transportation system and to recruit all the available engineers, technicians, skilled labour, teachers, doctors, nurses and organizers. It is necessary, lastly, to keep good co-operators in the leadership and to expand educational work among the members as well as to build new technical schools for quick training in industrial processes. Further, as Rewi Alley has remarked, "the future of industrial co-operation in China will be tied in with consumers and rural co-operators in a common programme for the regeneration of agriculture and the building of modern industry. Resources and technique must be developed everywhere and the benefits distributed equitably among the producers and consumers so that the mass of the people may reach a new level of civilization."

VISITORS TO KASHMIR.

A Kashmir Government Press Note says: Visitors to Kashmir are informed that if they travel in their own cars, the State Rationing Authority cannot guarantee to supply supplementary coupons to enable them to return to the plains unless the journey to Kashmir was made in their own cars with the approval of the Provincial Rationing Authority, Lahore, or the Provincial Rationing Authority, Peshawar, and by obtaining supplementary coupons from one of those two authorities.

INDIANS OVERSEAS AND RACIALISM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have carefully read your comment on my letter regarding evacuation from Burma. I am afraid the extreme brevity of my letter has created misunderstanding. I did not mean to say that any racial discrimination that there might have been or may be should not be condemned. What I wanted to drive at was that the proper authorities responsible for the discrimination should be condemned. I am sure you will agree with me that criticism being levelled at the wrong person loses much of its force. I simply wanted to tell you that the Indians Overseas Department, in the very nature of things, could not be responsible for this discrimination.

You have asked for an explanation as to why Indian evacuees are paid allowances at a lower rate than the Europeans. The fact is that His Majesty's Government in England pays the Europeans (through the Home Department) and the Indian Government pays the Indians. If the British Government pays at a rate which the poorer Indian Government cannot afford for hundreds of thousands of refugees and thus creates racial discrimination, then it is obvious where the target of criticism is.

About Anglo-Indian refugees. They certainly come under the category of Indians. But, if the British Government pays them money as Europeans and they decide to seek help from the British Government rather than from the Indian Government, how can the Indians Overseas Department help it? Once again, it is the British Government that is responsible for this vicious racial discrimination. I can understand that, in a feeling of indignation over the fate of our countrymen in Burma, it is difficult to keep the balance. But *The Reformer* is a thoughtful weekly and I expect from it balanced judgment.

I referred to the "independence" of Burma in connection with the racial discrimination in Burma, i. e., discrimination about roads, transport, etc. Discrimination in the rates of allowance to the refugees occurs in India and not in Burma. Your comment on this aspect of the case has been based on a misunderstanding, which was no doubt created by my statement being made very cryptic.

Delhi,
June 17, 1942. }Yours etc.,
B. BANERJI.

[Mr. Banerji is attempting to sidetrack the argument. In his last letter, he said that Mr. Aney must not be blamed for what happens in Burma, implying that everything was rosy in India. Now he objects to our reference to conditions in India because he only spoke of Burma. Mr. Aney is, or ought to be in accordance with his political past, at least responsive to public opinion. If he finds that nothing can be done by him in his present position, the remedy is obvious. Mr. Banerji seems satisfied with the explanation that the higher rates of allowance are paid by another Government. Even if India had no connection at all with Britain, this would be poor consolation. But it could then at least have been represented that India cannot play host beyond her capacity even if she is asked to take in guests on a paying basis. If Mr. Banerji thinks his attitude is one of "keeping his balance," all that we can do is to wonder where his centre of gravity is. When these distinguished countrymen of ours assumed office, they were all very profuse on the service they would render to the country. Apparently, at least if the Indians Overseas Department is a fair sample, they have been convinced that on all important matters their most valuable contri-

bution is their signatures. Worse, they and their champions now advocate a general attitude of supine acceptance of these conditions. Mr. Banerji talks glibly of placing responsibility where it belongs. Who, if not our own Indians in office, can be expected to look after India's interests? As for India's poverty, she is spending 80 lakhs a day on the war, according to a recent report.—*Editor.*]

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

APRIL 12, 1932.

S. S. Corfu.

Mrs. Staires coming from deck-tennis could discern my pre-occupation with Dirac. I told her that deck-tennis, too, might be a pre-occupation. Had she seen and felt today's sunset? Oh, yes, she had for a moment seen a baby-sun, all flame, sink with distinction. And on the opposite side? No, she had not turned that way, she had missed the long shining three-dimensioned cylinder of light I told her of. The Chief Steward had also missed it though he had been striding east and west; he must have been preoccupied with his thoughts, and somewhat with the wide splash of rose on the Western horizon. I told him of the young crescent moon I have been seeing for three nights, with her attendant evening-star at increasing distances, and of the sunrise, a little red sun peeping from out clouds, to which I was awakened this morning by a splash of water through the port-hole; but no reflection in the sea was visible as on the Lake at Hangchow. Such luck had not been the Chief Steward's; yet he was sure sunrise is a greater effect than sunset; only in bed, we do not wish to pay the price of enjoying it.

APRIL 13-15, 1932.

Singapore.

The journey to Malacca worked out well.....I had the stimulating experience of passing through an unfederated Malay State, Johore, observing its splendours and squalors. [In Singapore, I saw] men at work at or near plantations—rubber, pine-apple, cocoanut, timber—sometimes pure jungle where tiger or cheetah is supposed still to linger; women in procession and gay costume approaching from opposite villages probably for some marriage; and children in various degrees of clothing playing across the road; palaces, masjids, schools, shops of different degrees of dignity, and allurements, residences of Malay officers and plantation officials, huts of fishermen; the dominance of the Chinaman in all walks, of the Malay in numbers—our Sikh chowkidars among Malay chowkidars; many Indian representatives among jailbirds; large estates owned by a Persian Mohammedan called Namazi, and managed by Indian engineers; green and red leaf, green grass and rice fields cultivated by Malays, and wheatfields, young rubber, burnt down rubber trees, wastes interrupting shade-giving stretches of road, two rivers (and a overhanging mountain) across which our motor was ferried, villages and towns (Batu Pahat was the biggest and Maura went after), interesting areas of plantations. I noticed signboards of banks at all big towns and of Japanese photographer and Japanese dentist in a Chinese quarter at Malacca. When we left the Singapore island, we entered Johore, a Malay State, a Customs station and examination impressed that fact; another Customs station marked our passage from Maura to Malacca.

I find that Hollanders are specially mentioned here. There are Hollander quarters, owned by Chinamen and rented to the Dutch. Singapore is the jumping-off station from Europe to the Dutch East Indies.

APRIL 16, 1932.

Penang.

Mr. Rusk who had left us on the way out at Penang to proceed to Bangkok to join the opening ceremony of a bridge he had built for the King of Siam, planted himself squarely in a deck chair next to mine and discussed the world for two hours. I was glad of his conversation, though not so much as "by your leave" had preceded it. Mr. Rusk spoke of the Japanese at Penang being put out of business by the Chinese, without protection from authority; at Bangkok, the authorities had succeeded in putting down the movement in 48 hours, and it was the Chinese leaders who were deported. Mr. Rusk is quite clear that China should have nothing to do with Manchuria, but that Japan's aim is to squeeze out Europe from that region. He thinks the League is impotent because it cannot tell what Britain and America want; they apparently disagree. The United States probably suspect Britain of working in concert with Japan to share Japan's privileged position.

APRIL 17, 1932.

S. S. Corfu.

I have noted quite a number of tall men and tall and slim-waisted, and tall and broad, women on our steamer—not "mountains of flesh" as a "cynical bachelor" in the *Straits Echo* would call them. He discussed the failure of Marriage, and confidently ascribes it to men not being free to dismiss wives who prove inefficient mothers or housekeepers.

A Straits Chinaman in another article rejoices over the progress of his people in education, professions as well as money-making. But he says parents have a great deal to answer for the character of unreliability which it is now the fashion to give Chinamen in the Straits. He thinks that parents impress on children that money-making is the aim of life and even gamble in the presence of children. Police court reports show that Straits Chinamen not only develop, and Chinawomen adorn the country. They can do housebreaking, led by a bobbed woman; an ex-Johore detective can be caught smuggling tobacco; a bandit can murder a Sikh constable.

[On board ship] women in general, tall as well as short, mothers and others alike, exhibit self-consciousness; minds hardened to the notions which even when new are standardised, and that most standardised emptiness, smile, laugh or giggle. Mrs. Stairs sees a different thing—a second-class woman-passenger with a white mark on forehead and another under chin, making vacuous grimaces which scare Mrs. Stairs as those of a maniac. Inquiry reveals her to be a Tamil mammy in charge of a second-class passenger baby, the white marks being caste-marks.

APRIL 21, 1932.

Corfu.

Our ship had to change plans. Instead of starting today noon, on the faith of which I had motored to Nuvara Eliya, she was ordered to proceed to Bombay and carry thence the regular mail which, in due course, would have been carried by the Mantua on her way from Australia. The Corfu was ordered to leave port at 11 p. m. yesterday and the change was decided on in the afternoon when my motor-car was on the road between villages on either side overhung by mountains and waterfalls. In the valleys and on the slopes and peaks nestled tea-gardens with Indian coolies and women working, and tea factories with pretty iron fronts, from both of which came the perfume of green and black tea respectively. After tea at the Grand Hotel, and a

view of the race-course and lakes, I turned to come back by another route; and without a breakdown, I reached the ship at midnight. The pilot was on board, and my baggage had been packed and brought to the gangway to be taken ashore...But they could not start to time, my arrival made things easy. The Captain made a handsome apology for planning to go away without me but I deprecated any expressions of regret; no one was at fault, not even I...If I had been left, I would have taken train for Bombay and hoped to catch back the Corfu. But I have not been left, and I would see my sister in Bombay...At Bombay I cannot leave ship even if I wished to, and I have no such wish...Where there has to be a meeting of many with one, it is best for the one to be fixed.

APRIL 22, 1932.

Another day and yet another change...We are not calling at Bombay but resuming our way direct to Aden...Fellow passengers expressed sympathy and congratulations that I had escaped being left in Ceylon; and one of them, Mr. Thomas of Tientsin—a gentleman with a Welsh name but hailing from Ireland—expressed sympathy for reversal of course and cancelment of our meeting. Then he asked whether London is my dwelling-place. I explained in the usual way—no home, no business, no country, etc., the madness everywhere, the possibility of escaping infection only by a continual move-on. He said he was much in the same position; he had put in 18 years of work in China; was returning to Ireland after 9 years, and cables showed madness raging there, too.

I greatly enjoyed the trip to Nuvara Eliya and the chauffeurs were very instructive. They pointed rice-fields, hibiscus, white bell-like flowers pendant from trees with the scent of lilies, wild roses, waterfalls, may-trees sometimes called raintrees making a splendid shade, pepper-trees, bread-fruit trees, pine-apples; rubber estates were there, but closed down, for the present price could not pay. Tea is the only thing that now prospers on the island—the *London Times* says Java tea is supplanting Empire tea in London. State railways are not paying, wages are everywhere being reduced and men turned out; the new Constitution is unpopular, and a League of Youth denounces native ministers as substituting a sham in the name of Democracy. The population is under six million, there are no Native States, and village schoolmasters get Rs. 60 a month.

RAMAYANA POLITY.

Indian women are no longer content with working for a pass degree in Arts. They are taking to research work. At the last Indian Science Congress no less than twenty papers on highly technical subjects were contributed by Indian women. In the more difficult field of historical research, also, they are making their mark. The monograph on the Pallava rules of South India by the late Dr. Minakshi was published by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. Dr. P. C. Dharma of the Benares Hindu University has published her thesis for the Doctorate in the University of Madras on "Ramayana Polity" with an introduction by the Right Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastry. "Miss Dharma claims," writes Mr. Sastry, "that the polity disclosed by Valmiki and the material organisation of his day, mark an advanced stage of development, not much inferior to, though widely different from, the institutions of our own epoch." The Ramayana period is much later than the Indus valley civilisation which, as the excavations at Mohenjo-dharo show, had reached a high level. The Ramayana epoch inherited the achievements of older civilisation and improved on it. The

direct inheritors of the Indus Valley civilisation were perhaps the people of the land ruled by Ravana who, though described as a rakshasa, was yet the head of a State which Valmiki himself describes as one of great splendour. There is, therefore, no difficulty in believing that the kingdom of Ayodhya was not less endowed with the institutions of material civilisation. But the Ramayana polity was undoubtedly one of decadence. When a King at the behest of a virago wife, yields in a moment of intoxication or infatuation or of both, so far as to banish his son and heir, and the Ministers and the Mahajan of the country sheepishly accept this idiotic decision, it is impossible to maintain that the Aryan polity was at its best at the time of the Ramayana. By contrast with the somewhat riotous Court of Dasaratha shines out the lofty, philosophical temper of King Janaka of Mithila, the philosopher-king, whose daughter by a strange fatality became the wife of the heir to the throne of Ayodhya. Rama was an Imperialist who claimed that, by declaration of his forefathers, the whole of India had become the patrimony of his House. By that right he demanded the submission of the chiefs of various parts of the country and declared war on such as would not admit his suzerainty. Sita pleads with her husband against his aggressive policy. She argues that, as they were in the land of the native people, they should observe their laws and not undertake to subjugate them at the instance of the Rishis or missionaries of the Vedic religion who had set up their ashramas in the forests beyond the Aryan territories.

In those days, as in our own, religious missionaries led the way to political domination. History shows that conquering nations were nearly always less civilised than the conquered. Rome was less civilised than Greece, the Gauls were less civilised than Rome when they overran it; the Turks, Arabs and Moghuls were far less civilised than the Persians who were conquered by them. The history of South America proves the same truth. The British, when they came to India, were not more civilised than the Indians. If civilisation were to become a matter of exchange, Sir Thomas Munro told a Committee of the House of Commons, this country (England) would gain by the import cargo from India. Some time back a writer in an English review observed that, when Lord William Bentinck abolished suttee in India, conjugal fidelity was a rare virtue in Britain.

To return to the Ramayana. The Aryans were undoubtedly less advanced in the scale of civilisation than the Rakshasas whom they conquered. The polity described in the Ramayana was either an ideal conceived in the brain of Valmiki or a reproduction in essentials of the institutions of the Rakshasas. Ravana's ten heads were ten departmental heads. Dasaratha's ten chariots, on the other hand, were only perhaps ten roads leading out of Ayodhya. The very names show that Valmiki was drawing largely on his imagination in order to exalt the invading over the indigenous races. "Ramayana Polity" is a careful and painstaking effort but lacks the critical spirit. Mr. Sastry demurs to the rendering of the term Rajakritr by Dr. Dharma as king-maker. "The king-maker in English history," he remarks, "is not known to the law or the constitution." But the term "Royal Commissioner" is known to both and I suggest with diffidence that the Rajakritr of the Ramayana was a Royal Commissioner who executed the commissions entrusted to him by the king.

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Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 4, 1942. No. 44.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Back to Barter.
Reporting the War in Libya.
Suppressing Reports.
Bombay House Collapse.
Rajaji in Bombay.
Unity or Freedom.
Egypt and Turkey.

Indians in South Africa.
European Resistance Struggles
toward a Future.
Stray Thoughts.
Communal Swimming Pool.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.

NOTES.

Back to Barter:—More interesting than the military vicissitudes of the war, are the subtle changes which are taking place in social and economic ideas among the nations. The textbooks of fifty years ago are as much out-of-date as the code of Hammurabi or the ornaments on the mummified corpse of Tutankamen. The very basis of the economic system has been revolutionised. Most prominently noticeable is the gradual replacement of the mechanism of exchange from cash to kind, from gold to barter. The process was initiated by Nazi Germany in order to get over the difficulty of its being excluded from world markets owing to her lack of gold to pay for them. Even when the United States was neutral, the "cash and carry" arrangement effectually prevented Germany from getting goods from America. The Lease and Lend Act promulgated before America entered the war, was at first intended to get round the law against lending to nations which had not paid their debts incurred during the last war. There was nothing in it to show that the nations who are accorded the benefits of the Act, were not required to pay for their purchases. It was recently announced that this was to be the case so far as Britain was concerned. In return for the service rendered under the Act, Britain was to make certain trade concessions besides supplying commodities which America needs and which are produced in the British Empire. This principle has now been extended to all the allied nations, presumably including India. This means that inter-allied trade will be henceforth on a barter basis. Behind the apparent element of generosity in this arrangement there is an element of inexorable necessity. Commenting on the clause in the Atlantic Charter relating to equal access to raw materials for all nations, *The Reformer* pointed out that this was meaningless so long as all nations had not equal access to gold with which to effect their access, and suggested that the United States which had the largest quantity of the world's gold, should make it accessible to

all nations. The adoption of the barter system under the name of Lease and Lend obviates the use of gold in inter-allied transactions. In fact, it deprives gold of its international value. The belligerent nations are locked in mortal combat. Nevertheless, there is a growing approximation in economic ideas between all nations, friends and foes.

Reporting the War in Libya:—The fall of Tobruk last week saw the Allied forces back at Mersa Matruh guarding the way to Alexandria, Cairo and the Suez. Mersa Matruh fell early this week. These defeats would be less difficult for the public to bear if they were not preceded by all sorts of messages and reports apparently intended to encourage the public. The course of events makes these optimistic forecasts ridiculous. We were all told, for instance, that Rommel was practically finished, with only the alternatives of "annihilation or surrender" before him. Ten days later he had broken through the trap. Again, an ingenious commentator remarked that it was thought better to retreat straight off to Mersa Matruh than to offer useless resistance between Tobruk and Mersa and then have to withdraw in disorderly fashion to Mersa. Others kept on telling us of a main battle within twenty-four hours which would decide the future, of the battle having been joined and then spent the rest of the week explaining that the main battle had not been joined. Who is responsible for all this confusion? As usual, the press is blamed and war correspondents have come in for much criticism, even from their colleagues at the home base. But is it all their fault? In modern warfare, news comes in only through official sources. If anyone believes that these war despatches are sent from anywhere near the scene of actual fighting, he has not understood what modern war is. The difference between the man who writes up the —th week of war survey, and the man who gives a day-to-day account of the war, is a difference which may appear later in war diaries but today will not come out in the newspapers. Both get their news from the same source. When the official source is also military headquarters, it is not difficult to realise that criticism is not appreciated and hopeful forecasts are the order of the day. If anything is to blame for this woeful state of things, it is the notion that the public insists on detailed

descriptions of every development. The Russian communiques are examples of how things should be done. For example, when matters go wrong or a crisis is on, the reports are silent on questions relating to that particular front. In Britain, on the other hand, loquacious generals and the army censor make the Press extremely restive and it communicates its nervousness to Parliament. It is manifestly unfair to expect the army authorities in Egypt and North Africa to prosecute the war and at the same time provide a running commentary on events. Naturally, it would not be wise to allow reports uncontrolled by the military requirements of the campaign to be broadcast. The only solution to the difficulties of war-reporting is to restrict all war news to army headquarters communiques dealing with facts. What we are now having is a suppression of anything authoritative and the wide diffusion of irresponsible reports. Mr. Attlee the Deputy Premier in the House of Commons said that Government were not responsible for what war correspondents wrote. Surely he knows better than to believe this.

Suppressing Reports :—When on the fall of Malaya, Singapore and Rangoon, the Prime Minister was pressed in Parliament to place before it the truth about the unexpected collapse of British defence, he said that he could not do so as he had not all the facts and that he was directing General Sir Archibald Wavell who was in supreme command, to submit a report on the operations. If Sir Archibald was too busy, he would, the Prime Minister added, get someone else to draw up the report. On Tuesday, the question was repeated in the House of Commons and Mr. Churchill said that he had received General Wavell's reports but that Government would not publish them as "they clearly would cause a great deal of illwill throughout the British Empire." What would cause illwill is not the publication of the reports but the happenings which they record and which are no doubt known and appreciated by the authorities in Australia and elsewhere. The public even in India where Government operations are more shrouded in mystery than in Australia, is not without some suspicion of the incidents which the Prime Minister considers not suitable for publication. Suppression of unpleasant truths is the bane of British statesmanship and to it in large measure is attributable the persistent series of misfortunes which has been dogging its course. Whatever may be the verdict of Parliament on the no-confidence motion now in debate, we can not help feeling that the haphazard methods of the Prime Minister, relieved by visits to the United States when he should be consulting with his constitutional advisers at the seat of Government, are not conducive to a speedy turn in the tide of war. Mr. Churchill has been exceedingly unlucky in the course of events during his Prime Ministership. The debate on the no-confidence motion, so far as it has gone, reveals parliamentary discussion in no very favourable light. The mover, Sir J. Wardlaw-

Milne, a retired Anglo-Indian merchant, and his seconder, Admiral Keyes, made speeches which differed on the point of the Prime Minister's interference with the Generals—the former asserting and the latter denying it. The first official spokesman naturally made the most of this contradiction as knocking the bottom of the motion. The question, however, is what the defects are in the conduct of the War and how they may be quickly and effectively obviated.

Bombay House Collapse :—The Bombay public learnt with a shock on Monday morning of the collapse of a five-storeyed house under construction on the Church Gate Reclamation ground, on the preceding Sunday. The reports stated that about three hundred workers were on the job and that the topmost floor was being built when the accident occurred. It was suggested that the cause of the accident was too hasty building of the fifth floor before the cement on the fourth had set and that the heavy rains were partially responsible for the grim tragedy. It is said that the building has been under construction for the past eight months. Tributes were paid by the Mayor and the press to the rescue work done by soldiers stationed in the city and the general impression was that there was the closest co-operation between the various volunteer organisations of the city. By their ready help, the troops in Bombay have established infinitely better and more cordial relations with the public than all the regulations issued by the Government. But it is unfortunate that, as time wears on, the first reports of co-operation have been contradicted. In a statement the Mayor expressed his dissatisfaction at the pace of rescue work and, after four days and nights of clearing the debris, there is a general feeling that much room is left for improvement. When we read that a large group of spectators were cordoned off and kept at a distance, we thought that there was something wrong with a method which allowed idle sightseeing at a scene of horrible destruction where human lives were waiting to be pulled out of a cruel death. No one who had no business in the work of rescue, should have been allowed to remain in the vicinity, if all who were present could not be made use of. The usual reason for keeping out the general public is that danger of loot should be reduced. Here, with a building under construction, that was absent. The defect of help being more enthusiastic than considered could have been obviated by introducing some discipline among the workers. There has been a demand for an enquiry which must be pressed vigorously. When a building collapses like a pack of cards, the explanation that the fifth storey was hastily taken up for construction is woefully inadequate. The flaw appears to be in the foundation itself or in the weakness of the ground-floor structure and its inability to support the edifice built over it. It should not be difficult to trace the cause. The seriousness of the disaster

should be brought home to all those responsible for it. It has taken a heavy toll of human lives, the latest figure after four days of clearing being 40 dead and several injured.

Rajaji in Bombay:—Mr. Rajagopalacharya, after finishing his whirlwind tour in Southern India to secure popular support for his Pakistan compromise, visited Wardha where he had interviews with Gandhiji. From Wardha he came to Bombay where he had three long interviews with Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, one of which lasted five mortal hours. He went back to Wardha evidently to report to Gandhiji the purport of his negotiations with Mr. Jinnah. These goings to and fro cannot but give the impression to the outside world that Mr. Rajagopalacharya has received some encouragement from Gandhiji but this may be wrong since the latter has declared that he will no longer carry on a public controversy with Rajaji. However that may be, there are grounds for thinking that Mr. Jinnah is now in a more agreeable mood owing to developments in Bengal and the Punjab. In Bengal, Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Premier, has raised the standard of revolt publicly against the League. In the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan has come to a settlement with the Sikhs independently of the League. Sardar Tara Singh, leader of the party supporting the settlement, has stated in an interview with the *Tribune* representative that the settlement in no way affects his uncompromising opposition to Pakistan. Sir Sikandar himself has expressed his personal opinion that the Bengal Premier would have done well to work from within the League instead of openly declaring war on it. A minor incident during Mr. Rajagopalacharya's visit to Bombay was the throwing of a paper-ball filled with fluid tar at him by a member of the audience when he arrived at a meeting which he was to address at Dadar. The paper ball burst and spilled its contents on the face and shirtfront of Mr. Rajagopalacharya. Rowdy behaviour at public meetings was a common occurrence in the early days of the Non-Co-operation movement. Persons like Dr. Besant and Mr. Srinivas Sastry were prevented from addressing audiences by pre-arranged interruptions. Mr. Rajagopalacharya himself said that, when he began his political career in 1920, he was struck by a harder missile which stunned him when he attempted to address a public meeting. He proceeded with his address at Dadar with the tar still on his face and shirt. This is what was to be expected but what was not expected from him was the suggestion that the conduct of the tar slinger reflected on Indian capacity for self-government. If we are fit in other ways for self-rule, the throwing of a missile at a speaker cannot seriously detract from our capacity. The other day a bomb was thrown at a speaker at an American meeting. Fortunately, it did not explode or it may be that it was a harmless imitation. The tar slinger without intending it, of course, focused public attention on Mr. Raja-

gopalacharya's meeting more than it would otherwise have secured. Exhibitions of this kind have exactly an effect contrary to that intended. If any meaning is to be attached to the Dadar incident it is that the proposed compromise on Pakistan is resented the more because its sponsor is one who was expected to be the most doughty champion of India one and indivisible.

Unity or Freedom?—At one of his Bombay meetings Mr. Rajagopalacharya is reported to have said that he preferred Freedom in a divided India to Unity under foreign rule. The ex-Premier of Madras has a knack of throwing off such plausible sentiments in his public speeches. They catch the popular ear. But a moment's reflection will show that there is far less chance of Freedom if India is divided than if its integrity is maintained even under foreign rule. Foreign rule is necessarily temporary. But the unity temporarily produced may lead, and it has often led to, a permanent union even if this was not originally present. A broken limb is held together by a splint which helps it to grow together again. The habit of unity formed under the pressure of foreign rule may become integrated into a nation's being. As for freedom in a divided India, Mr. Rajagopalacharya has merely to reread Indian history to realise that it is an idle fancy. For a thousand years, Indian rulers have had for their aim the extension of their rule to cover the whole country—to bring the land from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin under one umbrella. We have the testimony of historians that the country was secured from foreign invasion and enjoyed internal prosperity when there was a strong Central Government holding together the several provinces. The Muslim League does not want a strong Central Government. We are not sure that it wants a Central Government at all. With a Central Government in which residual powers are vested, it will not matter into how many administrative districts the country is divided on cultural and linguistic lines. Indeed, such a division may conduce to efficient provincial governments. They will all derive their powers by devolution from the Centre which will have power to enforce its mandates in matters of more than provincial importance. Mr. Rajagopalacharya in his public speeches evades the real issues and relies chiefly on glib analogies to get his hearers to approve of his compromise. He does not make a secret of his own disbelief in Pakistan. He probably thinks that it will collapse. This is hardly what we should expect of a responsible statesman. There are many Indian Muslims of education and ability who know that the scheme is incapable of realisation and, if forced on the country, will lead to its permanent ruin. There are many more who are open to conviction by means of argument of the futility of Pakistan. Those who actually and honestly believe in the proposed division, are perhaps a small minority. Mr. Rajagopalacharya by his dramatic change of front has embarrassed the Nationalist Muslims more than nationalists of other communities.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 4, 1942.

EGYPT AND TURKEY.

During the last few weeks, almost days, the interest of the war has shifted from the Far East to the Middle East. The renewal of the campaign last November in Libya was expected confidently to result in a speedy collapse of the Axis Powers. The unexpected has happened. The Axis Powers have swept the Allies out of Libya. Not only that. They have carried the war into Egypt. They have penetrated over a hundred miles into that country and at the time of writing are said to have brought Alexandria within range of their planes. Our troops are fighting without rest and without help from the Egyptians whose country is invaded by the enemy. This anomalous position was not foreseen when the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty was entered into six years ago. Britain renounced her Protectorate of Egypt in 1922, eight years after it had been proclaimed at the beginning of the last World War. In 1936 Egypt was granted "independence." Both Britain and Egypt realised that Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia introduced a new factor which required them to come to a settlement immediately. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty provided that the British Air Force even in peace-time was free to range all over Egypt and not only over the Canal Zone which was Britain's special interest; that the British Navy in Mediterranean waters would have the use of the harbour of Alexandria for a period of years; and that the British Army in Egypt was assured of being able to command the technical means of deploying, at a moment's notice, from its narrow peacetime quarters in the Canal Zone over the remainder of the territory of Egypt, right up to Mersah Matruh in the North-East, about halfway between Alexandria and the Egypt-Italian frontier. Pierre Crabites, for twenty-five years Judge of the Cairo Mixed Tribunal on behalf of the United States, in an illuminating article in *Foreign Affairs* for July last year, with the title "Britain's Debt to King Faruq," points out that, though Britain considered the safety of the Suez Canal was vital to her interests, she in no way called upon Egypt to help her fight to maintain its inviolability. "What she asked was to be given elbow-room in Egyptian territory for the defence of Imperial communications. The role thus dictated to Egypt as the price of Egyptian independence was deliberately that of a passive ally." Nahas Pasha, the present Egyptian Premier, who concluded the Treaty has declared his intention while carrying out strictly the treaty terms not to bring Egypt otherwise into the war. Although General Rommel's army has occupied Mersah Matruh and advanced to within seventy miles of Alexandria, the Egyptian Army has not been mobilised. Nahas Pasha, like his predecessor, seems to hold that the war is one between two

sets of European Powers in which, although it is fought on Egyptian soil, Egypt has no interest. This is really a position which has never before arisen to confound international jurists.

Turkey is another country which presents an equally baffling international problem. In a Treaty with Turkey in 1939, Britain and France gave unconditional pledges of support against aggression from any quarter. "In return," says the report of the Foreign Policy Association of December, 1939, "it (Turkey) agreed to assist the Allies if aggression by any Power led to war in the Mediterranean or if they were compelled to carry out their pledges to protect Rumania and Greece from attack." Large sums of money and credit were given to Turkey by Britain. But Turkey has not intervened to protect Rumania and Greece when they were being defended by Britain. At the time when the Treaty was concluded, Russia was in alliance with Germany and Turkey had stipulated that on no account would she participate in a war against Russia but for whose timely and generous assistance there would have been no Turkey as she is today. The situation now is entirely changed. Russia and Germany are no longer Allies. They are bitter enemies. The initial successes of Germany were stopped and Russia for over six months has been ousting Germany from the positions she had gained. Within the last two months, however, Germany has resumed the offensive and at the time of writing the fall of Sebastopol has been announced. Two incidents during the last few days are of sinister significance. Turkey concluded a treaty with Germany for supplying her arms and quite recently the Russian Ambassador at Ankara was reported to have left for Moscow with his staff and their families. The Germans at Sebastopol will be a serious menace to the security of Russia which is now in close alliance with Britain. The Turkish Army, of about two million men, if supplied with sufficient equipment, will be a formidable asset to any side on which they fight. It will be rank ingratitude—the blackest, perhaps, in history—if Turkey joined Germany in the war against Russia. But there is no gratitude among nations. Faced with imminent danger to her own security, Turkey may be unable to avoid adherence to Russia's bitterest enemy. That would seal her own fate because she would have forfeited the confidence of every nation in her integrity. If she can deceive Russia, her great ally, at a time of dire need, the Nazis would argue, she can deceive them also. Breach with Britain, after having received liberal help and protection from Italian aggression, would be a violation of her pledged word but there would not be the element of ingratitude, not at any rate to the same extent, as breach with Russia, as the British attitude to Turkey in the last war and afterwards at the Peace negotiations was not helpful.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Broome Commission's Report on the extent of penetration by Indians into predominantly European areas since 1927 was published some months back and copies are now coming into India. The Commission which was appointed in May 1940, was restricted in its inquiry to the two provinces of Natal and Transvaal. As regards the Transvaal, the Commission finds that the extent of penetration since 1927 does not appear to be alarming or even surprising. In Natal, outside Durban, the position does not appear to be serious. The Commission's treatment of Durban is thoroughly unsatisfactory. Evidently the fact that the members of the Commission all belonged to one racial element in South Africa has influenced towards timidity its approach to the subject. The Durban Council, to begin with, was not able to present adequate data as other areas did. "No information was offered," says the Report, "as to the occupation by Indians since 1927 of sites in European ownership. Nor was the Council prepared to make any submission as to what portion of the added areas—that is, the new areas brought within the municipal boundaries in 1932—ought to be regarded as having been predominantly European in 1927, or to furnish any data which might enable us to form an opinion ourselves." Yet the Commission goes on to compliment the Durban Council for doing all in its power to furnish it with all possible information; and for the great effort made to do so, surpassing all other centres in the two provinces, and the industry and ability shown in collecting and presenting material. The two taken together can only mean that the Durban Council was not prepared to accept the limit of 1927 set to the Commission's findings and that it has forced its prejudice on the Commission. In another matter too, the Commission goes out of its way to absolve the Council of responsibility—in regard to the conditions of life into which Indians in Durban are forced. "In the course of our tours of inspection," says the Report, "in various parts of the city, we visited some predominantly Indian areas in which the standard of civic amenities was deplorably low, and we can well understand that the inhabitants of those areas would go elsewhere if they could. When we come to weigh up the reasons for penetration, we shall give due regard to this factor. But, while we accept the absence of amenities in these areas as a fact, we do not propose to apportion the blame for that state of affairs. Deliberate neglect by the Council of the needs of the Indian community was not proved." In another place, the Commission is more explicit. "In Durban the predominantly Indian areas," it says, "are closely settled. Many of them lack the ordinary civic amenities of good roads, drainage, lights and even water." When the Commission considers the reasons for penetration in the whole of Natal, it places, in what it admittedly regards as their order of importance, this consideration at the head of its list. Yet in regard to Durban it cannot find its way to making it the main reason. Other reasons for Indians trying to get out of the slums in which they have been confined, include the improvement in Indian standards of living and of education since the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, the acceptance by Indians of Western standards of living with the breakdown of the joint family and the residence-oom-shop of the Indian trader. Much of this, however, is due to Indian efforts with very little assistance from the South African Government or public bodies. And the Sastri College is a notable contribution to this development. The Commission's reasoning is at times quaint and it fixes on unessentials as when it says that "even among the poorer classes (in Natal),

the almost complete disappearance of betelnut chewing is a symptom of the general process of Westernization."

The Commission makes a significant though halting contribution to the establishment of healthier relations between South African races when it observes that there is no evidence to show that the sale of property to Indians lowers the value of other properties in the area. We wish, however, that the Commission could have read some of its own observations on the subject of penetration, collected together for convenience somewhat as follows:

At almost every centre in Natal and the Transvaal where penetration was complained of, the allegation was made that the acquisition or occupation of sites by Indians depreciated the value of surrounding property. We regarded this matter as falling outside our terms of reference and have made no finding on it. We feel bound to say however that the allegation was not established. European witnesses assumed its truth but when invited to give specific instances were unable or unwilling to do so. (Page 4.)

The truth of the matter probably is that, while the assertion may be true, its truth is incapable of demonstration owing to the many other incalculable factors affecting property values. (Page 5.)

Dr. Burrows, head of the Department of Economics in the Natal University College, furnished us with a valuable memorandum...As he says, "In a European district what causes the first European to sell to an Indian? He obviously has not the excuse that subsequent sellers may have, that the locality has deteriorated because of the penetration of Indians. It is, therefore, possible that the district may have deteriorated prior to the initial sale, due to the normal population flow. The appeal of another locality followed by a high bid by an Indian purchaser completes the first stage in penetration." (Pages 74-5.)

In Johannesburg we find that 50 out of the 111 cases of penetration have occurred in Doornfontein. This township...has according to Dr. Burrows, "in a score of years undergone a thorough degeneration from the town's elite to a concentrated lower middle class community with a considerable impregnation of commercial and industrial activity and not a little actual and potential slum area. The original population carried out what may be termed an evacuation, eastward and then northward, as a piecemeal, unit by unit, withdrawal as the district lost its tone or as the residents accumulated the necessary funds for the purchase of new houses.....There was no cry of penetration though there might well have been, for the incoming population was largely Central European, racially and culturally different from that whose place it took." (Page 42.)

Mr. D. E. Mitchell who did not appear before us as a 'complainant' but who gave us the benefit of opinions based upon long experience and close impartial observation, said, "In my capacity as sworn valuator, I have been many times astounded at the price a Hindu is prepared to pay for land, far in excess of anything a European would pay for it." (Page 9.)

The Magistrate, New Hanover, Natal, reported as follows, "I consider that Indians have been able to acquire properties by reason of the fact that the owners migrated elsewhere and it has been difficult to dispose of the properties to Europeans." (Page 54.)

The Magistrate, Umzumbi Rural Areas, reported, "A good many Indians have acquired small holdings. A number of farms or portions of farms originally belonging to Europeans have been cut up and sold to Indians who grow bananas, pines, vegetables. There is a considerable demand "by Europeans" for vegetables and fruit which are largely produced and sold by the Indian community." (Page 59.)

Now what is the effect of all these paragraphs on the mind of any impartial student of affairs? That much of the white agitation in South Africa is

nothing more than prejudice against the Indian in South Africa, which is not strong enough or wide spread enough to keep the Indian out of "predominantly European areas" or to exclude him from trade in rural areas, and that often the deterioration of a locality due to economic causes is set down to penetration though deterioration is shown to be the prior process.

In considering whether an area was predominantly European in 1927, the Commission has considered occupation to be the main test, "though ownership must not be altogether disregarded." Yet in considering whether penetration has taken effect in any area, the Commission changes its standard and admits cases of ownership to a very liberal degree and then concludes that, as only 30 per cent of acquisition by Indians of property in European areas was accompanied with occupation, it cannot be contended that increase in population or a desire to reside in better surroundings was the general object of these purchases. Then, again, in Durban the trouble arose in the Council rejecting the Commission's test of occupation and insisting on the ownership test. And the problem, it must be borne in mind, has been shown as most acute in Durban. It must be remembered also that the Council rules out the hypothesis of a vast area of non-European, non-Indian land. What has happened apparently, then, is that localities in which Europeans owned property and let it out to Indians, have passed into Indian hands. If the Commission's test is applied, these areas would under occupation test appear as Indian both in 1927 and in 1940; if the Council's is applied, there is colossal penetration. The Commission, however, has not shown much clarity of thought in dealing with this, the only complex problem of its work. It observes that "the great majority of Indian owned properties in the areas contiguous to the areas demarcated by the Council were in 1927 in European occupation." If this were so, why, in the name of all that is reasonable, does the Durban Council insist on making ownership the test of racial character in an area and why do the Indian representatives insist on occupation? Ownership standards will reduce, according to the Commission, the European areas; occupation tests will increase it. We find from a reference to the Natal Congress representations that the attitudes of the Council and of the Congress are correctly described by the Commission. The only inference is that the premises on which those positions were taken, have been inadequately appreciated by the Commission. To consider whether there has been penetration into European areas, what is necessary is to decide what were European areas in 1927. What the Council of Durban has done is to force the Commission to accept certain areas as Indian and then to consider whether the Indian community has spread beyond these limits. The whole Durban question will have to be taken up again and dealt with more effectively.

Outside Durban, the Commission's findings are favourable to Indians. It dismisses as illusory the suggestion that Indian encroachment arises from a desire on the part of Indians to assert their equality and it accepts the Indian case that as a rule Indians, like every other society, prefer to live among their own people. It also records the strong sentiment among Indians against any discriminatory legislation and points out that by voluntary agreement arrangements may be arrived at by which Indians and Europeans live apart. The South African policy hitherto has been wrongly conceived. If all sections of the people receive equal facilities, Indians will naturally live among themselves. If

civic amenities are withheld on a racial basis, bitterness is bound to ensue. The Commission weakly pleads for the present policy of African municipalities when it says that they have not a bottomless purse. After all, a municipal corporation owes its first duty to backward communities. The solution might well arise out of granting civil rights to all sections of the community. A striking observation of the Commission is that the Indian community is more public-spirited than the European. "Except in the case of Durban, there was a remarkable lack of public interest in the sittings of the Commission on the part of the European public in both provinces. Even in Durban the attendance of Europeans other than those actually giving evidence was lower than was expected. The Indian community was, however, present in force every public sitting in both provinces." And this in spite of a move by Indians to boycott the Commission and the widespread non-acceptance of racial segregation on which principle the Commission was working. The Commission more than suggests that the tendency to acquire property as an investment on the part of Indians can be overcome by giving them greater opportunities of development in other spheres of national life. We hope Field-Marshal Smuts who has spoken a great deal of post-war reconstruction, will take the hint and initiate wiser policies immediately.

EUROPEAN RESISTANCE STRUGGLES TOWARD A FUTURE.

(BY ROLAND ELLIOTT.)

[Mr. Elliott is Executive Secretary of the National Student Y. M. C. A. He returned to the U. S. A. from a two months' trip in Europe. The following article comes through Mr. Devere Allen's Worldover Press.]

To understand Europe today one needs a vivid realization of three basic factors: the increasingly serious shortage and diversion of food; the steady strengthening of a positive spiritual movement which is the antithesis of Nazism, and, the new situation created by Japan's attack on the U. S. A. and America's entry into the war.

"Food is the capital question." Only after 10 days in France, having money that was absolutely useless to buy meat or eggs or milk because the shops had none, did I begin to know what that meant. To be hungry and cold, without the possibility of a satisfying meal or a fire, was a new experience for me. I now have a tiny glimmering of understanding of what it means for mothers to have children with colds that don't get well, with cuts and bruises that will not heal because there is no nourishing food; or for students who cannot write in unheated rooms and who have difficulty with eyes and concentration because they lack vitamins. The adult and infant mortality rate has increased by over 40 per cent in the occupied and dominated zones. And, as the realization has grown that this distress is caused by the expropriation of France's own resources, propaganda about the terrible British blockade has become a stark joke. "It is the blockade," one hears the French say—of their minute milk rations, or of the total absence of olive oil, or of the drastic rationing of their own precious wines, in order that the Germans may distil alcohol for war purposes. "But we want no shipments of food to feed the Germans!" That is a unanimous verdict. At the same time it is clear that relief through private agencies which administer their own distribution is trusted and is effective; its political as well as humanitarian results are enormous. That rations in Germany are at least twice those in occu-

ried areas is not overlooked. A ten cent American hamburger has as much bread as the French get in a day, more meat than they get in a week, and more butter than many get in a year. As the war continues the toll in health will mount and its effects will be felt for three generations or more.

"We must not only be Christian; we must be Christian citizens." It was amazing to me to discover how widespread in Europe, among secular as well as religious leaders, is an insistence upon the imperative necessity of rebuilding the spiritual basis of society on basic Christian convictions about the nature of God and of man. "You cannot understand Europe unless you understand this. It is not pietism. It is not a return to old ideas. It is, rather, a new assertion of the spiritual values, the disappearance or weakening of which are responsible for the rise of Nazism which is the denial of these basic spiritual values." That is a quotation from my notes of a talk with a German now living in Germany who was trying to help me understand the growing opposition movement in Germany. "It is not a political movement. It is a religious movement with political consequences." In the church (both Catholic and Protestant), in labour, in industry, and in the army this movement is gaining strength. It goes forward under its own momentum, but it is affected by the course of military events. Thus the disregard of human sacrifices and the campaign of "bestiality" on the eastern front (along with evidences of Hitler's fallibility) have accelerated the growth of this positive resistance. No one can forecast next steps. No one promises a time schedule, although time itself is important. There is no hint of appeasement, but there is an earnest desire for understanding and for cooperation when internal changes have been made. I cannot profess to know all the facts, but I am convinced that the evidence I have seen is genuine, and that this is one alternative America should keep in mind to encourage and to recognize should it come to pass.

From numerous independent sources I have learned that lack of confidence in Hitler is general and is growing. The list of his mistakes lengthens. He stopped his general staff from invasion of England. By his policy of dividing and exploiting France he lost all chance of her collaboration. He demanded Moscow when his general staff said it was impossible. He and the Party have pursued toward Russia a policy of "bestiality" which has outraged the sense of ethics of the army. His alliance with Japan is deeply resented. But above all, his attempt to build world domination for Germany on an anti-Christian policy filled with hatred has tardily but really resulted in a reassertion of the very values he has sought to exterminate; he represents a philosophy of life the real Germany cannot. Even those who believe that the control of the Gestapo is unshaken, say that a clear majority of Germans are anti-Hitler.

Apart from these deeper factors there is growing the practical view—and terror—that the Nazi war machine is Frankenstein which, whether it succeeds or fails on the battlefield, will bring "anarchy and bolshevization" to Europe. The only alternative is seen as a federated Europe in which Germany would take its place as one cultural unit not dominating other cultures but uniting with them economically and politically. It is a real question whether the forces now emerging can become powerful enough in time.

The nature of Japan's inauguration of the war and the fact of America's entry have strengthened the spirit of resistance and confidence in all occupied countries. Where there was lack of confidence in Britain's role in the war and in the peace, many

leaders and common people (I talked with both) feel that America and Britain constitute a new "chemical combination" in which they can have confidence. In Vichy I was told by inside sources that the stiffening of attitude is very real—as in the talks with Goering, who wanted North African bases and the French Navy. To Petain's reiterated "No," Goering finally replied, "But you forget, you are a conquered people." And Petain said, "I do not forget. The situation has changed, and nobody knows that as well as you know it."

STRAY THOUGHTS.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in a letter to the *Times of India* protests against the contemplated appointment of a Judge of the late Burma High Court to the vacancy created in the Bench of the Bombay High Court by the death of Mr. Justice Somji. If the Judge is an Indian, there is some justification for nominating him. The objection on the score of ignorance of Indian law and custom would not apply to him. Speaking generally, Indian evacuees from Burma have a claim on the mother country for relief but Europeans have no claim whatever. The complaints about the appointments of Europeans who have lost their jobs in Burma owing to enemy action, being appointed to high paid posts under the Indian Government, are well founded. Burma was deliberately separated from India five years ago. Indians were subjected under the new regime to all sorts of restrictions, while Europeans enjoyed special privileges under the Government of Burma Act. The other day, a correspondent wrote in *The Reformer* that the British Government have taken upon themselves the responsibility for relieving Europeans, Anglo-Burmans and Anglo-Indians. It is but right that the British Government should also provide these classes with jobs. It is the height of injustice to make India a dumping-ground for Europeans and their descendants of mixed parentage.

An upcountry correspondent is responsible for the following tragic story. An accomplished girl had passed her examinations while her husband failed in his. The youth, writes our correspondent, could not bear the taunts of his relations and friends at his failure and this provoked him to stab his young wife. Our correspondent gives names of the persons concerned and the place of occurrence of this alleged crime, but we are unable to believe that any man would be so stupid as to take away a human life for such a petty reason, and we, therefore, give the bare outline of this story. If there is any truth in it, it should be a warning to parents not to marry their intelligent daughters to dullards. It should also be a warning to foolish friends and relatives not to taunt sensitive young men on their failure at examinations in contrast to the success of their wives.

In a report of a Coroner's inquest on a blind beggar in a black-out area who was run over by a motor car, it was stated that the driver, after going round his car and finding no trace of a human body, told his master that it was a stone which caused the bump which the latter had called the driver's attention to. The effects produced by collision with a stone and a human body, are not exactly the same. The difference, one would think, was too patent to deceive any one. The Coroner's inquest is a relic from the middle ages and the office has been abolished in other Presidency Towns where it had been in

existence since the early days of the East India Company. Except that it provides a certain amount of publicity, there is nothing to make it preferable to an inquest being conducted by a responsible Police Officer.

The full tale of the sufferings undergone by Indian evacuees from Burma has not been told. It may perhaps be never told. But here is one which cannot but touch the hearts of the most callous. A couple with six children started on the long and dangerous trek to the Indian border. The parents died at an early stage. The eldest of the children, a boy of fifteen, took charge of his brothers and sisters, one of the latter ailing. He carried her in his arms all the way. The boy's sense of responsibility ought to shame many older men.

RECLUSE.

COMMUNAL SWIMMING POOL.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Certain facts in regard to the communal swimming pool opened in Bombay have apparently escaped your attention in commenting last week. Whilst no one will quarrel with you about your remarks on Sardar Vallabhbhai Potel and the absurdity of expecting him, now after calling him a rank communalist, to be national in his outlook—I believe he once made a speech in Bombay to Hindu voters in a joint electorate asking them how they could be adequately represented by the candidate of a rival party who had "beef in his belly"—this does not explain why the Government should have given the land out to Mr. Mafatlal without imposing a condition that it should be of benefit to all sections of the Indian community. On the other hand, I understand that Mr. Mafatlal insisted that he would only purchase the land if he could set up a Hindu swimming-pool and it was agreed to by the Government. At the time it was not a foreign bureauocracy, anxious to exploit differences, but our own Congress ministry.

I learn also that some of the Congress leaders in this province defend the sale by the fact that for six months no offers were made for the site and, therefore, Mr. Mafatlal had things his way. It seems that several Congressmen who have expressed themselves strongly against communal cricket and had even organised picketing at last year's function, were present at the opening ceremony and are members of the Club. These are the persons to be blamed rather than the Sardar who has not, so far as I can remember, claimed to be non-communal in his outlook.

A friend of mine, when I asked him why the agitation had not started at the time when the project was first mooted or at least when the Sardar laid the foundation-stone, asked indignantly how I expected anybody to know that the thing was going to be worth agitating for then; now that it is there, a really impressive institution, naturally the desire of the excluded ones is roused.

Institutions like this, which concern the recreation of the public in this city, should be run by the Municipality as is done in other towns. Drastic changes have taken place owing to the war in the gymkhanas; the press reported that the Parsi and Islam and Hindu gymkhanas had been taken over. I hope that, after the war, all such communal bodies will be handed over to the Municipal Corporation to run, so as to provide facilities for all.

BOMBAY.
June 29, 1942.

Yours etc.,
"CITIZEN."

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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APRIL 25, 1932.

S. S. Corfu.

A fellow passenger began with the usual casualness inquiring whether I knew the excellent young Lady Jehangir whom she had met on a voyage. Was I a Parsi too, who, like the Jews, keep aloof from the rest? I gently corrected her impression here. She went on to say she dislikes women doctors.....I submitted that what she meant was that women were disqualified by their past vocation, to show the required qualification of doctors; but the past is not so rigid, women have in all directions risen above the past of their sex. No, human nature was always the same, she was sure. I was not. This very day I had read the bubble pricked of Democracies being inherently liable to corruption of their officers. But she was sure the assertion was true, it was no bubble. Democracies are bad, did I not think so? Well, Democracies were both bad and good, and they were neither. Under the Czars, under the great Peter himself, corruption was so obviously rampant that Peter thrashed one of his own Councillors. Louis XV was detected in a scandal of corruption; Louis Philippe published false reports of his health and speculated in the Funds which fluctuated with the reports. There would have been no Russo-Japanese War but for the Imperial Family's interest in timber threatened by Japanese policies. The record of English aristocratic office-holders in the XVIII century was exposed by Parliamentary Committee whose report can still be referred to. Corruption arises from other causes than democratic constitutions.

APRIL 26, 1932.

Today, I have been taken in hand by Sir Robert Ho-Tung and his daughter. Last night as a politeness I had said to Lady Ho-Tung that the *Spectator* had an article on Mr. Yen's system of education in China. Lady Ho-Tung said she did not read English with ease, but her daughter did. That was before dinner. After dinner, the daughter sought me out, took the *Spectator* and in three minutes dug out information about my vocation, family, plans, the Amazon trip in view, the Mathematics I was poring over. This morning before breakfast, as I was writing, I found her at the desk opposite mine, and she wished to know my views about Mr. Gandhi. When I said I was out of politics and religion, she said I was very clever. Then, as after breakfast I had settled down to the History of post-War Philosophy in the Outlines of Knowledge, Sir Robert and daughter drew chairs on each side of me and plunged in *medias res*.

The father said he was born in 1862, therefore nearly two years older than I; he was slightly taller than I, and much slimmer; was suffering from gastritis (or was it gas?); weighed only 95 lbs. To him I looked a picture of force, health and vitality. How did I do it? What did I do? Retired. But what was I before retirement? Connected with Tatas. A great firm; in what department? Did I agree with Mr. Gandhi's politics? No. But I acknowledged his patriotism and unselfishness? O, I was at fundamental variance with his politics, and his charkha outlook; his fasting and quotation of Tolstoi gave him the lead of men always ready to be led by.....wonder-workers who spoke of the Golden Age which lay in the past, and among the more intelligent acquired prestige by concessions by an Empire-weary country tired of the burdens. There

was one thing I valued above all others, freedom to form and carry out views, a freedom which neither Gandhi nor Gandhites could understand or permit. When, as seems inevitable, Britain does retire from India, I would have to reconsider my relations with country and countrymen, if I be then alive. Looking at my hand, Sir Robert said my line of life promised 120 years. O, I did not believe in palmistry! They are impostors, are not they? An Indian astrologer once had put a fee of Rs. 500, and Sir Robert had retired from consultation. But surely I should lead my countrymen? No nonsense about my lacking the gifts of leadership. Liberators of countries usually come upon consequences which they themselves loathe. Revolutions usually swallow their children.

Then we fell to discussing Chinese affairs; he said he had made it his life-work to bring peace to distracted China. Then I replied his life-work was out out for him. Did he trust present-day Cantonese leaders? Perhaps not entirely, he granted; and Feng the Christian General? O, he is still in China; his army is not disbanded but scattered, difficult to bring rapidly together. He had been appointed Home Minister but he had soon resigned, nobody knows why. And the model Tuokun? He is still in China. Biding his time? Perhaps. But where did I get this surprising acquaintance for an Indian with the inner affairs of China? Simple old man! I gave him the November number of *Current History*.

APRIL 27, 1932.

Sir Ho-Tung has had further conversation with me. He is concerned about his weight and asked me to consult Dr. Corbett whether injection of insulin could improve his weight too. Dr. Corbett does not see the connection. He told me what he was reading today; he found the article on the Gold Crisis in the *Current History* I gave him, rather hard reading.

Sir Robert found poetry beyond his education; he was enjoying a Chinese book by the present Prime Minister of China. Who is he, I asked? Mr. Wang. Did he mean, I persisted, the President of the Executive Yuan? Yes, but how do I know all these names and positions? I had read at Shanghai an interview with him when the Boss had come to Shanghai and resided in the French Concession. But could he, Sir Robert, put me wise about the unity of China, the uniformity of its race, religion, language, stature, colour of skin and hair? He apparently had not investigated; the dialects were certainly unintelligible except to people in proper localities. "But China will be unified." I was not inquiring about prospects but facts, and these I did not get.

He asked why I took China tea instead of Indian. I replied that two years ago I had been reproved by an Australian for this anti-national act, and I had to remind him that Life is not for Trade, but Trade has to be in service of Life. Was not China too big to make unification desirable? To my surprise he favoured local freedoms, and federation as the goal and climax! Yesterday, I had said that I had to be past fifty before I could understand that the mere existence of an emotion was not its justification any more than the existence of a sensation gave guarantee of its cause being real. Patriotic impulse might be as illusory as the Will-of-the-Wisp, and an emotion, unless regulated by Reason, might lead to tilts at wind-mills.

APRIL 28, 1932.

Sir Robert Ho-Tung's curiosity continues. How much do I walk on ship; how much on shore; how

much do I read of the periodicals; could I keep him in touch with articles on China, or any other topic of interest? I do not know what interests him. More than China, I am interested in the case of a Hindu in orders with several successive livings in England now before a commission charged by his Bishop with improper conduct in the pulpit; or of another vicar charged with immorality; or of the horses from Argentina imported into France and trained to Paris for slaughter, inhumanly treated on water and train and during disembarkation; or the discovery by French savants of the breeding grounds of locusts; or the discovery that the caries of teeth arises from insufficiency of vitamin D in diet (which vitamin if present is antagonised by the anti-vitamin in cereals chiefly in wheat) thus demonstrating that a sweet tooth is not in itself responsible for caries; or the most recent experiments and observations on degenerates bring to light the greater effectiveness of the environment on the genesis of the mentally weak and, therefore, calling for a revision of the eugenist bills founded on the view that mental feebleness is hereditary. As for China, the most recent bulletins announce and confirm probable signature of a truce between Japan and China.....But if Japan again change her mind, asked Miss Ho-Tung? Well, well, we all have second and third and fourth thoughts.

After breakfast Mr. Stansfield, the P. & O. man transferred from China, ascending—there is no lift on this ship and no one misses it—the stairs, offered me a cigarette which I declined; explained I was a Parsi. Other explanations followed; he was surprised to be told that so distinctive a thing as the Parsi turban in Bombay was of local Hindu origin imposed upon all residents.

He understood why Parsis could, though a small community, make so much headway, they had no objection to Kalapani and no caste restrictions kept them from plunging into the China trade. Mr. Stansfield had asked a North India man to give him his candid opinion of the British, which turned out to be, "We hate them." What is mine? Nothing like it; no one in our family would complain of my statement that India is better governed than the U. S. by Hoover. There may be members to whom Independence may be a compelling aim in itself to which everything is to be sacrificed, as before the Car of Juggernaut, but even they would not subscribe to the dictum that the British Government is satanic.

APRIL 29, 1932.

The Outlines have considerably enriched my mind; the information about races in China and Japan which I had have been seeking from oral inquiry, is all there so far as anything definite is known. There are two easily distinguishable types in Japan—the five-foot two-inches Aimos and the five feet seven to ten Daimos, the aristocratic caste. There are Moslems in China; the Jews have become a matter of History; been assimilated. The hook-nose is not the characteristic of the Jew but of the Hittite or Hyksos in whose train so many Jews went to Egypt.

Miss Ho-Tung is to give me another sitting where I can expound to her the dramatic history of the progress from the classical theories to the standpoint of relativity. Her father was particularly anxious to re-discuss with me the Sino-Japanese problem. The wireless has given him the bad news of Korean outrages on Japanese; it upsets all his programme of work for China, which would be the crown of his career. His house in Hongkong has been the rendezvous of Sun Yat-Sen and other distinguished Chinese leaders and he knows so much of all points of view

that he has been asked to publish his memories; he has no time; his work in Hongkong takes up all of it. Sun Yat-Sen would have been deported from Hongkong but for his intervention.

Therefore, they all trust him, but how in face of this outrage to bring Japan to see that her interest too is in working with China? He greatly appreciates Mr. Bland's article in *Current History*. He has known Mr. Bland himself but what do I think?

Well, I do not trust Japanese statesmen from what I read of them; from their not being able to conciliate Korea; from their barbarity at Shanghai, but I do not want Manchuria to go back to China. During the 50 years that effective Chinese administration has held Manchuria, China has done nothing for the province. She never conquered it; she constructed the Great Wall to keep the Manchus out; there is no ethnic affinity. When the Manchu dynasty was expelled from Peking, the Chinese proceeded to massacre the Manchus in China. Even if Manchuria had originally been a Chinese province that would have been no more reason for its return to China, than to recognise the claim of wild beasts to run over a jungle which has been their beat. There is no title to rule, unless rule has been a task well performed. Japan's Treaty right to her concession should be recognised. Japan has done well there. But Japan should recognise the obligation to the Open Door, which John Hay, America's foreign Minister (Secretary of State), persuaded the powers to recognise (in 1895?). If Japan wants an extension of her lease, that should also be granted subject to the Open Door. Japan has not availed herself of the opportunity to settle her citizens in Manchuria. They cannot stand its long winters; she is right in claiming that it is a matter of life and death to her to get all the trade she ought. But the U. S. also need a great outlet, they are economically in a most painful position as only yesterday's wireless revealed; they are right not to satisfy Japan without a guarantee that Japan will not use her position of privilege to bolt the door on all trade other than her own. The only satisfactory guarantee would be not to give her a position to abuse. And as Manchuria must have a government, as it should not be China's and ought not to be Japan's direct or puppet, or any single power's, why not make it an International Settlement under the League's Mandate? China would never agree to it, said Sir Robert; she hates Japan too much. It is up to Sir Robert to persuade China. If the Chinese delegate at the League Assembly proposed it himself, Japan's ambitions would be non-plussed. Yet Japan would find it to her interest to agree. The military operations have entailed expense and cost of life, and Japan is not happy. The constitution is on trial. Fascists, communists, republicans all are itching to give it another turn. It is everywhere realised that politicians today are not of the old type of whom it could be truthfully said, theirs but to do and die for their country. It would be the rightest way out for everybody. Sir Robert said finally, "It is a good idea."

Miss Ho-Tung is professor of the Theory of Education at the Canton University, originally founded by Americans, to which American money is still available, and which has been taken over by a Chinese body. Miss Ho-Tung teaches through the medium of Chinese. Sometimes she teaches Mathematics at the school attached to the University.

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Office:—KAMARSHI HOUSE, SANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 11, 1942. No. 45.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Help to Burma Evacuees.
Another Job.
Billeting in India.
Mr. Sarkar on Women's Role.
Judicial Loquacity.
The Princes in Council.
Congress the Next Step.
Sales Tax in the Punjab.
Nationality in Viceroy's.
Second Council Expansion.

Government and Private Shops.
Voluntary or Official?
Letters of B. J. Fadshah.
The Overseas Department.
Building on the Village System.
Marriages are Made in—
The Tata Iron and Steel
Company.
National War Front Leaders.

NOTES.

Help to Burma Evacuees:—Speaking at a Press Conference at Allahabad during his recent tour of evacuee camps in the United Provinces, the Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney, Member of the Government of India for Indians Overseas, clarified the position as regards the help given by Government to evacuees from Burma. The following is from the report in the *Leader*:

He (Mr. Aney) referred to the criticism that had been made about discrepancy in the rates of payments made to Indians and Anglo-Indian, Anglo-Burman and European evacuees and opined that a sum of Rs. 20 a month was quite sufficient for an Indian labourer. Most of the evacuees, he said, were of the labouring classes but the district authorities had been given discretion to sanction higher amounts in deserving cases. He had also seen the accounts of expenditure incurred here for the Anglo-Indian, Anglo-Burman and European evacuees here and though the rate allowed for them was Rs. 80 per head, the average, he noticed, came to about Rs. 40 per head. The expenditure on these classes of evacuees was incurred by his Majesty's Government.

The information that the British Government is paying for Anglo-Indian, Anglo-Burman and European evacuees was given in *The Reformer* by Mr. Banerji of New Delhi. This is the first time that the British Government has recognised Anglo-Indians to be primarily a British responsibility, and we welcome the recognition. Justifying the allowance of Rs. 20 a month for Indians, Mr. Aney argued that the Indian evacuees were mostly of the labouring class and that this amount was quite enough for them. Labouring class is a general term. Skilled labourers are invariably paid larger salaries than clerks and others of the white-clad class and they are entitled to consideration. The new provision for the payment of higher allowances in accordance with their pre-war status, is an improvement which will be appreciated. If, as we presume, the allowance or advance is based on the family and not on the individual, the Indian maximum is quite inadequate. The European and Anglo-Indian family consists only of a man's wife and

children. The Indian's family obligations extend over a wider circle. The Indian standard of life rises slowly because of this feature of the Indian family constitution. It is this which has enabled the Government to do without the social services which nowadays are an essential feature of every civilised administration, and it is not to the interest of Government, now especially, itself to accelerate the breakdown of the Indian social system which provides for the care of its aged, halt, maimed and blind without the assistance of a poor law.

Another Job:—A New Delhi message dated July 3 says that Sir Evelyn Wrench has been appointed American Relations Officer. Sir Evelyn was editor for many years of the *London Spectator* and, as its Managing Director, has been lately touring for six months in India. His interviews with Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji were published in the *Spectator*. There was nothing particularly original in them. On the strength of this experience, he has evidently impressed the Government of India as the most suitable man for the job of American Relations Officer. This is another of the wartime jobs of which there have been far too many of late. If there was real need for an American Relations Officer at New Delhi, someone whose knowledge of the country was less casual, would obviously have answered better. As a matter of fact, Americans make contacts in India more readily than many Englishmen, and they are more likely to enlighten Sir Evelyn on Indian conditions than Sir Evelyn them.

Billeting in India:—The Government of India have made a new rule under the Defence of India Act empowering themselves to introduce the billeting system in this country in view of considerable reinforcements for the Defence Services and the influx of refugees from the Far East causing a shortage of accommodation. This difficulty is wholly due to the importation of foreign troops instead of relying on the inexhaustible manpower of India for the defence of the country. Nor are Indian refugees a major factor in causing this shortage. They will soon find accommodation with their relations in their villages. The Indian family system and caste in such emergencies show their real value and vindicate the wisdom of their founders. Foreigners, evacuees and men of the Defence Services will not fit into the Indian social and

family system and the attempt to force them on it will conflict with the basis of British rule in this country, non-interference with the religious and family life of the people. Even in England, billeting has provoked complaints from householders. The position of women in Indian homes is not the same as in Europe even in provinces where purdah is not observed. The billeting system, again, is suitable only in countries where the average standard of life is somewhat higher than the standard of the army barracks. In India it is much lower, one reason why recruits are forthcoming in embarrassing abundance. The vast majority of the population is housed in hovels and not an insignificant section has not even a thatched roof over its head. These are fundamental facts of Indian life. To issue rules and orders in complete disregard of them is to court disaffection which may lead to serious consequences. The more the Government is Indianised, the less seems to be its disposition to pay regard to Indian sentiments.

Mr. Sarker on Women's Role:—The address which the Hon. N. R. Sarker delivered at the annual convocation of the Hindu Women's University, was a little out of tune with conditions in Western India. The graduates of that University are by no means the vanguard of educated womanhood. Women had taken degrees in Arts and the professions for at least half a century before the Women's University was thought of. They have been attending the same institutions as men students, pursuing the same courses of study, and working up to the same standards; and there has been no evidence of any deterioration in their physical or moral make-up. If the idea behind a women's university was merely to build a purdah institution, with all that the purdah meant," said Mr. Sarker, "I seriously doubt its utility." There was never any danger of a purdah university finding support in this province. Owing to historical causes the two main divisions, Gujarat and Maharashtra, had eluded the purdah; Gujarat as a commercial community with far-flung trade connections and Maharashtra as a political and military power entailing expeditions to and administration of nearly every part of India. The Parsis, too, were an influence against purdahism in Bombay. The idea that women have a different kind of brains from men and different functions from men, is at the root of purdahism as well as of a separate Women's University. There is one function and only one which nature has specifically assigned to females of every species including the human, and this does not require to be safeguarded by institutions. Nature, as Haldane said, may be left to set the limits consequent on this natural function. The periods of history when women were elevated on a pedestal have been as disastrous—if not more—as periods when they were regarded as chattel. The days of chivalry in Europe and the cult of Shaktas in India are outstanding illustrations. Domestic service

should be shared equally by men and women and in practice it is so shared in millions of middle-class homes. The differentiation between the breadwinner and the bread-maker is the direct consequence of a faulty functional system. Modern developments in war and peace are breaking down this system. Bombs do not distinguish men from women. Social trends similarly point to the equalisation of rights and duties, irrespective of sex. By all means reform the educational system where it is faulty. But it is better that men and women should be reared in the same faulty system than in two separate faulty systems or even in two systems, one perfect and one imperfect. After all as among men, so among women, there are differences of natural gifts and aptitudes. Some men are gentle, some women are rough. The goal to which the race is tending, is typified by the Ardhanarisvara to which Mr. Sarker referred. A similar vision inspired in Tennyson the idea of "manhood fused with female grace,"

In such a sort, the child would twine
A trustful hand, unask'd in thine,
And find his comfort in thy face.

Judicial Loquacity:—Wide publicity has been given to the remarks of Mr. Justice Din Mahomed of the Allahabad High Court in ordering certain passages in the judgment of Mr. K. D. Rogers, Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Pindi Dadau Khan, expunged on the score of their being irrelevant and offensive to the people of India. The District Judge who has a supervisory jurisdiction over the subordinate courts, recommended to the High Court that one passage in Mr. Rogers' judgment might be expunged; Mr. Justice Din Mahomed of his own motion detected another passage in the same judgment which also he ordered to be expunged. The passage recommended by the District Judge ran thus,

Admittedly Indians are remarkably sensitive, if one so much as looks twice at their womenfolk. But they should learn more esprit de corps in this connection.

Apart from the reflection on Indian sensitiveness, the passage deserves expunction as being atrocious French. Esprit de corps has no sense in this context. Mr. Justice Din Mahomed's observations were caustic. His lordship said:

He (the Sub-Magistrate) should have known that the ideas imbibed by him in his own country were altogether foreign to this soil and that his advice that Indians should "learn more esprit de corps" so as not to resent the conduct of those people who stare at their womenfolk with an immoral object, would be treated as a sheer insult. Indians treat their womenfolk—mothers, daughters, wives and sisters—as sacred objects and cannot be blamed, therefore, if they do not brook their profanation in any manner, and it is not within the province of courts of law to teach them to give up their time-honoured notions, which have been ingrained in their blood for centuries past.

In fairness to Mr. Rogers, the words, "with an immoral object," do not seem to be his. Even in England, if that is the country where Mr. Rogers hails from, a man who persistently stares at a respectable woman will, we think, attract the attention of passers-by, if not the Police. Good manners, as distin-

guished from etiquette, spring from the heart and are the same all over the world. Mr. Rogers did not evidently mean that kind of staring. One cannot help turning to look at a striking face, beautiful or ugly, whether in men or women whom one may chance to pass, without any evil intention, just because it is singular. All the same, Mr. Rogers had no business to load his judgment with his generalisations about India and her people and he well deserved the rather ponderous homily which his wandering fancy called forth from his lordship, Mr. Justice Din Mahomed.

The Princes in Council:—The Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber met in Bombay under the Chairmanship of the Chancellor the Jam Saheb. There has been no official report of the proceedings to make up for the exclusion of the Press from the sittings. As usual, however, there has been leakage. The *Bombay Chronicle* has been publishing an account of the Princes' doings from one who professes to have inside knowledge. It may be merely, however, an intelligent attempt at guessing. The only thing which seems clear is that there is some, perhaps considerable, trepidation among some of the Princes. And there may well be. But they do not seem to be conscious of the real cause of their presentiments. It is not, as they think, the Indian political parties who are causing them concern. Both the Congress and the Muslim League are torn from top to bottom, bow to stern, and the recent nominations to the Executive Council are a bold challenge to their influence and integrity. The real danger to the Princely Order comes from outside. All the three great Allies of Britain in this war are nations which have risen against their hereditary rulers and set up non-monarchical forms of government. The Chinese dropped their Emperor some thirty years ago and, whatever happens, they are not likely to revert to the imperial regime. The end of the Russian Romanoffs in an obscure Siberian town twenty-five years ago put an end to all hopes of the restoration of a hereditary monarchy in Russia. The United States a hundred and fifty years ago bade good-bye to monarchy. Outside the Allied group, Germany, Austria, Turkey, Spain, have renounced monarchy. The monarchic form of government is clearly out-of-date. The Princes represent this obsolescent system not in its most refulgent form. The Maharaja of Indore saw the handwriting on the wall and hastened to avow his faith in popular government notwithstanding that he was born to and is at present occupying a gadi. The outstanding personalities whose hold on Indian opinion ensured the safety of the States for fifty years, have quitted the scene. No Prince has so far established himself in their place in the respect of the Indian people. The course of some of the younger rulers has disturbed friends of the States who regard them as inheritors of Indian tradition. Here is ample cause for anxiety.

Congress—The Next Step:—The Congress Working Committee which is meeting at Wardha, is according to all reports considering the next step. The *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent in a sapient paragraph informs its readers that all are agreed on the necessity of the "next step"; but there is a difference about the when and how of it. He would have done even better as a political prophet had he written of the "inevitability" instead of "necessity" of the next step. Among the forecasts of probable developments, the most reasoned seems to be that of the *Forum*, a new journal which is being issued from Nagpur. Its proximity to the hub of the Congress political machinery also gives its forecast some authority. The *Forum* observes that the new campaign will have for its motive power five issues: Behaviour of troops; shortage of salt; control of food grain supplies; evacuation of civilians for the accommodation of the Army; racial discrimination between Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Indians and Indians. If these are all the differences, surely the Congress could have settled them by taking office even under the present scheme. None of them are large enough issues. Meanwhile Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has left the Congress in order to preserve his freedom.

Sales Tax in the Punjab:—It is reported that Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan the Punjab Premier has agreed to repeal the Sales Tax and to refund the money collected under it for 1941-42 in pursuance of his unity programme; and that the traders' association had entered into a pact with his Government for the duration. The Federal Court had recently decided that the collection of sales tax for the period 1941-42 was illegal for the Punjab Government and it is not clear whether Sir Sikandar was moved by that decision or by a desire to placate the traders. The sacrifice, financially speaking, is one which the Punjab can afford in the prosperity which the war has brought her.

Nationality in Viceroys:—The most reactionary and imperialistic Indian Viceroys have usually been either Scotsmen—themselves a conquered race—or descendants of English Protestants planted in Catholic Ireland by Oliver Cromwell. Philip Guedala's "The Duke" throws revealing light on Anglo-Irish surroundings generally and the mentality in particular of the Marquis of Wellesley (originally Wesley). As a rule English Viceroys have shown greater sense of justice in their dealings with Indians—Canning, Ripon, Hardinge at once spring to memory. Curzon was an imperialist but his imperialism was based on a high regard for the country's enduring interests—he was virtually dismissed—and was altogether different in kind and not only in degree from that of Wellesley and Dalhousie, of Lansdowne, Dufferin and Minto. An interesting volume may be written on the contributions of British Indian Viceroys according to their race and nationality.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 11, 1942.

SECOND COUNCIL EXPANSION.

When he found that he could not get the Congress leaders to agree to his proposals, Sir Stafford Cripps in obvious huff declared that the proposals were withdrawn. As a matter of fact, however, they still hold the field. Replying to a representation from Glasgow a few days ago, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, stated that the British Government was prepared to accept any suggestions for bringing the Government in India into closer relations with the people within the framework of those proposals. Soon after this statement, the Government of India announced the addition of six more members to the Viceroy's Executive Council. These are Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for Information; Sir Mahomed Oosman for the Postal Department and Civil Aviation; Sir Jwala Srivastava, Civil Defence; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour; Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport; and Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Education, Health and Lands. That there is an element of communal distribution in the choice of the new members, does not detract from the merits of the selections. On the other hand, it is a distinct advantage that, while not ignoring communal aspirations, Government have been able to secure the services of men of ability, administrative experience and wide outlook. With the exception of Dr. Ambedkar, none of the new members has been inspired by pronounced communalism in his past career. And even Dr. Ambedkar has given proof of his ability to rise above narrow communal interests on broad national issues. The inclusion of Sir Edward Benthall may seem out of place in an avowed policy of Indianisation but *The Reformer* has always recognised the English element of the population as a factor in the evolution of future India. The days when an Englishman can hope to exercise dominating influence in this country on the strength of "a stiff upper lip," have passed never to return. At the same time, his opportunities for being a factor in our public life through service, have been considerably increased. In these days of rapid transport, the doctrine that a man cannot have two domiciles loses much of its old importance. If Sir Edward Benthall can regard India in the identical spirit in which he would the land of his origin, he will not only vindicate the justice of his choice but will establish the right of Englishmen who have made their homes in India for a considerable portion of their lives, to share the rights and duties of Indian citizenship. If he fails to do this, he will be creating a permanent barrier to the possession of Indian citizenship rights by Englishmen who have not made their homes permanently and brought up families in this country.

• The addition of these members does not alter the status of India. She is still only a Dependen-

cy, a British Possession. Even the Jam Saheb's and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's nomination to the War Council in London is not an innovation. The Maharajah of Bikaner was a member of the War Cabinet during the last War and His Highness and Lord Sinha signed the Treaty of Versailles on behalf of India. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry was a member of the Conference which met at Washington shortly after the signing of the Peace Treaty. All that has been done, therefore, is in accord with precedent. It has all been done within the framework of the existing constitution, though a cage meant for five tame parrots, is bound to be prove insufficient to hold a dozen peacocks in their pride, in addition. What has been done falls short of what was understood to be conceded by Sir Stafford Cripps. There is much uncertainty as to what it was which led to the failure of the Cripps Mission. But it seems to be common ground that the appointment of an Indian as Defence Member was the crucial difference. The appointment of Indians as Finance and Home Members was evidently conceded. These two important Departments are left with English, Indian Civil Service, members. A Defence Member has been created but the duties assigned to him are of the vaguest character. Army affairs will be under the control of the Commander-in-Chief who is to be designated War Member. Civil Defence will be under a special member, Sir Jwala Srivastava. What does not fall within these two portfolios are to be administered by Sir Feroze Khan Noon who has been shifted from the charge of Labour to make room for Dr. Ambedkar. His designation as Defence Member is, therefore, misleading. Sir Stafford's opposition to the appointment of an Indian as Defence Member has been virtually upheld. An Indian has been designated Defence Member but the essentials of Defence remain in English hands. Another noteworthy omission in the new arrangements is the failure to create a Production Member which the Grady Mission strongly recommended. Sir Homi Modi's objections to the proposal were flimsy and unconvincing. Indian production requires special care and attention and we trust the enlarged Council will press for the creation of a Production portfolio. The absence of an Indian Christian among the new nominees, would not call for comment if all other minorities had not been provided for. It can not be said that there is no Indian Christian who can compare in ability with every one of the six gentlemen who figure in the list. This has a lesson for our Christian countrymen. They will never be recognised as a distinct Indian community so long as they hang on to foreign missionaries as their patrons. We mean no reflection on the latter but it is obvious that their relation to their converts, past and prospective, constitutes a serious bar to Indian Christians enjoying the same status as other communities which do not depend upon foreign agencies. We regret that the

Government of India have not seen fit to have at least one woman in its Executive Council. We can think of several Indian women who would have proved not less efficient in the administration of their Department than the men members. Sir Jogindra Singh's portfolio, Education, Health and Lands, is an unwieldy group. A separate Health Member is urgently called for by the rapid development of Health administration, nutrition, maternity, child welfare, besides the routine ones of maintaining hospitals. This would be the most appropriate portfolio for a woman member.

There has been a persistent demand for a National Government. If the Viceroy and the Secretary of State permit the expanded Executive Council to function without interference, that is to say, accept the decisions of the Council as binding on them, and all important questions of policy are decided by the Council as a whole, even though the Act may not be changed immediately, the Council will be as good a national Government as, in some respects better perhaps than, a Cabinet constituted in the orthodox parliamentary fashion. As a matter of fact, as things stand, there is no possibility of a Ministry on the true parliamentary pattern being formed at present. The country cannot waste precious time in ploughing the sands of Pakistan with Mr. Jinnah or in indulging in aimless flights with Gandhiji in the empyrean of absolute non-violence.

Government and Private Shops :—There have of late been serious complaints about the inadequacy of Government shops to cope with the public demand. In Bandra, there is a great deal of hardship imposed on the public by the peculiar hours which the official shop observes. This also seems to be true of other suburbs. One of the major services the institution is rendering is to inculcate the queuing habit among the people who have often to wait long hours for their turn. The belief was that the setting up of model institutions like these would influence local trade, but experience has shown that it is about as effective as it could have been expected to be by men not unversed in shops and shopping ways. The "black market" is widespread and no one complains to the authorities against contravention of the fixed prices for the simple reason that one has to depend after all on the grocer even though one might avoid conflict with officials and the police. Some of the regulations have had the effect of creating artificial scarcities. To a certain extent the retail shopkeeper, too, tries his hand at working up prices. It has been suggested that the Government should leave off all attempt to interfere with prices and supplies. This might be better than the present condition; on the other hand, it might be worse. The simplest way is for the Government to commandeer stocks as the District Magistrate at Vizagapatam did when he found trade paralysed. This would lead to a hue and cry from the merchant class.

There is another solution which may be found effective and is less drastic. The National Front has formed itself into a network spreading throughout the province and for the moment it is doing little more than delivering speeches which, we fear, draw little attention. The members might well be put on to the job of checking up on shops and prices. Particularly useful in this connection will be the services of women, wives of officials, who, in view of their inherited, if not personal, experience in dealing with foodstuffs, are also specially equipped to look to the quality of the material supplied. They may fairly be expected to be free from the temptations which will naturally assail men engaged in this work, because they have not had in the past to bother about money. It will have the added merit of bringing into national work manpower which is idle or ineffectively employed at present. We trust the National Front will consider developing this very necessary kind of work.

Voluntary or Official?—When the National War Front was inaugurated in Bombay, much—in our opinion, unnecessary—stress was laid on the non-official and voluntary character of the contemplated organization. In a statement at a Press Conference on Monday, Mr. R. P. Masani, the Provincial Leader, outlined a scheme for organising village organizations to supplement the military and police in case of emergencies. Sir Roger Lumley in his last broadcast assured the public that police and military services have been expanded so as to provide complete security throughout the province. Mr. Masani's statement is, therefore, somewhat surprising. The weapon of the members of these village guardians will, he said, be lathis. We hope it is not intended to prohibit the carrying of lathis by citizens who have not enrolled in the organization. Mr. Masani went on :

The National War Front intends to ask those people in villages who possess arms licenses, to join their defence parties. If they refuse, the Front proposes to ask whether they may be given retainers for their weapons from among members of the guards and, in cases where such a step is considered necessary, the Front proposes to recommend to Government the cancellation of the licenses so that the weapons may be transferred to the hands of a person who is prepared to join the guards.

We hope Mr. Masani carefully considered the implications of this proposal and how it fits in with the protestations of the voluntary and non-official character of the Front. It will be less liable to misunderstanding and may be regarded as a wartime measure if Government declare all arms licenses revoked and the arms confiscated. Several Indian non-official leaders have been clamouring for distribution of arms—rifles, hand grenades, machine guns—to the population to enable it effectively to cooperate in national defence. But their demand has not commended itself so far to the authorities. Mr. Masani's proposal is the very opposite of that of the unofficial leaders.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Reform within the framework of an existing system is the traditional method of reform in India. It is the surest means of maintaining continuity which is the keynote of Indian history. The religion of the Vedas is remote from the Vedic religion of today but both are Hinduism. Even within the last fifty years Hindu Society has undergone revolutionary changes. Reforms which were bitterly opposed thirty years ago, do not now cause a ripple on the surface of social life. They have been assimilated into the structure of society. The only Hindu in recent times who threatened to apostatize and get into a different faith if his reforms were not instantly adopted, has seen fit to modify his attitude and there is no chance now of his reverting to his old intransigence. Of course, the revolutionary and the root-and-branch radical cannot be expected to favour this method of reform from within the system to be reformed. But revolutions are short-lived and are followed by counter-revolutions either from within the frame of the revolution as in Soviet Russia or as in the restoration of the Empire after the French Revolution. In fact, it may be predicated of all revolutions that they will be followed by reactionary movements as the night follows the day. The method of reform within a framework is the most effective way of reforming the framework itself. Pouring new wine into old bottles, bursts the bottles if the bottles do not react suitably to the process of fermentation which the new wine develops.

The second expansion of the Governor-General's Legislative Council announced last weekend, has been criticised from many sides. Criticism is of the essence of the British political system. The old Indian Kings had a system of espionage to ascertain grievances of the people. Except in flagrant cases of misgovernment, the people themselves never got up an organised agitation demanding redress. But in the British system, unless the people clamour for relief, breaking windows and heads, if need be, it is assumed that the people have no grievances and no changes are needed in the *status quo*. The Sandeman policy of dealing with frontier tribes summed up in the phrase "a big stick and a bag of gold" is only a special application of this traditional British method. The political "agitator" is abused, despised, punished, but this is followed by cautious moves to introduce reforms to meet the demands of the agitator. The Parliamentary opposition is as much a part of the British system as the Treasury Bench. Therefore, criticism of the second expansion is necessary. Criticisms such as those of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Liberals relate to the total elimination of the non-Indian residue and are in the line of the policy now in force. This is bound to come soon. The British Government are fighting a rearguard action in Indian constitutional reform and there can be no doubt as to the ultimate result. Gandhiji's demand for complete withdrawal has had to be explained more than once, and what is left is not very different from the Sapru-Liberal demand for complete Indianisation. The most preposterous criticism of the expansion is that of Dr. Moonje. He asserts that it is unmistakable evidence of a secret pact between the British Government and the Muslim League. On the contrary, the selection of members is unmistakable proof that the British Government is effecting a strategic retreat from the policy of communal citizenship to which it was committed thirty-five years ago by the improvidence of Lord Minto. If they had the least bias for Pakistan, four out of the five new men would have been disqualified for addition to the Executive Council. The fifth is

an uncertain quantity. He has written a book which some readers take to be a plea for Pakistan but which he himself would seem to maintain is a plea against it. Since this was written the *Bombay Sentinel* has published an interview with Dr. Ambedkar. He explains that, while accepting in principle Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan, he holds that not the majority but the minority in the areas proposed to be partitioned should decide by its votes whether or not it would be Pakistaned. This is an ingenious way of sabotaging the Muslim League's demand while expressing approval of it in principle. Our objection is to the principle itself. The unity of India is not a question to be determined by votes. The *Sentinel* states that the interview was given before Dr. Ambedkar was nominated a Member of the Executive Council. It could not have been a long time before that event.

It must be a real wrench to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to leave Travancore. When he was appointed Dewan seven years ago, the Maharaja's choice, to put it mildly, was not popular. The late Lord Salisbury warned Mr. Balfour, then on the threshold of his political career, against attempting to be one of those of whom all men speak well. Such a warning would have been superfluous in the case of Sir Ramaswami. He has taken his own line in the varied phases of his public career and his detractors were at least as many as his admirers. His devotion and services to Travancore have won over completely all classes of people. The several measures for the development of the State culturally, materially and socially, which he has initiated are in the stage of flowering. His fostering care would have been very valuable in bringing them to fruition. There will, no doubt, be men trained by him who will see to it that his schemes progress on the lines intended. A noteworthy feature of Sir C. P. Ramaswami's regime is that, while keeping in the forefront the Hindu traditions of the State, he has demonstrated to the satisfaction of all communities that tradition is the best safeguard for the protection of religious minorities and their secular interest. In the larger sphere to which he is now called, the qualities which have stood him in such good stead in Travancore, is sure to be of the highest service. To Indian States particularly his inclusion in the Central Government should be a matter of satisfaction. He is not for them an apologist merely but a convinced champion of their right and fitness, under wise and liberal guidance, to play a constructive part in the making of greater India.

Writing in the July number of the *Aryan Path*, Mr. S. C. Guha observes that the time may not be distant when the term, Brahmana, will denote a man of culture as such and that the evils of caste will then be eliminated. Mr. Guha thinks that these evils are the result of corruptions which have crept in with the passage of time. The most generally quoted authority on the origin of caste is the verse in the Bhagvad Gita where Sri Krishna says that it was created by him according to the qualities and behaviour of men. The Gita goes on to define the special functions of the castes: the Brahman's to study and teach; the Kshatriya's to rule according to the Dharma and protect the people against enemies foreign and native; the Vaisya's to maintain the prosperity of society and the State by promoting industries and trade; and the Sudra's to do manual service. This division of functions exists in every society. It is called "caste" in some and "class" in others. Caste is avowedly based on birth

but so in practice is class though theoretically it allows of the rising of a man of one class into a higher class and in exceptional cases such changes do take place. In the light of contemporary developments, it is difficult to say whether the evils of caste are worse than those of class. If the alternative to caste was class only, a prudent man may well hesitate before choosing. An earlier theory of the origin of caste is found in the Brahadaranyaka Upanishad. It is not necessarily inconsistent with the Gita theory. It brings out more clearly the process of the evolution of the four castes and suggests the specific for maintaining harmony among them. According to the Upanishad, there were only Brahmins originally. They did not flourish, the Kshatriyas were created to protect them; even then society did not flourish. Vaishyas were created to look after the economic well-being of society; even this did not improve matters. Sudras were created to perform the necessary manual work; even this did not meet the situation, then Dharma was created and society flourished. It is Dharma which harmonises different interests and divisions, as much among castes as among classes.

What is Dharma? Dharma is the due apportionment of rights and duties between individuals and groups. When one man or one group monopolises the rights and leaves the duties to be performed by others, whether in a family, society or State, the equilibrium which is Dharma, is disturbed and decadence sets in. This is amply borne out by what is happening in the contemporary world. The word "Brahman" denotes any person, the centre of whose faith is the Cosmic Principle. There are few such men among us—that is to say, men who not only profess faith in the Cosmic Principle but strive to live it in all its implications. There was only one Christian, observed a witty French writer, and he died upon the Cross. We do not stone or crucify prophets in India and the last of the Brahmins would have died a peaceful death in the bosom of his family. In the strict sense, therefore, the species, "Brahmin," has become extinct. But in a broad sense all those who profess the Cosmic Principle as the heart of religion, may be called Brahmins. All Hindus, whatever their sect, profess this. Therefore, the most appropriate designation for them is Brahmins. The word Hindu has no meaning as the name of a religious community. The term Hinduism does not occur anywhere in the sacred or classical works of India. We should reverse the process of the Upanishad and call all who are classed as Hindus, Brahmins. We shall have to include many who were not born in India but who, nevertheless, are believers in the Cosmic Principle in a truer sense than many of us. That will be the true solution not only of the caste problem but also of the economic class and political nation problem. It will pave the way to the religion of humanity. In passing, it may be observed that Mr. S. K. George who wants a new Gita in the same number of the *Aryan Path*, has missed the central teaching of the Gita. This is directed to explaining how a man may do his duties without injury to his soul. Buddhism makes karma inexorable. The Gita shows that the karma which is inexorable, is the action done with a self-regarding motive. The mere act is nothing: the motive is everything.

RECLUSE.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

MAY 1, 1932.

S. S. Corfu.

The wireless indicates Japan's resolve to carry the peace negotiations through in spite of the Korean's outrage at Shanghai, and Sir Robert avows gladness at that.

I now consider that Chang-Tso-Lin had good reason to refuse Japanese demands for concessions which the Japanese were not unlikely to use politically. They had refused to carry Chang's troops on the Japanese railway line in Manchuria, though that transport was essential to Chang to crush a mutinous General. It is true an agreement extorted from China requires concessions preferential to Japan, but if no concessions are traded to anybody, the question of strictness of engagement does not arise. Sir Robert would have been glad to hear this modification of view from my own lips. The insecurity of Japan's position, her finances and prosperity depending on two markets and two commodities for export, has never been so lucidly yet concisely explained before as in a recent *Spectator* article.

Mr. Lanning looked in upon me for an hour.....He frankly avowed himself to be a pro-Jap, the Chinese pay no heed to treaties and the Kuomintang hates all foreigners (which is ungrateful because the Kuomintang is the creation of Sun Yat-Sen who had been kidnapped into the Chinese Legation in 1895, to be deported to China, and an English doctor, Chamber, got Lord Salisbury to make a peremptory demand for release which was obtained. But politicians have short memories, says Mr. Lanning.) I asked Mr. Lanning why Shanghai permitted the anti-foreign text-books in schools. He said, education is ultimately controlled by the Consuls' Conference, and each consul has his own particular axe to grind and all are in competition for the favour of the Chinese. So no one moves to prevent.

MAY 3, 1932.

The "Outlines" says that Singapore is a Sanskrit word meaning the Lion City. It remarks that not many years ago, the Asiatic population in the Straits had been one-third Malay, one-third Indian, one-third Chinese, now the Chinese have been trebled, so that the Chinese form 60% of the whole.

The "Outlines" adds mysteriously that the agricultural development of Manchuria by Japanese capital is resisted by the Japanese farmer; that the Japanese do not care to populate their own Northernmost island of the archipelago which is Japan. They have repugnance to long winters and hot temperatures.

MAY 4, 1932.

I had read the *Spectator* and poked plums. The modern athletics-crazed woman longs to prolong her girlhood; deck-tennis is so much easier than responsibility with husband, children or servants. The modern girl's craze for cigarettes, stuffs her with nicotine (as cigars and pipes do not) which is as noxious as spirit between meals, as the statistics for cancer and turberole show. The *Lancet* is cited as the authority. *Nature* gives experimental results to show that the migratory movements of birds are due to physical conditions, assignable and not mysterious. *Nature* reviews the latest book of Mr. H. G. Wells where he brings out that the woes of the world are primarily due to men not thinking, despising thinking and thinkers, and taking mere

names such as 'patriotism' or 'France' as mystic realities beyond the obvious.

A mathematician says that people invent the objects of their emotion, just to gratify that emotion outside personal relationships.

MAY 10, 1932.

Finished anthropology and ran back to psycho-analysis to seek out references to phobias started by accident, and to sublimations of primitive reactions as explained in anthropology. One of these reactions, it states to be the rudeness into which shy men, endeavouring to overcome shyness, stumble, and another is the prudery of old maids detecting objectionable references to sex in innocent talk because of their need to reinforce resistance to sex impulse cruelly repressed. I have spent the greater part of the day on the article on sex which is full of meat for me. It applies familiar Mendelian doctrine to explain familiar observations such as the infertility of crosses between two species or the bar on marriages inside a kindred group. The unfamiliarity is in the application of the familiar to explain familiar. The last hours have been spent on the explanation of (a) the difference in the fertilised eggs which will become a male or female individual; and (b) the origin of this difference. This varied reading has not only the interest of the subject-matter; the novelty of results and methods and the enormous number of steps in the ladder of ascent and the provisionality of many such ascents, compel a shiver as to how mankind in the mass, their leaders and common clay, have been swayed by the plausible, and been dogmatic in the laying down of rules—for example, on sex, when sex cannot be defined, its conjunction with Reproduction is not a necessity, and when priestly repugnances can be shown to be pathological. And it all compels a fresh self-criticism and though the result is very unflattering yet it is not accompanied by any chagrin or depression. It is true I am losing individuality for myself, I have sunk to be just an element of Nature to myself. I am stripping myself of that protective colouration which is Romance. Do not think the cold I wrote you of has anything to do with it; the cold itself was never much and it has nearly vanished, and the self-searching is older than the cold. The British administration in Papua and with Nagas in Assam had ingeniously recognised sacrifices to gods if the victims be pigs instead of men.

MAY 11, 1932.

My reading has been *Nature* with meals and "Outlines" otherwise. I have finished the article on sex, and been delighted that I had the opportunity. The sex of living things can be altered at will by the injection of the proper sex-hormone. This was the most valuable part of the researches of Steinach in Vienna. (There is no reference throughout the "Outlines" to Voronoff rejuvenation, or birth control.) Even the hermaphrodite state can be chemically induced. In Man, the inversion of sex is not easy. The chemical action has to be applied to the fertilised ovum which alters the initial tendency of the soma (body) to assume sex-characters; but after birth the characters have already been assumed. On the other hand, hens can be made to crow, and mice females to lose their femininity. The theory also accounts for the Inter-sex made so romantic by Ed. Carpenter's book and by Mary Webb's novels and strips the whole state of the romantic hues. Femaleness is present in both eggs; in the male, however, this is compensated for by maleness of varying strengths operating at different periods after fertilisation. A girl or a she-goat may develop male characters,

because the egg had a composition of maleness, only not in sufficient strength at that period to overwhelm the femaleness; when the maleness so retarded, gathers strength then it appears to confound our old romance and to start Ed. Carpenter and Mary Webb on new.

I have looked up the article on Psychology and am also completing Biology. I have also been interested in the article by Delisle Burns explaining how since the War the world has been economically unified with politicians and citizens recognising the unity. Our facts are in advance of our obsolete ideas, the world is in danger, unless it cultivates the international mind.

MAY 25, 1932.

London.

I received two letters directed by you at Singapore and redirected thence here. One enclosed the cutting from *Indian Finance*, a paper I do not know; the Eavesdropper might be Natarajan who, twenty years ago, was greatly struck by Lord Crewe's exclamation, "They say—they say what—let them say," which exclamation is repeated in this article. Whoever writes it has, of course, my gratification, if not gratitude, that such things could be written of me as are in the article; but they do me no service. I know now how low I have been in the scale of values, I wish to discover some reason for self-esteem in my self-knowledge; and that would be prevented by Eavesdropper's appreciation.

THE OVERSEAS DEPARTMENT.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

If I beg of you to give me a further little space in *The Reformer*, it is to state that you have been wrong to draw the implication that things are rosy in India from my statement that for racial discrimination in Burma, the "independent" Burmese Government was responsible. In fact, if you would kindly refer to any of my letters you would find that I had first dealt with the question of Overseas Department's responsibility for racial discrimination in *India* and then to its responsibility for a similar thing in *Burma*, and that I had left nothing to implication.

My object in writing to you was simply to point out that, as a matter of incontestable fact, the Overseas Department had nothing to do with racial discrimination either in India or in Burma, and that criticism of it on that score was misplaced. What is the remedy for this situation is, of course, a matter of opinion which I had no intention of discussing. But now that you have raised the question, I beg respectfully to express my disagreement with your suggestion as to the "obvious remedy." We have far too long followed the negative policy. My humble opinion is that, situated as we are, we must have men of Mr. Aney's type in harness in the hope that they can make something out of even a helpless situation. With my greatest respect for *The Reformer's* views, I must say that the obvious remedy is not always the best remedy and sometimes perhaps is a mere quack's remedy.

New Delhi, }
June 30, 1942. }

Yours etc,
B. BANERJI.

If Mr. Banerji had said at the outset that every other consideration should be sacrificed to the prime necessity of keeping Mr. Aney in office, then there would have been no discussion. But he had

reduced the Overseas Department and the duties of the Member in Charge to so petty a function, that one might well ask what the country gains by putting so big a man on so small a job. In the circumstances, it is strange to find our correspondent talking of "negative policies" and "quack remedies." His whole attitude is one of "giving up the ghost"—the Overseas Department is not responsible; the British Government is the only power that could set things right; etc., etc. The fact that Mr. Aney has done something, disproves Mr. Banerji's "positive policy" and, shall we say, "scientific remedy" of taking things as they happen without protest. We are sincerely glad that the Executive Councillors are winning a following but well might Mr. Aney say, God save us from such friends. Mr. Banerji has made his position quite clear and we do not think this subject need be pursued any further.—*Editor.*

BUILDING ON THE VILLAGE SYSTEM.

Gramism by Ramrai. New Book Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 10/-.

The interlinguistic title "Gramism", is an attempt to meet the several ideologies that are current in India, in the language of isms, and to draw the attention of all types of social workers to the problems of the peculiar institution, the Indian village, and its importance. The environment, the culture, and the peculiar religious traditions of the Indian village demand a different handling and an ism suited to those traditions and training. Gramism is a sincere attempt to fill that need. It is an elaborate argument in favour of a village state and the complete autonomy of that state. Mr. Rai, having the advantage of the knowledge of law, gives out in scientific detail, all the elements that make up the constitution of that village state. It will be an extremely powerful thing if those ideals reach the villager in his language and make him think of his freedom not only from foreign domination but also from internal domination from towns and cities. Then the support and the vote of the villager, on which the whole democratic politics is based, demand a new set of qualifications and a new kind of candidates who know the village and who stand by the unqualified freedom of the villager. The shackles of capitalism and centralised monopoly will automatically go, for they can have no place in the collective interest of a little village community. The central All-India authority is virtually a union of village republics and that authority will look to the defence question and foreign affairs. But no clear demarcation is drawn by Mr. Rai between the functions of the central federal state and the small village state.

Mr. Rai advocates "a true socialism suited to the genius of the Indian peoples," but he does not speak of the elimination of the capitalist or private ownership but advocates the principle of Mahatma Gandhi's Social Trusteeship fixing a socialist maximum of income, "the Congress standard of Rs. 500/- or even more according to the needs of the situation."

Gramism is not merely an exhortation to the general social worker, but a warning to the Congressman whose movement till now is only on the paved roads and whose flag flew over the topfloor of city mansions. The meaning of Gramism is that the soul of India is the Indian village; that, if any movement has to succeed, it can do so only through the villager; and that, in order to move him from his apathy and callousness, you must go to him with a new ideal which includes his freedom and not the freedom of the city-dweller and the great millowner.

M. N. RAO.

MARRIAGES ARE MADE IN——.

Some years ago *The Reformer* published an article drawing attention to the insidious way in which the press was beginning to intrude in social matters by way of the advertisement columns of daily newspapers. Since that time the matrimonial advertisement has attacked the citadel of Bombay and with some success. It was one of the features of the Bombay newspaper that it was willing to allow you to offer or seek companionship, hobbies, romance, etc., but it had no desire to take you across the threshold of matrimony. But the *Bombay Chronicle* has of recent months been showing all-round tendencies to depart from journalistic tradition and its zeal for change was shown also in the advertising columns when a young man with one wife advertised for a second. One does not look for the greatest development in the field in newspapers which are but newcomers there. To get the pick of the lot one has to turn to the more mature items of the North Indian press. Where all are equally enterprising, it would be invidious to mention names; but the impartial reader must necessarily give the palm to the *Tribuna*.

What does a young man look for in a wife? What does a young woman seek in a husband? Even a Gallup poll cannot give the answer as well as these advertisements would. For here the advertiser is putting his fate to the touch. When one sees the words "quick marriage," "early marriage," and other similar phrases of desperation, one cannot but appreciate that having thought at leisure long years over the question—some are over forty—they want to marry in haste. One advertiser actually tells his would-be applicants to affix 3as. 6ps. on the envelope, a proper caution seeing he is settled abroad. The emphasis now is gradually changing so far as men are concerned. They have not yet reached the wisdom of the Vicar of Wakefield who chose his wife "as she did her gown not for a fine glossy surface but for qualities that wore well." But now at least they do not ask for dowry but for a sweet temper or a sweet temperament. One man says "perfect girl needed" which shows that romance is not missing from the minds of these practical-minded men. The ladies, alas, have not yet started doing their advertising. Without recognising this, the unwary reader may infer that, even if our men should turn back on Government jobs, our women would not allow it. Landed property and medicine figure next. Absent are lawyers and journalists. Behind the women's section of this valuable portion of the newspaper, one sees lurking the guardian's hand, even when the girl is educated. Both advertising sexes, therefore, reflect the views held by men on marriage. The great revelation is that still they are so trustful as to rely on the other party's word for qualities which are increasingly becoming more dependant on personal likes and dislikes. The U. S. A., with all its freedom in society, thought it necessary to experiment in trial marriages to eradicate incompatability. The Punjab with its purdah tradition allows the other party to the contract—for marriage by advertising is essentially contractual—to bear witness on so important a matter as sweetness of temper. "Every man buys his wife in a sack," Thus Spake Zarathustra. Let trusting advertisers beware.

It is shocking that the press allows these things to go unchecked. For applicants, there should be fixed forms to ensure security and guarantee satisfaction. How otherwise can one claim, as newspapers do, time and again, that advertised goods are top quality? I hope the various associations connected with the press will take up this point. I particularly

appeal to the Newspaper Proprietors' Association which looks after the business interests of the press, failing the presence of a readers' organisation.

X.

THE TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY.

The Directors of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in their report of the working of the Company for 1941-42 propose to adopt a novel feature for the payment of dividends on ordinary and deferred shares. Of Rs. 27 per ordinary share and Rs. 168 per deferred share, Rs. 12 and Rs. 86 respectively are to be satisfied by issue of bearer deposit certificates with interest at 3 per cent per annum redeemable at the Company's option within three years. In explanation of this arrangement, the Directors observe :

As a result of recent developments in the war situation and the proximity of the nearest theatre of war, the situation is fraught with serious possibilities, which if they materialised even partially, would imperatively necessitate the conservation of the Company's financial resources to the maximum possible extent. Apart from this factor, transport difficulties, A. R. P. measures and various restrictions consequent on the war have begun to interfere considerably with the transport of raw materials and finished goods and production. If the situation were to become worse in the future, even though, as is earnestly hoped, the more serious circumstances mentioned above do not arise, the position of the Company would be seriously affected. In the face of such uncertainties it is the duty of the Company to prepare itself for a possible emergency by conserving its resources and by keeping its borrowing powers unimpaired.

NATIONAL WAR FRONT LEADERS.

We have received a list of names and addresses of leaders and directors of the National War Front in the districts. Gentlemen in the district list are known as leaders and those in the city list as directors. There are twenty-five district leaders: two for Ahmedabad, three for Ahmednagar, two for Belgaum, two for Thana, and one for each of the other districts. Bombay city has ten office-holders besides the provincial leader, Mr. R. P. Masani. Citizens desiring to help are requested to communicate direct with the leaders or directors of their respective areas.

Backward Classes Hostel :—Grants-in-aid of Rs. 7,912 for the current year and Rs. 6,840 for every subsequent year have been sanctioned by the Bombay Government for the opening of a new hostel for backward class students receiving collegiate and technical education in Bombay. The Hostel will be opened by the Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh in collaboration with the Depressed Class Mission Society, Bombay, and the existing hostel run by this Society will merge into the new hostel.

Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs :—The Oxford University Press announce the publication this month of the first four titles in a new series of pamphlets on Indian Affairs, which aim at providing a background to the many problems which have soon to be faced and solved. No. 1. "The Cultural Problem," is made up of five contributions from members of the major communities of the country. No. 2. "The Economic Background" also contains contributions from five economists. The other two titles announced are "Indian States," by Sardar K. M. Panikar and "Democracy in India" by Dr. A. Appadorai. No. 2. "The Position of Women," by Vijayalakshmi Pandit, and many other titles are in preparation. Single pamphlets, 32pp. 4 annas each. Double pamphlets, 64pp. 8 annas each.

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Office:—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 18, 1942. No. 46.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

<p>Need for a Long View. Mr. Amery's Illusion. The Congress Resolution. Unanimous Decision? Dr. B. B. Ambedkar. Evacuee Allowances. Polyandry in Bombay. The Breakdown of the Colonial System.</p>	<p>The Government, the Soldier and the Press. Cost of Living. The Lease-Lend Tangle. Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar. Communal Swimming-Pool. Letters of B. J. Padshah. Indians in Durban.</p>
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NOTES.

Need for a Long View:—When the war with Germany started three years ago, the Viceroy might have believed with good reason that he could manage the Indian situation without the co-operation of Indian leaders. His Excellency might have held the same view even when Japan entered the field because the Japanese were not expected to make a stand against the combined might of the United States and Great-Britain. But events have shown that the original optimism in both cases was based on ignorance of conditions in the enemy countries. In consequence the effects of the war are beginning to be felt in layers of Indian society and psychology to which the Viceroy has no access and about which the Government in New Delhi has never shown much concern. Orders have been and are being issued almost every day impinging on the intimate life of the people. Last week we had some comments on the order about billeting. There are other orders about taking over landed property and residential property. Necessities of life, such as salt, food grains and kerosine oil, are not obtainable by the poor in parts of the country. The assumption seems to be that the Government of India is in the same relation to the Indian people as the British Government is to the people of the British Isles. A little reflection will show that this assumption does not rest on a factual foundation. The British Government is continuous with British society and the forces which act on British society, also operate on the British Government. Mr. Winston Churchill and His Majesty the King himself are constantly under the blaze of British public opinion. In India, Lord Linlithgow, the Governors of provinces and the high officials are entirely out of touch with the daily life of the people, their hopes and fears. Recent instances may be mentioned to show how complete is the gulf which divides them from the people whom they rule over. What is worse is that they are ignorant of their ignorance.

The public is asked to do this and to do that and the people obey because obedience to authority is ingrained in the Indian character. It is quite another matter when people are told to think this way and that way, to believe this and not to believe that. A man's thoughts and beliefs are not controlled by his will, much less by the will of others. The conditions must be there which spontaneously create the belief or plant the idea in men's minds. Mere intellectual assent which is all that authority can exact, does not govern conduct. Neither can fear of punishment, whether by an existing or a foreign power, lead to anything more than simulation or dissimulation. The sentiments of the people are as important as the conclusions of reason. The latter, indeed, seldom influence the conduct even of most educated men. Conclusions of reason would show that war, any war, is the most irrational proceeding in which intelligent beings can engage. Every people are entitled to cherish their own sentiments and no people should attempt to foist their sentiments on other peoples. The present situation demands deep thinking. The usual methods of Indian administration, to take new powers whenever confronted by a new situation, can no longer be relied upon. The crucial point is, how much trust there is between the British and the Indian peoples. The true policy is strenuously to work to augment this trust and to avoid every step which might diminish it. Is this being realised sufficiently?

Mr. Amery's Illusion:—Mr. Amery may lay the flattering unction as thick as he pleases to his soul that he is controlling the working of the Indian political machine on the lines of his own deliberate choice. But this is far from being the case. Every day new forces are coming into play and not the framework only but the foundation of the Indian system is yielding to the enormous pressure exerted on it by circumstances as much beyond Mr. Amery's control as the motions of the planets. He is merely the fly on the wheel, which imagines that it is the driving force. One single fact alone has implications which should be obvious even to a smugly self-complacent being like Mr. Amery. The defence of India is no longer a jealously guarded privilege of Britain. Foreign aid has had to be invoked and secured on the understanding that it is forthcoming

because the defence of India concerns the United States and China and the twenty-four other Allied nations as much as Great Britain. Some time back the Netherlands Indies representative in Washington confided to Washington pressmen that he was considering whether the expedition to reconquer the lost territories should start from India or Australia as its base. Twenty-five Allied nations seem to regard the twenty-sixth as being at their disposal so far at least as the present war is concerned. That sentiment is likely to affect the future of India much beyond the conclusion of hostilities. Every action has its reaction and the reactions of the cooperation of foreign powers in the defence of India during the war will be profound and far-reaching.

The Congress Resolution:—The resolution of the Congress Working Committee which was released to the press on Wednesday, is a demand for independence as a condition for support to the war effort. It is addressed at the British Government, to the United Nations and the All India Congress Committee which is to meet on August 7. It seems to suggest a further step to be taken by the A. I. C. C. The demand is an ultimatum but there is no time-limit attached to it. The resolution asks for the withdrawal of the British power from control in India, offering in return the full co-operation of this country; it declares Congress anxiety not to come in the way of the United Nations though it is impatient for national freedom; it tells Britain that with all the goodwill in the world it is unable to pursue longer its declared policy of non-embarrassment. This policy, it declares, had been adopted in the hope that its *bona fides* would be appreciated and "real power transferred to popular representatives;" that "nothing would be done to tighten Britain's stranglehold on India." This was not why Gandhiji advocated the adoption of a policy of non-embarrassment, though it might be the cause for now giving it up. Non-embarrassment was advocated because it was not considered proper for a satyagrahi to strike his adversary when he was in difficulties. There is nothing in the resolution itself to show that Britain is "tightening her stranglehold" unless the statement that she was not relaxing her hold might be considered equivalent to tightening. It is obvious that this resolution is the fruit of the Cripps Mission from which a section of the Congress evidently hoped for much and was grievously disappointed. But the suggestion that the people of India are now feeling "a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms" is a piece of political jugglery unworthy of men with any claim to leadership. The Working Committee has the affrontery to suggest that, because of this development, it is considering action. It has been said that Pandit Nehru and the Congress President who were both closely involved in the Cripps negotiations, were working with Gandhiji to change the original draft as presented by him.

There is little to show their hand but it is not unfair to conclude that this clause owes its presence to them. It is an unfortunate inclusion. The hint is thrown out that a mass agitation will ensue if the demands are not granted. When a section of the Congress pressed desperately for mass action in 1940, Gandhiji declared himself opposed to it and was resolute in his determination to keep the agitation symbolic. What has happened now to change him? First, from the British point of view, never was Britain more hard-pressed than now and, if, at any period, satyagraha dictated non-embarrassment to the Government, surely that moment is now. From the point of view of India, there is the menace of Japan and, with the present phase of the battle in Russia, increasing stress on the West. Internally, there is the recrudescence of violence, in Sind on an organised scale from the Hurs and in the ominous Simla train dacoity; there is otherwise also considerable hardship with rising prices. From the Congress point of view, the party has been shaken by the Rajagopalachari agitation, the Munshi defection, and the retirement of a few leaders for reasons of health from politics. Mr. Jinnah has been neither satisfied nor coerced into silence; whatever his difficulties, they arise from outside the Congress. Even as a party decision, the contemplated agitation is ill-timed and out of place. The circumstances which worked against mass movements in 1940, are more acutely present today. Only one change is evident, the Viceroy's expansion of his Executive Council. And national considerations should rather work to persuade Congressmen to stay their hand and give these men the same chance they were willing to give the old system. The anxiety to act now shown cannot but convey the impression that the Congress High Command fears that otherwise it will be left out of the political field for the next few years. If this is so, let it be openly admitted, instead of seeking shelter behind the pretence of averting the corruption of the Indian people.

Unanimous Decision?—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in an interview to the press has declared that the resolution of the Working Committee was unanimously adopted. He denied that it was an ultimatum. Gandhiji, however, has said that there is no room for negotiation as it was open rebellion. The resolution itself is too lengthy to be consistent and it bears on its face the signs of acute differences. The Maulana claimed the credit of impressing on Gandhiji the importance of accepting armed resistance to aggression as Congress official policy. Gandhiji still speaks the language of non-violence. Can it be that once again there is grave and fundamental misunderstanding among Congress leaders? The last time it was Rajaji whose interpretation held the field against Gandhiji who had framed the resolution. Today Rajaji is out of Congress politics.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:—Speaking at a demonstration in honour of his appointment as a

Member of the Governor-General's Expanded Executive Council, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar observed, that his appointment was the result of organised political agitation and that the Depressed Classes should not relax their struggle for a share of political power in the government of the country. But for political agitation there would have been no expansion of the Executive Council and, if there were no expansion, Dr. Ambedkar would not have been nominated. It is evident that the larger political agitation had at least as much to do with his appointment as, perhaps more than, the feeble movement among the Depressed Classes only. If the national movement collapses owing to the mistakes of its leaders or owing to the intransigence of groups intent on advancing their own special interests, the Depressed Classes by themselves will not be able to sustain the position which they have gained. The best thing which they can do in their own interest, is to recognize that they are no longer Depressed Classes and work for the progress of the country as Indians. Dr. Ambedkar said that much was expected of him but much of what he could accomplish depended on his colleagues in the Council. His colleagues are most unlikely to oppose any well-considered proposal which he may bring forward for the advancement of the depressed classes, provided it does not involve any hardship or disadvantage to the general population. On the contrary, he will have their warm support. Among his colleagues is the man who, by a stroke of his pen, removed the ban on the entry of the Depressed Classes into Hindu temples in the most conservative Hindu State in the country. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar did this not as a departure from but as the perfect fulfilment of the spirit of the Hindu religion. Dr. Ambedkar in his earlier career was as keen on temple entry as the more religious-minded representatives of the Depressed Classes. He may not be so keen about it now. But all the same, it remains a magnificent gesture on the part of Hinduism which has so far been the major theme of Dr. Ambedkar's oratory, and denunciation of Hindus is likely to fall flat on a Council which numbers Sir Ramaswami Aiyar as one of its members. The other members, too, are sure to support Dr. Ambedkar's proposals for the betterment of the condition of the masses. It is necessary to say this because of Dr. Ambedkar's remark which is calculated to throw by anticipation the blame for failure on his part on his colleagues. Dr. Ambedkar starts on his office with the goodwill of all classes of his countrymen and it is for him to respond to it worthily.

Evacuee Allowances :—We commented last week on the statement made by the Hon. Mr. Aney at a Press Conference during his recent visit to Allahabad touching on complaints of discrimination among evacuees from Burma based on racial origin. Since his return to New Delhi, a further statement has

been issued. According to this, henceforth advances to be made to evacuees will be proportionate to their economic status in Burma before they migrated from the country, irrespective of racial origin or descent. The European will get even under this rule more than the Indian because all the higher-paid jobs in Burma were monopolised by them. Many of them seem to enjoy what is almost a preferential right to fill up vacancies or newly-created posts under the Government of India. Nevertheless, the new rule is distinctly better than the discriminatory arrangements which prevailed until now. One sentence in the communique rather puzzles us. It is stated that "the truth is that allowances payable to European refugees from war areas had been fixed by His Majesty's Government long before any question of Indian refugees arose." Does this mean that His Majesty's Government hoped, wished or intended that Indians in war areas would continue to remain there under the Japanese regime and that only Europeans would have to leave the enemy-occupied country?

Polyandry in Bombay :—*The Reformer* has repeatedly called attention to the dangerously unsatisfactory nature of the Arya Marriage Act. Beyond defining the Aryas as a class of Hindus, the Act leaves the question whether a particular person marrying under the Act is a *bona fide* member of the Arya Samaj or has only assumed that character for the purpose of availing himself or herself of the sanction of the Act for a marriage which cannot be lawfully contracted under other existing laws. Bigamous marriages have been contracted under the Arya Marriage Act many of which could not be valid if contracted under the Hindu Law or any of the Special Marriage Acts. In a recent case which came before the Additional Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Kantilal Thakore, a polyandrous marriage was accidentally averted when the Arya rites were about to be performed, by a casual visitor who knew that the woman was already married. The President of the Bombay Arya Samaj deposed that the marriage did not take place by the timely recognition of the bride as a married woman. He thereupon told the parties that he would not solemnise such a marriage as it was illegal and against the canons of morality. There is no statutory form but the Arya Samaj, it seems, has a form which the parties have to fill up. The President of the Arya Samaj said that the woman when questioned by him declared that she was unmarried. It is high time that the Act was amended so as to make it impossible for similar incidents. Apart from the Arya Samaj, polyandrous marriages seem to be a sort of trade. The same Magistrate had another case before him in which a woman was alleged to have been married to four husbands. Commercialism has reduced the sacrament of marriage to a marketable commodity.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 18, 1942.

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.

The events which occurred just prior to the fall of Malaya and Burma, such of them as are generally known, have given serious cause for reflection to all thoughtful students of political institutions in the British Empire. In South Africa, speaking at a Rotary lunch at Durban, the centre of racialism, Mr. Justice Broome who presided over the Commission on Indian penetration in Transvaal and Natal, drew the following striking conclusions:

The time has come for us to face the fact that a very large proportion of our population has no say at all in the way the country is run. We must give these people a stake in the country if we are to rely on them. Unless the Indian population of South Africa is given a stake in the country, the Union is faced with grave danger. The danger is that where there were a people in a country who lived there without any ties, such as a hand in the government, such people became indifferent as to who were their masters. To them one master was as good as another. This lesson had been learnt in Malaya and in Burma. The Indian question, though confined principally to Natal, was actually a national one.

The picture is completed by "P. T. B." in an illuminating article on "The Fall of Malaya," in the *Political Quarterly*, London, where he observes:

In the Netherlands East Indies, a Eurasian actually became Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces which have since proved no less successful against the Japanese than did the British troops. It is certain that nobody ever considered even the possibility of a Eurasian rising to high military rank in Malaya. The first French colonial possession to join General de Gaulle was Chad, the Governor of which was 100 per cent African, a fact, which has never been unduly stressed in Britain, much less in Malaya.

This is exactly what the Congress Working Committee resolution which has been released this week and is awaiting acceptance by the All India Congress Committee on August 7, intends to say on the positive side, in its maze of 1,700 words. That, in effect, is what the national demand boils down to. Unfortunately, several side-issues have distracted leaders from a direct statement of the case, not the least being vacillation between violence and non-violence, and the necessity of impressing on nervous officials the determination and anxiety of India as a whole to fight the Nazis, the Fascists, the Japanese, etc. The colonial system has broken down at the first touch. What is to take its place or are we to continue with the old methods? To get a clear idea of what is needed, it is useful to fix attention on what was lacking. And "P. T. B.", in spite of his defence of the Malayan planter, of the Malayan bureaucrat, and his distrust of the Indian, has given a clear presentation of the position.

The most serious defect was the lack of contact between various sections of the population and between most of them and the

Government. To explain it in familiar terms, a system of caste had developed in Malaya. Sir Edward Blunt says in his *Castes of Northern India* that men know very little about castes other than the ones in which they find themselves. Whether this is true of India or not, in Malaya a position had arisen in which it was possible for a statement to be issued suggesting that "British soldiers experienced great difficulty in distinguishing the Japanese from the Tamils, Malayas and the local Chinese." This could only be possible if something not very different from the Nazi race theory was existent in Malaya. "P. T. B." says the Australian attitude was, if anything, worse. In three spheres this situation showed tragic consequences. In the field of recruitment, the Straits Settlements Volunteer Force was thrown open only in October 1941 to non-Europeans, and then, "several days after the original request for volunteers was made, only one volunteer offered his services." During 1940 and 1941, Europeans of military age were called up for military training and 'commercial firms put in very frequent applications for exemption of their employees.' "P. T. B." says that a good number of these applications were refused but invariably after protracted negotiation. Then in the business world, the two prosperous commercial communities, the Whites and the Chinese, both opposed all attempts to impose direct taxation. Eventually an Income-Tax of 8 per cent on the highest incomes was levied. In the matter of the "scorched earth" policy, failure to discuss and carefully plan action with the aid of "the more enlightened elements of the business world" made preparations inadequate. "In all its dealings with business, the Government exhibited a lamentable lack of firmness." Last but not least comes labour. The construction of fortifications, shelters and the like could easily have been carried out with the vast amount of labour available. Even if the Asiatic population of Malaya was ignored—and "P. T. B." asserts that there was no reason to do so since they were not hostile to the Government—Java, with the increasingly friendly attitude of the Netherlands Indies, could have made good the shortage. Government in demanding the services of European employees of commercial firms could have asked the firms to substitute Asiatics for Europeans, even though British rule in Malaya was "particularly defective in the failure to admit non-Europeans to executive and administrative posts." "P. T. B." who urges the association of Asiatics in responsible positions with Government, himself reveals the mind which prevents this association. He shares the fear that employment of Asiatics might bring in the danger of fifth column activities. Why should this fear exist? As Mr. Broome has pointed out in the paragraph quoted at the outset, the best guarantee against defeatism is to confer responsibility and share power. The general

trend of "P. T. B.'s" article is also in this direction. The writer obviously knows Malaya. Does the prejudice he shows against Indians, prevail generally there among the ruling race? We remember that Mr. Mallal observed in Bombay that Sir Shinton Thomas, the Governor, refused to allow Indians to form a volunteer force even after other non-Europeans had been permitted to do so. And "P. T. B." shows greater trust in the Chinese.

There is another defect which "P. T. B." touches on, which is equally serious: That is the tendency to over-optimism and bluff on the part of the bureaucracy, its confidence in its ability to handle any situation and its suspicion of all criticism. He gives a representative but by no means exhaustive selection of the various statements made on Malaya by high-placed officials which were falsified on the first attack. He mentions that one reason for the business community's slow response to the needs of the situation was that it accepted the assurances of the Government. Then he goes on to discuss the daily communiques. "The standards of the Command," he writes, "were also reflected in the daily communiques, which reached the lowest level attained even during the present war, and their confused and misleading nature only served to discredit those responsible for them. The statements of the Singapore spokesman were also worse in every respect even than those of his colleague or colleagues in Cairo." "P. T. B." somewhat ingenuously remarks that the Administration was not inefficient; he praises the junior offices for their ability and places the blame on men in the higher and highest posts. By implication this suggests that a few changes at the top would remedy the trouble. We are not so confident. There were occasions in several places in Malaya where any young official who had the initiative, could have asserted himself. That the Civil Service was efficient and honest, does not imply that it was capable of bearing the heavy burden that the war put on it. The truth is that the system controlled from mains which are thousands of miles away, kills initiative. How efficient or informed that centre is, is revealed by "P. T. B.'s" quotation of the Deputy Leader's reference to Malaya in the House of Commons as covering a vast area. As a matter of fact, it is less than Great Britain. The only certain remedy is to give greater power to the units of the Empire. Nothing can be a more damning condemnation of the present system than the following paragraph:

Local conditions should have provided some relief from the worst effects of inferiority in the air. In Malaya, and especially in Northern Malaya, the ground afforded, or should have afforded, a substantial measure of cover and of opportunities for camouflage. This potential advantage, however, never materialised, as apparently the Japanese knew the country far better than their opponents.....The dense jungle forests and, to a less extent, the large areas planted with rubber offered much opportunity for skilful concealment from air attack, while the innumerable rivers and creeks of Western Malaya, together with substantial

areas of swamp, restricted the use of armoured vehicles to certain well-defined areas, thus simplifying the task of the defending forces.....In actual fact the defenders seemed to confine themselves to the main road, while the Japanese made full use of estate roads and jungle paths.

The Government, the Soldier and the Press:—
The letter which the Government of India have sent to the President of the Editors' Conference in reply to the resolution of the Conference on the behaviour of troops, has been published. There is a misunderstanding on one point and that is where Government "appreciate the call to Editors for moderation in the views they express regarding such incidents." We hope that there is no difference in view between even the Government of India and the press on this subject. There can be moderation in reporting. Surely the matter of comment might be left to Editors themselves. It is not the function of the Editors' Conference to control opinion. As for the action Government propose, curiously it proceeds right through on the assumption that the reports will be wrong and the Press to blame; and tells the President solemnly that they will take action first to check publication of "irresponsible stories and allegations" by amending the Defence of India Rules which has been done, and, secondly, if investigation by the military authorities assisted by a civil official proves the allegation false, the Government will proceed against the newspaper. This assurance was unnecessary as it was to be expected. The Bombay Government showed a much more responsible attitude when it assured the public by making known the measures it was taking to ensure good behaviour among the troops.

Cost of Living:—The figures given in the June number of the *Labour Gazette* for the rise in the cost of living for working classes in Bombay City make interesting reading. All food grains, except wheat, showed a rise in June over May's figures from (patni rice) twenty-five points to (jowari) two points. Wheat fell by four points. Milk and the cooking oils (sweet and cocanut) rose by twenty to twenty-five points. It is noteworthy that, while the price of the commodity, tea, went up by twenty-seven points, the beverage tea remained at same level. Betel-nut unaccountably shot up sixty points. Bidis have been steady. Some articles are more affected in their crude form than in the more refined state, like sugar. What is called raw sugar is jaggery which is quite a different commodity to the sugar in general use. Only dire straits can make one do service for the other. The basic price (100) is taken for the year July 1933 to June 1934; and in comparison to the figures prevailing then, the cost of living today for the working classes in the city shows a tremendous rise.

THE LEASE-LEND TANGLE.

It is announced that Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member of the Government of India, has left on a short visit to England to discuss certain problems arising out of the working of the financial settlement relating to war expenditure. With him has left Sir T. Gregory who has written, in association with Mr. M. W. M. Yeatts, an illuminating pamphlet describing the provisions of Lease-Lend and their working. This lends colour to the surmise of the New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* that India's position under the Lease-Lend Agreement might require reconsideration during the Finance Member's visit to London, "as also the whole arrangement between the War Office and the Government of India regarding the allocation of war expenditure incurred by the Government of India." The correspondent also foreshadowed the possibility of Sir Jeremy Raisman being appointed Financial Adviser to watch the interests of His Majesty's Government if the Government of India should become completely Indianised. The Government of India has not become completely Indianised and the contingency of the Finance Member of the Government of India being appointed to watch the interests of His Majesty's Government, does not arise immediately. It may arise later, though to set an erstwhile guardian of India's Finance to watch the interests of His Majesty's Government when an Indian becomes Finance Member, is decidedly intriguing. An ex-Finance Minister would be more appropriately employed to watch Indian interests in London. Perhaps the *Hindu* correspondent has got mixed up in his attempt at an intelligent anticipation of events. Both the arrangement with the War Office and the vagueness of the obligations of India under the "Lease Lend Act" (Americans prefer to call it "Lend Lease") were briefly but clearly indicated by the Hon. N. R. Sarker in a speech in Calcutta some time back. The arrangement involved His Majesty's Government contributing about two-thirds of India's war expenditure. What India's war expenditure should be was left uncertain. We suggested that the whole of India's expenditure minus her normal expenditure on the Army should be borne by the British Government. If Sir Jeremy should succeed in persuading the British Government to do this, he will be making the financial position of India in more rational accord with the conditions in which the war broke out and those in which it is being conducted. As regards the Lease and Lend Agreement referred to by the *Hindu* correspondent, it is evidently the Agreement between Britain and the United States signed recently. India has no special Agreement and is at present conducting her Lease-Lend operations under the British-American Agreement. In the circumstances, it is necessary to ensure either by a separate Agreement with the United States or by definite arrangements with the British Government that the Lease-Lend benefits accruing in respect of India's requirements, should be credited to India.

Indian and British military administration has been a perennial source of confusion. This has been aggravated by Sir Stafford Cripps' recent argument that the Indian Army is organised and maintained as a part of the British Army and that it has no independent existence. The Lord Privy Seal put this forward as a reason why the control of Army affairs in India should not be entrusted to an Indian Defence Member. The appointment of a Defence Member, though in a restricted sphere, cuts the ground from beneath Sir Stafford Cripps' argument. It shows that the authorities in Britain have not seen their way to accept it wholly, for the reason, among others, that it

may lead to a fresh agitation on behalf of Indian army expenditure being more largely, if not entirely, borne by the overburdened British tax-payer. The Lease-Lend transactions are a new complication.

The Lease-Lend idea itself involves a contradiction. "We are not," declared President Franklin Roosevelt, "furnishing this aid as an act of charity or sympathy but as a means of defending America." The fundamental purpose of the Act is to help countries whose defence the President deems vital to the defence of the United States. In other words, Lease-Lend is a part of the Defence system of the United States. It would follow that the financial involvements of it should be a charge on the United States. This is not, however, the case. The Act provides for the return by the countries taking advantage of the Lease-Lend arrangements of the benefits received in such manner and at such time as the President may prescribe. The President may altogether excuse any particular country at his discretion. If a private individual incurs a debt, the amount and term of repayment is fixed and beyond these he incurs no obligations. But the Lend-Lease policy leaves everything to the discretion of the President. Even if a khaki election gives Mr. Franklin Roosevelt a fourth term, public opinion in the States is as much subject to the swing of the pendulum as public opinion in other countries. It is almost an axiom resting on an exact appreciation of the laws governing the working of the mass mind, that the head of a Government which wages even a successful war, is cast aside at the end of it. Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson are outstanding instances. The Lease-Lend arrangements are sure to involve much greater confusion and bitterness than the American War loans in the last War. But that is not what should cause most anxiety to Indian leaders at present. The immediate question is whether the United States can require, and Great Britain undertake to oblige, India to provide raw materials in return for the benefits of the Lease-Lend operations. Both the United States and Great Britain are predominantly industrial countries and their manufactures are nearly in the same lines. Great Britain needs raw materials herself from Asia, Africa and Australasia. If she has to repay Lease-Lend aids in raw materials, she will have to require her colonies and possessions to intensify their agriculture at the expense of their own industrial requirements. How can this situation be avoided? India would expect Sir Jeremy Raisman to discuss this question with the British Government and, if possible, to arrive at a definite decision. The official view at present seems to be that India will have to pay every pie of the price of the Lease-Lend aid which may be extended to her, either to the United States or to Britain through which India gets it. This practically means that India is as much out of the Lease-Lend as of the Atlantic Charter. Let us know where we stand.

The Bank of India Limited :—The transactions of the past six months have resulted in a profit of Rs. 11,70,417-4-3 from which sum has to be deducted Rs. 2,00,000/- for Income Tax and Super Tax, leaving a net profit of Rs. 9,70,417-4-3 for the half year ended 30th June 1942. To this amount has to be added Rs. 9,41,655-1-0 brought forward from the last account making a total of Rs. 19,12,072-5-3. This sum the Directors have disposed of as follows :—In payment of an ad-interim dividend at the rate of eleven percent per annum (Rs. 2/12/- per share) free of Income Tax, on the paid up capital of Rupees one crore for the half year ended 30th June 1942 which will absorb Rs. 5,50,000/- carried forward to the next account Rs. 13,62,072-5-3.

SIR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR.

Though rumour had anticipated Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's nomination to the War Cabinet in London, it was with some surprise that I received the official announcement of it. One of the cruellest calamities which can befall a Hindu parent had recently fallen to his lot. He would naturally have felt the utmost reluctance to leave his family without the solace of his presence, which nothing else can provide. Family ties sit loose on the British and they are, therefore, unable to understand the hold which they have on their Indian fellow-subjects. The novel arrangement by which Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar remains a Member of the Executive Council while being absent in London as a Member of the War Cabinet, I suspect, is Lord Linlithgow's way of softening the pang of separation from his family to his colleague. For, whatever else may be lacking in the Viceroy, consideration for the sentiments, even vanities, of his colleagues, is not one of them. Why was it necessary to send Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and him alone to the War Cabinet? He is not an expert in military strategy. Sir Feroze Khan Noon or Sardar Jogendra Singh would have done quite as well as members of the War Cabinet as of the Executive Council, and they would as scions of "martial races" have inspired some awe among their colleagues from the Dominions.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar is perhaps the keenest mind among the Executive Councillors, and his departure will be a distinct loss to Government both in administrative capacity and debating power. During three years, Sir Ramaswami, as he claimed with justice in one of his farewell speeches in Madras the other day, has mastered the complexities of the Commerce Department, established contacts with industrialists in all parts of the country and formulated a programme which would have fully covered the remaining two years of his tenure of Commerce Membership and might have even necessitated an extension. The advisory committees which he has created are so numerous that one involuntarily thinks of the old rhyme,

There was an old woman who lived in a shoe,
She had so many children she did not
know what to do,
She gave them some broth without any
bread

And whipped them all soundly, and sent them to bed.

How would they fare without their parent? The more one thinks of it, the more is one puzzled why Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar should have been selected for the War Cabinet. Perhaps, suggests a wag, it was felt that there would be no room for two Ramaswami's even in the much expanded Cabinet. Two South Indians would be too many for the comfort of other provinces, although two Central Provinces men were tolerated and two mountainous Punjab turbans will be conspicuous in future meetings of the Executive Council.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar in his Madras speech naturally spoke of his new office as the highest in status and of its responsibilities as overwhelming. Membership of the War Cabinet was conceded during the last war to India and there were two Indians, as now a Maharaja and an eminent British Indian, in the War Cabinet of the day. The present War Cabinet is a much more compact body but, I doubt, if the Indian Members will have any more influence in it than the Indian members of the last War Cabinet. It may be recalled that the Prime Minister's response to the suggestion of an Indian representative at the War Cabinet this time was more grudging than eager. If the Government of India chose to send a representative they may do

so, was all that he said. He, it is clear, did not think that, without an Indian representative, the War Cabinet would be seriously hampered in its work.

Then there is the Secretary of State for India, Sir Ramaswami's old boss, who will naturally expect that the Indian member, once his adviser, should now be advised by him. The expectation will be difficult to resist, and if it is resisted, Mr. Amery has simply to send a cable to the Viceroy to instruct the Indian delegate to adopt a certain position on any particular issue. It is most unlikely that matters will be allowed to come to that point. The Prime Minister as the Chairman of the Cabinet has ample powers which he will exercise, with the support of the Dominion representatives, to snub the Indian Oliver Twist if he dares to ask for more than the crumbs which fall from the Cabinet table. There are no doubt twelve Indian members in the Executive Council but will they stand up for Sir Ramaswami against the Viceroy and the Secretary of State?

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar had a warm reception in Madras, with whose public activities he has been closely associated for many years. His defeat at the first General Elections for the Indian Legislative Assembly under the Government of India Act of 1935 by Mr. Satyamurthi was a bitter blow but failures are often stepping-stones to greater success. Sir Ramaswami would not have accepted the non-descript post of Adviser to the Secretary of State for India and expatriated himself from the scene of his life-work but for the dejection consequent on the failure to get into the Legislative Assembly where, he was sure of a brilliant political career. But the Advisorship led to his being nominated a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and friends and opponents acknowledge that his work there has been distinguished by considerable ability and grasp of complicated questions. Madras has good reason to be proud of him.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar also enjoyed being in the midst of his boyhood scenes and among friends and in reply to the addresses presented to him spoke of his work in the Council without undue modesty. There was one subject, however, which he would have done well to avoid as highly controversial and unsuitable for ventilation on an occasion when the goodwill of all classes was needed to support him in his new career. It is his attitude to the automobile industry. In the opening sentences, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar indulged in the sententious observation that it was opportunity that made a man. Opportunity also unmade a man. If, as Sir Ramaswami remarked, the line between success and failure was very thin, that between opportunity and temptation was even thinner. Opportunity by itself can neither make nor unmake a man. It is the man who must decide whether what comes in his way is an opportunity he should grasp or a temptation which he should resist. Jesus, had he yielded to the temptations which assailed him in the wilderness, or Buddha, to those which Mara offered what time he sat under the Bodhi tree determined to discover the cause of human misery and the means of avoiding it, might have had what the contemporary world would have called success but they would not have had the larger success of being revered by after-generations as saviours of humanity.

To return to Sir Ramaswami's apologia about the automobile industry. Owing to Sir M. Visvesvaraya's courtesy, I was in touch from the first up to the time of its taking shape as a practical project with the various phases of its incubation. And I may say that I never knew a project planned with greater care and after longer preparation

than Sir Visvesvaraya's scheme. He travelled all over the world visiting the important automobile factories. He spent days and nights over the information he had collected. His original scheme was revised and re-revised several times in the light of new information and the suggestions of friends. Sir Ramaswami's description of it in the light of what I know of the labours which had gone to make the scheme, strikes me as a travesty. Of course, it was not a full-fledged scheme for manufacturing motor vehicles by the thousands. If I remember, the promoters were confident of being able to manufacture most parts with the important exception of engines. They wished to make a start with such materials as were available in the country. From the first, my one objection was that, unless they were sure of the backing of a nationally-minded stable government, the whole scheme would have to be scrapped. Sir Visvesvaraya was confident of Government support. He had spoken to high personages in England and they had expressed themselves sympathetically. Great personages in England change their opinions when they have been some time in India. The scheme, as I have said, was incomplete. It could not be complete in the circumstances. The shipping industry in Germany and the Steel industry in the United States, were both started by Government with the co-operation of German and American industrialists. When at the end of the Franco-German war, the shipowners wanted to build their ships in Britain as being cheaper and more durable, Bismarck thumped his table and said he would be hanged if they did not place their orders in Hamburg. Sir Ramaswami practically condemns the scheme as a fraud upon the taxpayers. On two points Sir Ramaswami's remarks have to be corrected. It is not true that the details of the scheme were not published. They were. And the Bombay Government, presumably after careful consideration of it, had undertaken to guarantee the interest on a large share of the capital. If Sir Ramaswami found it was not as satisfactory as it might be, it was his duty to point out to the promoters how and in what respect it might be improved. When the full story of the fate of the automobile project comes to be told, Sir Ramaswami, I am afraid, will not come out as lightly as his audience might have gathered from his observations. I am sure that his successor, Mr. N. R. Sarker, will take an altogether different view of his duties. Sir Ramaswami's speech only confirms the urgent need for a Member for Production.

RECLUSE.

COMMUNAL SWIMMING-POOL.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your columns of July 4, "Citizen" has criticized the swimming pool recently opened in Bombay and he hopes that it will be handed over to the Municipal Corporation after the war. So far so good, but what should one presume for the Towers of Silence, grave yards and the cremation grounds! Are these places that are connected with communal problem of any less consequence than the recreation grounds or the city roads?

When in B. C. 327, Alexander the Great had come to invade us, there did not exist other religions like Islam and Christianity but all of us were Hindus in Hindustan. The time has come where all the people of Hindustan whose forefathers were Hindus should be proud enough to call themselves Hindus of Hindustan, in spite of their individual

faith and try to purify this land and her children with the help of science and to create good citizens for our future Municipal Corporations.

RAJKOT, }
July 8, 1942. }

Yours etc.,
C. TEJPAL.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright).

JUNE 8, 1932.

London.

The dreaded event has happened; Dorab Tata is dead.

I sail tomorrow for Brazil. I shall be taken ashore at Lisbon and Madeira again, and thence I shall write to you again.

The ending of the Lindbergh baby tragedy is indicative not so much of the world being upside down—all the tragedies which appeal to us have always been, only no one is discerning enough to record them—as of men's conceit in thinking that science and courage make them secure masters of our planet and its events. A machine may run for a while without intelligent guidance; with the greatest intelligence if unremitting watchfulness is absent, there will be disastrous surprises. The political and economic machines show that very clearly. Otherwise, events in Germany or the U. S. collapse of the bubble that poverty had been finally conquered, need not strike us as tragic out of the ordinary. I am not concerning myself with these. Where one is not able to help, one should not join in creating an atmosphere that will hinder. Beauty-spots and the new light on the Quantum Theory keep me well occupied.

Mrs. P. began by calling for the distinction between modest and humble. I had not thought about it at all; but suggested that modesty might be the unconsciousness of a merit, humility might be the consciousness of a defect. Both may cease to be virtues if feigned; mook-modesty and mock-humility deserve no appreciation. Why then is humility even when genuine disparaged? she asked. I presumed that was because the Westerns prize self-help; total helpfulness is increased if each put forth all the effort possible and reasonably directed. But this effort to self-help may become irksome to people not overflowing with strength; and diffidence may become a means to be excused from effort. Over-confidence is undoubtedly to be deprecated; but over-diffidence is even more to be disesteemed and, indeed, to be looked down on as a veil for laziness. Virtue lies, not indeed, in the mean that Aristotle postulated, but in proportionality; overconfidence and overdiffidence without reason are alike irrational. I instanced the case of fear and fearlessness. Fear, when rational, is a warning against danger—discretion is the better part of valour, but it should stir to effort to avert danger—effort of body, mind and will. Fear is a despicable vice when it paralyses effort. Fearlessness, exemption from irrational fears, is a virtue; it can become a vice also despicable.

JUNE 12, 1932.

R. M. S. Hilary.

The ice being broken, conversations with fellow Amazonians enlivened our companionship home. Mrs. Stamenescu a Roumanian (whose cast is British, but whose eyes have a Mongolian turn, and her name of course, is non-British) sat, after breakfast and before excursion, in the music-room opposite my seat where I was reading Dirac. After the customary pointlessnesses, she asked for my book and expressed surprise at my reading it. I called it my refuge from a chaotic world.

I warned the Wedding Guest to beware of the Ancient Mariner. She understood, but there was no need of the warning since we were called to depart for the day's excursion. We discussed the fate of the Roumanian Queen. I blundered with the question how Roumanian women have endured the outrage on Carmen Sylvia and was kindly answered that Carmen Sylvia died years ago, that ex-Queen Helena wanted to be divorced by her husband, and the women of Roumania cannot resent as an outrage what she herself asked for; that her son who had been dethroned by Carol, will continue to be heir-apparent and under his father's care.

The name of the English fellow Amazonian who has his seat by me in the cars, is Mr. Brodrick. He offered me a cigarette; I declined and explained my original Parsi reason, and subsequent reason for economy. I asked if he was connected with Lord Middleton (once Mr. Brodrick, Secretary of State for India.) I understood they were cousins, that Lord Middleton is 76 and had been requested by Government to confer with De Valera from whom he could get nothing. No one could, I urged; a straight conscientious man who had clear-out deliverances from his conscience—what lever is there to move that rigidity?

That started us on the Irish question; it was a pity, Mr. Brodrick thought, that John Redmond had died prematurely; a greater pity was, I suggested, the divorce of Mrs. O'Shea which sent Parnell out of politics. Had Parnell stayed, Gladstone's campaign would have been won, and Ireland been saved from De Valera. And the fellow is not Irish, Mr. Brodrick exclaimed, but a Spaniard. No, Portuguese.

Ireland is dogged by ill-luck ever, said Mr. Brodrick, on the heels of Cosgrave, De Valera.

When I accounted for de Valera's stiff attitudes by pleading his Portuguese origin and lack of Irish humour, I apologised also with the statement that distinguished Irishmen like Bernard Shaw laugh at Englishmen for belief in Irish humour. That is true, said Mr. Brodrick; but Bernard Shaw is a clown!

JUNE 16, 1932.

After Madeira, we are said to enter the region of Trade Winds and Doldrums, the same as during my trip to the West Indies; the Trades cool as we near the Equator, the Doldrums are still waters, and in old days used to bar the progress of sailing ships, as if some Ancient Mariner on them had killed the albatross with his cross-bow. New Portuguese have also joined the ship, even the first saloon, proceeding I suppose to Brazil. The barber says 75% of the passengers he meets on the line, are Portuguese.

There is more animation in the other class; there are more of them in smaller space, and of a race to whom companionableness is instinct.

JUNE 24, 1932.

Para, Brazil.

So I am today in the newest world for me.

Last night, I told a passenger, Mrs. Foster-Smith, on the authority of the barber and of H. E. Tomlinson ("Scars and Jungles") that life at Para is full of risks, Madame Stamenescu confirms that today; she has seen so many cemeteries. On the other hand, Foster-Smith and barber hold that these things were 20 years ago, but are no longer. Why? Is it that the Republic succeeding the empire of Don Pedro, has paid more attention to Sanitation? Not a bit, says the barber. It is the Carnegie or Rockefeller Trust. They have purified the water and cleared the place of noxious insects.

JUNE 25, 1932.

Para, Port.

Today we have been out and seen the city of Belem which is the capital of Para which is only a province of Brazil. Two Cathedrals, one of which was built 22 years ago by Government with slave labour, the other (Nazareth) commenced twenty years ago and being constructed by private subscription, both Roman Catholic and with the usual fulness of stained glass and images, and wealth of spacious ceiling and marbled floor. They not only rewarded our visit, but also brought out the devout worship of some passengers. The Governor's Palace and Secreteriat, a primitive forest preserved as Bosque Park, the Zoological Gardens, with new kinds of coloured birds and monkeys and alligators. We did our trip in a reserved tramway car which caters for tourist parties.

We lunched at the Grand Hotel, thence adjourned to a commercial Museum where uninteresting things are interestingly housed, saw the monument to the new Republic, and thence motored back to ship. The chaplain of the English Church has the reputation of being a distinguished collector whose powerful electric lights attract collection-worthy butterflies. We returned to the doctor, his "History of Philosophy," passed on the newest wireless to our guide, Mr. da Costa.

JUNE 26, 1932.

I was looking even here for monuments of Bolivar which had tired me so in Colombia and Venezuela; I was feeling him the eternal bore that Mark Twain pretended to find in Michaelangelo. But no monuments to Bolivar in Brazil! Why? The guide said Brazil was a Portuguese settlement, and Bolivar liberated Spanish America. It was my stupidity more than his wisdom; but I profitted all the same.

When I went for treatment to Doctor yesterday evening I reported my impression. Doctor said the curl in his hair as well as his dark colour showed a strong negro strain in da Costa; he was very intelligent and may have Portuguese blood in his veins. Wherever the Portuguese settled there they led an army, and expected their men to find wives in the country whose children afterwards became Portuguese citizens—as in Goa, so in Brazil! Brazil is as cosmopolitan a country as any other; traders from Germany and Europe, Egypt and Syria mix with Portuguese, Spaniards and Italians. The barber tells me, Italians make excellent citizens in Brazil; quite a few passengers on this ship were Italians. They are despised in the U. S. as "dagos," or were till the glamour of Mussolini caused them to be respected too. There are the native Indians who seem to hold their own, and there are the liberated slaves, chiefly negro, as in the West Indies. Portuguese blood has mixed with all these alien blood; no distinction of race or colour embarrasses social cohesion. The doctor says the liberation of slaves has been quietly effected; unwilling as they were to be free, to find their own living, the race has adapted itself well to the new situation. 44 years after liberation there lingers no hankering for slavery. Da Costa says life is cheap.....yet wages are high.

JUNE 27, 1932.

On the Amazon.

The forests interest more than I thought they would but I cannot communicate the charm.

The temperature is no higher but today feels warmer, unless one is under the fans. Walks have been pleasant and full; the river's presence and the forests' are felt. For some days one has bathed in river water, reassured by the bathman, unbluffed by its very yellow colour; one has passed from the

Narrows into wider waters, though for the greater part of the time, one at least of the two banks is near.

We have passed today two towns, Santarem and Obidos, the lights of the latter were the only thing seen from the dining-room portholes as we were finishing dinner; lawns, blue waters of some tributary with a clear line between sheep, thatched huts, gigantic trees were visible all along the way; the Captain was pointing out four parrots; the day was full of interest, though I agree with the Captain who tells me a forest from the riverside is a slow affair, it should be done by motor car. If only there were roads or paths. Two huts, separated by a hundred yards, cannot communicate except by the waterway which is very dangerous; the peril is from passing ships whose neighbourhood wrecks native craft, and from alligators who infest the river, who see to it that the human thrown overboard never returns to tell a tale.

Rubber seeds were taken from Brazil to start plantation rubber, until the price of Para rubber does not pay the cost of cultivation; not even Manaos. Brazilian rubber is a speciality; nevertheless, it is or seems dead. The barber knew times before the war when sitting over gingerade or orangeade, one could watch from the Grand Hotel, Para crowds in gorgeous costume and colour, men showing diamonds and women pearl, making a promenade parade and now?

INDIANS IN DURBAN.

We mentioned in reviewing the Broome Commission's report last week on Indian penetration in South Africa that its conclusions were much more hesitant than the premises warranted, particularly with reference to the view that property values depreciated in areas when Indians bought property there. Mr. Justice Broome has, according to a report in *Indian Views* of Durban, made ample amends in a speech at a Rotary lunch in Durban on May 12. He said:

Some people actually believed that Indians were increasing so rapidly that the White race would be swamped. This was not true. In 1921 Indians in Natal actually outnumbered the European population. Today there were 215,500 Europeans as against 202,000 Indians. There were several other popular misconceptions regarding Indians which would have to be put aside before the Indian problem could be investigated. One of them was that in areas where Europeans were gradually leaving and Indians taking their place, the Indians were causing the exodus of the Europeans. Another misconception was that where an Indian bought a house, the adjoining property which might be owned by a European, depreciated in value. Although this accusation had been deeply investigated, no proof of its truth had ever been obtained.

Indian Views gives two other instances which show that there is a growing tendency to challenge the prejudices of the Durban Council. An attempt to get legislation passed to restrict occupation to persons of a particular race or class through registration of servitude upon private properties, was postponed and three Councillors were deputed to approach the provincial Executive at Maritzberg to secure an ordinance. The Executive refused to meet the deputation and, in a letter to the Town Clerk of Durban, explained that it was not prepared to meet the members who sought powers to restrict the occupation of private property to people of a particular race, or to take steps in the matter at the present session of the Council. The second incident is the contesting by an Indian bus company in the Chief Magistrate's Court of the right of the Durban Corporation to restrict the route to be followed by their buses.

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Vol LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 23, 1942. No. 47.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Economic Solidarity without Political Union.	The War in Russia.
Monarchical Reaction.	Dual Impressions.
Too Roseate Picture.	The Congress Resolution.
Ban on Communist Party Lifted.	The Hon. Dr. Ambedkar.
Food Problem in Bardia.	The Rau Committee's Bill on Hindu Succession.
Executive Councillors and Ministers.	The Wardha Resolution.
All India Nationalist League.	Letters of B. J. Padshah.
Congress Paradox.	Scots Who Ha!
	Race Discrimination and Evacuees.

NOTES.

Economic Solidarity without Political Union:— Professor J. S. Ponniah writing in the July *Indian Review* on Japan's New Order for Asia, observes: "This is an ingeniously novel and a daringly original scheme inasmuch as the economic unity of Asia is to be organised within the existing framework of political sovereignties." As Japan has as a preliminary upset political sovereignties in the Far East, the phrase, "within the existing framework of political sovereignties," is not in accord with the actualities of today. What the Professor has in mind, evidently, is Japan's promise to guarantee existing national (not political) boundaries and the independence of the nations within those boundaries. There is nothing novel in this. Several attempts to form economic blocks of politically independent countries have been made in the past. The Zollverein of the German States, the Latin Union with currencies on a common basis, the sterling area and the dollar area are instances of attempts at more or less the same end. In nearly all cases, the members of the blocks became also politically affiliated more or less to the most important country of their own group. Japan has not many original ideas. She is a free borrower from all sides—from Britain in naval, from German in military, and from the United States in industrial, matters. Even as regards a common planning for the whole order, it is not as new as it seems. Though there has been no deliberate planning, countries in all such combinations tend to evolve as complements supplying raw materials to the manufacturing countries of the group. This, in fact, is the main and only object of the economic combination. No modern State wants political control over another except for economic or strategic reasons. The strategic, too, has economic control as its underlying motive. Communications with countries which are economically desirable, often pass through arid territories and these have to be held for strategic reasons. Today, as of old, nations

fight only to satisfy animal needs under the disguise of high-sounding phrases. Japan's New Order is in fact but a very old one garnished in fine phrases. On the same lines more or less are the various schemes of World Order put forward by European and American writers.

Monarchical Reaction:—There has been a steady drift away from hereditary monarchy in many lands during the last thirty years. China, Turkey, Germany, Russia, Spain cast off their monarchical institutions. Is there beginning a swing back towards monarchy? Observers are agreed that there is a revival of religion and that the authoritarian Roman Church is gaining in numbers and influence as against Protestantism with its stress on the rights of the individual's conscience. It will not be surprising if a religious revival is accompanied or followed by a revival of political sentiment in favour of hereditary monarchy. These remarks are prompted by the news this week that General Franco, the Spanish Dictator, is contemplating the restoration of the monarchy and has sought the blessings of the Holy See for his project. He has decreed, the restoration of the Spanish National Anthem of the monarchy, which had been discarded by the short-lived Republic. Hungary may follow. Admiral Horthy rules as Regent for the vacant throne.

Too Roseate Picture:—Sir Shanmukham Chetty's article on India's fighting strength in the April *Foreign Affairs*, rather errs on the side of presenting too roseate a picture of the actual state of things. Sir Shanmukham gives the following as the main factors in the military strength of a country: man-power; supply of food; resources in raw materials; and industrial capacity. He tells the readers of *Foreign Affairs* that India in all four respects is very well-off. Sir Shanmukham since his return would have revised his opinion of India's position as regards the supply of food. "Fortunately," he observes in his article, "India is in a strong position on this score. Not merely is India self-sufficient for feeding the civilian population in wartime but it has surplus food capacity to maintain its armies abroad." Even in peace-time India depended to some extent on imports of rice from Burma. Today rigid measures of control have not kept prices within the means of the masses. On Monday a Bombay Magistrate fined a grocer Rs. 605

for selling a paylee of rice a few annas over the controlled price; in another case, the same day, he remarked that heavy fines have failed to put down profiteering. It was necessary to send offenders to prison. The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker has just warned the country that it should be prepared for a serious shortage in rice and wheat in the coming months. There are some other points in the article which may convey to Americans erroneous ideas of the situation in India. Fortunately, in another article in the same Journal there is a corrective. Writing of Eastern Asia, Mr. Nathaniel Pfeffer devotes a few sentences incidentally to India in order to explain his view of the future of Burma on the conclusion of the war. That, he thinks, will depend very much on the situation in India. It is interesting to note the different estimates of the Indian and the American writers of the visit of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek. To Sir Shanmukham it gave a powerful indication of India's strategic importance in the conflict. Mr. Pfeffer observes: "The visit of Chiang Kai-Shek to India, and his assumption of the role of intermediary between the British and the Indians, is sure to have an enormous influence."

Ban on Communist Party Lifted:—The removal of the ban on the Communist Party by the Government of India which was announced on Thursday morning, removes one of the many anomalies of war time India. The reason given, that that Party had changed its policy, is a very thin one, though it explains the belated reaction of Delhi to international developments. The Government communique makes out that, as the Party had declared its intention of throwing itself into the war effort, "if permitted," the Government has made up its mind to give the Party a chance to prove its worth. The decision would have come with better grace, had the Government based it on the broader principle of the futility of keeping in jail a man who can be more usefully employed elsewhere. Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, himself a Communist once, now Labour Welfare Officer to the Government, has added a commentary to the communique. He hopes that the release which is "timely," will counter Gandhiji's move. There is other evidence too that the Government is collecting all possible support for meeting Congress developments. The National Front has suddenly declared its inability any longer to remain non-political, asserting that it has been forced to this decision by the Congress contemplating action on a mass scale; a "section of the Civic Guards" are to be armed, beginning with those who are already trained to use arms; the War Front itself has been through peculiar changes, from National Front to India's Front and back for the time to National Front: whilst ideologically it seems to be tending towards a pro-Government Front aiming at creating a new party. It is an interesting development and the process by which Communists, Capitalists, Labour Leaders, educationists are brought under one flag, should prove quite daring

for a bureaucracy to attempt. It is significant that this has come about from fear neither of external attack nor of division of the country from within.

Food Problem in Baroda:—In his opening address at the Budget session of the Dhara Sabha, the Dewan of Baroda, Sir V. T. Krishnamacharya, analysed the agricultural position of the State. Farming, he said, can be classed as "self-sufficing" and "commercial." India has as a whole belonged to the "self-sufficing" type. But Baroda belonged to the "commercial." The Dewan brought out the significance of this difference in a few terse sentences. He said:

We are, in fact, one of the least self-sufficing areas of India as can be seen from the large tonnage of food grains we import even when monsoon conditions are completely normal. The self-sufficing farmer providing what he requires and as a rule disposing of his small surplus, usually a mixed collection of grains for which demand is definite, is in an advantageous position. In the case of the commercial farmer specializing in a certain commodity, it may happen that this industrial commodity is not in active demand... Recovery in his case largely depends on his ability to switch over to an alternative form of cropping.

The commercial crops in Baroda are cotton, tobacco, oil seeds (ground-nut and castor) and possibly sugar-cane. The alternate crops now in active demand are the food grains. It seems that in Baroda rice is grown as an interline crop with cotton. It is, therefore, comparatively easy for the farmer to curtail the cotton and increase the paddy production in his fields by extending the interline space. But as a general policy every State should regulate farming even in normal times so as to ensure food supply by restricting the area under cash crops. The Food Front must be permanently secured. It is the first front without which the strongest war front will collapse as it did in Germany in 1918. The German Army was not defeated. It was intact. But the cutting off of the food of the people by the British blockade, made the continuance of the war impossible. Not only Baroda but the rest of India as well has need to make its Food Front secure in order to make the War Front strong.

Executive Councillors and Ministers:—It seems necessary to remind members of the Governor-General's Executive Council that they are not as yet in the same position as Ministers in a British Cabinet. Even the latter recognise an obligation as implicit in their position, to exercise more restraint in their platform speeches than they would have to in the greater freedom and less responsibility of a mere M. P. A Member of the Viceroy's Council by provocative speeches prejudices the public mind not only against himself and his measures but also against the whole Government and all its measures. Concerted action and joint responsibility are meaningless, if every member is free to express what comes uppermost to his lips from moment to moment. The times call for words which heal and

not for words which hurt. We doubt if the statement such as that recently issued by the Hon. Sir Feroze Khan Noon on the Congress resolution does anybody any good. Apart from its propriety, there is the practical objection that no effective reply to it is possible without conveying information which the enemy might find useful. The absence of a reply, therefore, should not be understood to mean that no reply is possible. Sir Feroze has not dealt with the Indian problem or even the Congress resolution in all its aspects, as a member of a Government not responsible to a representative legislature, is bound in honour to do.

All India Nationalist League :—The second session of the All India Nationalist League is to meet in Poona at the end of this month. The League, it is explained, has been started to afford a platform for a large number of Congressmen who have increasingly felt it difficult to accept the orientation of Congress policy under Gandhiji's guidance. The Congress, intended to be a political body working for political ends, "is now more a spiritual and metaphysical conclave, dealing with matters unconnected with India's political freedom." Gokhale wished to "spiritualize politics" and we think ourselves that politics without spiritual inspiration is plain ditchwater. The term "spiritual" in connection with present Congress policy is a misnomer. Metaphysical, of course, it is not except in a very superficial sense. "Non-violence" is as much a material concept as violence, just as gas is as much matter as granite. Spirit is positive not negative. Its manifestations are not to be judged by the amount of violence or non-violence they involve but from their effects on our moral as well as material environment. Gandhiji himself put forward non-violence with the specific object of countering the political revolutionary movement which used bombs and revolvers as its principal weapons. He succeeded in overcoming that movement. Not content with this he has since elevated non-violence to the position of a dogma which Congressmen are expected at least outwardly to accept. Many Congressmen have accepted it without seriously thinking of carrying it out in practice. We want politics to be spiritualised, which is the only means of keeping it clean. But to load it with a number of scrupulosities which have no inward significance, as distinguished from scruples which have their roots in the moral consciousness, is to weaken it, to make it unspiritual. The All India Nationalist League by rejecting spiritual influences as being outside politics, is making politics worse, not better. The strength of the Gandhian Congress is just this notion that it is a spiritual movement. And speaking for ourselves, we are not predisposed in favour of a movement which writes itself down as non-spiritual and amoral. Politics is a branch of Ethics and the primary cause of the world's woes is that both politics and economics have escaped the control of Ethics and have become anarchic influences.

Congress Paradox :—A friend writes: "The Congress Working Committees resolution asks for the withdrawal of British rule but does not want the withdrawal of Britons. I wonder if the Working Committee members carefully considered whether and how far the two aims are compatible with each other. Withdrawal of British rule without withdrawal of Britons will be only a paper withdrawal. Whenever an Englishman is within view, testified a young Indian Army officer before the Sken Committee, the Indian tends to take the second place as a matter of course. If he did not, the Englishmen would insist on his doing so. Anyhow the physical presence of Britons after the withdrawal of the British Government, will create serious complications of which it is difficult to foresee the limits. Every Briton will become a centre of disaffection and intrigue and the country will quickly resume the state which it had in the eighteenth century, of Indians fighting under English leadership against each other. This will not be the worst. Mr. Amery's frequent taunt that Indians are not united, is made without thought of the possibility of Indians uniting with the slogan of 'Down with the White Man.' Mr. Amery knows or should know that it is the high sense of moral responsibility of Indian, including Congress, leaders which stands in the way of raising a slogan which once raised will spread like a prairie fire, especially at this time when the prestige of the White man is at the lowest ebb it has been in for three hundred years. So long as Gandhiji is at the head of the national movement, he may be depended upon to keep it at least, non-violent. Much as one may differ from Congress policy, it is no service to Britain or to India to seek to undermine his moral influence which is by no means limited to adherents of the political methods of the Congress. If the Congress desires, for its part, the physical presence of Britons in India, it must put up with the presence of the Government of India until such time—much nearer than might be thought—as an agreement can be reached whereby Indians can peacefully take and the British willingly hand over the helm of the State. Precipitancy on either side is fraught with grave dangers to both."

The War in Russia :—As in North Africa so in Russia, the War seems to be more spectacular on the defensive than on the offensive side. After ten days in which German soldiers seemed on the point of victory in the Don valley, Russian resistance appears to have triumphed. Voronej has got over the crisis it faced and several bridges in that area have been wrested from the enemy. In Egypt, more encouraging than the reports that the Allied forces are at an advantage during the present lull, is the subdued tone of greater responsibility in which the communiques and reports are couched.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, July 25, 1942.

DUCAL IMPRESSIONS.

The onlooker, it is said, often sees more of a game than the players who are engrossed each in his own hand. The farewell broadcast of the Duke of Gloucester on the termination of his strenuous tour of over a month in this country, is a good illustration of the saying. After referring to the extent of his travel through "the entire length and breadth of India and Ceylon from Karachi to Calcutta, from Colombo to the Khyber Pass," and his meeting with men and women of all classes and communities, His Royal Highness stated his impressions in simple straightforward language. The Duke gave the first place among them to his impression of the fundamental unity of the country. Said His Royal Highness:—

The first thing that struck me was that India is a country fashioned by nature to be united...While uniformity is not to be expected in such a vast country, where there is room for differences of race, religion, language and custom, unity is a necessity, and it seemed to me that already there are strong influences at work breaking down the barriers of division and emphasising the fundamental unity of the country.

It is, indeed, gratifying that His Royal Highness should have seen through the smoke-screen of current political controversy and grasped the fact missed by many who have spent long years in India. To some extent this insight is the consequence of the position of the Royal Family high above all communal and party differences, which enables its members to view problems as a whole. Differences in the landscape merge in a single picture to the man who views them from the mountain-top. The eye, as has been said, sees what it brings with it the means of seeing. Those who come to India with their mind's eye darkened by reports of disunity and discord, see only difference and disunity here. There are also people interested in not seeing anything else. The Duke belongs to neither of these groups. Coming at a time when the controversy over Pakistan has been fanned into a flame by the astonishing manœuvre of Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, the Duke's emphatic assertion of the unity of India, one might have expected, would have been seized upon by either side as a weapon put into its hands for attack or defence. As a fact, however, the Indian Press and public have studiously refrained from bringing His Royal Highness into the rough and tumble of political controversy.

Of the influences at work breaking down barriers, His Royal Highness mentioned the war as the strongest. In one sense, this is true. The pressure of war and its economic and other consequences, are certainly exerting on nations and classes an intense external pressure which imparts to them a semblance of unity. But this mechanical unity differs from the unity born of inwardly shared convictions and beliefs as the comradeship of men in a crowded railway

carriage from that of men inspired by a single faith and a single hope. The temporary character of war-time comradeship is illustrated by the alignment of nations in the last war as compared with their alignment in the present. Italy in the last war was with Britain and France, and had broken her Treaty with Germany to join them. Turkey which had thrown in her lot with Germany, is now in theory an ally of the Allies, in practice a neutral or non-belligerent. Japan was a powerful ally in the last war and in this is a powerful enemy of Great Britain. War-time friendships are evanescent and can not be made a foundation of abiding unity. Elaborating his impression of the unifying influence of war, His Royal Highness testified that the people whom he met, were all firmly convinced about their duty and the result of the war, though they were not vocal as the few who were afraid and doubtful. The many who were confident, the Duke thought, were much too absorbed in their war effort to find time or energy to talk about it. Our impression is rather the other way. In the first place, those who are afraid and are in doubt, are largely to be found in the ranks of war propagandists as is evident in some of the advertisements drafted by them and published in the newspapers. Their almost invariable appeal is to the fear motive, fear for their homes, their wives, their property. Not a single speech, not a single poster points to the promised land overflowing with milk and honey, which is the prize of Victory. There are really few or none in this country who wish the success of the Axis Powers. That, to them, will bring no pleasure or profit. The overwhelming sentiment is in favour of the Allies but slightly qualified by the hope that a few hard blows will do only good by knocking out of their heads the conceit which a century of power and prosperity had implanted in them. The responsibility for this lies largely with the British community in the East which had an influence far beyond anything that its numbers or public spirit warrant on government policy. India, surely, is not afraid.

His Royal Highness's assurance that front what he has seen of our defence arrangements he is confident that India can successfully resist enemy invasion and take a decisive share in his complete rout, is welcome as coming from an independent and disinterested observer who is exceptionally competent to pronounce on the subject. In view of what has happened so far, similar assurances by local authorities did not carry unquestioning acceptance. His Royal Highness's visit has shown that members of the British Royal family are far from being of the type of Princes "whose business is to breathe." His Royal Highness during the month's stay in this country in the hot weather has given proof of endurance beyond the average of high British officials in this country who, it may be hoped, will profit by the royal example.

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION.

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee demands the withdrawal of British rule in order to enable India to feel the glow of freedom which is necessary for her to give her full measure of help to the Allies to defend China and to destroy Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. The withdrawal of British rule, it is explained, does not mean the physical withdrawal of all Britons from India. Simultaneously with the withdrawal of British rule a "stable provisional Government" will set itself up which will call a Constituent Assembly and settle the future constitution. Just as in Eire the British officials withdrew and the Irish leaders entered Dublin Castle, Indian leaders of all parties and communities will enter Viceroy's House in New Delhi at the same time as Lord Linlithgow and his entourage departed from it in ceremonial procession. This formality will satisfy the central demand of the Working Committee resolution.

Independence is an object of national endeavour which the British Government, engaged in a life-and-death struggle for its own and the Allied nations' independence, can not resist with decency. Much less can the Americans who with far less reason overthrew British rule which was the rule of their own people and declared their independence. The British Government last week sent their warmest congratulations to the President of the United States on the anniversary of its eviction. Nor can any Indian declare that he is opposed to his country's independence without incurring the contempt of the Allies who are all fighting for it. Even Englishmen who profess to regard the demand as treason, feel in their heart of hearts, respect for those who suffer and sacrifice for national freedom. The following statement in Guedala's "Mr. Churchill" is profoundly significant: "Mr. Churchill spoke with warm admiration of an Indian who had recently been executed for a political assassination." This is the first time that this incident has been recorded in print. Mr. Churchill was Home Secretary when Dhingra was hanged in a London prison for the assassination of Curzon Wylie. The Indian Press and platform were resounding at the time with denunciations of the dastardly murder, when the British Home Secretary made this remark at a dinner-table shortly after the execution. Englishmen, however hard-boiled by service or trade in India, cannot but feel like Mr. Churchill. By placing Independence at the forefront of its demand, Congress has made dissent disreputable in the eyes of nations which are free as well as those which have been recently deprived of their freedom.

But is the Independence which the resolution postulates, true Independence? The demand for Independence in the resolution is accompanied by undertakings which deprive it of all trace of freedom. The most onerous of these undertakings is to associate India more deeply with the Allies in the prosecution of the war, to take on her shoulders nearly the whole burden of the war in Asia. On this point the resolution, in spite of a casual reference at the tail-end to non-violence, is clear and emphatic. It may be doubted if the framers of the resolution had a clear view of the implication to the people of India of this tremendous undertaking. The standard of life in Britain and the United States and in most of the allied nations, except China, is higher, much higher in some, than the standard in India and there is a margin, larger or smaller, for sacrifice. In India, however, there is no margin at all or but a negative margin. The hardships which are already wearing down the Indian masses, are heavy enough in all conscience. The Indian masses, are a patient, law-abiding lot. But even the worm will turn if

trodden upon too heavily. If the pressure upon the people is not relieved and if things are allowed to drift as at present, it is difficult to see how a serious internal revolution can be averted even if the enemy does not succeed in landing on our shores. The British Government may not be in a position just now to think of anything which does not immediately concern the prosecution of the War. But no Indian Government, national, pseudo-national, or even anti-national, which is not utterly blind to the plain warning of events, can take such a short view. The Independence which the resolution wants, is but a shadow. It is not the substance of Independence which Gandhiji has repeatedly declared, would alone satisfy him. The Independence, which the resolution demands, would not come up to the standard of Independence of Egypt which, with the battle raging on her territory, can, without infringing the terms of the Treaty of Independence, remain firm in her determination to take no part in the war which she regards, as an affair of some great Powers. It is much less the Independence which Eire maintains against strong pressure.

The present relation between India and Britain is admittedly untenable and humiliating to both countries. Obviously it can not be allowed to continue. The alternatives are closer union or a clean cut. The latter alternative is complicated by the fact that the present relation has lasted long and has worked itself into the national life. The former, therefore, is more immediately practicable. The recent expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, even if it was intended only as an emergency measure and not as a deliberate attempt at closer union, may be converted into the latter if Indian leaders are determined to do so. The nominations to the War Cabinet may be made more significant from the Indian point of view if the post of Secretary of State for India be abolished. Mr. Amery as Secretary of State for Burma will have enough to do for the rest of his life. Indian leaders have already pressed for this and should continue to press for it. At the same time, they should do all they can to remove from minds of high officials like the Governor of the United Provinces, the feeling that Indians have a desire to undermine the foundations of the existing system; and to replace this impression with the conviction that they only want to strengthen the system and to regularise the ties which bind Britain and India. We want to serve the cause of humanity, and of the Empire, as an instrument for that service.

It will be idle to deny that there is room for pessimism regarding the attitude of the present British Government towards India's political emancipation. The Prime Minister is a determined opponent of Indian freedom, both on theoretical and practical grounds. He told Mr. M. R. Jayakar in the course of his examination before the Round Table Conference that, in his opinion, representative, responsible Government was suitable only for Anglo-Saxon people. It had failed in Continental Europe and Mr. Churchill was sure that it would fail in Asia and in India. That is the theoretical ethnic argument. Mr. Churchill's practical argument against Indian freedom, was—the quotation is, again, from Mr. Philip Guedala's recent book, "Mr. Churchill,"—India "was the most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the King, which more than all our other Dominions and Dependencies constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire." These very words, Mr. Guedala points out, had been used by his father before him when he was Secretary of State for India with "Queen" in the place of "King." Lord Randolph Churchill had added that "the posses-

sion of which (India), more than that of all your colonial dominions, (there were no self-governing Dominions then) has raised in power, in resource, in wealth and in authority this small island home of ours far above the level of the majority of nations and States." That explains Mr. Churchill's as well as Mr. Amery's stolid refusal to part with power. Where would Britain be but for India? Dr. Besant used to urge as an argument for giving India Home Rule that without India Britain would be reduced to a third class Power like Holland. But both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery have radically changed their views under pressure of necessity: Mr. Churchill in respect of Soviet Russia; Mr. Amery in respect of Japan. Mr. Churchill's metamorphosis is well-known but less known is the fact that Mr. Amery was not long ago the stoutest champion of Japan among British statesmen. He concluded a fervent plea in defence of Japan in the House of Commons in 1933 with the asseveration "our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stand condemned if we condemn Japan." A fanatical adherence to opinions once expressed, is, happily, not a British failing. There is, therefore, no reason to despair of even the present British Government changing its attitude to Indian emancipation. They are already doing so. The movement is imperceptible but nonetheless it can be said with certainty, in the words of Galileo, "It moves."

RECLUSE.

THE HON. DR. AMBEDKAR.

The country as a whole received the news of Dr. Ambedkar's elevation to the Viceroy's Executive Council with genuine pleasure. That he was a member of the scheduled castes counted for little because educated Indians have long ceased to think of him and men of his calibre in terms of caste. As a man of culture and wide reading he, it was felt, well merited the high position to which he has been called. But he does not seem willing to respond in the same spirit. Sir Robert Bell, who was a Member of the Bombay Governor's Executive Council, remarked in the course of a debate in the old Provincial Legislative Council that some leaders of the Depressed Classes seemed more intent on exploiting their disabilities than on getting them redressed. From the social reform point of view, the elimination of the term and the thing 'untouchable' is the great object to be achieved. Dr. Ambedkar's presidential address at the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur, power, placed before these classes a programme which will eternally and inalienably perpetuate their depressed status and character. The creation of a special territory for them out of the waste lands of India away from the polluting contact of Hindus, is but a pale imitation of the Muslim League demand for a separate region inhabited exclusively by members of the League and their friends and followers. One would have expected more originality from the new Labour Member. A few days prior to this, Dr. Ambedkar rebuked the Marathas for having dissolved their non-Brahmin movement. He would, he intimated to them, have been glad to help them if they had kept up the non-Brahmin Party. It does not require a very profound knowledge of the organisation and working of Hindu society to see that the Depressed Classes movement touches more immediately the sentiments and interests of non-Brahmins than those of Brahmins. The few incidents which have of late occurred in outlying villages, have been between non-Brahmins—sometimes Muslims—and the Depressed Classes and not between Brahmins and

these classes. Christian Missionaries report that their Brahmin converts mix more readily and easily with the converts from the depressed classes than converts from one depressed caste with those from another depressed caste. The fact is that the depressed classes of India are a vast and varied conglomeration of groups each of which looks upon itself as superior to all others. The only common factor about them is that they are all regarded as outside the four Hindu castes. Hindu reformers, when Dr. Ambedkar was at school, were impressed by the need for doing away with untouchability as a measure urgently needed to consolidate and to remove the blot on Hindu society. In his first speech after his nomination was announced, he told his friends that it was the "culmination" of their political agitation and exhorted them to keep it up. While Dr. Ambedkar's appointment is a happy choice welcomed by all classes, it is not by any means the culmination of the social reform movement for the abolition of untouchability. In the last analysis, it is really quite irrelevant even as an episode to that movement.

THE RAU COMMITTEE'S BILL ON HINDU SUCCESSION.

(BY K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, SATARA.)

I

The Hindu Law Committee in their Report have stated at the end, "The recommendation which we like to stress most strongly is that relating to the preparation in gradual stages of a complete Code of Hindu Law."

The Government of India accepted this recommendation of the Committee and the Committee were asked to prepare a draft Bill first on the Law of Inheritance and then on the Law of Marriage.

The two Bills prepared by the Committee were sent to the Legislative Department of the Government of India. These are now published in the Gazette for the information of the public. In due course these Bills will be moved in the Central Legislative Assembly by the Law Member of the Government of India.

The Bill on the Hindu law of Intestate Succession can be said to be the first part of the contemplated Hindu Code. In it, the law relating to intestate succession has been amended and codified.

In the first place, it must be remembered that the rules given in this Bill are meant only to apply in cases of intestacy so that anyone who has property to leave and wishes to depart from the rules can conveniently do so by making a will.

The notion of a will does not at all exist in the ancient legal literature of the Hindus and the right to make a will did not form a part of their customary law. Wills were unknown to Hindu Jurisprudence, and, in fact, they appear to be opposed to the spirit of the laws of the Hindus. The reason appears to be that the Law of Succession and Inheritance being believed by Hindus to be founded on divine ordinance it would be irreligious to disturb the divine rule of devolution of property by disposing of it in a different manner.

Further, it must be noted that the Law of Inheritance can by no means be so framed as to suit the feelings of all persons of a community. It is, therefore, always supplemented in every civilized country by the Law of Testamentary Succession. Those who think that the Law of Inheritance is unsuited to their feelings, are no longer fettered by its rules. For this purpose the law of wills must be universally made known.

The main features of the new Bill on the Law of inheritance are :—

(1) It embodies a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India, irrespective of the fact that they are governed by the Dayabhag or Mitakshara or any sub-division of the Mitakshara, like the Mayukha, etc. This is certainly praiseworthy. It will, no doubt, give an impetus to the idea of nationality amongst the Hindus. In these rules a laudable attempt is made at a compromise between the Dayabhag and Mitakshara Schools.

(2) It removes the sex disqualification by which Hindu women, in general, have hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India. The sex disqualification against women inheriting property will have really few defenders in these enlightened days of the equality of sexes. Nevertheless, over a large part of India women with few exceptions are still debarred from inheriting property. In Bengal, for instance, a sister cannot inherit to her brother even if there are no other heirs.

(3) It abolishes the Hindu woman's limited estate. In the explanatory note attached to the Bill as well as in the fourth memorandum prepared by the Committee, strong and convincing grounds are given why it is necessary to make the woman's estate absolute and to do away altogether with the limited estate, otherwise known as widow's estate. It is not far from truth to say that, as far as Smriti authority goes, there is very little of it to support the theory of the limited estate of women in inherited property. This doctrine seems to be a pure creation by judicial decisions unsupported by ancient Shashtra. In India Muslim, Christian, Parsi, Jaina women, in fact women of all the communities but the Hindu, take a full estate. It is difficult to maintain that Hindu women alone are incompetent to enjoy full rights. Whatever may have been the case in the past a general disability of this kind can hardly be defended at the present day when we have women legislators, women lawyers and even women ministers.

The Act is intended to apply to all heritable property except agricultural land. This is deemed necessary in view of the finding of the Federal Court that the Central Legislature is not competent to make acts pertaining to agricultural lands. This Bill is not intended to apply to impartible estates also. The subject of impartible estates constitutes a separate branch of Hindu Law and will have to be dealt with separately. This Act is intended to come into force on 1st January 1946.

* This is necessary in order to give sufficient time for the community to adjust itself to the proposed changes, to give sufficient opportunity to Governor's agricultural Provinces to pass legislation in respect of land, and, further, to give the Central Legislature sufficient time to codify other branches of Hindu Law so that there may be an entire Code from January 1946.

This Act is concerned with *heritable property* which includes all property governed by the Dayabhag School, and the self-acquired property of the Hindus governed by the Mitakshara School. The interest of an undivided coparcener is not 'heritable property' since it passes not to his heirs but to his surviving coparceners.

The position seems to have been somewhat changed by the Deshmukh Act but this question is not discussed in this Bill. This will be dealt with when the Mitakshara Joint Family comes into consideration. In my opinion, this is not proper. The question of the Mitakshara Joint Family should be

considered in this very Bill; and, just as the rules of succession are made applicable to all Hindus throughout British India, there should be uniform Dayabhag Joint Family throughout British India. The Mitakshara Joint Family should be abolished and the Dayabhag Joint Family must be substituted for it.

The Deshmukh Act has to a certain extent made woman the coparcener in the Mitakshara Joint Family. So practically it has adopted the principle of Dayabhag system.

The law of succession must then be the same whether the deceased was at the time of death joint, separate or whether the property left by him is self-acquired or joint family property. In other words, succession by survivorship must be abolished altogether.

Further, the right-by-birth theory must also be abolished. The father must be the absolute owner of all the property, ancestral or self-acquired. At the most, the right of bequeathing or alienating ancestral property should be limited. The root-cause of the whole evil in the joint family law is the right-by-birth in the Mitakshara Joint Family.

The distinction between an adopted son and a natural-born son (born after the adoption) is altogether abolished. At present when a son is actually born after the adoption, he, i. e., the after-born son, usually gets the larger share of the father's property, the relative shares of the two sons being different under the different schools of Law. Under this new Act both the sons would get equal shares. It must be remembered that an adopted son loses all his future rights in the family in which he was born as a consequence of the adoption and it seems hardly fair that he should ever count as anything less than the natural-born son in the family of the adoption.

THE WARDHA RESOLUTION.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Let me congratulate you on the very realistic view you have taken of the Wardha Resolution. You are absolutely in the right when you say that nothing has happened recently to warrant a change in the attitude of the Congress towards the war. Nobody will question the justice of the demand of Indians for freedom to manage their affairs themselves even if they were likely to blunder in the conduct of state business. But at this hour, when we are passing through a crisis unparalleled in history since the days of Kurukshetra, to start a mass movement likely, as the author of the resolution himself has admitted, to throw the country into the vortex of anarchy, is, to say the least, a stupendous folly and it is strange that a responsible body like the Congress Working Committee should countenance the proposal. May we hope that between now and the time when the A. I. C. C. meets, wiser counsels will prevail and the projected idea of a 'final mass struggle' will be given up? If it is not, it will be the sacred duty of every one who loves his or her country not only to keep away from the movement, but also to oppose it by every means that can be employed.

Khari,

20th July 1942.

Yours etc.,

VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

JUNE 29, 1932.

On the Amazon.

Wild Nature, even though it be on the swiftest and biggest river in the Universe, tires after a while unless one is an entomologist or a Naturalist or a Tomlinson; the perennial charm of England is that Man has tamed Nature by cultivation and enhanced her Beauty in the taming it. Here, the Forest and River are masters; as Dog eats Dog, so Tree strangles Tree, and the alligator is not far to give a taste of the river. Today we passed more human habitations, a settlement where they celebrate a scout's day in colourful costume clothing chocolate-skins; one saw canoes and babies and cows and dogs. In the evening we passed Itacoatura, the third large intervening settlement between Para and Manaus; after dinner, though we are still 70 miles from Manaus, we are passing villas on the banks. We have seen floating planks covered with green but no floating islands torn off from the forest banks in masses by the flood of the rising river; at sunset the sky looked blood-stained in patches with delicate blue surrounding; all day, we have seen green within two or three stone-throws. But at Manaus, I may see interesting guides, a newer town, a new race of humans in process of manufacture by the admixture of old strains. The doctor says, the English themselves in Manaus are different—they act as one family—unlike the English in Para who act in cliques. And the forest itself is said to be more alluring.

JUNE 30, 1932.

Manaos, Brazil.

Arriving at sunrise, as expected, we found the river water all black. The Amazon is fed by many tributaries, and one of them is Rio Negri, which gets its name from the black-soil of the riverbed which gives the water its colour and pours it into the Amazon in such volume that the colour of the river here at Manaus is also black. But the floor of the water here is said to be white sand. The waters are said to be the purest about; and the place to be healthy, in spite of malaria and influenza which appear to rage just at this time. But last night, before going to bed, I discovered mosquitoes under my brown hat and skull-cap! As I lay in bed reading, the outside of my ear felt a tickle, and I saw a deep black tiny creeping thing run out. The only way was to try the effect of putting out lights; I fell into a deep sleep, and knew no more of the tiny or shiny creeping things, till to-night at dinner... the lights attracted them again, and not them only; grasshoppers were arrayed on white walls, every lamp showed moths in thousands, my silk suit had some of these tenants, the Portuguese doctor has been driving them off his face with a running flick of his handkerchief.

Only the cruiser-passengers remain on board; we were all furnished with our six days' programme. I separated from the six and from the guide with them, because I had to await bandaging and the others were anxious to get away before 9; so I started on my own at 10. To-day was not a programme-day; but interesting things to spend time on were indicated clearly. While the others shopped and visited the Market, I had taken a round on the Circular Road in a tram—which took up an hour; what I saw was from the tram, including a dead horse stretched on the road. When I returned to the starting-point, I met the six and their guide preparing to board a circular tram; I walked and came back to the ship.

At 8-30 we were invited to proceed to the British athletic club and bathe and swim in its pools there

and have tea. Again six of us went. Madame Stamenescu preferring to tram the same way and walk in the forest.

Of the six, four entered 'kalapany', swam and revelled; two, Mr. Brodrick and I, watched.

We trammed back to the ship—a ride of 45 minutes along Flores Road. Manaus has 75 thousand inhabitants; is the capital of a larger district, has two quarters, Old & New. After dinner revealed an illuminated building, the doctor said it was a successful brewery which also makes ice. Another officer said the illumination was in honour of a saint.

JULY 1, 1932.

I have just returned from the first organised trip having taken tea and lunch on a launch which carried us to the beginning of creeks whence boats carried us through narrow lanes, sometimes not wide enough for more than one, through the dark-blue water which the forest continued to adjoin.

A passenger, Mr. Clovelly-Price by name, has been in diplomatic service in these parts and even two thousand miles higher up the river; was once nearly drowned; at another time, a companion was drowned and himself lost gun, ammunition and all clothing. This fellow with tales to tell such as Othello narrated to Desdemona, is to sail with us to Liverpool, joined our excursion to-day, and helped to entertain ladies and Mr. Brodrick with his adventures. He is posted as Secretary to the Legation in Romania, and may, therefore, interest Madame Stamenescu. Glimpses of the English colony are already meeting us.

Yesterday morning I saw a young lady while I was being shaved, trying to make purchases in the barber's shop, and not succeeding. I saw her this morning again; she looked for a bow which I readily gave. She had been trying to coax the barber into quoting lower prices; and was apparently making funny remarks, and making eyes at me to indicate that she was speaking only in fun. The barber says society ladies visit shops in ships when they arrive to get odds and ends in fashion which would not be in stock at local shops; he had quoted sh. 4/- for a necktie, its price in a London shop, and she had been repelled; afterwards, her husband came to look for her, and she had told him that the barber was a *hard face* and the barber explained to me the meaning of this idiomatic expression, also that the husband is the Manaus agent of the Booth Line; that she is a Brazilian-born girl educated in London and married to an Englishman, therefore, now English. It is of interest to me that, when I inquired at Para about the size of the British Colony, I was given the figure 150 all told, including the "Barbadeses." Tomlinson also mentions the "Barbadeses negress."

Why this special mention? Emigrants? No, the Barbadeses cooks had once been imported. A counterpart of it was today when the man who led us round the local waterworks (of which they think a great deal) said he had been British 45 years age.

The excursion that we made today was to the Taruma Falls.

JULY 2, 1932.

To-day our programme was changed. One of our fellow passengers, Mr. Forbes, who heads the tramways here and Mr. Grant, an American co-resident in their chummery, invited the seven of us survivors to a picnic in their own launch, and the function proved of interest. We returned to a late lunch, since have been left to ourselves; though a guide is in attendance to show us the sights of the town, apparently no body is free from fatigue.

The launch took us the same way as yesterday, but the road afforded more interest because the space in the launch was scanty for so many, yet the launch was equipped with a kitchen with all things handy; the river was spraying all the time through high wind.

Two boats, in charge of a very smart and smartly-dressed lad, were roped to our launch—once they broke loose and they and the boy had to be brought back. When we stopped, the boats took the bulk of us ashore to the sands and nooks to bathe.....this gave an opportunity for conversation between Madame Stamenescu and me.

It may be that more is called for than the extinction of public debts; a general moratorium may become necessary. Not that she loves Germany, she has strong memories of the occupation; a French writer has shown that Germany's pretence of want is companioned by extravagance. Frankfurt has built a market which cannot be afforded by London or Paris and has built houses for workmen compared with which Paris workmen live in squalor. On a German boat, she and an English lady were treated by German passengers as pariahs. Madame showed her disdain of the German attitude and the cowards then showed her respect. The English lady felt intolerable the indignities to which her German cabin-mate exposed her; she was too proud to complain and accepted the hospitality of a Russian lady who offered her the floor of her cabin to sleep on, on which the English-woman fetching her bedstead from her cabin, spread it herself. Then we passed to other subjects; we discussed yesterday's trip.

SCOTS WHA HAE I

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In the note entitled "Nationality in Viceroy's," which appeared in your issue of Saturday, July 11, you make a completely untrue statement about the Scottish people. You refer to Scotsmen as "themselves a conquered race." It is true that Scotland was overrun by England in the time of King Edward I and that a puppet king was installed in the country. But the Scottish people, under King Robert the Bruce, recovered their independence at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314 by decisively defeating King Edward II of England and the independence of Scotland was never afterwards seriously challenged by the English people, although there were frequent wars between the two peoples. It was, indeed, a Scottish king—King James VI—who became King of Great Britain at the union of the Crowns; the union of the Parliaments came later, based on equality between the two nations. I am astonished that a usually well-informed paper like *The Indian Social Reformer* should have committed so gross a perversion of historical facts.

Bombay, }
July 16, 1942. }

Yours etc.,
SCOTSMAN.

[Our correspondent forgets Flodden Field two centuries after Bannockburn; Glencoe another century later. As regards the choice of King James VI—"the most learned fool in Christendom"—as King James I, the English in their attempts to remedy the error, beheaded his son and successor, and with foreign (Dutch) aid drove out his grandson. The English have not been particular about the choice of Kings. They

chose later a German. "Scotsman" would have been nearer the point had he mentioned the present advantageous position occupied by his countrymen in the Empire. But even then it would surely not be the first time that the victories of Mars were reversed in Peace.—*Editor.*]

RACE DISCRIMINATION AND EVACUEES.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

I am more reluctant to take up any portion of your valuable space than you are perhaps to give it. But I consider that the Indian Press has not been in full possession of or has not fully appreciated facts about the evacuee question and in consequence a glaring injustice has gone unnoticed.

The British Government have been paying at the minimum rate of Rs. 85 per month (the maximum paid is, I understand, several times higher) to all European evacuees in India whether they have come from Burma, Poland, or any other part of enemy-occupied territory, or whether they are British subjects or not. The British Government have not made any arrangements for payment to Indian evacuees. *Herein lies the big discrimination, the glaring injustice, to which the Indian Press has not given any attention.* I brought the matter to the attention of *The Reformer* so that it might give the necessary lead, and for doing this service I had only abuses heaped on my devoted head.

An Indian in Burma was a Burmese citizen or a Burmese National as much as a European. If he evacuated Burma because the British Government could not prevent the country from falling into enemy's hands, the responsibility for maintaining him was that of the British Government *alone*. The British Government accepted the responsibility in the case of others, but not in that of Indians. Morally and legally the British Government should have maintained the Indian evacuees in the same standard as the non-Indian evacuees.

When the stream of evacuation began, the Indian Government came to the rescue and shouldered a responsibility which was really not theirs. They undertook the liability for crores of rupees in order to give immediate succour to the tens of thousands of evacuees trekking into India. There evidently was no time to settle terms with the British Government. Is it so difficult to understand who was the real inspiration behind the Government of India's patriotic move?

When I informed *The Reformer* about the British Government having taken up the responsibility for European evacuees, I fully expected it to follow up with the question: Why not responsible for Indian evacuees? It was an acute disappointment to me that it missed the point altogether and went off at a tangent. As I write, I have a Press Note before me stating that among the questions that India's Finance Member will discuss with the British Government are "certain financial matters connected with the European evacuees for whom His Majesty's Government is responsible." On what principle does an Indian evacuee stand on a different footing from a European evacuee *vis-a-vis* British Government? Why should not the British Government be liable to repay crores that the Indian Government has spent on the Indian evacuees from Burma, which really should have been spent on behalf of the British Government?

The Indian Press and public opinion have gone on the wrong scent and the British Exchequer reaps a

substantial benefit out of this folly. Is it now too late to take up the matter? I think not.

Delhi,
July 19, 1942, }

Yours etc.,
B. BANERJI.

[We fail to see why the British Government should be made to pay for Indian evacuees. It is only natural, when people who are residing abroad are driven out of their countries of adoption, that they should look primarily to their countries of birth for help. Britain has had to bear the burden for European countries outside her imperial system because they are her allies and their Governments, speaking generally, have at the moment neither territory nor exchequer. If the Government of India cannot do even the little which has been done, it would have made a laughing stock of itself in the eyes of the most unpolitical sections of the world. Does Mr. Banerji forget that, so far were Indians from being recognized as Burmans that negotiations were afoot scarce three years ago for conditions in which they would be tolerated in Burma? Or that many Indians have had to face the unrestrained wrath of Burmans before fleeing the country? We are astounded at the attempt, scarcely veiled in this letter, to represent prevailing conditions as a great act of generosity on the part of the Government of India. We must say that Mr. Banerji's letters are as ill-informed as they are shifting. He said with an air of authority, that the British Government bore the relief expenses of Anglo-India and Anglo-Burmans. But he was merely repeating apparently a widespread rumour. We learn from a reliable source that the

report quoted in the *Reformer* from the *Leader* of Mr. Aney's conversation with representatives of the Press is substantially correct except in one particular. He did not say that expenditure on behalf of Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmans would be met by His Majesty's Government. That Government is responsible for expenditure incurred on behalf of Europeans. The Burma Government is responsible for expenditure incurred on behalf of Burmans and Anglo-Burmans. Anglo-Indians are classed as Indians and expenditure on their behalf is debitable to Indian revenues.—Editor.]

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Office:—EAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY AUGUST 1, 1942 No. 48.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Expanded Councillors.	The Second Front.
The Tilak School.	Optimism.
Mr. Kelkar's Balance-Sheet.	Equal Access to Raw Materials.
The Congress Resolution.	Cripps Speaks to America.
Bihar Leads.	Coupland on Cripps.
Sir A. Rogers on Indian	Dnyaneshwar.
Production.	Notes by the Way.
Post-War Reconstruction.	The Rau Committee's Bill on
Empire Foreign Policy.	Hindu Succession.
A Contrast.	Letters of B. J. Padshah.

NOTES.

Expanded Councillors :—There seems to be some misconception on the part of some of the members of the Viceroy's Council about the duties they are called upon to fulfil. Sir Feroze Khan Noon started the trouble with a most intemperate attack on the Congress; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has followed up with a series of statements which are as out of place as they are in bad taste; and Mr. M. S. Aney has capped it with a recommendatory speech at Nagpur on the Cripps scheme. Dr. Ambedkar at least has the excuse that he is new to his job; but the other two gentlemen have been long enough in office to realise that they need not take over the past mistakes of the Government of India; that in their official careers the real struggle lies not in fighting old political opponents but in tackling their departments. Sir Jogindra Singh, another of the new members, in a conciliatory speech observed that he regarded the present Council as already a National Government. To each of the members this, we presume, is the justification for accepting office. It does no good to the country to ignore this very proper sentiment. But a government can be deemed national, only on its policies not on its personnel. And a general presumption that members have taken office for reasons of national welfare, naturally takes away any special credit from individuals affirming this outlook. Attacking the Congress or any other party in India does not call for any particular courage at the moment. Nor do the men who have agreed to serve in the Viceroy's Council, need to prove their political courage by such attacks. What is needed is a conciliatory policy and words that will bring Indians together and not further divide them. The Expanded Council can prove successful from the country's point of view only in so far as it achieves the object of assuring the public that their interests are as secure under the care of the Council as they would be under a responsible government. It is not helpful to this end when Dr. Ambedkar talks of the

uselessness of having an Indian Defence Member. However eminent the men now in office may be, it is foolhardy to seek to convert a unanimous demand for greater power into enthusiasm for the present system.

The Tilak School :—The Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney, speaking at Nagpur this week, avowed himself a follower of the Tilak doctrine of taking what was given and asking for more, and condemned the rejection by the Congress party of Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals. *The Reformer* has been throughout opposed to the Tilak method which is nothing but opportunism without a single thread of principle to give it the semblance of continuity. Its most notable achievement in the political field is the Lucknow Pact which has been a millstone round the neck of every reformer since it was concluded in 1916 when the Lokamanya had stepped into the shoes of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta. The acceptance of the Cripps scheme would have been another colossal blunder, perhaps a worse one. The grounds on which the Congress and the Muslim League rejected the proposals, are still the subject of controversy. Whatever they were, whether they are all such as would commend themselves to acceptance or not, we are convinced that the rejection itself was right in the highest interests of the country. The provision for the division of the country which was tacked on to the proposals, it may be when it came to be worked out, might have proved an insuperable obstacle to division. That is to say, it offered to separationists, just as Mr. Rajagopalacharya offered to the Muslim League, a Dead Sea apple, knowing and wishing that it would prove to be ashes when tasted. This may be clever but it is not honest politics. The question of India's unity is not and never can be an open question. The Congress, we know, was rather vague and indefinite on this point. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad used words which conceded the principle and other Nationalist Muslims, except from South India, have spoken in the same equivocal tone. That, however, does not affect the issue. If the Cripps scheme had been accepted, the interval before the armistice would have been utilised by the parties to prepare the ground for a favourable verdict at the proposed plebiscite in the provinces. Mr. Jinnah, whatever he is, is not a fool, and he would have unhesitatingly rejected a verdict which did not favour Pakistan. The

position at the end of the war would have been ten times worse than it would be now that the scheme has ceased to count in Indian politics.

Mr. Kelkar's Balance-Sheet:—Striking a balance between the advantages of Civil Disobedience and joining the army, the distinguished Maratha publicist, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, judges that those of the latter outweigh those of the former. Civil Disobedience, he argues, is one-sided whereas sending of men to the Army may possibly be turned into a two-sided affair. In Civil Disobedience people will learn only to court imprisonment; joining the Army, on the other hand, will give them military training which they may turn to patriotic account on their return from war, "not necessarily by means of an armed revolt." Moreover, a man who has fought for the British Government might hope to receive a more sympathetic response from that Government to his prayer for self-government for his country. The argument is ingenious but superficial. Going to prison in Civil Disobedience is only symbolic of more severe penalties if imprisonment does not have a deterrent effect. Sir Stafford Cripps' broadcast to America shows that only a doubt about the Washington Government's reactions stand in the way of the adoption of more stringent measures. The doubt is unnecessary. America produced Abraham Lincoln but it also produced the assassin of Lincoln. It is besides the home of the Ku Klux Klan. Gandhiji well knows that the prison may not be the end. It may lead to the gallows. As for the training in the Army being useful for post-war reforms, Mr. Kelkar surely knows what happened at the end of the last war. A victorious war has the effect of attaching the rank and file more closely than ever to their generals who in the case of the Indian Army are all British or Australians. Moral courage is a rarer virtue than physical courage and Civil Disobedience, whether one likes it or not, gives more scope for the former than the battle-field. We need not muddle our reason in order to find arguments for a course of conduct which we have adopted as best in our circumstances.

The Congress Resolution:—All the various explanations and elucidations issued by Congress leaders on the Wardha Resolution of the Working Committee make it clear that what is demanded is nothing more than some concrete action which will irrevocably establish the independence of India. This is something which Indians cannot but support. The several statements made by non-Congressmen do not reject this demand but suggest that a better method than direct action which the Congress contemplates, would be to summon a Round Table Conference of all parties. Much as we dislike the thought of Civil Disobedience, we are unable to commend with any honesty the Conference method as a better way. There is no time for such delaying tactics. Whatever may be said against the decision at Wardha, it has to be admitted that it has focussed world

attention on India as nothing else has done. The statements of non-Congress leaders, cajoling or threatening, are pathetic. The traditional British policy of repression and conciliation in alternation leaves no room for any but extremists. However, it may be desired today, it is too late to think of interposing a new set of leaders between the Government and the Congress as buffers. On the other hand, some Congress leaders have a very airy attitude towards the contemplated movement. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad says that the resolution is an appeal to the 26 nations. This would be calamitous. Of the four leading powers, Russia and China are in sore straits. The other 22 are all under obligation to Britain and the U. S. A. and dare not offend them. In an optimistic forecast at Bombay Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel asserted that the struggle would be over in a week's time. Of course, if it is not as short, nobody will be there to call to account—certainly not the Sardar—as all Congress leaders will be serving long terms of imprisonment. Anyone who joins the movement relying on such statements, is in for disillusionment.

Bihar Leads:—It may be recalled that the Federal Court of India held that the right to legislate about agricultural land belonged under the Government of India Act to Provincial Legislatures and that the latter should recognise the right of women to inherit agricultural land. The Bihar Governor who at present is also the provincial Legislature, has promulgated a law removing the defect in the Hindu Women's Property Act pointed out by the Federal Court. The effect of the Bihar Act will be to give widows the full measure of the benefit which the framers of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (1937 and 1938) contemplated, to avoid a multiplicity of rules of succession, and, most of all, to protect transactions already entered into on the faith of the Act. It is surprising that these considerations have not moved all other provinces, those in which Legislatures are functioning and those in which they are not, to pass a similar law.

Sir A. Rogers on Indian Production:—The *Hindu* in an editorial in a recent issue quoted some passages from a statement made by Sir Alexander Rogers, head of the Ministry of Supply Far Eastern Mission, who was sometime back in this country. Contrasting war production in Australia and India, Sir Alexander was quoted as having said:

Australians had an intense national consciousness that they were working and fighting for their own country. In India, on the other hand, the British official, an employee, tended to have regard first for his pay, and then for his pension on which he would retire from the country. There was not in the direction of India's industry, the intense national feeling there was in Australia.

Mr. Percy MacQueen (retired I. C. S.) in a letter to the *Hindu* protests against this statement on curiously contradictory grounds. He first argues that there is nothing wrong in the British Indian official who is as a rule neither a capitalist nor

landowner, thinking of the wherewithal to provide for himself and for his family. He concludes by saying that he could hardly think that a man in Sir Alexander's responsible position would have given public utterance to the remarks attributed to him. Mr. MacQueen declared that the *Hindu's* information was incorrect. The Editor in a footnote gave as his authority the *World's Press News* for March 19, 1942 which stated that the Conference at which Sir Alexander made his statement, was held in the Empire Division of the Ministry of Information, London, on Friday, March 13. We agree with Mr. MacQueen that a British member of the Indian Civil Service is entitled to think of the means of livelihood of himself and of his family but—and that is the point of Sir Alexander's remarks—he is not entitled to regard India as existing for that purpose. Sir Alexander was slightly wrong in saying that there was not in India the same intense nationalist spirit in the direction of India's industry as in Australia. The spirit is there all right but its manifestation is checked at every point by the spirit of the Indian Civil Service working through white or brown bodies.

Post-War Reconstruction:—The subject of post-war reconstruction has within the last few weeks suddenly shot forward to a central place in the world Press and Parliaments. It may be inferred that in many quarters there is a feeling that the war is nearing its end. The discouraging feature about this preparation for peace, is that Europe and European interests again bulk largely in the discussions and there seems to be a tacit assumption that Europe will again dominate Asia. No Asiatic country can of course accept this position. If European domination is to be the goal of the endeavour of the Allied nations under the cloak of freedom and democracy, the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" will inevitably acquire a strength of appeal which it does not so far possess.

Empire Foreign Policy:—In the course of a debate in the House of Lords last week on the desirability of having a common foreign policy approved by the component parts of the British Empire, Viscount Bennett, former Prime Minister of Canada, said that the Dominions did not fully realise that Article 4 of the recent Anglo-Soviet Treaty might involve Britain in another war, and, if that happened, the attitude of certain Dominions would not be pleasant. Lord Cranbourne speaking for Government assured the House that the Anglo-Soviet Treaty was between the United Kingdom and Russia and did not bind the Dominions but the Dominion Governments were consulted at every stage and the treaty had their full, whole-hearted and unqualified approval. The question was raised on the publication of the Treaty, whether and how far India would be bound by its terms. No satisfactory answer has so far been given to it. In the Lords debate, Lord Elibank who opened it, solemnly declared that they had given India internal peace for over two centuries. "We have

no need to wear the white cloth of penitence. The time will come when India will be proud of her membership of the Commonwealth of Nations." It is something that Lord Elibank did not declare that after two hundred years India is at present proud of her membership of the Commonwealth to nearly all parts of which she is barred entrance. The pose of infallibility is only for India. British statesmen are free to confess that they had blundered elsewhere. In the course of another debate the next day Lord Chancellor Simon said with reference to international debt, that Government was determined that the tragic errors of the last war shall not be repeated. The use of the words Empire and Commonwealth as if they were interchangeable, is misleading. There is, of course, no British Empire without India.

A Contrast:—Mr. Nathaniel Peffer to whose article on "South Eastern Asia" in *Foreign Affairs* we made a passing reference last week, contrasts the resistance which China has offered to Japanese aggression for five years with little resources and without foreign assistance, with Britain's failure even with China's help to hold Burma for three months against the Japanese. The explanation is obvious. The Chinese are fighting to defend their own country while in Burma the British were fighting only to hold a possession. When their own country was in danger from Nazi air-raids, British fortitude, determination and courage evoked the admiration of the whole world. When everything is said, Britain has necessarily the first call on the armed might of the British people, just as China has upon the endurance and fortitude of the Chinese.

The Second Front:—It was understood that M. Molotov had, during his visit to London and Washington last month, secured American and British promises to open a second front in Europe to divert German attack on Russia. Russia which is now hard-pressed, is demanding the fulfilment of the promise. There is considerable opposition to the idea in Britain, an important member of Government, Mr. Bevin, going so far as to accuse people who ask for it of "feeding" Hitler and Goebbels and playing the enemy's game. Some authorities hold that the recent devastating British air raids on Cologne and Hamburg, are the second war-front but these have not had any effect on the steady German push into the heart of Russia. The United States, it is said, is building a new gigantic airship which will carry armaments without interruption by German U. boats to Russia. This is expected to be ready by the autumn. As Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry naively asks, if the Nazis get to the Caucasus by September, what will become of us?

Optimism:—From Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons on Thursday, it would appear that the British Cabinet hope to counter any Congress movement with the obsolete Cripps' scheme.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 1, 1942.

EQUAL ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS.

One of the terms of the Atlantic Charter is equal access to raw materials. *The Reformer*, from the first, has pointed out that this has no meaning unless all countries have equal access to gold with which to pay for their purchases. For equal access does not mean that all raw materials will be collected at a central place and every nation can take as much of them as it needs. Even if this were the case, inequalities will not be long in manifesting themselves. The country which has more airplanes, will get at the raw materials depot sooner than the country which has only ships. The country which has swifter ships, will get there before the country which has slower ships. As between countries which are equally placed in respect of transport, there will be a scramble. This will develop into war. The world will again be plunged in the same kind of struggle as it is now in. Equal access to raw materials only means that no tariff barriers will be raised against some countries while others are left either free or enjoy preference in respect of imports and exports. It, of course, means that the countries which wish to have raw materials, should pay for them. Gold is still the standard of values and the country which has most gold will have the most access to raw materials. The United States of America has the largest proportion of the world's gold. Countries which wish to have access to raw materials, must, therefore, first secure by purchase, borrowing, force or fraud, enough gold to pay for the raw materials they need. Without gold they will have no access to them, except by force. *The Reformer*, therefore, urged that the United States, if the term "equal access to raw materials" is to have meaning, should first give the countries of the world equal access to its gold hoards. The American people will not consent to the free distribution of their gold among the nations. Democracies can not face straight issues. The American democracy lost a considerable part of its wealth in the last war owing to the countries to which she made loans not having repaid them. In the present war, to avoid such an unpleasant contingency, President Roosevelt has devised the Lease-Lend policy which leaves entirely in his discretion whether a debtor nation should be required to repay or not, and, if it is required to repay, in what form and at what time. The President under this plan can avoid the unpleasantness of repudiation by declaring that the debt due was waived. The Lease-Lend and other plans are merely ways of getting rid of the embarrassing American hoards while letting the Americans think that full value will be secured for every cent advanced to every nation in one form or another.

The April number of the American quarterly journal *Foreign Affairs* publishes an article by Andre Istel on this provision of the Atlantic Charter. The writer begins by saying that "access" would be worthless if it meant merely the right to purchase raw materials free from export prohibitions or discriminatory export taxes. "It must also include the means of making the purchase." Mr. Istel offers a plan to this end within the frame-work of the present international, system of finance or, we should say, the one which is passing away. He postulates the existence of, or the return to, a world of different nations with different political institutions and different currencies. The raw materials he chooses as typical, are tin and rubber which America does not produce and which it badly wants. Underlying the article is also the assumption that the United States will have the largest say in the New Order. Mr. Istel's thesis breaks down the moment we think of countries like Great Britain and Japan, whose most important needs in raw materials are food stuffs and to whom machine fodder is needed primarily to earn the means of purchasing them. Mr. Istel admits that countries should manufacture articles for which they have raw materials and other facilities. India grows cotton, has an inexhaustible labour supply, large resources of water-power, and a ready market for cotton goods. Great Britain has none of these. Would Britain sacrifice Lancashire to India as she sacrificed India to Lancashire sixty years ago? Mr. Istel's scheme is positively dangerous to countries like India which can grow their own raw materials both for the human and the factory machine. "Equal access" to them would mean that Indian nationals will have no priority in the consumption of the raw materials which they produce. The scheme, in short, is pooling of the economic resources of all countries on the model of the Anglo-French agreement of 1939 whose aim was to pool all the raw material resources of the two empires and to establish monetary stability between the two currencies. The British and French statesmen who concluded the agreement, meant it to be much more than a war arrangement. They dreamed of its becoming the model of a world agreement

When the war drum throbs no longer and the battle flags are furled

In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.

Mr. Istel thinks that this worked successfully. It is also permissible to hold that it contributed to the collapse of France within six months of its adoption. On the night of the French surrender, Mr. Winston Churchill proposed a still closer union—in fact the merging of the French and the British Empires into a single unit. The proposal elicited no response. Mr. Istel's article is somewhat technical but the purpose of his scheme is to afford equal financial facilities to countries which have, and to countries which have not, colonies. We are afraid this paper

scheme will not work. The countries which have colonies, will have an advantage over those which have them, not even under a system of absolute free trade. The common or connected currency of the mother country and its colonies will inevitably weight the scale against colonyless nations. There is no hope of any satisfactory solution of the problem unless the colonial system is abolished root and branch and every country is free to look first after her own needs before thinking of profiting by those of others.

Cripps Speaks to America:—Sir Stafford Cripps in a special broadcast to the United States of America justified himself and confounded all his apologists who had almost made a fetish of his sincerity, attributing his failure to sinister intrigues. This has been not only amongst Indians. Even so exalted a personage as Lord Linlithgow seemed to be overwhelmed by Sir Stafford's sincerity. Sir Stafford told his hearers that Britain had offered India an Executive similar to the American Executive. His whole speech is one misrepresentation from beginning to end, revealing the man for what he is. He began with a long sentimental preface of his sincerity—methinks, the lady doth protest too much—and, as proof of this, he mentioned his "20,000 miles" journey to India and back, as though it was as arduous an exertion as the Pilgrim's Progress. Whilst here he told his public that the scheme was to be taken or rejected as a whole, now it was apparently without "rigidity." His scheme was "not accepted;" nor, he lamented, was any agreed alternative put forward. In other words, if any British proposal which is condemned by all sections of Indian opinion, is to be supplanted, it must be by a unanimous scheme from Indians. Finally, he argued that in putting down any agitation in India the British are serving democracy and the United Nations. This, of course, is Britain's reply to the Congress resolution linking India's cause with that of the United Nations. Britain must have a very uneasy feeling to launch such an appeal at America. Sir Stafford Cripps concluded ominously:

I am sure that we in this country (Britain) can rely on you to give us your understanding, your help and your support in doing whatever is necessary to maintain intact the front of the United Nations in India and to reopen the lifeline of our gallant allies the Chinese.

What does this mean? Is the Government of India the United Nations' "front in India"? Are American troops to be used to quell a civil disobedience movement in this country? Only passing mention is made of defending India in Sir Stafford's speech. The reason for this is obvious. We have no desire to rub in unpleasant facts; but when British politicians talk of their "duty" and "responsibilities" to peoples whom they govern, it must be pointed out that so far they have failed in these. As P. T. B. observes in his article in the *Political*

Quarterly on Malaya, "when Britain was first called upon to fulfil her obligation to defend the Malaya States against all comers, she was unable to honour the pledge." The concentration, therefore, is on using India as a base to attack Japan, on helping China, on keeping up the struggle on behalf of the United Nations. The only charitable conclusion one can draw from the Cripps performance is that he is an embittered man, overrated by himself and his friends, who, having seen his gamble fail, hits out blindly at everybody. And it requires a great deal of charity to reach this conclusion. We suppose the usual selection from the American press will be cabled out applauding Sir Stafford's statesmanship and abusing Indians. All these are signs of weakness in a Government—that it should seek to bolster up its position by dubious tactics, miscalled propaganda. That Cripps was put up to speak to America shows that American opinion is not all as favourable to Britain as we are told. Government might control the flow of news in both directions, whether through the press or by radio but there were American correspondents at Delhi during the Cripps Mission and few British adventures in India have had the publicity which that Mission had in the United States of America.

COUPLAND ON CRIPPS.

Professor R. Coupland, as he tells readers in the preface to his pamphlet on the "Cripps Mission" (Oxford University Press: 12 as.), was on a four months' study tour of Indian constitutional problems when Sir Stafford Cripps came to India. He was to have gone back to write his report. Sir Stafford invited him to join his staff. Mr. Coupland agreed. What work he did, we are not told. But this little attempt to justify the ways of Cripps to men is the result.

One cannot but admire the self-possession of a man who, after close association with a futile mission, coolly sits down to apportion praise or blame and expects his exoneration of the chief negotiator to be accepted. Mr. Coupland might have at least had the good sense to give as an appendix the correspondence exchanged between Sir Stafford Cripps and Congress leaders, Indians especially and impartial readers generally who read Mr. Coupland's booklet, cannot find serious fault with Gandhiji for avoiding negotiations with Britain. When every word one utters is torn from its context and promptly used against one, it is best to keep to oneself. The circumstances in which Mr. Coupland found himself should have made him desist from writing on Cripps. What he has done is not different from playing Goebbels to Sir Stafford's Hitler.

Mr. Coupland adheres to the reiterated Cripps view that the negotiations broke down because the Congress suddenly sprang a demand for a national government though Sir Stafford Cripps had made it clear that nothing of the sort could be granted during the War. And to convince people of this, he, like his leader, begins by saying that it is not correct to argue that the quarrel was over defence. Nobody said it was. Anyone who has taken the trouble to read the letters exchanged between Cripps, on the one hand, and Nehru and Azad, on the other, cannot but carry away the impression that Sir Stafford

whether he was fed up or ill or believed that the War Cabinet's object had been served, broke off negotiations just when he could have usefully carried them further if he had come to India with the intention of overcoming the dead-lock. Maulana Azad said in his last letter, "You have put forward an argument in your letter which at no time during our talk was mentioned by you... Had you raised this question, we would have discussed it and found a satisfactory solution." That Sir Stafford's reply to this should have been to pack up his luggage, means only that his attempt was to induce Indians to accept the discredited August offer of Executive Council expansion. It might be that Indians are not intelligent enough to understand the British mind, but when Sir Stafford said that Defence could in no circumstances be transferred to Indian hands implying thereby that all other portfolios would; and went on to add in his interviews tempting allusions to a Cabinet system and a National Government—which are discreetly omitted in Mr. Coupland's booklet—any normal person would have inferred that power was to be transferred to Indians in all save Defence.

The fact is, the Congress negotiators were much too ready to come to terms to scrutinise the War Cabinet scheme closely, and there were words there which might have meant anything. Sir Stafford in a moment of candour admitted at Karachi that had he come out with only the proposals for the present without the padding about the future, no one would have looked at his scheme. He kept on gilding the pill until he could do it no longer.

Even assuming that the Cripps position is right, that it was for the Viceroy to discuss the fine question of responsibilities and powers in the interim Government and for the Commander-in-Chief to ensure that his troops had a sufficiency of material—Malaya and Burma provide a peculiar commentary on this insistence—we cannot understand how Sir Stafford could exonerate both these dignitaries from responsibility for the breakdown of his Mission. Neither made any attempt to conciliate Indian opinion in any way. Incidentally, we would urge that an Indian Defence Minister is more likely to see that Indian troops abroad would have the equipment necessary for the job they have to do, than a Commander-in-Chief under control of the British War Cabinet. For no Indian could turn round and tell his countrymen that territories neighbouring India had to be given up because Russia needed munitions, or Libya tanks. The Indian public, moreover, will not be as apathetic to developments on the doorstep of India as they are now. While Burma, Malaya and Singapore shook distant Britain, in nearby India no demand for inquiry ruffled the placidity of the Government. Yet Indian troops were involved and, in Parliamentary debates and in interviews given by generals, it was freely mentioned that they were ill-equipped.

Professor Coupland discusses why Congress pressed its claim for a National Government which, he says, it knew in advance could not be granted. He begins with a discussion on what the Congress actually wanted, for which he is incompetent since Sir Stafford refused to cross the threshold of discovery when he wound up his Mission. That fact itself suggests that further scrutiny was feared as likely to bring out revelations adverse to Britain. Professor Coupland in saying why the demand could not be granted mentions the Civil Service in addition to the troops, as a very important factor. In considering why the Congress pressed for the demand, Coupland's cloven foot is revealed. The Congress leaders were afraid of Gandhiji who

was against a settlement; Congress policy in the past was too strong to allow of a change over from non-co-operation; and "now that the enemy were in sight, it might well seem too late." These are his insinuations and they are unworthy of one who has the least claim to possess the detached mind of a student.

Professor Coupland throws no new light on the negotiations in spite of his close association with Sir Stafford; he manages to shade quite a number of points. One wonders why this book was published in India when it was so obviously meant for consumption abroad. For Mr. Coupland writes for the benefit of "a wider public not so familiar as the Congress leaders with the facts of the constitutional situation in India." He concludes with a note on Sir Stafford Cripps and expresses his confidence that the personal impression made by Sir Stafford "will not be forgotten." We agree but not in the sense Mr. Coupland apparently means when he goes on to talk of "future dealings between Britain and India being different" implying improvement. The future is rapidly unfolding itself—only neither Sir Stafford nor his satellites will be here to face the music. Anyone who talks in the circumstances of an improvement in Indo-British relations after the Cripps Mission, is living in a paradise of his own making. Mr. Rajagopalachari's manoeuvre is applauded as a touch of "realism" inspired by Sir Stafford. And the reader is told with great wisdom that forbidden fruit is always tempting and that, if Muslims are allowed to separate, they will elect to remain. Why did Sir Stafford's scheme insist on postponing the decision till after the war—*i. e.*, till Britain's need for a united India was satisfied? And why was not this political wisdom applied to the issue of India's entering the war itself?

DNYANESHWAR.

The Rev. J. F. Edwards has given to his volume on Dnyaneshwar in the Poet-Saints of India Series begun by the late Dr. Justin Abbott, a title which reveals the bias of the Christian Missionary against the social system of which Dnyaneshwar himself was not only a product but an ardent apologist. It is "Dnyaneshwar, the Outcaste Brahmin." This is like calling a book on Martin Luther, "Luther, the Unfrocked Monk." The sainthood of Dnyaneshwar was neither the cause nor the effect of his being an outcaste Brahmin. The unfrocking of the monk Luther was both. Yet a book on "Luther, the Unfrocked Monk" can be the work only of a bigoted Roman Catholic. No Protestant Christian would think of emphasising the deprivation of the monastic garb as the essence of the life or doctrines of Martin Luther. Dr. Abbott in the nine volumes which he contributed to this series of which Mr. Edward's is the twelfth, was so sympathetic in his presentation of the Maharashtra saints that a Hindu scholar suggested that he was a Maharashtrian Hindu in his previous birth. No one can say that of the author of "Dnyaneshwar, the Outcaste Brahmin." Every one who reads the book while appreciating the careful scholarship of the author, will not fail to note that his purpose in writing it, over and beyond the exposition of the teachings of the saint, was to fling a small stone at the Hindu socio-religious system. Dnyaneshwar, the Hindu saint, is used to discredit the Hindu system.

Dnyaneshwar's father, Vithalpant, who was a married man, had the vows of sanyas administered to him by an eminent Sanyasi without informing

the latter of his civil condition. The Guru in his wanderings—a sanyasi is forbidden to prolong his stay in one village for more than a few days—came to Dnyaneshwar's village and came to know the truth. Thereupon he ordered his disciple to return to his family as it was against the ordinance of the Shastras, that a man cannot become a sanyasi—renounce the world—until after he had fulfilled the obligations of a householder or grihastha. Vithalpant had no option but to obey. When a man becomes a sanyasi, he ceases to be bound by the rules of caste. He has no caste. Vithalpant's castemen, therefore, refused to recognise him and his family as of their caste as he had incurred the double heresy of renouncing the world without discharging his obligations to it and then resuming his family life. Such playing fast and loose with a deliberate and solemn decision, was unprecedented. It is easy to see that, if entry and exit from sanyas became as simple as entry and exit into a theatre, sanyas would cease to be the solemn affair which it has always been in Hindu life. Hindu ideology does not favour acting in haste and repenting at leisure. It insists on deliberation before action and on a man abiding by the consequences of his action once it is taken.

Dnyaneshwar himself had no grievance against his castemen for acting according to precedent and the ordinances of varnashrama. The Bhagavad Gita deprecates unsettling of the mass mind in order to effect any reform. The masses, it says, follow the example of good men. Example is the only effective propaganda. Precept may follow but not precede example. Every Hindu reformer has from ancient times followed this method. Shankaracharya wrote the first great commentary on the Bhagavad Gita. Dnyaneshwar some four centuries later produced his commentary in Marathi. Shankara too had broken the rule of Sanyas having become a sanyasi as a bachelor without passing through the third stage of householder. He too was put out of caste. He could not get his caste fellows to carry his mother's corpse to the burning-ground. He cremated the body in the compound of her house. His castemen eventually accepted this mode of sepulture as their custom. Every reformer begins as a dissenter. If his example commends itself to the community, it adopts it as a custom. Hindus who joined another fold as a protest against customs which did not commend themselves to their conscience or convenience, forfeited their right to influence it and ceased to do so. The acceptance of an existing order even though it is faulty, and endeavouring to reform it without destroying it, is the essence of the constitutional temper which is congenial to the Hindu mind. No Hindu thinks of Shankara or Dnyaneshwar as an out-caste. In fact, caste and outcaste have no meaning as applied to souls. Even antyajnas when they assumed the religious mantle were relieved of the bonds of caste. Right in the middle of the sixty and odd Saiva saints in the great Chidambaram temple, is the figure of Nanda the Pariah saint.

A word about the Bhagavad Dharma of which Dnyaneshwar was an illustrious exponent. Some of the writers quoted by Mr. Edwards would seem to suggest that Dnyaneshwar was the founder of Bhagavad Dharma. That dharma is much older than the thirteenth century. It is probably as old as the Vedas. It was evolved as an alternative to the philosophical religion which was much above the understanding of the average man. In the Gita itself, Sri Krishna admits the pre-eminence of the latter—the worship of the Unmanifest—but recommends the Bhakti form as more easy and within the competence of the mass of humanity.

The Hindu has a passion for worship. Whatever he may believe of the Soul and the Spirit, he must have some form of worship to satisfy this craving. Even Shankara the apostle of Absolute Monism had his moods of intense devotion.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

An angry American commentator on the Wardha resolution threatens that not a single dollar will be lend-leased to India. That will be the best thing that can happen to this country. The influx of dollars into any country does it no real good. The dollar is the negation of America's highest ideals. After all, the dollars are lease-lent to the Government of India which is an alias for the British Government. Another American threatens to use force to coerce Indians into acquiescing in the present system. If that system were applied to the United States, with the Congress and the President and his Secretaries of State and Judges of the Supreme Federal Court, chosen on a quota basis according to the different nationalities and races which compose the highly composite American population, the States will not last as a single unit for three years. One is tempted to reply to the threat of force in the words of Robert Clive when, in a quarrel over a game of cards, one of the players levelled a pistol at him, "Shoot and be damned." It will be a glorious sequel to the Declaration of the Rights of Man in the American Constitution. No one who has been even a short time in the United States, will recognise the excerpts sent out to India, perhaps at the instance of Mr. Josselyn Hennesy, the Press agent of the Government of India at Washington, as typical of the sentiments of the American people on Indian Independence.

Samuel Gonsalves complains in the *Bombay Sentinel* that, while in two Catholic orphanages in Bandra, Indian children are given only black tea and rice and dhal, the Polish refugee children get the best of everything available regardless of cost. Mr. Gonsalves is wrong in laying the blame for this on the Government of India. The Polish refugees are maintained in Bandra by the Holy See and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bombay as its agent is in charge of them. The Government of India has allowed the children to be accommodated in India. All the same the provision of supplies for Polish children affects the market for vegetables and other foodstuffs and entails considerable hardship to the inhabitants. The detention in India of a large number of Italian prisoners of war has a similar effect, besides being a potential danger in case of eventualities. Mr. Gonsalves should approach the Archbishop to do away with discrimination between Indian and Polish orphans.

The *Guardian* of Madras has completely misunderstood the point of the *Reformer's* observations on the omission to include an Indian Christian among the recently appointed Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council. The *Reformer* said that the omission could not have been due to lack of competent men in the community. It affirmed that there were Indian Christians quite as able and as public-spirited as any of those nominated. If the communal principle had been altogether ignored, the *Reformer* remarked, the omission would not call for comment. But since the principle was observed in the case of other minorities, it should have been extended to Indian Christians also. The *Reformer* suggested that the only explanation which might be thought of as having led to the omission, was that

Indian Christians are already a protected community as foreign Missions did much for their education and employment. The *Guardian* says that this is an insult to Indian Christians. It is difficult to see where the insult comes in. The *Guardian* does not suggest any other explanation for the absence in the list of a member of the Indian Christian community which is the second largest minority, while Sikhs and Parsis, smaller and more localised minorities, find representation in the Executive Council.

The *Indian Witness*, the organ of the American Methodist Mission, thinks that Dr. Ambedkar may be expected to look after the interests of Indian Christians as well as the Depressed Classes. The idea underlying its view, apparently, is that mass conversions are made largely from the latter. Christian Missions have on this ground claimed for their converts the special educational and economic concessions granted to the unconverted Depressed classes. Dr. Ambedkar at one time had hinted at the probability of getting the depressed classes into some fold unconnected with Hinduism *en masse*. Perhaps, it is this hint which has led the *Witness* to entrust the interests of the Indian Christian community to his care.

RECLUSE.

THE RAU COMMITTEE'S BILL ON HINDU SUCCESSION. (BY K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, SATARA.)

II.

In this Bill, the rules of intestate succession are made as simple as possible. As remarked before, variations to meet individual cases may well be left to the individual owner to make by will. When, as in ancient law, wills were unknown, it might have been necessary to insist upon every shade of difference between one sort of heir and another. But now that wills have become a recognized part of Hindu Law it is possible to simplify the rules of intestate succession without hardship to anybody.

Clause 5 of the Bill is the most important section in the whole Act. In that section, heirs are enumerated under 5 classes. They are:—

Class I.—Simultaneous heirs:—

- (1) Widow, son, daughter, son of a pre-deceased son, and son of a pre-deceased son of a pre-deceased son.
- (2) Daughter's son.
- (3) Son's daughter.
- (4) Daughter's daughter.

Class II.—Mother, father and his descendants:—

- (1) Mother.
- (2) Father.
- (3) Brother.
- (4) Brother's son.
- (5) Brother's son's son.
- (6) Sister.
- (7) Sister's son.

Class III.—Father's mother, father's father and his descendants.

Class IV.—Father's father's mother, father's father's father and his descendants.

Class V.—Mother's mother, mother's father and his descendants.

In all 29 heirs in order of seniority are given. The list appears to be quite exhaustive.

The most important change made is that the daughter is made the heir along with the son and the widow. By the Deshmukh Act, the widow is already made the heir along with the son.

Now, the daughter is given the same status. Only the share of the daughter is made half that of the son. The distinction between married and unmarried daughters or between rich and poor is altogether done away with. On the whole, the enumeration appears to be quite in consonance with natural affection and reason, and, it can be well supported on grounds of equity and justice also. Marriage is no longer a necessity in the life of every woman. A class of educated women is coming into existence who, owing to desire of social service or through the force of circumstances, do not get married. Such women, be it noted, used to get a share in the family property of the father in Vedic times. The Smriti authority is also definite in favour of giving a share to the daughter though it is not quite clear on the point of the extent of the share. It will certainly not be against Hindu sentiment and Aryan culture if this right of the daughter is revived in these enlightened times when there is a demand by women for equality of status with men. This recommendation in the Bill must, therefore, find general support. [There is some confusion here. The writer conveys the impression that the Bill raises the unmarried daughter to the same level as the married daughter whilst it is really the other way about. Today the unmarried daughter excludes the married.—*Editor.*]

It will be remembered that the widowed daughter-in-law, under the Deshmukh Act, gets a share equally with the son and the widow. In this Bill provision is now made for her in her father's family. Obviously it seems unnecessary to provide for her in the family of her father-in-law. She will, of course, continue to take a share in the husband's property as his widow.

The rules regarding the order of succession between Gotrajas or agnates and Bandhus or cognates, other than enumerated heirs are simple and clear. Even the layman, unfamiliar with technicalities of law, would, it is hoped, be able to find out where he can be by applying these rules. But efforts are, indeed, made to clarify the meaning of these rules by giving appropriate and clear illustrations. In this respect the present law is not quite clear and definite. Even the Privy Council decisions are not quite consistent and unanimous. All this confusion is now satisfactorily removed in this Bill, by giving very clear and definite rules of succession amongst agnates and cognates.

In Clause 17 of the Bill by a roundabout way anuloma marriages are recognized as valid. Such marriages are put on the same footing with ordinary legal marriages. If the marriage is legally valid then it should entail no legal disabilities either to the parties or to the children. Merely because the parents have entered into an anuloma union it is hardly just to punish their children by depriving them of their ordinary rights of inheritance.

Clause 18 deals with the unchastity qualifications of the widows. Broadly speaking, the clause asserts that the chastity of a Hindu woman during her husband's lifetime shall not be questioned after his death, except in certain special circumstances. Those are (1) the existence of a will by the husband disinheriting the wife on the ground of unchastity and (2) the existence of a finding of unchastity by a Court, in a proceeding to which both husband and wife are parties and in which the question of her chastity was in issue. This is necessary, the Bill says, for the purpose of preventing widows being blackmailed by unscrupulous reversioners. This is not fair, it is submitted. It is practically putting a premium on unchastity. This clause

must be totally amended and it be enacted that unchastity would be a good ground for exclusion from inheritance in the case of widows. [This is extravagant language. We agree with the Rau Committee.—*Editor.*]

Stridhan is very competently dealt with in the Bill, in Clauses 12 to 14. The all-pervading Mitakshara definition of Stridhan has been accepted, and all sorts of distinctions like the technical and non-technical or Soudayik and non-Soudayik or under different Smritis are dispensed with. It is certainly a step in the right direction. So also the Mitakshara order of devolution is accepted almost with very slight variation. There also it is suggested that there should be a uniform rule of succession to all kinds of Stridhan and not two sets of rules—one for Stridhan inherited by a woman from her husband and one for all other kinds of Stridhan. This appears to be cumbersome and there would be two sets of heirs to the property of one deceased woman. 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 in the property of the father and when she further gets a share in the property of her husband as his widow and when her estate is considered as an absolute estate, it is not known why there should be a different set of rules for the Stridhan of women to that for the property of the male. It is embodied in the Bill that there should be no distinction due to sex. Therefore, it is humbly suggested that the heirs should be one and the same for the Stridhan of the woman as well as property of the male.

It will thus be seen that this part of the Hindu Code is, generally speaking, a blend of the finest elements in the various schools of Hindu Law, and quite simple in language. It should command the approval of all.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

(Copyright.)

JULY 3, 1932.

Manaos, Brazil.

We returned at 6 from our excursion today. We started at 9 a. m. on the same launch as two mornings ago, as before canoes accompanied the steamer and we had lunch and tea on the launch.

The programme was an excursion to the river Solimoes and village of Careiro.

Here is the official description of what was to have been expected today. Another river and forest expedition takes the traveller to Terra Nova island with its native village and rubber, cocoa and mandioc plantations and to fields of the Victoria Regina waterlily. For some distance, the river steamer threads her way through lanes of twilight water, flanked by the amazing growth of the Tropics. Trees festooned with the hanging nests of birds (Doctor did not let these escape us), curious lianas and orchids, giant ants nests, brilliantly coloured birds and butterflies may be seen in the forest aisles. Then the little vessel ties up to the bank, and a few minutes' walk (we were taken in two parties in a canoe) brings the travellers to a lagoon with its surface covered by the broad leaves of the V. R. waterlily, the glory of the Amazonian flora. The fields of the Negro-Solimoes are among the most beautiful yet discovered. The saucerlike leaves of this waterflower, which often measures six or seven feet in diameter, are capable of supporting the weight of a child. The flower is not less marvellous than the leaves. When fully expanded, the bloom measures 12 to 15 inches across. It

has numerous petals and when the bud first opens, the colour is pure white, changing during its brief existence of three days to crimson. It exhales a very pleasant perfume.

Doctor got out one of the saucer leaves to carry with us, and also a flower which he cut open on our boat revealing both the white and the crimson within.

JULY 4, 1932.

There were two excursions today—the first by motor car starting before 9 a. m. for Lake Aleixos returning at noon, for lunch on the ship; the second also by motor starting after tea to see the old town of Manaos, through experimental farms and plantations of rubber, coffee, cocoa, banana, terminated so as to bring us back on the ship at 6-45 p. m. They saw a little bird carrying away in the air a little snake; a fair-sized monkey was observed but that was on a river boat; yesterday on the river banks we had seen some of the native industries—timber cut, cows milked, shacks of rubber-gatherers, canoes and steam boats being loaded with planks and milk-cans and nuts. The loading operation on this ship conducted with fearful noise shows the produce for export—the bulk of it is Brazil nuts. Our ship is on a wharf separated from the town by water on which canoes ply, and the company has boats running flying-flags to keep touch with the town; the goods brought by the ship are unloaded on the town wharf by a wire on which a crane effects the necessary transit of articles from ship to town; the loading of nuts is made by boatfuls of them alongside of the ship from which by spade-digging, basketfuls are shovelled into iron-baskets dropped into boats and picked up by cranes and emptied into the ship's hold. There is nothing novel about all this. American practice in iron ores has considerably cheapened the transit of ores from mines to furnaces.

Today going into the old town situated on an elevation above the river, and looking interesting in the situation, we saw the most squalid quarters inhabited by fair and dark men, women and children. Some children even with paunches protruberant as in rice-fed countries. I wondered what these people were living on, bare feet and patched garments were so conspicuous. I understood that they are chiefly canoe men and, may be, some of them are workmen at the new town, ferried to their work from their old but dear habitations.

Wherever a building looked promising, the sign-board showed it was a parochial school or a municipal dispensary. Yesterday from the river we had sighted even a Lepers Asylum—apparently lepers abound in the Tropics, and therefore asylums for them are there seen and shown. But squalor or splendour made no difference to my comrades to whom interest arose from fitness as material for the Camera. They filmed these backward elements of the population with as much zest as they had filmed in the morning the beautiful blue waters of Lake Aleixos fringed all round by a thick forest beyond which again the Amazon flowed. Our road lay through paths through the jungle on which we had for days been gazing as our ship made its way up the river, the roads had steep ascents and descents and the roads looked soft, but the motors felt no difficulty. Yesterday at the water-lily village I was surrounded by women and children who wondered at my goggles, and were pleased to be enabled to see through them; there was no means of mutual understanding. One blonder than the rest, and with gold hair, was persistently talking and from his energy I suspected he expected bakh-sheesh though that was not the word he uttered. Other children were glad to go up and down the gangway into the river-boat from which

we had landed. The plank was narrow but that added to their zest and brought out their agility. We had at last sampled the humans who had conquered a bit of the wild.

JULY 5TH, 1932.

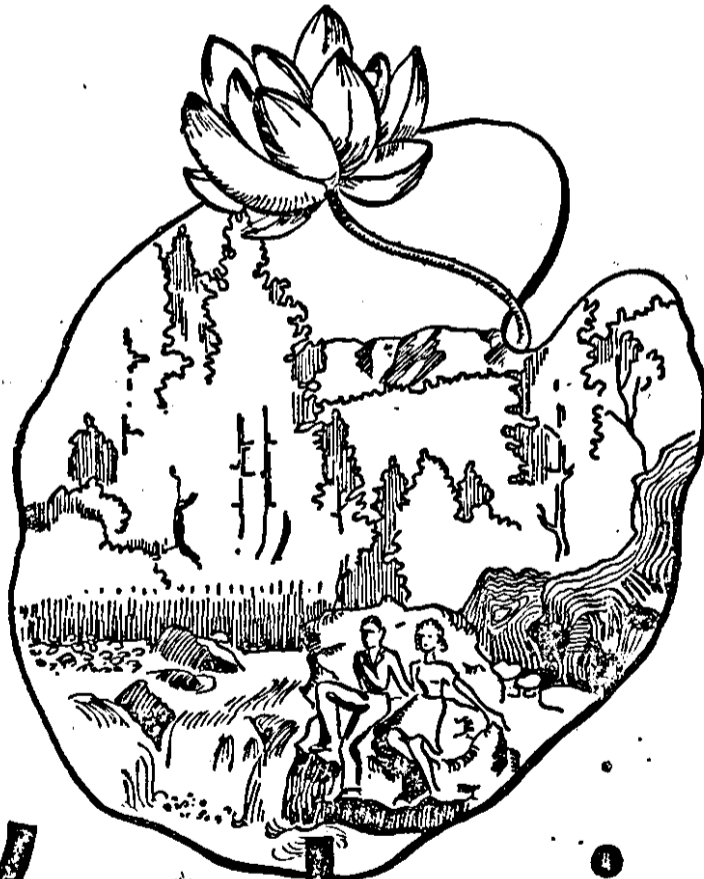
Today is the last of many days at Manaus.

It is warm, nevertheless Mr. Grant (senior) remarked yesterday, passing the plantations, that the heat felt here was less a tax on one than in India; of course, the reason is the Trade Winds, the river breezes, the frequency of rains (we have seen hardly any) and storms. The effort of an Englishman for 30 years from the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine has cleared the place of Yellow Fever. Malaria exists, but does not seem to kill many. The clerk of the ship gave me as 7 per week as the average mortality of Manaus, which would be half the rate of London; and that seems incredible.

The doctor of the ship and Mme. Stamenescu found themselves arguing this morning which one would prefer—the London slum in the heart of civilisation, or the jungle at the equator. The doctor had no hesitation to declare for civilization even in slumdom; Madame for the jungle even if without civilization. When Madame referred to me, I suggested that the question was not correctly posed; the answer would depend on what one is prepared to make of a situation, the Oxford graduate, trained to declaim Aeschylus, simply perished on the way when he joined the rush for the gold-fields: one would prefer to be a real Adam Bede to

acting the part of a King on the stage; the son of God chose to be a Carpenter and Jew when he came to redeem the world. All the ozone in Amazonia would not keep slum-dwellers from starving if dumped in millions without preparation; all the comfort of white life in the villas on this river would not compensate the slum-dweller if he had to give up Love in the slums. But Madame wants a bask in the Sun for ever, and Tagore's lectures in Romania have put her in love with Tagore's ideals. She would rather have no use for civilization and is out of humour that her affairs in Romania require her personal supervision and return. Still she enjoys the trip more than all others; even now she has started out for a walk after a full morning's programme of a visit to the Rubber Factory and the Nut Factory, and the Opera House. The Rubber Factory has only 44 men at work in better times it had 800.

Madame and the Grants and Mr. Beyermann have been in Rio-de Janeiro and Buenos-Aires, so to them all they see on the Amazon ought to look provincial; yet they all drink in every bit of it and film it and variegate their impressions by nights on shore, by visits to clubs, by call on Mr Forbes. The first four nights, the Grants dined in the town; they make friends as they go. Mr. Beyermann thinks Borneo (English) the most beautiful place in those regions, even though he has seen Buitenzorg (the great experimental gardens of Java).



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THE INDIAN POET'S POET	<i>K. Chandrasekharan</i>
UNITY	<i>Elizabeth Cross</i>
WHETHER MAN?	
I.—An Aspect of Emergent Evolution	<i>Nolini Kanta Gupta</i>
II.—The Philosophic Mind	<i>J. N. Chubb</i>
COMPANY OF MYSTICS	<i>J. Vijaya-Tunga</i>
JESUS CHRIST: Glimpses of His Life and Mission	
VIII.—Immortality	<i>Ernest V. Hayes</i>
WOMEN IN AMERICA	<i>N. S. Subba Rao</i>
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Office:—KAMARSHI HOUSE, SANDRA, BOMBAY, 26.

Editor: S. NATARAJAN.

Vol LII, BOMBAY—SATURDAY AUGUST 8, 1942. No. 49.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Another Conference.
The Congress Resolution.
Minutes of the Congress
Discussions.
Independence and Foreign
Policy.
The Metropolitan's Intervention

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Lead.
India and the War Cabinet.
A Bandra Diary.
A Great Indian Scholar.
Hindu Marriages and Islamic
Dissolution.
Letters of B. J. Padshah.

NOTES.

Another Conference:—*The Reformer* has from the first taken the view that, as India's involvement in the war is a consequence of her political status as a British possession, her co-operation in its prosecution should, under the direction of the Governor-General, be what can be legitimately expected of a possession. A subject people, so long as they remain subjects, should carry out orders of the rulers as far as lay within their power to do so. Therefore, *The Reformer* advocated the Viceroy being the sole and supreme director of India's war effort. The first expansion of the Executive Council has not appreciably contributed to intensifying of the war effort. It had, on the contrary, given rise to many complaints especially of discrimination between Europeans and non-Europeans. Lord Linlithgow, a friend remonstrated, is blamed for the appointment of Britishers to all important jobs created in connection with the war. What can he do, he asked, when an Indian Member of his Council practically insists on such an appointment? The second batch of nominations seemed to forecast a distinct change of policy and *The Reformer* pleaded that a fair trial should be given to the twice-expanded Council before agitating for further measures. In doing so, it relied on Gandhiji's innate chivalry on such occasions shown more than once in his career in South Africa and in India. To our disappointment, and surprise, the new members have themselves made this difficult. Immediately on the publication of the Working Committee's resolution they got into their state saloons and started-off in different directions denouncing the Congress and Gandhiji. Some of these pronouncements suggest a hasty reference to a Dictionary of Phrase and Fable in search of the most opprobrious epithets to hurl at the Congress and its leaders. The influence on public opinion of such effusions has been no greater than that of the effusions of a schoolboy. One member outstripped all others in his incoherent

invective. One day he denounced Gandhiji as insane and the next day appealed to this very mad man to convene a conference of leaders including no doubt himself. Gandhiji is too big a man to be affected by such peurities. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed himself in favour of a Conference provided the Independence demand is conceded beforehand. This is not a fair condition. There should be, there is, an alternative which should also be placed before the Conference, namely, that of closer union with Britain. If Britain concedes to India, not in the future but immediately, the right to collaborate with her on equal terms in the formulation of policies, according her responsible positions in the Empire Cabinet, besides giving her complete freedom to mould her own internal administration, India may well be satisfied to remain and function as an integral part of an Indo-British Commonwealth. This will be no innovation. It will be merely the return of the Congress no less than of Britain to their old moorings. The present position, we repeat, is intolerable and humiliating to both countries.

The Congress Resolution:—The Congress Working Committee has published the resolution which it has drafted for the All India Congress Committee this week-end. It is, as usual, a lengthy statement on world and Indian affairs, expressing sympathy for Russia and China and outlining its programme for India's future. It is unhappily worded in the section relating to the future position of Japanese-occupied territories like the Dutch Indies, Indo-China, Malaya and Burma which, it says, should not be put under the control of any other Colonial Power. This is not, as it reads, a demand for perpetuation of Japanese domination but for complete freedom for these countries. The resolution assures immediately that a free India will throw herself into the fight against Fascism, Nazism and Imperialism and for the future suggests a World Federation which India will join. This is looking too far ahead at the moment. On the Indian constitution, it commits the Congress to a federal system of government with the fullest powers to the units and residuary powers vesting in the units. We cannot understand the light-hearted way in which decisions are taken on vital issues by the Working Committee. The excessive strengthening of federating units will prove no more successful in India than it has

done elsewhere and the result will be a prolonged tussle till equilibrium is attained. Whatever that might be, the future constitution of India is a large issue and the Congress should have left it to a later date instead of incorporating its views on it now in an omnibus resolution. The subjects covered by the resolution are so varied that it is unfair to the A. I. C. C. to get it to vote on all of them in a single vote. It would be proper to divide it by subjects into several resolutions so that one might really consider the large issues involved.

Minutes of the Congress Discussions:—The Government of India have released for publication the draft report of a discussion which took place in April at Allahabad on a resolution drawn up by Gandhiji for the All India Congress Committee. The notes were seized during a recent raid on the A. I. C. C. offices at Allahabad. The object of publication apparently is to discredit the Congress and particularly Gandhiji. But it is propaganda in its cheapest, crudest and most ineffective form. The broad facts are that two resolutions were placed before the house by the President, one drafted by Gandhiji and the other by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The first was accepted by a majority but, on the personal appeal of the Maulana, the earlier decision was dropped and Pandit Nehru's resolution was adopted unanimously. The main difference between the two is that Gandhiji had some sentences relating to Japan which said that Japan had no quarrel with India but with the British Empire; that "if India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan." The fact that the Government of India have merely released these notes for publication—incidentally had the Congress itself wanted to publish them, a Gazette Extraordinary would probably have banned them as prejudicial to the conduct of the war—and not treated Gandhiji as they did U. Saw of Burma, shows that they do not regard it as a very serious matter themselves. The public, particularly that section which takes its cue from the Anglo-Indian press, need not be shocked by these disclosures. And it would be well to bear in mind that it was a resolution drafted at a time when Japanese invasion was a very real threat. The Governor of Madras had scattered his Government to the four corners of the Presidency; the American Consul in South India, it is an open secret, had advised U. S. nationals to leave that area; Burma was going the way of Malaya; General Wavell had in a broadcast mentioned the difficulties of guarding a long coastline; there had been, it is true, statements to the effect that determined resistance would be put up in India, but this had also been the case with Malaya and Burma. If this was the position in India, in the United States there seems to have been a feeling about the same time (*New Republic*, May 18) that "the British hope to hold Ceylon no matter what may happen to India itself, being encouraged perhaps by their experience with Malta." An Indian leader could not but give serious thought

to the position of his people in the event of invasion, since to him and them the question of concentrating on Ceylon and ignoring India does not arise. The draft resolution was logical and consistent with the philosophy of life which is Gandhiji's, even the part relating to negotiations. It should have surprised no one and certainly it is not news. A man of peace will not exclude the possibility of negotiation. Readers will not forget that the fact that Gandhiji regarded the British Government as Satanic did not prevent him from carrying on protracted negotiations with representatives of that Government.

Independence and Foreign Policy:—The only question is whether it is proper for one who contemplates Indian freedom, to think of diplomatic relations for free India with countries with which today we as part of the Empire are at war. Naturally the views of those who cannot think of India as completely free, must differ from the opinion of men who look forward to independence. But without the right to decide foreign policy, there can be no real independence. We have protested frequently against negotiators from the Congress declaring that they would pledge the country to full support to the Allies if independence were granted, for the unreality of their position. The draft moves away from that position and asserts the right of India to decide her own policy. Even those who ardently desire that Britain's friends should also be the friends of India, cannot find anything ethically wrong in this attitude. Gandhiji's draft resolution merely pointed out a contingency. So much for the resolution itself. What are the likely reactions in India and abroad? Here is first-class propaganda material for the Axis powers, for one thing. Secondly, public confidence in the Government and the Allies will be greatly weakened, if the notes are accepted at the value at which the Government hope them to be. For the natural reaction on thinking Gandhiji is pro-Axis and sure of an Axis victory will be that there might be something in his point of view, and every Axis triumph will shake the public mind further. In the Allied countries, much abuse has been hurled at the Congress and accusations of betraying China and Russia in particular are freely made. It is strange that the press of Britain and America should lead this hunt for a scapegoat in India. The cause in China and Russia is more likely to suffer through inadequate help from these two countries than from the most lengthy resolutions of the Congress. It is one of the evils we have to endure that persons and groups abroad from whom we have had a great deal of emotional sympathy and nothing else in the past, should now pompously threaten us with the withdrawal of that support. India had never any need of this assistance and she is well rid of it now. There is nothing more nauseating than to hear persons in this country, themselves Indians and but yesterday nationalists, talking of India's "betrayal" of the twenty-six nations.

The Metropolitan's Intervention:—The Secretary of State for India made a statement on the Wardha resolution in the House of Commons last week, which was noteworthy in three particulars. Mr. Amery declared definitely, though Sir Stafford Cripps before leaving India after the failure of his mission had declared that the proposals he had brought with him were withdrawn, that they were still on offer in their "broad principles." (The Cripps' scheme was avowedly a emergency measure and it did not represent any principles.) The second particular was the suggestion that, while no safeguards would be inserted in the future constitution of India for the protection of European commercial interests, they would be made secure by treaties with the future Indian Government. The *Hindu* promptly called attention to this serious departure from Sir Stafford Cripps' assurance at a Press Conference in New Delhi that there would be no safeguards either in the Constitution or through subsequent treaties. The third important feature of Mr. Amery's statement was his solemn warning that the Government of India will not flinch from their duty to take every possible step to meet the situation. Note the word "possible," which can only mean that they will stop at nothing. This threat has drawn forth a protest from the Right Rev. Dr. Foss-Westcott, the Metropolitan of India. Dr. Westcott says that he read with profound regret Mr. Amery's statement. He deplored the Wardha resolution as it departed from the principle of conference to settle disputes between men of goodwill and adopted the threat of coercive action to enforce Congress views upon those with whom they were in controversy. Dr. Westcott asks:

Is it the method of peace to answer threats of coercion with similar threats? Among determined men that may lead to war and the danger has arisen that two great nations will be engaged in a struggle which will exceed in bitterness and agony anything that had gone before.

The Metropolitan sorrowfully asks if "the meaning of the Cross which we Christians claim to follow is to be lost upon us and the way of redemption through sacrifice is to be disregarded." Mr. Amery would perhaps answer that Great Britain has already made plenty of sacrifices, that, if that be the way to redemption, she has earned it many times over. He may say that the Metropolitan must direct his exhortation to India which, though not a professedly Christian country, has from time immemorial proclaimed renunciation as the sole and certain path to Peace. And Mr. Amery will not be far wrong. Does not the Metropolitan err in thinking that the Wardha resolution is a threat of coercive action? If it coerces anyone, it coerces those who adopted it and may adopt it at the forthcoming All India Congress Committee meeting. Calvary has exerted an enormous influence over mankind for centuries, but would it be right to call it coercive? India highly appreciates, all the same, the Metropolitan's generous

intervention but it is becoming increasingly apparent that she must suffer more than any other nation has done to secure redemption. She has no friends outside and has many enemies in her own household. Individuals in that situation have often experienced an astonishing volume of unsuspected strength descending on them. And so it may be with nations. In such moments one realizes the truth of the old aphorism, "Never less alone than when alone," in all its profundity.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Lead:—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his statements on the present situation has suggested that Gandhiji, Mr. Jinnah and others should call a Conference for negotiating an agreement. This is a surprising advice and the more so since Sir Tej himself some months ago rejected the same suggestion when it was made to him by Mr. Amery. In April 1941, Sir Tej Bahadur observed: "Mr. Amery has appealed to me and my friends not to cease from our efforts to concentrate first and foremost on bringing contending elements together...I shall be absolutely frank. I believe Mr. Amery's indiscreet and unfortunate speeches on this subject have done the worst service to us, and he has no business to make that pious appeal to us when he himself has done nothing to promote unity among the contending elements in India...I shall be very glad if those in India who parrotlike repeat Mr. Amery's pious sentiments, will do something to show that they are in earnest about it." What has happened to make Sir Tej Bahadur modify his attitude? The political situation has not improved. Nor has Mr. Amery shown any great tendency to keep quiet, let alone be helpful. As a matter of fact, so much has the situation deteriorated that Sir Tej who had addressed conciliatory remarks on the first expansion of the Viceroy's Council, had nothing to commend in the second which at least strengthens the Indian element more than the first one did. The Conference suggestion, however, has greater value coming from Sir Tej Bahadur than from others because with him it is not merely an attempt to mark time and avoid trouble. But is there any guarantee that the decisions of the Conference will be respected any more than the decisions of the Sapru Conferences of 1941 and 1942? What, again, is to be done if leaders who are invited, use the occasion to assert their independence by refusing to attend? Granted the Conference is agreed to, who should convene it? Sir Tej wishes the Congress to take the lead. This would lead to futile recriminations; Mr. Jinnah who could not tolerate the Sapru Conferences because he felt they were inspired by the Congress, will certainly look with even less favour on a Congress-convoked session. Besides, the Congress has fixed its goal and its path. It is for those who would divert it, to call the Conference.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 8, 1942.

INDIA AND THE WAR CABINET.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar was at some pains in the statement which he made at a Press Conference in New Delhi on Sunday, to explain that his position in the Imperial War Cabinet was different from that of the Maharaja of Bikaner and the late Lord Sinha in the War Cabinet during the last war. These two Indian representatives, he said, were "mere advisers" to the Secretary of State for India who was a member of the British War Cabinet, and were selected by him. They were not members of the War Cabinet. In contrast to that, Sir Ramaswami and the Jam Sahib will be full members of the War Cabinet and the Pacific War Council. Sir Ramaswami insisted that he had been selected by the Governor-General-in-Council, and that there had been no consultation in the matter with the Secretary of State who, moreover, was not a member of the War Cabinet. The representatives of the Dominions and India had been invited to sit on the War Cabinet and were selected by their own Governments. Sir Ramaswami continued :

I will be placing the viewpoint of the Government of India before these two bodies, if I had any mandate on any specific point. In the absence of any such mandate, I will place my own views before the two bodies, views formulated from the knowledge I have acquired of the working of the Government of India during the last three years. In short, I shall be entirely free to express my views independently of the Secretary of State. I, however, see no reason why the views I will express will not be the views of the Secretary of State. I will be responsible to, and will be guided by the instructions from, the Government of India.

It is true that the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha were technically Assessors to assist the Secretary of State for India in the last War Cabinet. The selection in both cases was made "with the advice of the Governor-General-in-Council" by the Secretary of State. In the present case, there is recognition of a direct status of the Indian representative, in the case of Sir Ramaswami, and of the Government of India, and the Princes' Chamber. But it amounts to very little. The Indian Assessors as they were officially known, were practically recognised and spoken of as Indian Members of the War Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George in his "War Memoirs" writes of meetings of the War Cabinet "at which the representatives of the Dominions and of India joined with the British Cabinet to handle the daily administrative Cabinet problems, and also to decide on executive measures for the Imperial conduct of the war." Though technically Assessors, the Indian representatives were not precluded from participating directly in the proceedings of the War Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George's fervent tribute to the Maharaja of Bikaner makes that clear. He writes,

"Bikaner" as he was familiarly and affectionately called—the Indian Prince—was a magnificent specimen

of the manhood of his great country. We soon found that he was one of "the wise men who came from the East." More and more we came to rely on his advice, especially in all questions that affected India.

It is true, as Sir Ramaswami says, that much depends on a representative's personality. His reference to General Smuts, however, is rather unfortunate because the General, according to Mr. Lloyd George, was under the spell of General Head-quarters and completely misjudged the situation at the time of the Armistice. In fact, the General's advice that "the British Empire should not pursue justice at the expense of its own legitimate future" is characterised by the British ex-Premier as "a little cynical." "But Mr. Smuts, doubtless," Mr. Lloyd George adds, "had in mind the advice of Ecclesiastes: 'Be not righteous overmuch...why should'st thou destroy thyself?'" We should not wish any Indian representative to earn such a rebuke. Sir Ramaswami would do well to choose a better model. Incidentally, there is a not very complimentary reference to General Smuts in the extracts from Padshah's letters in this issue of the *Reformer*.

Sir Ramaswami says he will be responsible only to the Government of India. But what is the Government of India? When did it become independent of the Secretary of State? If Sir Ramaswami is responsible to the Government of India and if the Government of India is responsible to the Secretary of State, it follows that Sir Ramaswami, who is also a member of the Government of India, is responsible to the Secretary of State for India, though in a roundabout way. Sir Ramaswami tried to get out of this tangle by his last observation that he saw no reason why his views should not be the views of Mr. Amery. Indeed, there is every reason why they should be identical with those of Mr. Amery.

When the personal correspondence between Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Amery comes to be published, we shall know with certainty whether or not the latter had been consulted about the appointment of an Indian representative to the War Cabinet and about the person whom the Government of India should recommend. From his three years' experience of the inner working of the Government of India, Sir Ramaswami doubtless knows that there is a weekly exchange of letters between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State the contents of which are not disclosed to members of the Executive Council except when the Viceroy chooses to take them into his confidence. Lord Morley's "Recollections" reveal that the views expressed by the two eminent authorities in their private correspondence are not always identical with those expressed by them in their public speeches. Gokhale's friends were surprised at reading in one of the letters of Lord Morley to Lord Minto, a reference to an admonition conveyed by the Viceroy to Lord Morley, not to attach too much importance to what he—Gokhale—told him. Gokhale had a high almost personal regard for Lord Minto and he believed that Lord Minto reciprocated it. Sir

Ramaswami said that he was not taking any one from India and that he would select his secretariat in London. Sir Jeremy Raisman, however, has preceded him and he will no doubt help his colleague. Has Sir Ramaswami received any assurance that Mr. Améry's presence will not be found to be necessary to assist the War Cabinet with his advice?

A BANDRA DIARY.

It struck me suddenly one morning last week—to be exact on Friday July 31 at 9 a. m.—that Bandra is an ideal place to write a diary from in this part of India. To begin with, it has a population in which all the communities in the country are harmoniously blended—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Indian and European, Parsis. When communal troubles rage in Bombay and scores are killed daily, Bandra citizens are absolutely untouched by the frenzy. The Creek which divides Bandra from Bombay, seems to have a bactricidal effect on the communal bacillus as Ganges water is said to have on the cholera bacillus. This may be due at least partly to the fact that English in Bandra is almost a vernacular, Bandra-English being as distinctive a dialect as American-English. Wherever you go in any part of the world you can recognise a Bandra man by the inflection of his voice. There is a mystic fellowship too between Bandra-bred people which knits one Bandra man to another in an instantaneous touch in most distant lands, although they may not have exchanged a single word in Bandra itself. Then, there is the great advantage for writing a diary, that Bandra is neither too near to nor too far from a great centre of commerce, industry, ambitions fulfilled and unfulfilled, of class rivalries and official muddleheadedness.

India, according to reports in this morning's papers figured in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India and Burma made a statement on the Congress resolution. I am not concerned here with the contents of the statement. I am only concerned with the general impression which the tone left on me. It seemed, to me that Mr. Amery had been suddenly aroused from a long sleep extending over three years in order to make his statement. He did not seem to know that there was a war going on, that the greater part of Europe was under enemy occupation. He seemed to think that things were standing still in Asia, that Malaya was still a British possession, that Singapore was still an impregnable naval base, that his writ was still running in Burma and that Rangoon was still a British capital. His tone towards India was as supercilious as it has been since he became Secretary of State for India and Burma. He did not seem to know that there have been two expansions of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and that there were twelve Indians and only four Englishmen in it. He did not apparently contemplate the possibility of Indians having minds of their own and applying them to matters closely concerning internal peace and order. And I was surprised. In reply to a question, Mr. Amery said that there would be no safeguard in the future constitution of India for British commercial interests but these would be protected by special treaties. The House of Lords took up this point for debate. A number of peers insisted on inserting safeguards in the constitution. I was pained at the exceptionally virulent note of Lord Hardinge's remarks. He is one of the good Viceroys India has had and he has always spoken on Indian questions

both in India and England with the restraint of a diplomat which he is by profession. It may be age and the strain of the war on battered nerves, which led him to accuse Congress of "blackmailing" Britain at a time of war. If Congress does not retort, as it may, that Britain is blackmailing it taking advantage of the war, it will be because Indians will not forget that at a critical stage of the South African struggle Lord Hardinge upheld the Indian cause in a famous speech at Madras. Lord Hailey was the other Anglo-Indian speaker. He protested, rather late in the day, against the grant to India of Dominion Status as it would provide no safeguard for European vested interests. India does not want Dominion Status. It wants either the closest association with Britain in the formulation of policies or a clean separation. Lord Hailey was the man who, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, put forward the ingenious objection that the Declaration of August 1917 did not mean Dominion Status, it meant only election of members of the Legislature by ballot. The controversy which he started, ran its course for ten years when at last it was settled by the declaration of Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) on behalf of the Baldwin Government that the Declaration meant Dominion Status and nothing but Dominion Status. By that time both India and Dominion Status had acquired new meanings. Lord Hailey evidently does not mean to let the evening of his pensioned life pass without a last disservice to this country. But India is no longer within range of his genius for casuistry.

One of the peers demanded that Britons should have the same rights in India as Indians have in Britain. That is a fair demand. That is exactly what I am suggesting as an alternative to complete separation. But let us understand what it implies. It implies that Indians must be eligible for the British Civil Service in the same degree as Britons for the Indian Civil Service. It implies that Indians must have adequate representation in Parliament, in the Cabinet, that they should be equally eligible for Colonial and Indian Governships, that the road must be open to an Indian to the Indian Viceroyalty, and to the British Premiership. This will be honest reciprocity and I, for one, would be content with that. But the right of the Indian in Britain at present is the right only to spend his money mostly on purposeless pastimes.

Reformers as distinguished from revolutionaries have a rooted antipathy to mass movements of all kinds. They have steadily opposed mass proselytising religious propaganda. They fear that the mass propaganda for war which is being fostered by official and non-official agencies, may lead to unforeseen results. They distrust likewise mass civil disobedience. Mass movements are like an avalanche which destroys good and bad indiscriminately. The masses can never grasp a principle, whether religious, moral or political, which requires some mental abstraction. The right of the individual to obey the dictates of his conscience is fundamental to civilisation. But masses as such have no conscience. They can only blindly follow. The negation of the rules of morality in war (euphemistically called *morale*) is calculated to undermine respect for them in times of peace; civil disobedience can easily degenerate into lawlessness owing to the mass-mind being unable to fix its attention on the purpose for which redress is sought. Religious propaganda, therefore, should be limited to carefully chosen individuals; training and discipline are absolutely essential in armies; and individuals who feel an

overwhelming conviction regarding a new truth are alone entitled to disregard an established order. The right to rebel, it has been well said, is the right to seek a higher law. The civil disobedience movement of 1930, was a tremendous success because almost every man and woman who took active part in it, were fully conscious of what they wanted and what the limits of their action were. In 1932 it failed because it let into the movement a large number who were completely ignorant of and indifferent to the ethics of the movement. At the present time the danger of undesirable elements crowding into the movement and ruining it, are far greater than at any previous time. There is widespread public disquiet over many things. The rules under the Defence of India are legion and afford countless openings for violation. Although industrialists are making large fortunes, the mass of the people is put to great hardship in getting their daily necessities. Taxation is high and the middle classes are feeling the strain. All these are causes of discontent unconnected with politics but when a movement to disobey authority is started, they will all inevitably coalesce with it and swell the flood. The inauguration of such a movement would be undesirable at any time but now it is especially so. Mass appeals and mass action, however, are the chosen instrument of modern government, democracy as well as dictatorship, and it does not lie in the mouths of those who derided and despised the Indian National Congress for thirty years as a microscopic minority without contact with the masses to condemn it for resorting to it in sheer desperation.

RECLUSE.

A GREAT INDIAN SCHOLAR.

(By S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, CHIDAMBARAM.)

Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, one of the greatest scholars of South India, passed away at Tirukkalkunran on 28th April last at the ripe age of 87. He started life as a teacher of Tamil in 1880 first at the Government College, Kumbakonam, and then at the Presidency College, Madras. After retirement from Government service, he served from 1924 to 1927 as the Principal of the Sri Minakshi Tamil College, since incorporated in the Annamalai University. During all these years of his life as a teacher, he was further engaged in the assiduous work of rescuing, deciphering, editing and publishing the great classics of the Golden Age of Tamil literature.

When Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar began his studies, there were no established public schools. Sanskrit was practised in *patshalas* mostly maintained by the Nagarathar community. English held the pride of place. Tamil was patronised by Mutts and Tamil learning centred round a few outstanding scholars. Printed Tamil books were unknown. Most of the literary works were written on cadjan leaves, and some literary giants carried everything they learnt in their heads and carried their learning lightly too. Unlike ours it was an age when pupils had to run after their *guru*, attend on him, wait for the propitious hour and learn only when the guru was disposed to teach. Local puranas and works of Saiva Siddhanta and Vaishnavite hymns were mostly taught and learnt. The existence of Tamil classics had by then become almost forgotten or they suffered neglect to such an extent that they were consigned to the uncared-for heaps of cadjan leaves in the families which could claim in their lineage scholars of high repute. But the unlettered successors of this rich heritage invariably allowed

these treasures to decay and die by making them the prey of white ants; or they occasionally carried them with much gusto only to throw them away into some flood during flood-festivities celebrated every year in South India.

It was at this age that Mr. Aiyar began his life-long devotion to Tamil and his unceasing efforts to rescue the classics from oblivion and utter destruction. The patient search for manuscripts, the long journeys all over the land, the frequent rebuffs and occasional successes that attended his efforts, the patient deciphering of the texts, their restoration and their elucidation—the struggle for finding the means to publish his critical editions—these have been described by him in his own inimitable style. Sometimes the original text of a poem had to be restored only from the notes of commentators. How arduous this work is, can be appreciated only by those who have worked in the field or at least seen a cadjan leaf.

Tamil has had a hoary past. Its earliest literature is known by the name of the Sangam works. According to a later tradition, almost fabulous in conception, there were three Sangams. Most of the kings and authors of the first two Sangams are highly mythical and fabulous and, except a few extracts of the so-called early *Agattiyam*, no work of this period is extant.

The works attributed to the "Third Sangam" are the oldest Tamil works now extant, and our knowledge of the earliest period of the Tamil Civilization has to be gleaned only from these works. They are, in addition to the grammar called *Tolkappiyam*, the *Pattupattu*—the Ten Idylls, a group of ten poems—and eight anthologies—*Narrinas*, *Kuruntogai*, *Aingurunuru*, *Padirrupattu*, *Paripadali*, *Kalithagai*, *Ahananuru* and *Purananuru*. To this group is sometimes added another group of eighteen anthologies, but of them all only the sacred *Kural* can with certainty be assigned to this age.

Closely allied to this group of the earliest extant Tamil literature are the five great Tamil *Kavyas*—epics—called *Jivakachinatamani*, *Silappadikaram*, *Manimekhalai*, *Valaiyapasi* and *Kundalakesi*.

It is necessary at this stage to mention that this whole body of the earliest Tamil literature now extant, represents a period when there had been a free intermixture of the two great cultural influences of South India generally expressed by the terms Aryan and Dravidian. That Tamil was a pre-Sanskritic language admits of no doubt. But whatever pre-Sanskritic Tamil literature might have existed, it has not yet come to light. The third Sangam works which alone are the earliest Tamil works now available, are the product of an age when Tamil language and literature were deeply influenced by Aryan language and culture. Also it should be mentioned that it is only from this very source that we have to gather laboriously but critically the pre-Sanskritic (or pre-Aryan) elements of the great Dravidian civilization that has left its indelible marks on the history of South India.

When Mr. Aiyar started his life as a teacher the great Sangam works were unknown to Tamil scholars—except the *Kural* and the *Tolkappiyam*. Beginning with *Chintamani* in 1887, his life was one long dedication to Tamil research and publication.

Among the Tamil works he has published must be mentioned the Sangam classics, the *Pattupattu*, *Padirrupattu*, *Purananuru*, *Aingurunuru*, *Paripadali* and *Kuruntogai*; among the epics the *Silappadikaram* and the *Manimekhalai*; and the grammatical work,

consideration of those questions must be postponed until a more suitable occasion arises.

With these comforting words, to which no exception can be taken, the Full Bench of the High Court of Calcutta shelved in June 1942 those very questions of far-reaching importance, the final solution of which seemed to them of so much urgency in April that they decided to take further evidence and ordered the Petitioner to attend with his additional witnesses on 21st May 1942.

We wish, in the public interest, that the Hon'ble High Court had stuck to their original resolve and decided those questions in this very case, instead of abandoning them at the last moment and leaving it to chance to provide some "more suitable occasion" in the nebulous future. There are indeed weighty reasons why the public should wish to have an early solution of these questions.

Firstly, as is well known, there are several Hindu and Brahma couples and Samajas who have acted and are acting, in spite of warnings, in the belief that the benefits of Act III of 1872, which prohibits polygamy and permits divorce according to the Indian Divorce Act, can be secured even if resort to it is postponed till sometime after the customary religious ceremony of marriage is performed. If such belief is really a delusion, the sooner a clear verdict to that effect is had from the Full Bench of a High Court the better for the communities concerned.

Secondly, it is a matter of common knowledge and concern to social workers that the absolute denial of divorce under Hindu law even to deserted Hindu wives whose husbands have married again, has created a situation of great hardship which is apparently irremediable. One can only watch helplessly the misfortunes of the innocent victims as well as the desperate shifts to which some of them are driven by the cruel indifference of custom-ridden society and the legislatures. One seeming remedy which appeals to some sufferers most by its apparent simplicity, is to accept the Islamic faith and marry again in the Mohammadan fold or come back to Hinduism after three months and marry a Hindu. It is believed that the Islamic conversion by itself, or coupled with an immediate notice to the Hindu husband either by the convert herself or through a *Kazi*, has the legal effect of dissolving the Hindu marriage and freeing the convert after three months' waiting, to marry a second time. If this belief is wrong the sooner the highest courts of law pronounce a clear warning about it, the kinder it will be to Hindu Society as well as to the unfortunates who are likely in their present ignorance to jump from the frying pan into fire. The case-law on the subject, however, has been most dubious and inconclusive, if not positively misleading.

In 1891 (L. L. R. 18 Calcutta 264), Ram Kumari was convicted of bigamy, but not on the ground that the Islamic law upon which she relied for breaking the previous marriage tie had no legal force in British India. She was punished simply because she failed to conform to the details of procedure prescribed by that law and in fact married a second time without giving notice at all to her Hindu husband and perhaps without even waiting for three monthly periods after conversion, as the Moslem law required. Their Lordships even went out of their way to indicate the procedure she should have followed. According to them, she might have, before marrying again, sought the intervention of the law courts "by instituting a suit, after notice to the husband,

for a declaratory decree that under the Mohammadan law her previous marriage was dissolved by her conversion and she was competent to marrying again."

In a similar case of Islamic conversion and remarriage without notice to the Hindu husband, Justices Benson and Sadasiva Aiyar adjudged the offspring to be illegitimate, holding that under Hindu Law, which is the law to be applied to determine whether the first marriage tie subsisted, and under Moslem law which prohibited remarriage to a woman while the previous marriage was subsisting, the second marriage, though after conversion, was clearly bigamous. But at the same time, Justice Sadasiva Aiyer went out of his way to quote a passage from Amir Ali's Mohammadan Law (Vol. II, page 427) in which was embodied the ruling as to right procedure contained in 18 Calcutta 264, as if endorsing by implication that Islamic conversion, if followed up by the procedure laid down therein, would surely entitle the convert to snap the previous marriage tie. (Vide A. I. R. 1914 Madras 192-26 M. L. J. 260).

Justice Suleiman of the Allahabad High Court went a step further and emphasised the authority of the aforesaid Calcutta decision of 1891 more positively and held that, though a woman's first marriage is not automatically dissolved by reason of her conversion to Islam, she acquires the right to obtain a divorce through a Court after her husband has refused to embrace Islam. It was owing to "the absence of such authorized, and legal dissolution" that he was constrained to hold the convert's second marriage illegal in the case before him. (A. I. R. 1925 Allahabad 474.)

Added to these pronouncements in favour of the Islamic law, contained in rulings in which the particular claim of the female convert in question was however negatived, there have been numerous cases, like that of Musammat Ayesha Bibi in 1929 (33 Calcutta Weekly Notes, Page C. L. XXIX), in which the Calcutta High Court passed, without demur, decrees of dissolution of marriage applied for by Hindu converts to Islam.

But Mr. Justice Edgley, as the latest judicial exponent of Anglo-Mohammadan law on this head, has delivered in Noor Jehan Begum's case, reported in A. I. R. 1941 Calcutta 582, a slashing and tearing judgment in minute detail on the pretensions of this medieval law of the Islamic States of old to govern modern Indian courts. Not an inch of room has he left for any delusion hereafter, that a Hindu or Christian or other non-Moslem marriage contracted in India or elsewhere can be dissolved by the Islamic rule of conversion in the 20th century. He brushed aside as uncalled-for the observations found in 18 Calcutta 264, and the stress laid on them by other High Courts as without authority in the circumstances of each case. The positive decrees of dissolution created by the Calcutta High Court itself in many previous cases were disposed of as equally valueless as they were all undefended cases and "consequently the judgment contains no discussion of the legal principles which should be applied."

This decisive and clear pronouncement was certainly a great relief to minds distracted by doubt or prejudice. But the public were not left in peace of mind even after this. The case went up in appeal before a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court comprising the Chief Justice and two Moslem Judges. They all agreed in upholding Mr. Edgley's judgment only so far as it dismissed Noor Jehan Begum's suit on the ground that she and her husband being both of Russian domicile, the Russian Courts alone are competent to dissolve her Christian

marriage. But as regards his excursions on other questions, such as whether the Islamic law relied on by her is obsolete and opposed to public policy or a living part of the law of India which the British Courts here are bound to administer to citizens of India, whether Hindu or Christian or other non-Moslem converts to Islam, and if so, what exactly is the procedure to be expected of them—all these have been resented by the two Moslem judges, especially by Mr. Nasim Ali J., who has left a strong note of protest that Mr. Edgley went beyond the requirements of the case before him in passing judgment, which is, therefore, without authority, on those points. (Vide A. I. R. 1942 C. 825 S. B.)

We are thus left without any reliable guidance in this matter at present. This has created a situation which calls loudly for a final verdict from the highest legal authority of at least one Province. The Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court were, of course, perfectly within their rights in Surendra's case in disposing of Malati's contentions by the short-cut of estoppel, but in doing so they let slip a valuable opportunity to serve the interests of all Indian communities with a timely quietus to their painful suspense.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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JULY 6, 1932.

Manaos, Brazil.

The barber says women are all for the romantic and the new; see them pushing into air-flights; men are more staid. I said, one interpretation of women's new craving for sports is that they do not wish to feel adult and responsible; they wish to forget husband, children, home-cares. "That is true, too," he observed. But I said, "Not of women only. India is being lost because her administrators do not wish to grow beyond Eton values."

JULY 8, 1932.

R. M. S. Elary.

.....this jungle whose peculiarity is that, unlike other jungles, it does not harbour the larger quadrupeds, and the erect ape and limits the activity of man. The explanation is that the growth is too dense, the green cover bars out light, the large trees shoot 100 ft. overhead and make the verdant canopy, only by murdering smaller trees, and are themselves strangled by creepers and lived on by leaf-bugs and other parasites. There is too much undergrowth, and too much mutual preying; hence the larger mammals, the erect ape and man have no chance until the White Man brings iron. Thus, the Heavens declare the glory of Jehovah red in tooth and claw.

JULY 9, 1932.

We took the launch at 9, to go on shore accompanied by our guide; Mr. Brodrick kept on the ship. The sun was hot, and some passengers wanted to buy curios, and some were interested in filming, and some in looking up acquaintances. So Madame Stamenescu and I and the guide were left to return to ship. Madame spoke of the Banyan trees on the road from Agra to Fatehpur Sikri. They have come here too. The avenues here rejoice in the shade of mango-trees. ...Madame recurred to her love of Tagore's poetry and of Sarojini Naidu. I did not disguise the scantiness of my knowledge of both and the moderation of my agreement with either. There must be something competent to have earned the Nobel Prize by one, and general fame by the other, but, I am conscious of the thinness of their air and their inability to breathe any other. They are arrivés.....for me, resting on achievement is cessation of growth and, where growth ceases, decay steps in.

Returning for lunch we were informed that a Japanese boat had arrived just then, landing passengers mainly Japanese, who are forming a settlement on the River Para (under the auspices of a Japanese Colonising Co.) who make splendid agriculturists growing rice, vegetables and fruit.

JULY 10, 1932.

I was surprised to see that the ship is unloading today—Brazil nuts and planks. Mr. Beyermann explained that they will be put into another steamer for New York. The products of the Amazon must travel only by water-way. If no direct transport is available, they have to be transhipped at Para; the cost of transshipment is a trifle compared to the whole cost, the region near Para cannot meet world-requirement and this ship brings cargo not from Manaos alone, but also, from Itacoatira and St. Michael.

On the way we passed Pinheiro which we had not time enough on Saturday to reach by motor. There were many phases of interest. It is an island with a thousand inhabitants ordinarily but in the season which begins in August it makes a popular hot weather sea-side resort and then makes ten thousand inhabitants. It is studded with fine villas, has a new garden and a market, a tramway run by mules and a motor bus (petrol) running on other roads not frequented by cars to give a view of the dense neighbouring jungle in which the resort seems to have been hewed out. The tramways originally belonged to a company which failed for want of traffic, but they are kept running by the Municipality with a subsidy; the bus service is owned by a private company still. The seats were bare planks and the state of the roads gave many jolts.

Our trip consisted of three parties—the four bathers were put in the bus and we three non-bathers into the mule tram.

Mr. Da Costa kept me company. We walked long.

The United States of Brazil are 21 States; they have a flag like the one of the U. S. and they had a constitution before the Revolution of 1930 gave it the go-by, and that constitution had been like that of the U. S. There had been a revolution in 1924. In 1930 the outgoing president had conducted the elections in the interest of a nominee of his own whom the people disliked, and gave no chance to the popular favourite to run.

The new President was overthrown by a revolution headed by the militarists, and he is now taking it easy in Paris. The popular favourite was installed and the constitution which permitted such tricks, came to be suspended, and each of the 21 States is administered by a Governor sent out by the ruler at Rio de Janeiro. Now there is disaffection again, the southern rubber and coffee states are suffering economically, foreign capital afraid of trusting a regime not founded on popular vote, is jittery and there is a general demand for a new election by which the President should stand or fall. Mr. Da Costa showed me cane and caserina cultivation.

JULY 12, 1932.

There was some rain to indicate that the taste of the equatorial region was still there despite the fact that pests had disappeared before Para and that today the wire screen at the porthole was removed, and the porthole thrown open and the fans in the public rooms had been stopped, and only resumed on request before tea, for the rooms were feeling warm without fans.

Brazil fruit still comes to table—the Mawao (Melon), the long fat-yellow banana, the "emerald-green" and orange pine-apple which has been called the fruit of Paradise.

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Subscription Rates.

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Foreign Rs. 10 (Post Free).

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PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY AUGUST 15, 1942 No. 50.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Tide on the Turn.
Sir Shadi Lal on the Situation.
National Front Advertising.
Indian Defence Member.
Whyte-Rajagopalacharya
Episode.
Editors' Conference.
New Delhi's Foreign Policy.
"Closer Union."

The A. I. C. C. and After.
A Bandra Diary.
Dr. Rushbrook Williams on
Civil Disobedience.
India and the United Nations.
"The Only Effective Marriage."
Letters of B. J. Padshah.
"The Tilak School."

NOTES.

Tide on the Turn:—Scarcely three days passed since the round up of Congress leaders which it applauded, and the *Times* (London) began preaching a homily to the British Government on the futility of repression as a method of world uplift, taking for its text the Indian situation. That is the British way. First the big stick; next, the bag of gold. Nobody who has knowledge of British history, doubts that the next step in constitutional reform in India is not far off and that it will be a sweeping step. It was so in Ireland: it will be so in India. Those who hope to oust the Congress in the affections of the people and take its place themselves, will have to make haste. If within the next two or three months they are not able to make good their undertaking, they will lose the chance of a lifetime. Gandhiji is the country's most trusted leader not only because of his complete lack of self-interest but also and perhaps more because he is the only Indian leader who understands the paradoxical British temper and can play upon it with easy mastery. He knows that the English mind must be roused to red-hot anger before it can be got to concede something to reason which it generally despises. He knows that it requires to be caressed in the intervals of being inflamed. The wholesale arrests of Congress leaders, including an invalid like Babu Rajendra Prasad who did not even attend the All India Congress Committee meeting, and Mr. A. B. Latthe who has never been an aggressive propagandist, are the best augury for the substantial transfer of power to Indian hands before the year is out. The officials entrusted with the task of arrest must be themselves wondering how long it will be before their prisoners are Ministers sitting in the seats of authority.

Sir Shadi Lal on the Situation:—The Secretary of State for India has been assuring the

British public and the 26 Allies that the arrest of Gandhiji and Congress leaders has had no effect on the smooth working of the Indian Administration. Whether the authorities in India are keeping him in the dark or he himself is making sparing use of the information at his disposal, people in this country who have been surprised at the virulence and extent of violence which has followed the removal of the restraining hand of Gandhiji, are not able to take so complacent a view. Typical of their mind is the statement of Sir Shadi Lal, ex-Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court and member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London for some years. His statement is the more remarkable because since he retired from the Privy Council he has seldom expressed any opinion in public on political affairs. Sir Shadi Lal observes:

Government have not realised the serious consequences of their action in arresting Gandhiji and other members of the Congress Working Committee. There can be no doubt that Indians, high or low, realise the racial distinction between Europeans and Indians and feel that the Indians are treated as inferior persons. The arrests now made won't improve the political situation in the slightest degree and the action of the Government cannot but bring into prominence racial discrimination.

This is a very correct estimate. A friend who two months ago spoke with some pride of the excellent relations between Indians and Britons in his part of the country, is surprised at their rapid deterioration in the last few days. He also attributes this to racial discrimination. This aspect of the consequences of official acts does not strike those who control Government policy. The latest is the news of the arrival of eighty firemen from Britain in India as volunteers for combating fires during air raids. The allowances of the volunteers could have been used to employ ten times that number of Indians on the job. We had thought fire-fighting was part of the A. R. P. training.

National Front Advertising:—By one of those incalculable mental twists which have inspired much of the official and semi-official publicity campaigns, the press all over the country carried, during the week preceding the All India Congress Committee's meeting in Bombay, excellent propaganda for the ideas underlying the Congress resolution, in bold type prominently displayed. A minimum of matter

shown in much space posed questions which apparently were meant to provide readers with material for thought and for convincing friends. The questions were designed to admit of one answer only and nothing was said of what was proposed if either the reader or his friends had unexpected reactions. It was a relief from the usual material about wives which had been an early obsession with the National Front but it was equally ill-advised. Under the guise of ridicule, it kept the Congress resolution constantly before the public and questions like "What are you prepared to do to stop the Japanese from occupying India?" could not but create a vague uneasiness when addressed to a people ignorant of the higher strategy of war instead of to the Government of India and our War Member in the Executive Council. There was also some reference to the Cripps scheme which brought back to the public mind an unpleasant episode in Indo-British relations. We would not attach much importance to such fatuity which serves a useful purpose in keeping officialdom occupied in a comparatively harmless pursuit, but for the fact that this is not the time for it.

Indian Defence Member :—It is interesting to note that Government's publication of the Congress draft minutes led the *Times of India* to the curious conclusion that, though it is opposed to the policy of not allowing Indians to hold the Defence portfolio, these revelations, in its opinion, make such a policy understandable. This is the political application of Dunne's experiments with Time, to make a later event the cause of something that preceded it. In effect, it insinuates that the British did not trust Indians so far and here at last they have found something to support their suspicions. This is a strange charge to come from the *Times of India* of all quarters. As a matter of fact, we had recently come across a perfectly rational explanation of British reluctance to hand over military control to Indians, in an article on the "War Office" in the *Political Quarterly* by Mr. Tom Wintringham. If the article were widely read, it would remove a source of bitterness between India and Britain. Mr. Wintringham has shown at great length that Parliament has had a long and arduous struggle to get itself heard in Army matters. In 1833, the Duke of Wellington took the attitude that "it has been hitherto understood that the Army once voted, Parliament ought not to interfere with its arrangements." These words, says Wintringham, represent the practice, if not the theory, of those who control the British Army today. The practice of appointing the Commander-in-Chief from the Royal House was not very successful from the point of view of efficiency—of particular interest in the light of Sir John Wardlaw-Milne's suggestion that the Duke of Gloucester should be made Commander-in-Chief. The struggle for

parliamentary control, says Mr. Wintringham, has nominally ended. Yet even today spokesmen of the War Office are intolerant of criticism. Mr. Wintringham neatly answers the objection against changing horses while crossing a stream, with the remark that it is no use trying to cross a stream on a dead horse. The Army, he observes and proves conclusively, has been at its best when Parliament took a hand. Reform, he says, has never come from within the War Office. The lesson is obvious but Indians can scarcely accuse the British of sinister motives in not applying this wisdom to India when in Britain itself the knowledge is but newly, and that too not yet fully, gained.

Whyte-Rajagopalacharya Episode:—The most distressing feature of the Indo-British behaviour under the stress of war, is the revelation that well-meaning British friends recommend as quite honourable to Indians' conduct which they would regard as despicable in their own countrymen. A glaring instance is the suggestion to Mr. Rajagopalacharya by Sir Frederick Whyte, an ex-President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, that the arrest of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders, is an opportunity for him to advance his own propaganda of compromise. Mr. Rajagopalacharya's courteous retort that Sir Frederick does not understand individual or mass psychology, should have made him desist from his ill-timed intervention. Sir Frederick quite understands both mass and individual psychology. Only he understands them differently in the case of his own people and in the case of Indians. As a matter of fact, however, men everywhere feel in the same way to persons who treat the misfortunes of those with whom they were closely associated in a public cause, as an opportunity for them to push themselves to the front. There is a strong feeling that Mr. Rajagopalacharya's split with his party was the originating cause of the Wardha resolution, its endorsement by the Bombay Conference and the subsequent developments. Sir Frederick thinks that Mr. Rajagopalacharya has a considerable following. We are afraid that this is far from being the case. If he had, he would not have allowed the violence which has followed the recent arrests to begin or at least would have stopped it promptly instead of helplessly wringing his hands as he is doing. In any case, Mr. Rajagopalacharya is the last man at the present moment who is fitted to play the role of a bridge which Sir Frederick assigns to him. Sir Frederick may remember that Indians too have a sense of honour which is not different from that of Englishmen in such matters.

The Editors' Conference :—The new rules put into force by the Government of India to cope with the situation arising out of the Congress arrests, might prove the last straw. For some months now, the Government of India has

excused itself from enforcing the Delhi Agreement in all provinces on the ground that under autonomy the India Government was unable to enforce its decisions on the provincial governments. This excuse was advanced both for ministerial and civilian-administered provinces. The effect of it was that the writ of the Government of India ran in Delhi Province and in such other areas as were willing to observe the Delhi Agreement. The Delhi Agreement was really a Delhi Agreement. Now the Government of India have evidently resolved that it has served its purpose so far as they are concerned and have proceeded to lay down what provisions exactly they are prepared to observe. The Press Advisory Committees, says the communique in effect, are to be left high and dry. Publication of factual news is to be checked on the ground that such publication might be more inflammatory than comment. If this is so, the fault is not in the news but in the fact reported itself. Is it absolutely necessary for Government to act in a way calculated to inflame opinion? The Editor of a newspaper, we are told, who supports or encourages the mass movement sponsored by the bodies, etc., or who opposes the measures taken by Government to avert or suppress that movement, will be guilty of an offence against the law. Nothing could be clearer. The restrictions on criticism of Government excesses makes it difficult for conscientious newspapers to condemn public misbehaviour. There is further provision for the "voluntary registration" of press correspondents with dire consequences on failure to register. Editors are also suavely reminded of their undertakings under the Delhi Agreement. We cannot but admire the assurance of the Government in expecting the Editors' Conference to be waiting for them whatever part of the Delhi Agreement the Government might repudiate. A session of the open Conference of the All India Editors' Conference is long overdue and the changed circumstances prevailing today make it the more necessary. The Conference came into being in November 1940 as a result of Government restrictions on press reporting of satyagraha news; the position confronting Indian journalists today is not different in this regard. Where the difference arises is in the attitude of those who would launch satyagraha now. The Congress on this occasion does not propose to follow a policy of non-embarrassment which was its main pre-occupation in 1940. In fact, speaking at the open session then, Mr. Mahadeo Desai made pointed reference to the suppression of news relating to the war effort of officials by Gandhiji and himself in pursuance of the non-embarrassment policy. In view of that disclosure it was surprising to read Gandhiji's comment in the *Harijan* condemning the Indian press for submitting to any restrictions from the British Censor. The press in the next few days is likely to encounter many difficulties and it certain that it will find few friends outside unless it can

take a concerted stand. An open session should be a source of great strength to the President in his fight for the liberty of the press.

New Delhi's Foreign Policy:—There is a curious passage in Sir Frederick Puckle's confidential circular which Gandhiji made public. It is the paragraph which tells the official to stress the fact that Japan is waiting to see whether she should drive north against Russia or south against India and that, if Indians are found divided, she would surely turn south. The hint seems to be in abominable taste in view of the urgent Russian demands for a second front in Europe as well as in the light of frequent semi-official attacks on the Congress for letting down Russia by embarrassing the Government now. It is surprising that, after Sir Frederick's warning to officialdom to remind India of the advisability of diverting Japan to Russia, the Government should have rushed into action likely to create all the conditions he wished to avoid. This is probably due to the new members of the Viceroy's Council. It is a common experience in learning to drive that the learner finds himself irresistibly drawn towards some obstacle which he has set his mind on avoiding.

"Closer Union":—Referring to our plan of closer union as an alternative to separation between Britain and India, the *Dnyanodaya*, the organ of Christian Missions in Western India, observes that millions of Englishmen will endorse it. As a matter of fact, the idea is not new. As Dadabhai Naoroji was never tired of pointing out it was the original idea as expressed in the Royal Charter given to Bombay on its acquisition by the British Crown and repeated any number of times in Parliamentary statutes and summed up in the famous Queen's Proclamation. For thirty years the Indian National Congress had only this aim of equal treatment of British and Indian subjects. It was the bitter disappointment caused by the failure to induce the British Government to act up to its professions that led Dadabhai Naoroji in his last address to the Indian National Congress thirty-six years ago to "be united, persevere, and achieve self-Government so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and civilized nations of the world." *The Reformer* does not represent any party and in putting forward this old idea of closer union, it has no assurance that it will find support from any quarter at the present day. But we do believe that the good of both Britain and India would be best served by their closer union and we are not without hope that some sudden turn of events may incline the leaders in both countries, perhaps after trying other doors, to knock at this and find entrance into a haven of peace, security and good will.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 15, 1942.

THE A. I. C. C. AND AFTER.

The All India Congress Committee's meeting last week-end in Bombay was something which will be long remembered. It was not that the level of oratory was high, for this definitely it was not. Nor can it be considered as remarkable for any surprise decision, for the objective had been before the country since the resolution adopted by the Working Committee on July 14th at Wardha. What made it notable was that, by the action taken by the Government within seven hours of the session being dissolved, the Congress was transformed from a political to a revolutionary party. One result of this is that, while in previous agitations there was always some detail, some political issue on which negotiations could proceed, now there is only one issue and that, the freedom of the country. This, as we have remarked before, was only remotely the result of the Congress decision though every one of those who voted for the resolution, must have had it in mind. The Government completed the transformation, by its swift action in arresting the leaders without waiting for Gandhiji to approach the Viceroy. The situation prevailing today in the country, the rapid deterioration in the political position, can only be understood if one bears in mind that the Congress is now a revolutionary party. Mr. Amery and British commentators have congratulated the Government of India on their quick action. This is an illusion. If the Government of India had decided on action, it should have banned the publication of the resolution and prevented the Congress from taking its decision last week. Its failure to do this can be attributed in fairness to vacillation alone. There was the official hope that the A. I. C. C. would not adopt the lead of the Working Committee. But for this the Government of India would have proceeded against the Congress even before July 14 when the first link in the chain of events leading to the Congress stand at Bombay was forged. In other words, it looked to Mr. Rajagopalachari and the Communists to reverse the Working Committee's lead. This, to any student of Indian politics, was a forlorn hope. There was, again, the action of the Government during the three weeks preceding the A. I. C. C. meeting calculated not to achieve any strengthening of the moderating elements of the Congress. There was in the first place, the circular issued by Sir Frederick Puckle carrying instructions on combatting the Congress movement. Arising out of it were National Front speeches and posters were pasted on walls in Bombay picturing a Congressman sitting with folded hands on India while a ferocious Japanese was looming over him with the flag of Nippon. Then there were the intemperate speeches of some Executive Councillors. And, to cap it all, on the eve

of the A. I. C. C. meeting, the Government let loose the seized documents of the Allahabad raid. One can only conclude that the Government was not of one mind in its desire to see Congress modifying the Wardha resolution.

Those who attended the All India Congress Committee's meetings in Bombay on August 7 and 8, must have been struck by the tendency towards moderation on the part of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Gandhiji. In the one outstanding speech of the session, the Maulana Saheb set forth the demand of the Congress as a demand for civil control by the provisional government, with military power reserved to Britain. He said that the Congress did not for a second contemplate a state of anarchy in the country. Gandhiji in his concluding addresses seemed almost to be looking forward to negotiations with the Viceroy. Even before the session, however, Gandhiji had given clear indication that his slogan "Quit India," meant little more than a demand for some concrete, immediate, irrevocable step recognizing the independence of India. Unfortunately that slogan and the phrase, "open rebellion," used by him in an interview on the Working Committee resolution of July 14 have caught the imagination of a section of the public, it may be only the hooligan element, on the one hand, and of the Government of India and the British Government, on the other. Except that the Government had allowed itself to be carried away by its emotional reaction to this, there is no explanation for its action. The emphasis that is being laid on the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council is one that might have mischievous consequences in India, though quite useful for foreign propaganda. It is making their position in the country extremely difficult. It marks them out as men who alone are opposed to further reforms being granted to India. We know Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has declared himself convinced of the unwisdom of an Indian member being put in charge of Defence; but there must be few even among his colleagues who share his views.

There is an impression abroad that timely action by the Government has averted any concerted, organised, movement on the part of the Congress. Mass Civil Disobedience has been, we are told, nipped in the bud. One B. B. C. commentator has in fact gone so far as to assure his listeners that, but for the quick arrest of the leading Congressmen, what we are witnessing now would have been intensified a hundredfold. Whatever one might think of civil disobedience, everyone who has had the least experience of it, will attest that this is a gross perversion of facts. Mass civil disobedience has often degenerated towards its end into violence; it has never been preceded by it. The reason why the present occasion is marked by mob violence and arson and destruction of municipal property, is owing partly to a misunderstanding of the Gandhian slogan of "Quit India" by a

section of the public, similar to the misunderstanding on the part of the Government of India. The arrests by the Government have had the result of preventing the modified attitude of the Congress leaders from getting to the public. It is but inevitable that the incidents of the last few days in Bombay and some other cities should attract attention abroad. That is because much publicity has been given in the past two years to sabotage and pillage and arson in Axis-occupied countries in the Allied press, and the reader who sees the news of arson in Bombay in juxtaposition to a report of arson in Czechoslovakia, is likely to regard both as symbols of the same feeling. When Mr. Amery said that the police and the Courts can control any situation that arose out of civil disobedience in India, he tried in his own way to point out the difference. But the difference is not in the power of the controlling authority or even on the measure of the support it has from the public, but in the nature of the Indian movement, led by Gandhiji. The agitation that has expressed itself in several cities all over the country, is not, according to a communique issued by the India Office, a mass movement. It is the spontaneous expression of general resentment against the arrest of the Congress leaders. We are glad that the authorities recognize this vital fact. Unfortunately, such recognition is not consistent and it is absent from the lesser supporters of official policy. We see no reason for the frequently reiterated observation in the press that the Congress mass movement has already degenerated into violence. So far as we are aware the Congress has not launched its campaign and, if there is evidence to the contrary, it has not been furnished to the public. A large number of Congressmen, be it remembered, are non-violent from expediency. Nothing has happened to alter circumstances. If anything, the forces at the command of Government are more today than ever with foreign troops present in the country.

One element of unreality in the attitude of the Congress discussions must have struck the observer: That is the complete absence of any reference in the discussions to the position of Soviet Russia and of China. A purely national organisation could afford to ignore the sore straits in which these two nations were in A. I. C. C. week. But the Congress, as the resolution and the speeches showed, claimed to be even more interested in fighting the Axis than were the Government of India. And we do not think that there is room for doubt of the desire of men like Nehru and Azad and Gandhiji to strengthen the spirit of resistance to the Axis Powers. Yet the inadvisability of starting a movement immediately did not receive due consideration. It is true that Pandit Nehru and other speakers did ask how the granting of the Congress demand would weaken the United Nations and asserted that rather would it strengthen them. Here

they built an unanswerable case for India. But that was another question. Failing Britain's response, would not mass civil disobedience by the Congress inconvenience the Allied cause? The one hint of Congress realisation of this was Gandhiji's decision to proceed with the launching of the movement in a deliberate unhurrying manner. It is unfortunate that there was no other sign of Congress recognizing the gravity of the international situation. But, if it was so with the Congress, it was even worse with the Government of India which, with the opportunity of three weeks' quiet in the country, took precipitate action on what it regarded as a challenge to its authority. Three weeks, as time goes in these days, is a long time and it might have seen a turn in the tide both in India and in Russia and China.

A BANDRA DIARY.

When some three months ago—I am not exact about the date—the All India Congress Committee Office in Allahabad was raided by the Police and its papers seized, I did not expect anything more to be heard of it. John Bright warned the British people long ago that they should expect the mentality and the methods of British Indian administration to permeate in course of time their own country and their own mentality. Three-quarters of a century have passed and the infiltration of Anglo-Indian ideas into English life has been proceeding steadily and apace. The English people do not now think in terms of freedom but in terms of power. It was, therefore, a pleasant surprise to read that a Member of Parliament asked the Secretary of State for India for an explanation for raiding the offices and seizing the papers of a lawful organization. Mr. Amery coolly replied that the operation was in the normal course—a mere matter of routine, so to speak. This was rather hard on the Indian administration. It has developed many features which would have stirred Bright and Cobden and Henry Fawcett to indignant protest. But raiding a lawful institution as a matter of routine is not one of them, not as yet, even in the United Provinces. Mr. Amery's reply would not have satisfied his questioner and the Government of India would have been pressed to produce some more plausible excuse for a course of action so flagrantly un-English. Communications, nowadays, take months where they took a week in pre-war days. The notes of the discussion at the last All India Congress Committee's meeting at Allahabad, were probably chosen as the worst document in the papers seized. But, doubting their efficacy, it would seem the Government of India had appended its own commentary to the copies despatched to London. The Indian Government's expectation that the British Press would hail this document as a complete justification of the raid, was only partially fulfilled. There was an undertone in the comments indicating that the writers would have wished for something worse on which they could support the action of Government. It was even more pronounced in America. The *New York Times* actually went out of its way to declare that Gandhiji emerged with his moral character untarnished from these disclosures. This is as much as saying that the morality of the raid itself required further justification. It was a slap in the face of New Delhi to which the moral reputation of Gandhiji is a stumbling-block.

The point which most interested me in the Allahabad exhibits was the difference between the viewpoints of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhiji on the war. The Pandit favours going "all out"—I do not understand what exactly this means but I like to be up-to-date—while Gandhiji counsels conciliation in a spirit of friendliness to all mankind. Men's opinions are, more than they like to admit, the result of early training and environment rather than of a judicial consideration of all the facts of a subject. Panditji's opinion is the pugnacity of the English Public School boy. An amusing instance of this is given by Guadala in his "Mr. Churchill." Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery were at Harrow together. Pandit Jawaharlal also wore the same school-tie in his boyhood. I quote from Guadala: "He (young Churchill) committed the grave error of precipitating from behind into the swimming-bath someone who looked small enough to render his assault rewarding and secure. But when the victim turned out to be a boy named Amery of immense strength and vast athletic eminence, young Churchill was reduced to nervous prostration. 'I am very sorry,' he remarked, 'I mistook you for a fourth form boy. You are so small. My father who is a great man, is also small.'" That is the spirit fostered in the English Public School, persecuting smaller and weaker fellows. The classic exposition of Public School morality is "Tom Brown's School Days." Pandit Jawaharlal's pugnacity is one of the more conspicuous traits which distinguish him from many Indians of his age and education. Gandhiji, on the other hand, is a child of the Gita. I recently read somewhere his saying that he lost his mother at an early age, but the Bhagavad Gita to him has always been more than a mother. The Gita is a synthesis of all the principal Indian philosophies. When Arjuna, bewildered by their variety, demands his friend and preceptor to tell him definitely how he himself should act, the answer invariably is "equal to friend and foe, equanimous in prosperity and adversity, in honour and dishonour."

Indian Polity allows four alternatives in dealing with an enemy. These are first peaceful negotiation; secondly, gifts, bribery; thirdly, creating differences between allies; and lastly, punitive measures. These alternatives are obviously available only to one who is strong enough in the last resort to beat down his opponent. If he is not able to do this, all the other alternatives are useless. This is what the Gandhian polity misses. Friendly negotiations are most likely to be fruitful when backed by the strength to defend your rights. Even from Gandhiji's point of view a strong Indian Army will be the best aid to peaceful settlement with aggressor nations. The saint, as Sri Ramakrishna's parable, told the cobra which pleaded that by following his precept not to bite, it had been reduced to a state of perpetual hunger and privation, "I told you not to bite but I did not tell you not to hiss." But even to hiss with effect there must be fangs. Not the most timid urchin will be frightened by the hiss of a toothless serpent.

Gandhiji countered the Allahabad mare's nest by producing a smaller one of his one at Friday's meeting of the Bombay Conference. It purported to be a confidential circular issued over the signature of Sir Frederick Puckle, a Secretary of the Government of India, to district officials containing naive suggestions as to how to carry on propaganda against the Wardha resolution. Official propaganda of this kind is no new thing. Sir Frederick need not have made his circular confidential, suggesting thereby that he wanted

district officials not to disclose their part and to work behind the scenes so as to make it appear that the resultant activities, such as they were, were all spontaneous. What most interested me in the circular is the nice distinction drawn between morality and expediency. Sir Frederick begins by assuring his officials that what he is asking them to do is in no way immoral; it is only a matter of expediency. It is to Sir Frederick's credit that he recognises that morality has a place even in wartime propaganda. In passing, I was pained by Gandhiji's thrust at Mr. Das, Secretary to the Orissa Government to whom the copy which came to Gandhiji's hands was addressed and who circulated it in Orissa. Gandhiji remarked in effect that Mr. Das might find other means of earning his livelihood. This is quite unlike Gandhiji's habitual charity towards weaker brethren. There must be hundreds of officials who received Sir Frederick's circular and acted upon it. Why hold up to obloquy this one Das before the ten thousand people assembled on the Gowalia Tank maidan? There have been men who in similar circumstances have thrown up their jobs but they have been a handful compared with those who did not feel strongly enough to quarrel with their bread and butter on such an issue. After all, if one Mr. Das resigned there will be twenty others to take his place.

Origins of history are sacred. That is the only reason why I refer to a statement of Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the course of one of his many recent allocutions. It seems that Gandhiji had said that he would be glad if the Government of India were handed to the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah's comment was that he would be glad to see this done as it would be an atonement of the action of the British Government in depriving Muslims of their Indian empire. Field-Marshal Lord Roberts has, by long anticipation, given an answer to Mr. Jinnah in his "Forty-One Years in India." Lord Roberts says: "Mahomedans looked back to the days of their Empire in India but failed to remember how completely, until we broke the Mahratta power, the Hindus had got the upper hand... The Hindus had not forgotten that they had ousted the Mahomedans, and they fancied that the fate of the British raj might also be at their mercy." A writer in the *Catholic New Review* for July, Mr. J. G. Demetras, thus describes the state of the country on the eve of the third battle of Panipat: India "was at this period (middle of the eighteenth century) to all intents and purposes a great Hindu Empire, with Poona directing its destinies."

Some of the speakers at the All India Congress Committee meeting expressed a fear lest the free institutions of the United States may suffer ship-wreck on Indian soil.

The Mayflower which carried the Pilgrim Fathers to New England, floundered off Masulipatam on the East Coast of India.

Last week I indicated my antipathy to mass appeals, whether for religion, war effort or civil disobedience. It does not require thousands or even hundreds to evoke the mass mentality. The last time I met the late Mr. Lakhmidas Tairsee—on the great stairway of the Bombay Municipal Corporation—he remarked in connection with something, "If you meet an Englishman by himself, he will talk to you as man to man but if you meet him in the company of another Englishman he will be a different person altogether." This shows that even two together can conjure up the mass mentality. Reason which claims the chief place in individual thinking, abdicates in favour of emotion in the mass.

Appeals to the masses are effective in proportion to the amount of emotion put into them. Gandhiji knows this very well. He has never launched a mass movement unless he was sure in his own mind that it could be carried through without violence. When as has happened, he found that his belief was mistaken, he at once called it off, often in opposition to his closest associates. I speak with some experience. When riots broke out in Bombay some twenty years ago in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales (Duke of Windsor) Gandhiji went on a fast which he broke only on receiving an assurance from the late K. T. Paul and myself (we went round the affected districts in a lorry) that quiet was completely restored. If I remember, Mr. Sherwood Eddy also went round with us. Then, again, after the mob violence at Chauri Chowra, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and myself were invited to express our views at the Conference at Bardoli, where Gandhiji decided to call off the second Civil Disobedience Movement. I have not been in touch with Gandhiji for some years now, but I am sure that, if he had been a free man he would not have allowed the deplorable outbreaks in Bombay city. It is forgotten that the sole object with which Gandhiji started Civil Disobedience was to wean away the violent revolutionaries from criminal outrages by providing a peaceful and harmless outlet for their discontent. That he succeeded in effecting this was repeatedly acknowledged by L. Rushbrook Williams in successive annual reviews of the Indian Administration. Extracts from them are printed below. Mr. Amery was as usual talking nonsense when he said that, if Gandhiji had not been arrested, there would have been far more violence than there has been in Bombay and other parts of India.

RECLUSE.

DR. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

The experience of 1919 seems to have taught him (Gandhiji) one thing and one thing only, namely, that the rock upon which his scheme was in gravest danger of splitting was the readiness of the masses of his countrymen, when stirred by deep emotion, to resort to brutal and unreasoning violence. Accordingly, between the summer of 1919 and the autumn of 1920, he devoted himself to the ceaseless inculcation, among all those to whom his influence could penetrate, of the doctrine of non-violence. Only when he allowed himself to be convinced, against the opinion of the wisest and most prudent in India, that this work was accomplished, did he prepare to launch out upon the movement of national regeneration which he had for so long contemplated.—*India in 1921-22.*

During 1922 as throughout 1921 anarchical crime was noticeable for its absence. It would be premature to conclude that the old party of anarchy in Bengal has either disappeared or has abandoned its designs. But the spirit of modern India is changing, and young idealists can now find an outlet for their energies in directions more profitable both for their country and for themselves than the organization of anarchical outrage. The idealism characterising some aspects of Mr. Gandhi's movement must certainly not be deprived of its share of the credit for the achievement of this state of affairs.—*India in 1922-23.*

The earlier stages of the non-co-operation movement, with its emphasis on non-violence, placed a considerable obstacle in their (terrorists') way. Mr. Gandhi's ideals and personality captured the imagination of the emotional middle class youth... .. to whom the terrorists have always looked for their recruits.—*India in 1924-25.*

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS.

To our Friends of India, America and Britain :

This is a special period of crisis for the United Nations. We are winning or losing in these days. Realising the tremendous sacrifice many are making on the "Front", it comes to us in growing measure that we have also a vital contribution to make. The enemy is not only at our boundaries. He is also within! The battle might well be won on the frontiers and the war lost by the people "at home"!

Our own home owes an enormous debt to America, Britain and now to India. These nations particularly symbolise for us the "Way of True Community Life." We have dear friends in all these countries. We cherish the best for which these nations have stood. We rejoice in President Roosevelt's leadership in solving some of the problems of America, such as the race problem. We have been encouraged by such movements as that of the Community Movement and that represented by the Christian News-Letter in Britain. We, in India, are greatly indebted to those thousands of silent workers who are attacking the problems of communalism, injustice, etc. There is urgent need that such followers of the Way of Truth and Suffering Love join hearts and striving for the New Order that must be won if we are to finally win the war!

We view with deep concern the growing bitterness, discontent and sense of frustration in India. Perhaps the greatest battle of justice to be won is that in India itself. That problem rests primarily with America and Britain, the leaders of the United Nations. They must take the leadership in facing the problem of the essential freedom of India. Both have been subject nations. They know the sweet joys of liberty. They must cultivate their imagination and strengthen their courage as they make special effort in the realisation of India's freedom.

This is no more an academic question, if it ever was. Nearly 400 millions of people, a great nation of natural resources, is at our doors to co-operate if we but give that nation a chance. We all know that to-day India is not with us. Even worse than that our very morale is shattered, our own nations are divided, as we leave unsolved this urgent problem.

Truly we are in grave danger of not only losing the Victory but also the war. We need every resource that we can muster. In Britain and in America we have learned how we need the good will and silent co-operation of those of the non-violent way of life. India, violent and non-violent, is ready to give her best in this strife for world freedom. But her hands must be untied. Her heart must be freed.

May we lift our feeble voice in calling our brother-citizens of America and Britain, especially those here in India :

1. To be penitent of past faults and injustice. To rid our hearts of all bitterness, suspicion, hatred, misunderstanding and prejudice.
2. To be concerned for our common good; not for vanishing vested interests or empires. To cling fast to those things alone which are everlasting.
3. To be generous to a fault. To have the spirit of the "Second Mile." To give beyond all asking, especially ourselves.
4. To trust India. No nation will respond so quickly and so fully.
5. To remember that India is asking for nothing but her own; she makes no demands upon other nations.

6. To encourage every group or movement in India which is working for those things for which we claim to be fighting.

May we repeat: our hearts go out to every earnest individual and group who is giving his or its best for the Way of Truth and Suffering Love, no matter in what nation they may find themselves. They are our true allies. And these are days when all such need to give their very best in this life-struggle for freedom. More than anything else we need India by our side. That tremendous ally we may have merely for the performance towards her of those very virtues for which we claim to be fighting. May we give India her own and thereby save our own souls and cause.

Bangalore, } MILDRED MCKIE KEITHAHN.
August 8, 1942. } RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN.

"THE ONLY EFFECTIVE MARRIAGE."

(BY KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI, ASKA.)

A full report of the judgment of the Calcutta High Court in the Divorce suit of Surendranath Dutt against his second wife, Malati, which was dealt with in the previous issue of the *Reformer* under the heading "Hindu Marriages and Islamic Law of Dissolution," is now available in (1942) 46 Calcutta Weekly Notes at page 790. One question which incidentally arose in that case, is of special interest to Hindus and Brahmos who have made a persistent habit, in spite of frequent warnings in *The Reformer*, of solemnising their marriages first with a religious ceremony and sometime later again under Act III of 1872, in the hope that the later alone will take effect and ensure the rights of monogamy and divorce to the parties which they are denied under Hindu Law.

In this Calcutta case too, Surendra married Indubala first with Hindu rites in 1919, and then again in 1920 the same couple got their marriages solemnised under Act III of 1872. The question was whether the law governing the first marriage would prevail or Act III of 1872, when the wife later sought a divorce from her husband.

The Court did not make a formal pronouncement on the question, as indeed there was no need since the point of law was obvious to the Bench as well as the Bar. The Court proceeded only on the footing that the legal consequences of the earlier marriage would prevail if it satisfied in all respects the conditions of a valid marriage under Hindu Law, and asked for further evidence only to establish, beyond doubt, the facts of the first marriage. Mr. Surita, Advocate for the petitioner, contended for the same view as was urged by his opponent, Mr. Choudhary, "although his client and his first wife had gone through a second form of marriage in 1920 under the provisions of Act III of 1872, nevertheless, *the only effective marriage* between them was that which had been contracted in 1919." Mr. S. M. Bose also, as *amicus curiae*, expressed the same opinion though he maintained that, "on the evidence as it stood, it was difficult to come to a clear finding on the question whether Surendra Nath Dutt and Indubala Das had been lawfully married in 1919 according to Hindu rites."

This unanimity of opinion between the Bench and the Bar of the Calcutta High Court should be an eye-opener, at least now, not only to the Hindus and Brahmos of the Andhra Country but even to the learned Secretary of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj who regards Act III of 1872 as only an "additional safeguard" and would not allow it precedence before the Brahma religious ceremony of marriage is performed which he believes to be valid by itself under the Hindu law as modified by established Brahma custom.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH.

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AUGUST 15, 1932.

R. M. S. Kenilworth Coasts.

Mr. Marshall is keen on discussing races of men, thinks my lisp is like Mr. Gandhi's. I might be of the same race; then he thinks I might be a Jew. He has a bad memory for faces, is unable to recognise women even after several meetings.

Another Scotchman returning to Durban, Natal, where he has been settled for 30 years, asked me how far I was going, whether the Cape was my home, etc.; and, when he gathered what I was, we discussed the state of parties in S. Africa, and the next general election there, and the growing Centralization, and the gorge of the British settlers rising against it; and the centralization in Scotland, a great city like Edinburgh unable to improve itself without permission of the Office of Works in London. This cannot last, he said.

I thought he was ungrateful; the English monarchy is geneologically Stuart and four Scotch Prime Ministers have ruled the Empire in my lifetime. Scotch editors in London lay down policies and Scotch bankers (*e. g.*, Mr. McKenna) run the Empire Banks. What is there to grouse about? Ah! But, I said, I had omitted something else, too. Without centralization or central inspection, local bodies become dud: their theatre is too small to attract any but the smallest and interested workers, chiefly aspirants after contracts and banquets. On the other hand, I agreed that central authority, unless frequently shaken, is prone to be pompous, vain-glorious and empty.

I gather from Trevelyan's History of England, that the Star Chamber was, in origin, exercising a useful supervisory function, that the country gentry resented this interference and their denunciations were as much the result of beneficent central activity as the follies of the Stuarts.

AUGUST 16, 1932.

The annual winning of gold is about four millions sterling, total cost of winning a million and a half, profit 2½ millions out of which the Government share is 1.4 millions and the group's share is 1.1 millions. This prosperity has created extravagance in cost which is capable of being cut down by 25 per cent. But the formula is so awkward that if a saving of a third of a million be made, Government's share would be about 280 thousand and the group's share would be only 60 thousand; if now it could be doubled, the group would find the saving worthwhile and would make it. The effect of the formula is that 5/6th of the cost falls upon Government share. Therefore, Government shoulder five-sixth of the burden of extravagance; why should the group bother to reduce waste when the group benefits only to the extent of a sixth of the extra profit which their skill alone can produce? I suggested that cost should be standardised at the present figure; then a correction to the formula be made that, if the costs should fall below this standard, Government should get two-thirds of this saving and the group one-third. This comes in conflict with the facts of gold mining. In India we would provide that the Mining Inspector could vary the formula to encourage genuine saving. Ah! Mr. Marshall protests, every man has his price and he does not want to pay it.

AUGUST 17, 1932.

I asked Mr. Marshall if he had any interest in the diamonds of South Africa. He was glad he had now. But diamond was being produced in such large quantities, it was bound to go down in price, diamond has had its day. I suggested that since the beauty

of imitation diamond is indistinguishable from that of the real, that alone should tumble down the price. No, Sir, he simply did not believe that dictum. But he should, I persuaded, it is within my knowledge that experts cannot distinguish between real and artificial pearl and prices of pearl have been demoralised. Pearl is pearl; that is different. Why then, I asked, do people deposit jewellery at banks, and go into society with imitation stuff? Mr. Marshall had read that in story-books, but is that true? Why not? That led to a discussion of the present ruin of all prices; silver is an 80th of its value in 1870, rubber which once had touched 12/6, now can sell for three ha'pence, copper, wool, cotton, wheat are all tumbling; it is the result of over-production and reduced demand and the usual alternations of boom and depression, and tariffs interfering with circulation of goods. Why bring in gold scarcity? Sir Robert Horne and the American advocates of Bimetallism have their own axes to grind; they want to bolster up their silver.

AUGUST 19, 1932.

He gave me some good advice about travel in South Africa. I should travel only first; natives travel third; the Dutch travel second. At home, he travels third. I should not fail to tip on the railways if it buys comfort; he once asked for a coupe, one was refused because the only one had an old lady in it, but the official quickly procured it (turning out the old lady?) When Mr. Marshall said that it was worth 5 shillings, I said in England bribing an official, even of a private firm, was a criminal act. He said that England was too much burdened with superfluous law; he had heard of no prosecutions under that law. Why did I tip? A customary tip is a legitimate fee with the knowledge and acquiescence of principals; they are expressly recognised by Cooks. Mr. Marshall remarked that our days together had been very pleasant but my talk had made him understand a thing or two in the Bible; one was "straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel."

AUGUST 20, 1932.

The Ottawa Conference is coming to an agreement, but does not come. The danger anticipated by Sir A. Salter in his article in the *Spectator*, is very real; they will patch up something to show that the Conference has not failed; that will tie the hands of Great Britain in bargaining for freer trade by concessions which Ottawa may fetter Great Britain not to make. Ottawa might reveal that behind the shouted gesture of fraternity, Canada had been out to diddle the mother-country.

AUGUST 22, 1932.

Cape Town.

Motoring into the country, passed the busy parts of Cape Town, passed its factories, passed its three-mile long Cemetery, its suburbs, into the country, into the wonderful Dutch town of Paarl, prosperous looking and comfortable with elegance with a population perhaps of 5,000, yet with several churches of the Dutch Reformed Church, with very tidy and coloured shops, with a Main Street extending over five miles. Returning from Paarl by another route, I had...a view from an ascent of Paarl below with the vineyards and waterworks and quiet people, chiefly coloured, nestled between the hill on which we stood and the mountains on the other side, slopes and flats alike being multicoloured with yellow and red and muddy grey soils clad with vines, wheat or the richest green grass and piebald cattle. Descending into the route by which we had entered Paarl, we diverged again to another place of familiar land, Stellenbosch of educational fame, with a

University, Hospital, and school and church and another countryside. We at last returned to the route...and observed the mountains near Cape Town, the Devil's Peak and the famous Table Mountains with the beautiful and many coloured Table Bay at its foot—looking like a table of rich water, and today decorated by a rainbow.

AUGUST 23, 1932.

I have had an excellent drive today in Cape Town and its suburbs and added to what I gathered last night walking on the streets. I know more of the city itself. As I stood today at Groot Scheer (the residence of Mr. Cecil Rhodes presented for the residence of Union Prime Ministers) and had a view of bays on either side with proper points, and heard that one was called False Point, because the ship that made for Cape Town had turned eastwards into the Indian Ocean, whereas Cape Town is to the west in the Atlantic Ocean to which the ship had to return, I realised for the first time what is obvious when pointed out, that the Cape is the junction of two oceans, like Darien.

The pilgrimage to Groot Scheer (Great shear or cut) was made along a beautiful route called the De Waal Drive (De Waal was the administrator who designed it like Arthur Crawford had planned most of the improvements in Bombay, hence the name "the Crawford Market") with a white structure from the terrace of which Rhodes was used to gaze on the flat low-lying lands below every evening, through bushes.

Passing grazing grounds and zebras and sheep grazing and occasionally a goat, passing the Laboratories and main buildings of the University of South Africa, and afterwards driving through its grounds and rock-gardens, passing the Rhodes Memorial to which I ascended on steps.

Groot Scheer was originally a barn transformed into a residence; another house not far was a brewery with five blue windows, now transformed into the residence of an artist. The barn belonged to van Rebeikar who landed at Cape Point in 1552. The natural beauty has struck many observers since.

And it is on this enticing view of mountains, village, forests, bays, botanical gardens, the University buildings, that Rhodes' house, Groot Scheer, and the Rhodes Memorial have been erected. Groot Scheer, as the residence of Prime Ministers, has been the centre of entertainments. The Union Parliament sits for six months in the Summer Season at Cape Town, occupying the old house of the old Cape Parliament. Cape Town is necessarily gay as London is during Parliamentary sessions. And it is said that nature itself, particularly the Table Mountains are clad with corresponding gaiety. Why visit now, said the house-keeper to me, December is the month; look, those heights are all blue then. I understand the blueness is not of air or sky, but the colour of a flower which grows luxuriantly then. I passed Parliament House and Government House on the way to Groot Scheer.

I have seen a great deal of Cape Town during walks, noted the preponderant coloured walkers, Indians in fez, Indian ladies in sari. So preponderant they seemed, that I trusted the chauffeur's statement that the coloured were four to one European, until I saw a printed statement, that both Europeans and coloured at Capetown were in the neighbourhood of 120,000 each, the Europeans being perhaps 10,000 more numerous. The coloured folk might be in the proportion surmised by the chauffeur in Cape Province, for they seem to monopolise agri-

cultural labour. The coloured Africans seem to be distinguished under 3 denominations—the Kaffirs, the Bantus and the Cape coloured. These last are of lighter colour, supposed to be of mixed blood, and are credited with a treacherous and thievish disposition; nevertheless, they are getting on, they monopolise labour even in certain factories. And they are also getting on professionally. I saw no trace of coloured students on the grounds of the University of South Africa, or the University of Stellenbosch; they have their own college called Lovedale, and its graduates finish their education at Oxford or Cambridge, nevertheless, the future of the coloured is an anxious problem attested by a conference at Lovedale on the day of my arrival as is the problem of the Poor Whites. The Indians are chiefly general dealers, and there are some in the professions; the name one hears is that of Dr. Abdul Rahman, who lives in a house of his own in the Garden Quarter where Europeans reside. He had a Scotch wife by whom he has children; I have not been told of a successor; he is said to be held in great respect by Europeans. A French colony in Cape Town comes to one's notice, their separate quarters were shown to me on the way to Paarl; they are Huguenots who settled a hundred years ago; their furniture work in some particular wood is shown among Rhodes Memorial treasures. The Dutch and the English intermarry and socially intermingle; still old animosities are kept alive on political questions.

"THE TILAK SCHOOL."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Frankly speaking, I have been not a bit puzzled by your note on "The Tilak School."

There are three main schools of political thought in our country—viz., the Tilak School, the Gandhi School and the School of Revolutionary Thought which believes in violent revolution.

I should like to know to what school *The Indian Social Reformer* belong. Your note on Tilak School would lead your readers to conclude that you do not belong to any of these three schools of political thought.

I am not unmindful of the existence of various other bodies; but I have fixed my eye on the ideology and not on the communal character of these bodies. I believe ultimately these can be classed in one or other of the three groups mentioned above.

I shall be obliged if you will clear the point I have raised.

Khar,
August 6, 1942.

Yours etc.,
VEERBHAI H. MEHTA.

[Mr. Veerbhai Mehta is correct. *The Reformer* does not belong to any of the three schools.—Editor.]



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Foreign	Rs. 10 (Post Free).

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Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editor:—S. NATARAJAN.

Vol. LII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY AUGUST 29, 1942. No. 52.

"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*.

CONTENTS.

Muslim League Resolution.	Ethics and Politics.
Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's Resignation.	Duke of Kent's Death.
Another Resignation.	A Bandra Diary.
Sir Feroze Khan Noon's Scheme.	The Rau Committee's Bill on Hindu Marriage.
Sir Stafford Cripps Snubbed.	"Guardians in Marriage."
Wendell Willkie.	Letters of B. J. Padshah.

NOTES.

Muslim League Resolution:—The Working Committee of the Muslim League met for four days last week and adopted a resolution reiterating its demand for Pakistan and expressing its readiness and willingness to negotiate with any party, on equal terms, for establishing a provisional Government to mobilise the resources of the country for the defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war. Three fourths of the long resolution consists of a criticism and condemnation of the Congress as having for its object the establishment of a Hindu Raj. Both at the beginning and at the end the Muslim League resolution lays its lash on the Congress. Now that the Congress is an unlawful body and cannot function until the ban is lifted, the Muslim League will be greatly hampered in its own functioning. The operative part of the resolution is contained in two out of about twenty paragraphs.

The Working Committee are definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort with all the sacrifices that are involved in it, it is only possible, provided they are assured that it would lead to the realisation of the inspiring goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League, therefore, calls upon the British Government to come forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they would abide by the verdict of the plebiscite of Mussalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in March 1940.

Labour Research, published by the Labour Research Department, in its June number analyses the demand for Pakistan in the course of an article on the Defence of India. It says:—

There are four provinces in India with Moslem majorities. The North-west frontier province has for long been pro-Congress. Allah Baksh, Premier of Sind, recently broke from the Moslem League and is now President of the All India Moslem Azad Conference, whose members favour Congress policy. Fazlul Haq, Premier of Bengal, also resigned from the Moslem League some months ago and is now a member of the Azad Conference. Of the three Moslem Premiers only Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan remains in the Moslem

League, and he is in open opposition to Jinnah's pet policy of Pakistan. No wonder then that Indians regard the oft repeated British assertions of Indian dis-unity as evidence either of British ignorance or British insincerity.

Similar views as the above in the British Labour publication, are expressed in the *New Statesman* by H. N. Brailsford. The leaders of the League will do well to remember that they have now to deal with an informed foreign public and to give concreteness to their scheme. Then, there is the criticism by the Hyderabad Muslim publicist, that Pakistan leaves out the Muslim minorities in seven provinces where, if anywhere, they need protection, and offers protection to Muslim majorities in provinces where they can take good care of themselves. Also, Dr. Ambedkar's point that it is the minorities in the Muslim provinces who should decide whether they want Pakistan and whether their interests would be safe under Pakistan. Minority rights which the Muslim League claims for Muslims, it must freely accord to other communities where they are a minority in relation to Muslims. And is the plebiscite to be of all the Mahomedans of India, or only of Mahomedans in the four provinces? And why have a plebiscite, since the resolution anticipates its result by insisting on the British Government giving effect to the League's Lahore demand for Pakistan? It is noteworthy that while there is not a single mention of the Muslim League in the Congress resolutions, the League's resolutions nearly always hinge upon Congress activities and statements. Sir Stafford Cripps noted that the Muslim League's rejection of his scheme was not adopted until the Congress decision was published.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's Resignation:—The announcement, in last Saturday's morning papers, of the resignation by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar of the office of Member for Information in the Executive Council of the Governor-General, which he assumed a fortnight previously, was received with much surprise. So strong, indeed, was Sir Ramaswami's position thought to be, that he was freely mentioned as Sir Reginald Maxwell's successor at the Home Department. The reasons given in his letter of resignation to the Viceroy, are obviously inadequate, and far-fetched at that. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar accepts a full share of responsibility for the policy of the Government of India, promulgated barely two days after he joined it, declaring the Congress an

unlawful body, detaining Gandhiji and other leaders without any judicial proceedings under the Defence of India Rules, and, presumably, also the restrictions on the Press which have led to many newspapers closing down of their own accord, and others being closed down by Government order, Gandhiji's *Harijan* and its Hindi and Gujarati editions, being among the latter. The principal reason assigned for his sudden resignation, is the imminent danger to Indian States which, Sir Ramaswami imagines, is involved in the statement in a letter from Gandhiji to a correspondent, to the effect that Congress would hand over the Government of the country, including the States, to the Muslim League if the League accepted and undertook to carry out the Congress policy and programme for the attainment of Swaraj. In other words, the Muslim League must first accept the Congress platform and then Congress would put the League in the saddle. The League would enjoy power on sufferance and may be chucked out the moment Congress thought fit to send the puppet Government about its business. The position would essentially be identical with that of the first British Labour Government with the support of the Liberals. No one, least of all the League itself, attached any importance to this communication to a gentleman who had no credentials to speak on behalf of the League and who had taken it upon himself to mediate between that body and the Congress. We are sure that the Indian Princes did not forego their mid-day nap for fear that Gandhiji's statement threatened their existence. Sir C. P. Ramaswami must have been in a highly nervous state of mind to have apprehended the extinction of the States as a consequence of Gandhiji's declaration. Even if there was ground for his fears, his remaining in the Executive Council would have enabled him better to counteract the danger than returning to the Dewanship of Iravancore, where his opportunities for influencing opinion and policy in India and in Britain will be much more limited. This reason which is given, the front place in the letter of resignation verges on the quixotic. The other reason is that Sir C. P. Ramaswami is anxious to organise a counter movement to mass action. This ignores the initial difficulty, namely, that only mass action is nowadays accepted as the effective method of achieving victory in war and security in peace. Governments want mass support as much as public bodies, the Congress and the Muslim League as much as the Hindu Mahasabha. Whether they have it or not, all of them profess to represent and speak in the name of the masses. Any one who is opposed to mass movements, runs the risk of being branded as a Fascist, though the Fascist and the Nazi both also claim to speak for the masses. Sir Ramaswami himself will have to promote a mass movement to counteract other mass movements.

Another Resignation? :—On the day on which Sir Ramaswami Aiyar's resignation was announced, another Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the Hon. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, declared at a public gathering of scheduled castes, that he did not love office and that if he could not, as a member of the Government, give effect to his plans for the uplift of the depressed classes, he would resign and go back to his work. That very little can be done by a Member of the Executive Council in the way of ameliorating social conditions, has been testified to by more than one Indian who has held that office. Between the upper and nether millstones of the Governor-General and the Secretaries who have independent access to the former, the Hon. Member is under constant pressure to let sleeping dogs lie. If he has the temerity to give one of them even a slight push with his little toe, he will find himself in a predicament from which he can extricate himself only by resigning himself to subservience to the bureaucratic machine or resigning office—resignation either way is the only way out for him. Dr. Ambedkar before he shifted to New Delhi had asked his followers in Bombay to demand the creation of a Harijanstan out of the waste lands in the country for their exclusive use. This ambitious plan which can be carried out only with the consent or by coercion of the several provinces, will require several years to put through if it can be put through at all. Dr. Ambedkar believes in political power as the best instrument for raising the condition of the depressed classes. He asked for equal rights with the Muslims. As the latter are understood to demand 50 per cent of all offices and membership of statutory bodies, the depressed classes should also have the same proportion. There will be nothing left for the other minorities, not to speak of the majority community which, of course, should be glad to do without any voice in the control of its affairs. The Government of India has or should have a wholly non-communal outlook. If each member is intent only on grabbing the utmost he can for his own class, sect or community, the Central Government will become even more of a ghost than the most ardent Muslim League would desire it to be in his wildest dreams. A man with a mission is often but an euphemism for one with an axe to grind.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon's Scheme :—Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Defence Member of the Government of India, outlined a scheme for the political unity of India which, he said, was a great aim every Indian should have in view. This great aim of Indian political unity is to be secured by dividing India into five Dominions sending delegates to a Central Government which will be in charge of Defence, Customs, Foreign Relations and Currency. The Dominions will have the right to secede whenever differences arise between them and the Central

Government and to return when the differences are composed. The five Dominions are to be : (1) Bengal and Assam, (2) the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Bihar, (3) Madras (Dravidian) (4) Bombay (Maharatta) and (5) the Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind and North Western Frontier. Sir Feroze does not seem to know if the existence of Gujrat in Bombay, Andhra in Madras, and the Kanarese districts of Madras and Bombay. The whole scheme is perfunctory and seems devised with the single object of securing two Dominions for the Muslims. Sir Feroze said that he was glad that the Congress has agreed to leave residual powers with the provinces. As we remarked in commenting on the Congress resolution, the trends of modern politics will make this condition illusory. Modern transport and communications have deprived the old arguments for decentralisation of all their force and the economic and defence advantages of having a large block of territory under a single administration, are overwhelming. The liberty to provinces to come and go as they please into the federation, makes the whole scheme farcical. In order to avoid Pakistan, the country is to be split up into five Dominions. Neither administrative convenience nor political unity nor economic solidarity, has entered into Sir Feroze's conception of his plan of uniting India by dividing it. The only redeeming feature of the Noon scheme is that it is brought forward by a Punjab Muslim and that it professes to secure the unity of India. It also recognises the need of a Central Government which Pakistan does not. Sir Feroze observed that his plan would remove the fears of Muslims of a Hindu Raj but he failed to see that it will arouse the fear of Hindus of a Muslim Raj. The question must be decided and will be ultimately decided not with the object of removing the fears often self-induced, of this or that community but of promoting the permanent good of the whole population.

Sir Stafford Cripps Snubbed :—The Englishman has his share of human weaknesses and somewhat more than his share. But vindictiveness, speaking generally, is not usually one of them are thinking particularly of English public men. We who have attained some public prominence. In relation to India, the English public man, whether he comes out as Governor for a period of years or on special missions, has generally acted as a corrective of the prejudices of the Indo-Englishman in public service or trade and commerce. Sir John Simon and his colleagues did not allow the black flag demonstrations against them to disturb their equanimity and their report shows no trace of resentment against the popular bodies which were prominent in getting up these demonstrations. Sir Stafford Cripps, however, is a notable exception to this general experience. He has been piqued by the rejection of his proposals by the Congress which he had counted upon winning over, and even before he left India he showed that he would not

forgive it for its steadfast adherence to its main demand. Since returning to England he has in and out of Parliament done his worst to blacken the Congress and we, for one, can not help discerning his hand, in concert, of course, with others nearer home, in the measures recently adopted against that body. But in his eagerness to avenge the rejection of his overtures, he has, as often happens, over-reached himself. His recent allocution to America in justification of these measures, has been met by a chilling snub by, of all journals, the *New York Times*, the most pro-British organ in the United States. In a vein of delicious irony it remarks that Sir Stafford's essay has made clear many things, first of all, his own position in the Indian problem. He does not, it goes on, question the competence of Indians to govern themselves. He is only concerned about the danger to the States and the advantage to Japan of a British withdrawal from India at this juncture. The *Times*, in effect, asks him to mind his own business and leave America to look after hers. For the first time, Mr. Cordell Hull told a press conference that the American Government has advised the British Government and Indian nationalists to come to an early understanding.

Wendell Willkie :—The time and object of Mr. Wendell Willkie's visit to Europe and the Near East, since extended to China, *via* India, have a special significance in view of the Congressional elections due in November. Mr. Willkie was adopted as its candidate by the Republican Party to contest the presidential election for a third term with Mr. Franklin Roosevelt. He had no previous political record worth mentioning. Mr. Roosevelt won; and since then Mr. Willkie has been one of the most ardent supporters of President Roosevelt's foreign policy. He has in consequence estranged many members of his own party. The *New Republic* in a recent issue said that he had only a handful of supporters in the House of Representatives and doubted if he would in the new House command one half of the total Republican membership. President Roosevelt's description of Mr. Willkie's position as "titular" leader of the Republican Party, was not, therefore, a slip of the tongue. Mr. Willkie evidently thinks that his presence in the United States is not likely to be of much advantage to his Party in the furious electoral campaign which is in progress. The object with which he is embarking on this roving mission, namely, to assure the countries which he visits that there is no truth in the prevailing belief that war production in the States is being seriously impeded by strikes, is more calculated to advertise the admitted slowing down of production than to convince the world that strikes are not its principal cause. The simple explanation of the retardation of President's Roosevelt's schedule is that the American public is at present and has been for some months pre-occupied with the elections.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 29, 1942.

ETHICS AND POLITICS.

Has morality a place in politics? This is the question which Dorothy Fosdick discusses with much display of dialectical skill in the June *Political Science Quarterly* under the heading "Ethical Standards and Political Strategies." Miss (or Mrs.) Fosdick says that there are today two types of men, : those who presuppose and those who deny the existence of an absolute ethic, adding that thereby they both disqualify themselves for making political decisions. One of the two is the man who is confident that categorical rules of right behaviour can be followed and so insists on literal obedience to them. The other is the man who is convinced that such rules cannot be followed, and so advocates that they be completely ignored. To the first group, the writer assigns Mahatma Gandhi, George Lansbury and William Jennings Bryan. To this school which she calls monks and quasi monks, are opposed the Machiavellians and Neo-Machiavellians. Hitler and Mussolini are consigned to this category. The difference between the Machiavellian and the Neo-Machiavellian, is that while the former denies outright that considerations of right and wrong have any place in politics, the latter substitutes the goal of social justice or order for the Machiavellian principle of power. This will include not only Hitler and Mussolini but also Tojo and Stalin and possibly Chiang Kai Shek also. Miss Fosdick seems to be a close student of Gandhiji's movements. She allows that although he falls in the group of monks and quasi monks in her classification, he is not altogether an absolutist. She recalls that, while he called off the first Civil Disobedience campaign, Gandhiji refused to call off the second Civil Disobedience campaign when sporadic acts of violence occurred among his followers. George Lansbury was uncompromising in his ethical standards. When Stanley Jones asked him what he thought of the application of the Gandhi method to Japan, the method of non-violent, non-co-operation, the moral equivalent of war, Lansbury retorted "How can you have a moral equivalent of an evil?" Bryan resigned his office of Secretary of State under President Wilson when the United States entered the last War. Miss Fosdick evidently holds that Bryan was wrong and Wilson was right. But the revelations since published of the circumstances which led America into the war, have made historians gravely doubt the wisdom of Wilson's decision. Taking a long view of history, it would appear that the upholders of an absolute standard of ethics have served humanity and saved it while the Machiavellians' triumphs have always been short lived and attended by disastrous consequences to humanity.

John Morley who was not opposed to war as

such and whose idealism did not derive from Christianity, resigned his position in the Asquith Government when Great Britain declared war on Germany in 1914 because the latter violated the neutrality of Belgium. Morley thought, and he claimed to be supported by the high authority of Mr. Gladstone, that Britain was under no obligation to defend the neutrality of Belgium by armed force. In any case, he with his historical insight foresaw that no good would come to Britain from the war and he refused to be a party to it. Who can say that he was wrong in the light of what followed in the twenty years after the Peace Treaty? Miss Fosdick's mistake lies in thinking that absolutes are evolved out of the inner consciousness of individuals without reference to the world outside. Theories are but the crystallised experience of mankind through the ages. They are an unflinching guide to right conduct and by following ideals no one ever comes to grief although from the purely utilitarian point of view he may appear to be the loser. Who can say with certainty that the present war will put an end to all wars more than the last war did?

Gandhiji is the only outstanding figure today who may be said to belong to Miss Fosdick's monkish and quasi-monkish school. But, as she rightly points out, he is by no means an absolutist even as regards non-violence which he holds as a dogma. There is a good deal of the relativist in him. He himself avows repeatedly his love of compromise. In the resolution passed at the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, he, with his approval, is charged with the duty of leading a Civil Disobedience movement if the British Government do not accept the offer of the Congress to organise the country for total war, provided it is allowed to form a national Government. An absolutist would not undertake a duty under such circumstances. He would have refused to have anything to do with a movement which is willing and anxious to organize the country for war and requires his guidance only if its offer be rejected. The fact is that, there is not a single absolutist anywhere in the sense of Miss Fosdick among present-day leaders whether among the Allies or the Axis Powers. They are all, if not Machiavellians, certainly Neo-Machiavellians looking to the goal of greater social justice or a new world order. Miss Fosdick repudiates the existence of an absolute ethic and she shrinks from the Machiavellian view that there is no ethic at all, but only expediences. She holds that there is an ethic but it is only relative. And this, she maintains, applies as much to personal as to public affairs. "There is no difference in this respect" she argues "between a man deciding which of two girls he is going to ask to marry him, and a statesman deciding between alternate strategies." We should think that, whether in the East or the West, a statesman—that much abused word!—does not make his choice of a bride on the same considerations or class of considerations as he chooses his allies.

Otherwise we would be landed in very vexatious reflections. France until a certain day two years ago was an Ally of the Allies. A day later she fell a victim to the Nazi Power and became by her misfortune an enemy of the Allies. Her cities became targets of attack for her very recent Ally. An important difference between choosing a bride and choosing a strategy, which Miss Fosdick overlooks, is that, while a wife is meant to be a companion for life strategy in the nature of things must be capable of being changed from time to time according to changing conditions. Miss Fosdick lands herself in absurdity by trying to oversimplify a problem as ancient as it is complex. The truth is just the opposite of what she conceives it to be. Hindu ethics fully recognises the relativity of human standards, but it also holds passionately to the Absolute at the heart of the universe as the sole source of happiness and peace. There is only one ethic and that is absolute. The aspiration and striving towards this, constitutes the motive force of civilization, the escape of man from the ape and tiger in him. The constant failures experienced in this endeavour only indicate the need for ever more strenuous striving. If Miss Fosdick's theory that there is only a relative ethic, be universally accepted, moral progress would be at an end and mankind will slide rapidly to the state of savagery. Men and women who urge us not to be discouraged by failures and to renew the struggle upwards every time we fail, are the beacon lights of humanity. They are the salt of the earth and though we may find it hard—the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak—to live up to the best we know, let us not permit ourselves to be deluded into the belief that what is possible is the ideal. "If a man's reach does not exceed his grasp, what is Heaven for?"

Duke of Kent's Death:—Deep sympathy is felt with the British Royal Family, particularly the Queen Mother, at the death in active service of her youngest son, the Duke of Kent in an accident to the air plane in which he had embarked to join the British Forces in Iceland. Most of the crowned heads of the world have toppled down but the British monarchy is entrenched firmly in the affections of the British people because it has completely identified itself with the nations sufferings and sorrows and members of the royal family taken their full share of the hardships and dangers of war. So long as these features prevail, the monarchy has a distinct advantage over an elected president in shaping the political future of a nation. It saves the nation from the periodical excitement of electoral conflicts and ensures a continuity of tradition which minimises the risk of national collapse in the face of unforeseen dangers. It lends stability to the national character and history.

A BANDRA DIARY.

Hate is but the mask of love, says Paracelsus in Browning's poem. This observation, a profound one, came to my mind on seeing the heading of an article in the August *Vedanta Kesari*, the journal of the Ramakrishna Mission in Madras, "Towards God through Hatred." Legends of how men who made a point of reviling the Deity every day attained salvation, are familiar to every Hindu. But this is the first attempt which I have come across to find a psychological explanation of the equation of love with hate. The editor takes for his text the verse of the Bhagavad Gita: "The Supreme accepts us as we are, no matter how we approach Him, for all paths in which we may wander are His." I have gone over this verse innumerable times but it never occurred to me that it referred to the state of mind of the individual. I always understood it to mean that whatever be the form in which one worships God, that is to say, whatever the religion in which one was brought up, it makes no difference to his ultimate destiny. Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Jain, Vaishnavite or Saivite or even atheist, provided he is a convinced one and is faithful to his creed, is sure of salvation. It is not the form but the sincerity of one's faith that matters. The editorial in the *Vedanta Kesari* presents the question in a different light. Love and Hate are both violent emotions felt towards a person who interests one more intensely than others. From the psychological standpoint both imply devotion to the person loved or hated. Indifference is negated in both cases. The Hindu psychologist holds that the mind assumes the shape of the things on which it meditates. Since both love and hate involve concentration on a particular person or object, the mind of the lover and hater undergo identical transformation in either case. We grow like unto not only what we love but also like unto what we hate. This is illustrated by the common current experience that those who hate the Bolsheviks or the Nazis most, almost invariably tend to assimilate their methods closely. Fascism is possible in the United States, observed a shrewd American politician, but it will come in the guise of anti-Fascism. The *Vedanta Kesari* sums up the philosophy of this paradox thus: "Hindu thought is anxious to forge a unity between opposites and to conceive them as converging to empty themselves into Reality." In simpler terms, Hinduism condemns no one, not even the worst sinner, to hell fire. There is not only hope but there is the certainty of salvation for all. No one can escape God's compelling grace. Like the sun which shines for the just and the unjust, like the rain which falls for the righteous and the wicked, God's grace knows no discrimination. There is a story of Abraham having entertained unawares a guest who was a murderer. When he came to know of the fact from the conversation of his guest, Abraham retired to his chamber and prayed for guidance as to what he should do to obey the law of righteousness without infringing the law of hospitality. God's answer was, "Abraham, I have tolerated this man for eighty years (the man was an octogenarian); you can surely tolerate him for a day in your dwelling." As Sri Ramkrishna used to say of mystics "All the jackals howl to the same tune." The intolerance of organised churches comes not from God but from human frailty.

The reasons given by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his letter of resignation interest me far less than some casual expressions which he let fall before he left New Delhi. The first of these

is his avowal that he had come with the purpose of bringing together all parties and he had failed. The second is, his acknowledgment that he had been of recent years out of touch with British Indian politics. The third—this is not casual—his reference in his letter to the Viceroy of the latter's "friendly candour." As for the first, Sir Ramaswami evidently intended to bring together all except the Congress party which had been declared illegal. His being out of touch with the trends of British Indian politics, explains how he came to entertain this purpose. I was Joint Secretary with Messrs. Jinnah and Jayakar of the Malaviya Conference held some twenty years ago to come to a settlement with Lord Reading in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales, now Duke of Windsor. Under much pressure Gandhiji was persuaded to attend the Conference over which Sir Sankaran Nair presided. The first question which came up at the opening of the Conference was the release of the Khilafat prisoners. Lord Reading agreed simultaneously with the calling off of the Civil Disobedience movement, to release the prisoners, all except two, the Ali brothers. Gandhiji insisted that these two also should be released. Sir Sankaran Nair was furious. The horrors of the Mopla rebellion in his native Malabar had burnt themselves into his mind. He attributed them to the Khilafat movement. He raced out of the Conference. The Conference broke up. If Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar had been able to persuade non-Congress leaders to attend a Conference, the same experience would have been repeated. Except perhaps Muslim Leaguers, who would probably not have attended it, all others would have united in the demand for the release of the men arrested on the 9th August and the following days, as a preliminary to further negotiation. This they would have been obliged to do, not because they were all convinced that the arrests were wrong, but because they would have felt the arrested men, including Mahadev Desai, like Banquo's ghost, occupying the chairs intended for them. The Conference would not have moved a step further until the resolution was carried for the immediate release of the prisoners. Sir Ramaswami has declared that he fully agreed with Government in the measures taken. What would have been his position *vis a vis* this demand? No wonder he was not able to get a sufficient number of non-Congressmen together for the purpose for which he accepted the Executive Council Membership. As to the Viceroy's role of candid friend it is better to leave the march of events to unfold its purport.

I had a presentiment that something like what has happened would happen when Sir C. P. Ramaswami accepted the invitation of the Viceroy. I had a similar presentiment but of a different kind when Sir Akbar Hydari joined the Council. Taking advantage of my forty years of friendship, I asked Sir Akbar in the course of a long conversation before he left for Simla why he, who had all that he could desire, should now accept a place where he could be only an ornamental figurehead except so far as his personal character carried weight. Sir Akbar said that the Viceroy's invitation was very pressing. He offered to show me the letter. I did not want to see it. One of the first things I learnt in my journalistic career was never to invite or accept confidences. The value of "inside information" to a journalist is illusory. "Inside information" is nearly always deeply coloured and the journalist who has it is much embarrassed when he comes to know the facts.

This has no reference to the Viceroy's letter but only explains a habit of longstanding of declining confidences. Sir Akbar looked steadily at me for a minute and said that he did not expect to be long in the office. I understood him to mean that he would resign and devote himself to working for Hindu-Muslim unity. Sir Akbar's devotion to Sri Aurobindo Ghose is well-known. He wrote to me in May 1940 that Sri Aurobindo Ghose (whose "Life Divine" he was then reading) had told him "through Mother" that his (Hydari's) work in future "should be concentrated on fixing Hindu-Muslim unity on a much higher and transcendental basis of ultimate unity of the whole." Unhappily, Hydari's words proved prophetic in a wholly unexpected sense. In the case of Sir Ramaswami, my presentiment was due to his leaving half-finished the good work he had taken in hand in Travancore. Also, as in the case of Hydari, I had my doubts as to how after his experience of more or less personal administration in an Indian State, he would fit into the iron framework of the British Indian bureaucracy. The arrest of Gandhiji and others a few days after he joined the Council, created the impression that he forced the hands of Government which had so far shown no undue haste in taking action. His frank avowal of his approval of the measure, rather confirms that impression. When Sir Sankaran Nair resigned he made no secret of his reasons and I fancy that Sir Ramaswami would have been equally frank but for his position in Travancore with the Political Department of the Government of India in the background.

There is one sentence in Sir Ramaswami's statement at a Press Conference before he left New Delhi which as a theoretical or factual proposition I can not pass over. He spoke of "programmes, whatever the intention of their originators were, have produced, and could not but produce, violent demonstrations of mass feeling and an orgy of purposeless destruction." I recall that a similar, almost identical, argument was commonly urged against social reformers when social reform was struggling not so much against orthodox opposition as against indifferentists who did not want their peace of mind to be disturbed by uncomfortable questionings. They objected to social reformers because they played into the hand of Christian missionaries. They were against social reform propaganda because once the average man is encouraged to disregard customary restrictions, he will inevitably throw overboard moral restraints as well. As a matter of fact, one of the greatest difficulties of early reformers was to disabuse the public of the impression that social reform, as Padshah put it to Ranade, was nothing but "eating meat and gallivanting with women." Ranade's reply may well stand for reply to Sir Ramaswami today. "Those things" said Ranade "are not in our programme." Actually, I quoted two weeks ago from Rushbrook Williams' three successive annual reviews testimony to the effect that Gandhiji's Non-Violent, Non-Co-operation had the effect, which it was intended to have, of drawing young India away from anarchic violence. The men whose method Sir Ramaswami attacked are not free to answer his indictment, and this lays a special responsibility on those who are in a position to do so, not to remain silent.

RECLUSI

THE RAU COMMITTEE'S BILL ON HINDU MARRIAGE.

(BY K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, SATARA CITY.)

The Bill published by the Rao Committee on Hindu Marriage, contains only the first chapter of the comprehensive law of marriage, dealing mainly with the subject of the celebration of marriage. The topics of the rights and duties arising out of nullity of marriage and divorce, etc., will be dealt with, it is promised, in subsequent chapters.

The broad plan of the Bill is to distinguish two forms of Hindu marriage. The sacramental marriage is the marriage solemnised, according to Hindu rites, and the civil marriage is the marriage contracted before a Registrar in the manner laid down in the Special Marriage Act of 1872.

The whole Bill contains 26 clauses. The first three clauses are preliminary. The definitions are given in clause 2. In clause 2 the Sapinda relationship is defined. It follows the text of Yajnyavalkya, Vishnu, Narad, and Vashista and in clause 2 (d) it is stated that "two persons are said to be within the degrees of relationship prohibited by this Act," if they are related by blood to each other lineally or as brother and sister or as uncle and niece or as aunt and nephew. The expression "related to each other lineally" is not quite clear.

It is not definitely known what relations are prohibited exactly in the Act. Relying on an obscure Vedio passage or two, it is stated in the explanatory note that the Committee have not thought it necessary to go so far as to prohibit marriages between first cousins which are no doubt considered as legal on the strength of custom and usage. This is not proper.

The Act rightly adopts the Sapinda relationship of the ancient Smritis. It must also adopt the prohibitions enjoined by those Smritis, and it must be enacted that the wife to be married must be beyond the fifth and seventh degree from the mother and the father of the husband. Even the Special Marriage Act which rightly allows the marriages of the persons belonging to the same Gotra, correctly imposes strictly the restriction of the Sapinda relationship upon the man and woman who marry under that Act. Clause 2 (d) which gives the degrees of relationship prohibited by the Act, must be suitably amended in the manner stated above.

This definition given in the clause comes in conflict with clause 4 (d) of the very Act. Clauses 4 to 7 refer to sacramental marriages. Clauses 8 to 22 refer to civil marriage and clauses 23 to 26 are general, applying to both kinds of marriages.

As regards the sacramental marriage, the Bill makes a change in one very important respect, viz., it proposes to abolish polygamy altogether. In clause 4 (a) it is stated that neither party must have a husband or wife living at the time of marriage. This is in truth a restoration of the ancient law at its best. There can be little doubt that the practice of polygamy greatly weakens the legal position of women and places her at the mercy of the over-bearing husband. Any assertion on her part of her right to equal or favourable treatment, is apt to be met by the taking of another wife on whom more favour is bestowed than upon the superseded wife.

A polygamous marriage, that is, a marriage which leaves a husband free, whether he exercises his freedom or not, to marry a second wife when the first is alive, is incompatible with the high reverence in which motherhood has always been held in India. Even according to Smritis, second marriages were made conditional on several factors; but the administration of British Courts have

already ignored those conditions. This is a step in the right direction.

The Bill prohibits all polygamous marriages. Some exception should be made. For instance, polygamy should be allowed in exceptional circumstances such as, if the wife is hopelessly barren or if she is suffering from incurable disease or is incapable of performing marital duties.

[This, to us, seems a most mischievous suggestion, altogether incompatible with the lofty sentiments avowed in earlier paragraphs. It reveals how strongly the notion persists that polygamy is permissible to men.—*Editor.*]

In clause (4) (d) emphasis is laid on the fact that parties must not be Sapindas of each other. Clause 5 gives the two requisite and essential conditions of a valid marriage. These conditions must be proved before the marriage is declared to be valid. Clause 6 makes marriages according to custom valid. This clause should be altogether deleted. Customs, howsoever ancient which are positively against positive enactments, must not now be recognised. No custom which violates any of these rules of this Act should be considered valid. In the last part of the proviso after the word clause A of section 4 and clause 8 of section 4 must be inserted to avoid ambiguity.

Clause 7 extends the factum valet principle to Sagotra marriages and marriages between persons of different castes. That is to say their validity is not to be called in question after they have been completed. The Act says that in proper cases they may be prohibited by injunction before they are performed. This is far-fetched indeed. The Act does not throw any light on what are proper cases in which injunction from Court should be sought. Further this clause is against the provision in clause 4 (b) and (c) of this Act which says that parties to the marriage must belong to the same caste and they must not belong to the same Gotra or have a common Pravara. This appears strange.

The Committee is evidently not correct when it thinks that the texts prohibiting Sagotra marriages are only recommendatory. On the contrary, the Smriti texts prohibiting Sagotra marriages are considered as absolutely mandatory and they cannot certainly invoke the aid of the principle of factum valet to consider such marriages as valid. The remarks of Justice Mohamed in this respect are worth noting. He says "where a fact has been accomplished, in other words, where an act has been done and finally completed, though it may be in contravention with a hundred directory texts the fact will stand and the act would be deemed to be legal and binding. It is otherwise where an act is done in contravention to texts which are in their nature mandatory." (9 Allahabad 258).

It is a matter of sincere regret that the Committee should take such a conservative view of the matter. They should really and boldly assert that all Sagotra marriages are valid. In this connection there is already a "Bill to remove legal disabilities under Hindu Law" in respect of marriages between Hindus (L. A. Bill No. 5 of 1941) introduced by Mr. G. V. Deshmukh of Nagpur. A clause like the one in that must be inserted in this Bill. For instance, the following clause should be inserted:—"Notwithstanding any custom, rule or interpretation of the Hindu Law a marriage which is otherwise valid shall not be invalid because it is between Hindus belonging to the same Gotra or Pravara provided such marriage does not violate the rule of prohibition based upon Sapinda relationship between the parties to a marriage."

The provision of Sagotra and Sapravara marriages does not go back to a period much earlier than 600 B. C. and is probably due to the influence of a custom prevailing amongst non-Aryans which interdicted marriages amongst worshippers of the same totem. The provision first appears in Grihyasutra literature and is accepted by later writers. A Sagotra marriage was very seriously viewed by Smriti and Nibanda writers who could never think of validating it by applying the principle of *factum valet*. There is, however, no point in continuing this ban now. Gotras were originally mere surnames and members of the same Gotra have no real tie of consanguinity and even if we suppose that there originally existed such a tie, it would be hardly rational or eugenic now to prohibit marriages on that account. For members of any particular Gotra existing to-day are removed by many generations from the original founder!

On the question of anuloma marriages, it can be safely asserted that the prohibition of intercaste marriages was certainly a reform in the right direction when it was first introduced. The cultural disparity which was its main cause, is, however, much diminished owing to the widespread of a homogeneous culture and education. If we consider the question of intercaste marriages in modern Hindu society from the cultural and sociological point of view as distinguished from the theological one, we shall have to concede that their revival would not be against the spirit of Hinduism, if the parties contracting them are of the same cultural level and outlook.

The few intercaste marriages that are taking place nowadays, usually satisfy this condition. They cannot certainly become more frequent until the cultural differences between different castes disappear. There is, therefore, no harm in inserting a specific clause in the Bill that no Hindu Marriage shall be deemed to be invalid merely on the ground that the parties belong to different castes. This will only be a permissive clause. Otherwise as we notice nowadays such marriages do take place but the parties have to take recourse to the Special Marriage Act. Then why not allow them to marry under sacramental form?

Clauses 8 to 22 of the Bill substantially reproduce the existing provisions of the Special Marriage Act. When at present the Sagotra and intercaste marriages are not allowed directly under the sacramental form even in the present Bill, there appears some necessity for this contractual form of marriage. For persons of the same Gotra or different castes wishing to marry will have to take recourse necessarily to this form of marriage. It is good that two glaring anomalies of the Special Marriage Act are removed. Under that Act, one who says that he is a Hindu, is to be governed by the Indian Succession Act and one who says that he is not a Hindu is to be governed by the Hindu Law. The Bill seeks to remove this anomaly by not reproducing in this Bill the provisions of this section in the Special Marriage Act. Now persons marrying under civil marriages will be governed by the Hindu Law.

Under clause 21 of this Bill, the Indian Divorce Act is made applicable to all civil marriages contracted under this Act. This provision would be redundant when the subject of divorce will be dealt with in a separate part of the Marriage Bill. In fact, there should be absolutely no necessity for Hindus to have resort to this form of marriage. All advantages which are available to persons marrying under this form, must be made available to couples marrying under the sacramental form. The Hindu marriage is considered as a sacrament and not a contract. And,

if a woman marrying under this Hindu marriage of sacrament, gets all the advantages which she would have got by marrying under the contractual system, there should be no necessity indeed to preserve the contractual system at all. There should be one uniform system of sacramental marriage.

It is a happy sign that sections 22 to 26 of the Special Marriage Act are not incorporated in this Bill. It is sheer injustice that a Hindu marrying a Hindu should be treated almost as an outcaste merely because he has entered into a civil marriage rather than a sacramental one. Why should he be supposed to be lost to his family allowing his father to adopt a son to him? Why should he not be allowed to adopt a son if he so desires? These restrictions are now removed. These are, in short, the provisions of this Bill of Hindu marriage. The enactment of this Bill and of the Succession Bill noticed in previous issues of *The Reformer*, will release Hindu Society from the gravest hindrances to its moral, social and economic progress. It will greatly facilitate the political evolution of the community. A retrograde social system, that is, a system in which one half of its members are discriminated against, cannot sustain free institutions. The equalising of the status of the sexes is an indispensable step in the establishment and successful working of democracy.

"GUARDIANS IN MARRIAGE."

Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti, Aska, has sent the following letter to the Government of Orissa on the Rau Committee's Bills on Hindu Law:—

"As one personally interested in the provisions of these Bills, I take the liberty to make a single recommendation over and above those already communicated by me as Secretary of the Social Welfare Association of Aska published in last week's *Reformer*. The point was inadvertently overlooked by the Association, but I have cause to regard it as of sufficient practical importance to be earnestly urged before the Legislature.

In the proposed Hindu Code Part II (Marriage), under Section 23 Clause (1) are enumerated seven persons as authorized 'guardians in marriage' whose consent should be sought in the prescribed order when the bride is below 16 in a sacramental marriage, and when either party is not fully 21 years old in a civil marriage. They are (1) father, (2) mother, (3) paternal grandfather, (4) brother, (5) any other agnatic relation, (6) maternal grandfather, and (7) maternal uncle. No mere guardian as such is included in this list. Act III of 1872 mentions only "father or guardian" which is more simple and satisfactory for a civil marriage.

If the proposed elaborate list is considered unavoidable even for Civil marriages, my proposal is to specify the paternal uncle as No. 5 in place of the vague and vast category of indifferent "agnatic male relations," and add as No. 8 the mother's paternal uncle, and as No. 9 any other *de facto* guardian.

My reason for pressing this recommendation is that I happen to know a case in which a Hindu girl of 20 years of age, entirely brought up, and educated up to the B. A. Class, by her mother's paternal uncle, has been deterred from contracting a Civil marriage as she and her guardian wished, through the hostility of her father who never in his life gave her any help or protection. Clause 2 of Section 23 can be helpful in such cases only if "the mother's paternal uncle" and "any other *de facto* guardian" be included in the list under Clause 1. We have besides to provide for the boys and girls in Hindu Orphanages for whom the superintendent of the orphanage is the only parent, relation and guardian.

LETTERS OF B. J. PADSHAH,

SEPTEMBER 11, 1932.

Kenilworth Castle.

Mr. Marshall, when retiring from South Africa, had spent 18 months at the Cape. He could not but appreciate its scenic beauties, and got disgusted with the moral rot in the communities there. The Cape coloured, a mongrel breed, were rotten at the core, sexually and in dependableness of interrelationship; they were not averse to common thieving.

The Europeans were not dominated in business then by Jews—he cannot uphold the statement that now 75% of business, even of big business, at the Cape is in the hands of Jews. If his wife bought shoes what was sent to her was a pair which she had rejected as burst; at another shop, when he showed eagerness to buy some article, the originally quoted price was disowned and raised. He warned me not to confound coloured and Natives.

The former included Chinese, Malays, Indians, and particularly half-castes of half-white origin. The Cape coloured belonged to this last stock. The Natives are of pure African ancestry though they may be very various—Bantos, Basutos, Bechuanas, Matabeles, Swazis, Zulus, Congolese.

The Cape coloured and the Natives keep aloof, each from the other; and the different Native races do not recognise any mutual kinship and are of different grades of culture.

A Commission has reported upon Native education and has condemned the present system; Mr. Vlock did not approve of the Presbyterians and other missions turning out college-bred Natives. Critics ask if so many trained white men are starving, will anything be gained by trained Natives also—to starve? The Minister of Education insists that farmers have improved the condition of Natives far more than Colleges, Missionaries and Humanitarians.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1932.

The bulk of passengers not in the Musical Revue group are students from South Africa returning to colleges and schools after vacation. I wanted to know more of these returning scholars and had my chance today. There was a sports meeting in the Smoking Room at 10 and when the Smoking Room began to fill I vacated my seat for one in the Music Room. There I found a young man with a badge on his chest, and I casually asked him of what tribe the device on his breast was the badge. Lincoln College, Oxford, was the answer. Later I shouted a further question across the room; was he a Rhodes scholar? No, he was just a student. Then he walked across and sat by my side to talk. I told him I was from Bombay, India, a Parsi. He was a German born in Johannesburg, had graduated there, was reading Law in Oxford. His name was Sohniers, a word to which he could give no meaning. He did not go to a German University because his lot would be cast with British.

I had been awakened to de Valera's side of the case which I had not believed existed, and the seriousness of the secession movement in Natal which Mr. Sohniers did not credit, which the Grants on the Amazon trip had told me not to credit, and which advice I had followed because when in South Africa I read that the leader of the movement was in the Insolvency court and could not account for his debts.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1932.

Persons were disoused with (Mr. & Mrs. Marshall), a young lady sitting opposite them at table, with hair like a man's, with the upper costume a man's (shirt and all), and now proceeding to Cambridge,

age about 24. I said I should like to make her acquaintance for the benefit of these letters. The C— E— who is more visible with ladies than he need be was set down as an ass; but some invisible attractiveness was admitted, as on voyages both ways, he had been popular with ladies, old and young.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1932.

The Marshalls have discussed the South African articles in the *Spectator* and thrown new light on them. About Natal's secession, they do not believe in it. It is true that Natal has been given the assurance of the equality of English and Dutch in that Province; but Natal could not have avoided joining the Union. The port of Durban is the natural transport outlet for the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, if Natal had not joined the Union, all that trade would have been diverted to the Cape. Natal is aggrieved, but needs the Union. South Africa is in distress, but there is not the least evidence; that not going off gold has anything to do with it.

The fact is that mine-owners reside in London, and would like South African currency to be linked with sterling. They have transferred large amounts of money to Europe, hoping to make profit when South Africa goes off gold, and they would return the money then. To accelerate the profit-taking, they are campaigning to drive South Africa out of gold.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1932.

Mr. Marshall favoured me with a discussion of South Africa, and today the subject was the Death rate and I found his corrections instructive and interesting. Health statistics in South Africa are not well kept, and coloured statistics are always disputable. His own impression is of worse health, and more deaths among Europeans there than at their homes. In particular Johannesburg suffers from a rage for suicide. He could at once name 50 from his acquaintance and the very various causes; loss of wife, down in luck, shock, loss of the last slender resources, designs on insurance money to settle on widow. The altitude of Johannesburg has much to do with this rage, it weakens the heart and presses on the mind; Mr. Marshall does not think the usual mentality of gold-hunters can be made responsible for this result.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1932.

The Moral Law is a good guide but a bad Master; rigid loyalty to it is to convert Life into Mechanism. Living Morality is necessarily experimental; they who refuse experiment deny growth to the community. Take gambling. In 1906, I was in England to help obtain capital for the Steel and Hydro-electric Companies. We had a broker in Paris who had gambled away his own fortune and was in the way to lose his wife's. I invited him to a casual discussion on stock-exchange gamble. He said I who had never gambled could not understand his experience. Life would be vapid to him if he refrained. Life however ruinous, was a fuller and higher life while he kept his course. I recognised the complete validity of his position, and withdrew from discussion. Today, I have no desire to protect people, when they do not wish to be protected. If a few million men perish, there are plenty more left; and the race can improve in quality only by experimentation. The fallacy is to suppose that finality of wisdom has been found to be enforced all round.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1932.

They are all occupied with the Fancy Dress display. I can here and there see style and idea. I feel no enjoyment in this overwhelming display

of carefree youth; girls pursuing, lads not unwilling to be pursued.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1932.

The *Spectator* had shown that General Hertzog was introducing Dutch influence into Natal, a purely British Colony, which appeared to account for Natal's desire to secede. Now a fellow-passenger brings before me a law which requires all Union officials to be bi-lingual, a law honoured by the British more in the breach than in the observance. General Hertzog appoints Dutchmen because they alone so qualify themselves. Again about the Gold standard, Holland and Netherland Indies have not gone off gold, and they too have suffered, they made an adjustment by lowering gold wages and prices which affects, in Java, the planters and their Malay coolies alike. But the South African Britisher has contempt for the Dutch and the Dutch Prime Minister.

I thanked him for setting me right but begged him to remember that the British conquered in the war, and yet gave self-government with both hands, so profusely that the Union has had only Dutch Prime Ministers. I know no case in history of such generous enlightenment.....

Mr. Marshall asked me if I am going on shore at Madeira; I am not he again approves. The two principal industries of the town are prostitution and begging. Every citizen seems to be a beggar. Anyway the Portuguese are the scum of the Earth. Did I think the same? He had formed that impression at Delagoa Bay. I could not endorse this view

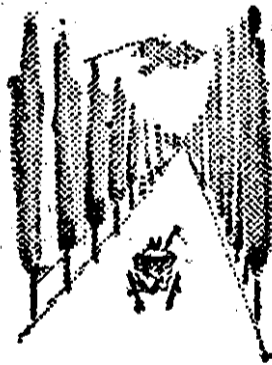
by a Britain of Britain's most ancient ally, but the book, "Today and Tomorrow" suggests that admixture of blood has degenerated the splendid stock from which Vasco de Gama sprang.

Mr. Van der W. discussed with me the present day disillusionment with democracy, about which Sir Norman Angell has written in the *Spectator*. He quoted the late Dutch Professor Treub's utterance that a man has no heart who is not a democrat at 20; he who remains a democrat at 40, is lacking in brains.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1932.

After Madeira.

I have been struck with the varieties of the colour question—in India, Indo-China, the Malayas, Dutch Indies, West Indies, Shanghai, Central and South Africa, the U. S., Morocco, Madagascar, Port Said, South Africa, Rhodesia. In some places the whites are permanent residents; in some they intermarry with the coloured; in some they do actual manual work; in some again they are just a handful in numbers; in some there is no difference of language or religion or both (in Jamaica, for example); and the levels of intelligence and unity of the coloured are everywhere different. Mr. Marshall says the Latins have a greater tendency to mix; Anglo-Saxons and Northern Europeans feel repugnance for colour. In South Africa, the white man would not do manual work, must always depend on the Native, ought not to wish for dominance and cannot keep it.



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